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HISTORY of ENGLAND.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

Written originally in French, as far as the REVOLUTION,

By M. RAPIN de THOYRAS;

Tranſlated into ENGLISH.

To which are added,

Critical and Explanatory NOTES.

The REIGNS of

King WILLIAM III and Queen MARY:

And alſo that of

Queen ANNE,

Are impartially continued,

By THOMAS LEDIARD, Eſq;

Late Secretary to His MAJESTY's Envoy Extraordinary in LOWER GERMANY.

VOL. III.

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HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

By M. RAPIN de THOYRAS;

BRITISH MUSEUM

Queen ANNE.

By THOMAS LEDIARD, Esq;

VOL. III.

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THE HISTORY OF THE INTER-REGNUM,

From the Death of CHARLES I, to the Reſtoration of CHARLES II.

BOOK XXII.

The Hiſtory of the INTER-REGNUM contains three principal PARTS. The firſt, what fell out, during the Democracy of England. The ſecond, what paſſed, under the Protectorates of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. The third what happened, from the Deprivation of Richard Cromwell to the Reſtoration of CHARLES II.

PART I.

The COMMON-WEALTH of ENGLAND.

INTER-REG. AN' 1649.

FOR underſtanding the revolutions in England, after the death of Charles I, it is neceſſary to remember ſome important matters already related in the preceding reign, and of which it will be expedient to make here a brief recapitulation.

Recapitulation of ſome material matters.

Firſt, The parliament now ſiting was properly no more than a houſe of commons, who refuſed to acknowledge the negative voice of the lords. This they had evidently ſhewed, in erecting a court of juſtice to try the King without the conſent of the peers, which was voted unneceſſary.

Secondly, There was in this houſe of commons a ſmall number of members, all Independents, Anabaptiſts, or other ſectaries. All the Preſbyterians (who ſat in the houſe, the ſixth of December) were expelled by the army; and the abſent, whoſe principles diſagreed with thoſe of the Independents, durſt not reſume their places. If there ever was an uſurpation, it was the government of this maimed parliament, ſolely founded in violence, and intirely ſupported by the army; for, tho' the houſe of commons pretended to repreſent the people of England, it is very manifeſt few perſons of the nation were pleaſed to ſee the ſovereign power lodged in ſuch hands.

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Thirdly, The Independents, of whom this houſe chiefly conſiſted, were diſtinguiſhed by two principles, the one relating to the civil, the other to the eccleſiaſtical government. By the firſt, they maintained that a common-wealth was not only the moſt perfect form of government, but even abſolutely neceſſary for the Engliſh, after ſo many oppreſſions from their Kings, who had transformed, the government into a real tyranny. As to religion, tho'

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tho' they ſtiled themſelves Proteſtants, they held, that every particular church was independent, and might be governed as the members thought fit. Their notions were likewiſe extremely ſingular, with regard to the vocation of the miniſters of the goſpel; as they aſſerted that, without any other call, any man might diſcharge the miniſterial office, and exerciſe the talents given him by God. The other ſectaries, who had joined the Independents, on account of their allowing full toleration, were united with them in the firſt of theſe principles, and had declared for a common-wealth. But they differed from one another in ſome points of religion, which the Independents regarded the leſs, being deſirous to increaſe their adherents, and moreover believing that toleration was abſolutely neceſſary in matters of religion.

Fourthly, A remnant of Levellers was ſtill in the army, adherents to their principle, who were always in readineſs for any attempt to retrieve their credit. It is certain Cromwell, tho' he himſelf raiſed this faction, had in ſome degree diſperſed, but not utterly deſtroyed it. A powerful head might ſtill have rendered it as formidable as ever.

Fifthly, The Preſbyterians were extremely concerned to ſee the Independents in poſſeſſion of ſovereign power. This diſconcerted all their meaſures: their progreſs for eight years proved abortive, and the ſtorm, they had raiſed againſt the King, fell upon themſelves, or at leaſt it appeared they had all that time labored for others, without gaining any advantage; for the truth is, the Independents were equally averſe to the Preſbyterian as to Epiſcopal juriſdiction. As to civil government, it is evident the Preſbyterians were not enemies to royalty in general. If they had attempted to reſtrain its power, they were far from believing that the thing was evil in itſelf, as eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land, but becauſe the two laſt Kings had imployed their power to deſtroy Preſbyterianiſm; ſo that all their proceedings againſt Charles I were more pointed at his perſon than his dignity, becauſe they apprehended him to be their enemy, and deſpaired of eſtabliſhing Preſbyterian government in the church, while he was in a condition to prevent it. However, in all probability, many of them would have complied with a common-wealth, notwithſtanding the covenant, had not that government been lodged in the Independents, who were by no means inclined to ſupport Preſbyterianiſm, and whoſe principles upon toleration were wholly rejected by the Preſbyterians: and therefore an union between theſe parties was morally impoſſible.

Sixthly, The Royaliſts, equally enemies to both, could join with neither of the ſectaries, ſo great was the oppoſition between their principles. The Independents were for a common-wealth, which could not be agreeable to the Royaliſts. On the other hand the Preſbyterians were deſirous of maintaining their government in the church, and moſt of the Royaliſts could ſcarce believe the Preſbyterian churches to be true Chriſtian churches, ſince they wanted biſhops. Thus the Royaliſts, tho' perſecuted by both parties, were far from uniting with either: on the contrary they entertained ſome hopes, that the diviſions among their enemies would pave the way for them to reſtore the monarchy to its former ſtate. Wherefore, they labored to foment this diviſion, expecting the Preſbyterians would at length be obliged to quit their projects, and join with the Royaliſts, to free themſelves from the perſecution they ſuffered.

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Theſe were the intereſts of the parties which divided the Engliſh nation, preſently after the death of Charles I. The remembrance of all this is abſolutely neceſſary to underſtand the tranſactions during the Inter-regnum.

An act to prohibit proclaiming the King's ſon, Jan. 30. Ruſhworth, Vol. VII. p. 1431. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 201. Whitelock.

Immediately after the King's death, the houſe of commons publiſhed an act to prohibit the proclaiming of Charles Stuart, the late King's eldeſt ſon, or any other perſon, on pain of high-treaſon. This was, as it were, the foundation of the common-wealth, which the Independents intended to erect in England. The ſame day, the peers deſired a conference with the commons, to ſetle the government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, as the judges commiſſions were determined by the death of the King. The commons, regardleſs of the meſſage, voted the houſe of lords to be uſeleſs and dangerous, and therefore to be aboliſhed. They only left the peers the power of being choſen members of parliament, as well as other ſubjects. This privilege was accepted by a few (1), but rejected by moſt of the lords; nay, ſome publiſhed a proteſtation againſt the power aſſumed by the commons, tho' to very little purpoſe. Thus, the parliament, at firſt conſiſting of the King, ſix-ſcore peers, and five hundred and thirteen commoners, was reduced to a houſe of commons compoſed of about eighty members, of whom very few, at the begining, had five hundred pounds per annum: and yet theſe members, tho' their number was ſo ſmall, aſſumed the name of Parliament, and acted as if in them had been united the power, which formerly reſided in the King, lords and commons. This might ſeem extremely ſurpriſing, were it not for the preceding tranſactions, and the univerſal terror inſpired by the army. Hence appears the care and ability of Cromwell and his aſſociates, upon the ſelf-denying ordinance, in filling the army with their creatures. Doubtleſs, without an army intirely Independent and Republican, ſuch exceſſive and extraordinary power could not have been procured to ſo inconſiderable a number of members of parliament: but it muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, that ſome of theſe new governors had a great genius and uncommon capacity; and that, if they erred in their principles, they were ſkilful enough to purſue the conſequences.

The commons abolish the houſe of peers. March. 9. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 201. Whitelock, p. 377, 390. Phillips. Some peers proteſt. Phillips. Heath. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 203.

The princiſples of the commons concerning government. Heath, p. 225.

Their principle was, that the ſovereign authority originally reſided in the people, who commited a part of it to the Kings, choſen to rule them according to law. That the King abuſing his truſt had violated the original contract between King and people, by which means, the obligation being diſſolved, the ſovereign power returned to the people, as the fountain of it: ſo, looking upon themſelves as the peoples repreſentatives, they believed they had a right to change the form of government, without regarding the original contract annulled by the King, in his violation of the laws.

They aboliſh monarchy. Feb. 7. March 17. Clarendon, Whitelock, p. 377. Several alterations. Ibid. Phillips.

Purſuant to this principle the commons, aſſuming the name of parliament, voted, and afterwards inacted, that the regal office ſhould be aboliſhed as unneceſſary, burdenſome, and dangerous; and that the ſtate ſhould be governed by the peoples repreſentatives in a houſe of commons without King or lords, and under a Republican form. This grand change in the government introduced many others, in things inconſiſtent with a common-wealth, tho' not with monarchy. The oaths of allegiance

(1) The earl of Saliſbury and the lord Edward Howard of Eſrick ſigned the ingagement, "to be true and faithful to the "common-wealth, as it was eſtabliſhed without a King or houſe of lords," and ſat in parliament by virtue of an election from the people. Ludlow, Vol. I. p. 293.

——— Likewiſe, April 16, 1649, a writ being iſſued out for a new election, upon the death of ſir Francis Pile, the earl of Pembroke, with all his titles, was returned knight of the ſhire for Berks, "primæ impreſſionis," who was admited into the houſe with great reſpect. Whitelock, p. 396.

and

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and ſupremacy were to be aboliſhed (1), juſtice was not any longer to be adminiſtered in the King's name (2), a new great-ſeal was to be made, new money to be coined; in a word, nothing to remain which had any marks of royalty. A great-ſeal was therefore made, having on one ſide the parliament ſiting, with this inſcription, "The "great-ſeal of the parliament of the common-"wealth of England;" on the other ſide, the arms of England and Ireland, with the following words, "The firſt year of freedom by God's "bleſſing reſtored" (3). This ſeal was commited to a certain number of perſons, ſtiled, Keepers of the liberties of England. And it was ordained that, henceforward, all public orders ſhould be diſpatched in the name of theſe keepers, under the direction of the parliament (4). Laſtly, the parliament choſe thirty-nine perſons to form a council of ſtate, to adminiſter public affairs under the parliament (5). Theſe changes were projected in February, but the execution of them all required ſome months.

A new great-ſeal. Ludlow, Vol. I. p. 286. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 202, 204. Whitelock, p. 367, 371, 373, 374, 378.

Council of ſtate. Whitelock, p. 381. Dugdale's View.

In the begining of March, the parliament erected a new high-court of juſtice, to try ſome perſons of quality in their power. It ſeems, as there was no houſe of peers, the lords of the kingdom were deprived of their privileges under this new democracy, and that conſequently the impriſoned lords might have been tried by a jury, in one of the courts of juſtice. Doubtleſs, the parliament was apprehenſive that a jury, impanneled in the uſual form, would never find perſons of diſtinction guilty of death, for ſupporting the cauſe of their Royal maſter. The Independents were not ſo numerous among the people, as to be ſure of a jury of their party. Moreover, they were not aſſured of the judges, ſix of whom had refuſed commiſſions from the commonwealth. But, in erecting a court of juſtice, the parliament could nominate ſuch judges as would obey their orders.

A new High-court of Juſtice. Bates. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 204. Whitelock, p. 377.

Before this new court, of which Bradſhaw was preſident, as he had been of that which condemned the King, were brought duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring, lately made earl of Norwich, the lord Capel and ſir John Owen, all for the ſame crime, viz. for appearing in arms againſt the parliament. When the King, in the begining of the civil wars, would have put to death priſoners taken at Edge-hill and Colebrook, the parliament, judging it unjuſt, declared they would puniſh their captives in the ſame manner, if the condemned perſons were executed. But, upon their proving victorious, it was found very conſiſtent with juſtice, to take away the lives of thoſe who had fought for the King. This will not appear ſo ſtrange, if it be remembered that the King himſelf ſuffered death, for making war upon the parliament.

Some noble priſoners brought before it. Feb. 10. State-trials. Burnet's Mem. Whitelock, p. 380.

The duke of Hamilton alleged, That, being a ſubject of Scotland, he had entered England with an army as a declared enemy, by virtue of a commiſſion from the parliament of Scotland, which he was obliged to obey, and therefore could only be treated as a priſoner of war. This objection having been foreſeen; he was told, they did not proceed againſt as duke Hamilton of Scotland, but as earl of Cambridge in England; and, ſeeing he had accepted that title, and as ſuch ſat in parliament, in ſo doing he became a ſubject of England; that if the title of duke of Hamilton bound him to obey the parliament of Scotland, that of earl of Cambridge ſhould have ingaged him to refuſe the commiſſion. Beſide, it appeared that his accepting the command of the Scotiſh army was not merely the effect of his obedience, but of his own ſollicitation, and that he had been the chief author of the war.

Duke Hamilton's defenſe. Burnet's Mem. p. 386, &c. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 204. State-trials, Vol. II. Whitelock, p. 380. Ludlow.

The earl of Holland ſaid little in his defenſe. Moreover, the meaſures he had taken, and his frequent ſhifting ſides, did not much favor his cauſe.

Earl of Holland. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 205.

The lord Goring, earl of Norwich, repreſented, That he was educated in the court from his infancy, having been a page to King James I: that he had never ſerved any maſter but the King, whom he had followed, without canvaſing the juſtice or injuſtice of his cauſe, having had no opportunity to be informed in ſuch points, which were above his capacity.

Earl of Norwich.

The lord Capel (ſteady to his principles, and a zealous adherent to his Sovereign's cauſe) made a more courageous and reſolute defenſe. He, at firſt, diſowned the authority of the court, alleging, That, if he had been guilty of any crime, he ought to be tried in the uſual way, and not before a court unſupported by any law. But the condemnation of the King himſelf, by ſuch a court, might have taught him, that this allegation would do him no ſervice. His next plea was, that, as he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner at diſcretion, the law of nations exempted him from death, if not inflicted within ſo many days, which were long ſince expired. He urged, that when, after Colcheſter was taken, the council of war had condemned Lucas and Liſle to be ſhot, general Fairfax promiſed life to the other priſoners, wherefore he claimed the benefit of that promiſe. The court, being ſomewhat imbaraſſed, ſent to the general to know the nature of his promiſe to the lord Capel. He replied, That, as general, he had promiſed to exempt the priſoners from military execution, to which three had been condemned, and that his intent extended no farther. Upon this anſwer it was decided, that the general's promiſe did not amount to an exemption of the priſoner from the juſtice of the parliament.

Lord Capel. Ibid. Whitelock, p. 381.

Sir John Owen only ſaid, his oath of allegiance obliged him in conſcience to ſerve the King.

Sir John Owen.

Notwithſtanding their defenſe, they all received ſentence of death (6). But, having many friends, petitions were preſented to the parliament in their name for a pardon. Theſe petitions being examined in the houſe, thoſe of duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and lord Capel were rejected. The votes were equal upon that of the earl of Norwich; but as, according to cuſtom, the ſpeaker's vote was deciſive, he declared in his favor, ſaying, the earl had formerly ſhewed him ſome civilities, and therefore he voted for his pardon (7). Sir John Owen's

Their condemnation. Petitions for their pardon. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 206, 207. Whitelock, p. 386.

(1) Inſtead of this a new oath was prepared ſtiled the Ingagement, by which every man ſwore, "That he would be true "and faithful to the parliament eſtabliſhed without a King or houſe of peers." Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 204.

(2) The name, ſtile, and teſt of the writs were to be, "Cuſtodes libertatis Angliæ, authoritate parliamenti." Alſo in indictments, inſtead of, "contrary to the peace of——the King," it was to be——"againſt the peace, juſtice, and council of England." Whitelock, p. 371, 374.

(3) This ſeal and inſcriptions were the fancy of Henry Martyn. Whitelock, p. 367.

(4) Widdrington and Whitelock were firſt appointed keepers of the new great-ſeal; but, the former being at his own deſire excuſed, an act paſſed, appointing Bulſtrode Whitelock, Richard Keeble, and John Liſle, commiſſioners of the great-ſeal, "quamdiu bene ſe geſſerint." Whitelock, p. 378, 379.

(5) There is a liſt of this council in Whitelock, p. 381.

(6) At paſſing the ſentence, "That they ſhould all loſe their heads," ſir John Owen, making a low reverence, humbly thanked them: and a ſtander-by aſking him, what he meaned? He anſwered aloud, "It was a very great honor to a poor "gentleman of Wales, to loſe his head with ſuch noble lords;" and ſwore a great oath, "that he was afraid they would "have hanged him." Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 206.

(7) This inſtance, Whitelock obſerves, may be a caution againſt the affectation of popularity, ſince the earl of Holland (who was generous and courteous to all, and as ready to relieve the oppreſſed, and maintain the peoples rights, as any lord in the kingdom) was given up by the repreſentatives of the people; while they ſpared the lord Goring, who never profeſſed a friendſhip for liberty, either civil or ſpiritual, and no leſs exceeded the earl in his crimes, than he fell ſhort of him in his popularity. p. 386.

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execution was ſuſpended, becauſe, as a commoner, he ſhould have been tried in an inferior court. This preſerved his life. The three former were executed on a ſcaffold, erected before Weſtminſter-hall.

Duke Hamilton's execution. Burnet's Mem. p. 204. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 209. Whitelock. Phillips. Dugdale's View, p. 388.

Duke Hamilton complained, on the ſcaffold, that he loſt his life for obeying the parliament of Scotland, which if he had not done, he muſt have ſuffered death there. But he had no grounds to inſinuate a danger of being put to death in Scotland, for refuſing the command of an army raiſed by his intrigues and authority. He intimated, that, if he would have diſcovered who invited the Scots army into England, it would probably have ſaved his life. Before his proceſs, he had been urgently ſollicited to make this diſcovery, but to no purpoſe. It is difficult to conceive the duke's character. All that has been offered for or againſt him only proves, that he knew how to adapt himſelf to the times. And the earl of Clarendon evidently inſinuates, that the duke, when imployed by the King, ſecretly made friends in the contrary party, in caſe affairs ſhould turn to the King's diſadvantage.

Lord Capel is executed. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 209, 210.

The lord Capel maintained, that he had done nothing contrary to the laws, and conſequently was unjuſtly ſentenced to ſuffer death. He ſaid that King Charles I was a ſaint, and inlarged on the great underſtanding, ſingular good-nature, and exemplary piety of the Prince, whom he ſtiled King, declaring, he would never be ſhaken in his religion. In all probability, the lord Capel ſpoke ſincerely. But the ſequel ſhewed, either that he did not fully know Charles II, or that Prince had, at his reſtoration, principles different from thoſe he imbibed in his youth.

Other executions. Phillips. Whitelock.

At or about this time, many others were executed for the ſame crime in ſeveral parts of England; among whom were Morrice and Blackbourne, who had ſurpriſed the caſtle of Pontefract for the King. Powyer, Powel and Langhorn, who drew into a revolt from the parliament the principality of Wales, caſt lots for their lives, and the firſt was executed.

The abſent members are excluded the houſe. Ludlow, Vol. I. p. 288. Whitelock.

When the army expelled from the houſe above a hundred members, unacceptable to them, thoſe only, who were then preſent, were expreſly excluded: but nothing had been determined, as to many who were abſent. Indeed, the latter had never ſince ſat in the houſe, being afraid of the ſame fate. But perhaps they might return in great numbers, when a favorable juncture offered. To prevent this, the houſe reſolved to paſs an act, to exclude for ever all, who had not ſat ſince the King's trial, unleſs they gave the houſe intire ſatisfaction. At the ſame time, they appointed a commitee to examine ſuch as ſhould offer themſelves. This commitee did not ſcruple to receive thoſe who were Independents, and found reaſon to reject their enemies. This was indeed an effectual means to prevent diviſions in the houſe, becauſe all the members were of one party: but it occaſioned an inconvenience, which required other meaſures. The parliament had ſo few members, that they ſaw it was ridiculous to ſtile themſelves the Repreſentative of the Common-wealth. Indeed, the vacant ſeats might be ſupplied by new elections, but the houſe was unwilling to run that riſque, their party not being yet ſo numerous, as to expect new members of their own principles. The houſe therefore reſolved, in order to inlarge their authority by a greater number of members, to admit all who had ſat in the preſent parliament, provided they would ſign an inſtrument, called the Ingagement, where-

They are admited, on ſigning an ingagement. Ludlow, Vol. I. p. 292. Whitelock, p. 383.

by "they rejected all conceſſions made by the King "in the treaty of Newport; approved of all the "proceedings againſt him; and ingaged themſelves "to be true and faithful to the common-wealth, as "eſtabliſhed without King or houſe of lords." This ingagement excluded all the Royaliſts, and the Preſbyterians, who were the ſtricteſt obſervers of the covenant. However, a conſiderable number of the latter ſigned, and ſat in the houſe, either not being ſo ſcrupulous as their brethren, or with a view of recovering ſome influence in the parliament. But thoſe, who were moſt incenſed againſt the Independents, were excluded by the commitee. Edmond Ludlow, a member of the commitee, ingenuouſly owns, in his Memoirs, that an expedient was found to reject thoſe, from whom it was believed there was any danger (1).

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Many Preſbyterians ſign it. Clarendon.

Ludlow, Vol. I. p. 292.

The Prince of Wales, receiving at the Hague the melancholy news of the tragical death of his father, immediately aſſumed the title of King, being then eighteen years old. Within two or three days, the States-general, the ſtates of Holland, and the miniſters of the Hague (2), paid him their compliments of condolence. He ordered thoſe of his father's council, who attended him, to be ſworn of his privy-council, adding only one perſon. He had no ſooner formed his council, than he received a letter from the Queen, his mother, who, after expreſſing her extreme affliction, adviſed him to come to France, and eſtabliſh no council 'till ſhe had a conference with him, but her advice was too late. Probably, the Queen intended to govern her ſon, as ſhe had done his father, tho' the new King's power was inſignificant. His circumſtances were deplorable, not having ſufficient to maintain his houſhold, or any table but that of the Prince of Orange, his brother-in-law, and intirely ſubſiſting by his aſſiſtance, which could not be of a very long duration. The ſtates of Holland, perceiving the parliament would ſhortly ſollicit the King's removal out of their dominions, could have been extremely glad to be freed, by his voluntary retreat, from being obliged to deſire his departure. Some of the ſtates deputies were even inclined to prevent the deſires of the parliament. The King, hearing of this diſpoſition, wiſhed to retreat, but he knew not whither. He had met with an ill reception in France, while his father was alive, and had now no proſpect of better uſage. He was too well acquainted with the Queen-regent and cardinal Mazarine, to expect they would prefer his friendſhip to that of the new common-wealth of England: ſo that, tho' he ſhould retire into France, it could have been but for a very ſhort ſpace. Beſide he did not much deſire to be with the Queen, his mother, being ſenſible ſhe would hold him in a ſort of ſervitude, which he could neither bear nor prevent without a quarrel. Ireland ſeemed to promiſe him an honorable retreat, on account of the poſture of affairs in that kingdom, which it is neceſſary to explain.

The Prince of Wales aſſumes the title of King. Feb. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 215.

Forms a council. p. 216.

The Queen calls him into France.

His treatment cold in Holland.

He is at a loſs where to go.

He reſolves upon Ireland. Ibid.

In the year 1646, the marquis of Ormond, by the King's expreſs orders, concluded a peace with the Iriſh rebels, hoping to receive ſufficient forces to expel out of that iſland the Engliſh parliamentarians and the Scots. But, however advantageous this treaty was to the Catholics, the Pope's nuncio did not think proper to conſent to it. His pretenſe was, that it did not afford the Catholics ſufficient advantages, nor ſecurity. But the truth is, by this peace he would have loſt all his credit, ſince the marquis was to be owned by the Iriſh as governor. He

The ſtate of Ireland. Ruſhworth, Vol. VI. p. 401, 444. Phillips. Bates. R. Coke.

(1) The preſent powers, to ſupport their authority, ordered, that twenty-eight thouſand horſe and foot ſhould be kept up in England, and twelve thouſand in Ireland; and their pay to be 80,000 l. a month. Whitelock, p. 386.

(2) The body of the clergy, in a Latin oration, delivered by the chief preacher of the Hague, condoled the misfortune in terms of as much aſperity and deteſtation of the regicides, as unworthy to be called Chriſtians, as could be expreſſed. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 216. For this reaſon perhaps the States reſtrained their miniſters from inſiſting on ſtate affairs in the pulpit, and particularly on the proceedings of England, or other kingdoms. Whitelock, p. 392.

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therefore caballed ſo ſucceſsfully among the people, that they not only deſerted the marquis, but likewiſe obliged him by their inſults to retire to Dublin, deſtitute of all neceſſaries to defend that capital, which they were preparing to beſiege. In this extremity, he rather choſe to ſurrender Dublin and Drogheda to the parliament, than let them fall into the hands of the rebels. He therefore capitulated with the parliament, and delivered both theſe places to colonel Jones, who took poſſeſſion June the ſeventeenth, 1647. After this the marquis retired into England, where he was often permited to viſit the King, then the army's priſoner, 'till at length he was forced to paſs into France.

Cox, Pt I. p. 193. Appendix, p. 137. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 74, &c.

After the marquis left Ireland, the nuncio exerciſed a tyranny, which became intolerable to the Iriſh. They therefore acquainted the Queen and Prince, then at Paris, that they were inclined to ſhake off the nuncio's yoke, and, if the marquis of Ormond were ſent to them with a ſupply of arms and ammunition, they would place him at the head of an army capable of driving all the King's enemies out of the iſland. The nuncio, being informed of this plot, excommunicated the authors, but, for once, he proved the weakeſt. He was abandoned by all his adherents, and even conſtrained to beg, as a favor, leave to withdraw.

The marquis of Ormond long waited at Paris for the performance of the cardinal's promiſe, to ſupply him with money, arms and ammunition. But perceiving, at laſt, he was only amuſed, he returned without any aſſiſtance to Ireland, where he arrived, the begining of October, 1648. Three months after, he entered into a new treaty with the grand council of the Iriſh aſſembled at Kilkenny (1). At this time the proceſs was forming in England againſt the King. But the foreſaid peace was not general. Owen Roe O Neale, who commanded in Ulſter, rejected it, pretending it was not ſufficiently advantageous to the Catholic religion. Much time was ſpent to gain him, but to no purpoſe. At laſt the marquis of Ormond, to take the opportunity of making progreſs in Ireland, while the parliament was erecting their new common-wealth, reſolved, without any farther regarding O Neale, to act ſingly, with an army which was at the council of Kilkenny's diſpoſal. He therefore put himſelf at the head of this army, and, marching towards Dublin, took Dundalk, Newry, Trim, Drogheda, and ſome other towns and caſtles, which facilitated his intended ſiege of Dublin. On the other hand, Prince Rupert, the King's admiral, being purſued by the parliament's fleet, put into Kinſale, where he was ſafe, and in a condition to forward the marquis of Ormond's deſigns. This ſituation of affairs made the King judge, that Ireland was a proper retreat, where, at the head of an army, he might become maſter of Dublin, and then of the whole iſland. After which he hoped, with his Iriſh ſuccors and friends in England, to recover his throne. But, upon news from Scotland, he ſuſpended his reſolution of going into Ireland. And this it is neceſſary to deſcribe.

Ruſhworth, Vol. VII. p. 1297, 1312. Borlaſe, p. 197, &c. Bates. Ludlow. Whitelock. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 232. p. 216. Bates. Borlaſe, p. 213, &c.

Since Cromwell's expedition into that kingdom, after the duke of Hamilton's defeat, there was an intire change in the poſture of affairs. The marquis of Argyle, with all the rigid covenanters who oppoſed the war againſt England, had recovered the advantage they had loſt. Thoſe, who had been concerned in the duke of Hamilton's ingagement, were by the parliament declared incapable of all imployments, and excommunicated by the kirk: ſo that they were conſidered as enemies to God and the ſtate. Among theſe were William, earl of Lanerick, duke Hamilton's brother, the earl of Lauderdale, and many others, who formed a faction I ſhall call Hamiltonian, and which was intirely cruſhed. Scotland by this revolution continued to be united with England, while the Engliſh parliament remained Preſbyterian, that is, to the ſixth of December, 1648.

Affairs of Scotland. p. 218. Burnet's Mem. p. 348, &c. Whitelock.

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The revolution in England, upon the army's expelling the Preſbyterian members out of the parliament, to leave only Independents, altered the intereſts of Scotland. The Independents mortally deteſted the Scots, becauſe of their attachment to the covenant; and theſe again conſidered the Independents as enemies, no leſs formidable than the Royaliſts. This might have ſunk Argyle's credit, which partly ſubſiſted upon his friendſhip with Cromwell and Vane, the chiefs of the Independents. But the Scots confided in him, becauſe in religion he was an approved Preſbyterian, tho' in politics he inclined to the republican ſcheme. The parliament no ſooner erected a court of juſtice for the King's trial, than the Scots were extremely imbaraſſed. To permit the Independents to continue maſters of England, after the King's death, muſt neceſſarily prove highly diſadvantageous to them. They foreſaw that ſuch a parliament would diſregard Scotland, and inevitably ruin the covenant between the two kingdoms, which it was of the greateſt importance for the Scots to maintain, becauſe the Preſbyterians might poſſibly one day regain the ground they had loſt. But, on the other hand, there was a manifeſt danger in their taking up arms for the King. Their late loſs rendered them ſcarce able to raiſe another army; and, if this had been done, they could not have ſaved the King's life. They therefore determined to demonſtrate to the Engliſh and all Europe, that they utterly diſapproved the proceedings of the parliament, which was all they could do on the preſent occaſion.

Upon this reſolution, commiſſioners were ſent to London, where they arrived, the beginning of January, 1648, and preſented a memorial, repreſenting reaſons to divert them from their deſign of trying the King. But this memorial proved ineffectual. At laſt, the King having been twice brought before the high-court of juſtice, they gave in their proteſtation, in which they reminded them, "That they had, near three weeks before, "repreſented to them, what indeavors had been "uſed for taking away the King's life, and for "the change of the fundamental government of "the kingdom, and introducing a ſinful and ungodly toleration in matters of religion; and that "therein they had expreſſed their thoughts, and "fears, of the dangerous conſequences that might "follow thereupon; and that they had alſo earneſtly "preſſed, that there might be no farther proceeding againſt his Majeſty's perſon, which would "certainly continue the great diſtractions of the "kingdom, and involve them in many evils, "troubles and confuſions; but that by the free "counſels of both houſes of parliament in England, and with the advice and conſent of the parliament of Scotland, ſuch courſe might be taken, "in relation to the King, as might be for the "good and happineſs of both kingdoms; both "having an unqueſtionable and undeniable right "in his perſon as King of both; which duly conſidered, they had reaſon to hope, that it would "have given a ſtop to all farther proceedings "againſt his Majeſty's perſon. But now underſtanding, that after the impriſonment and excluſion of diverſe members of the houſe of com-

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 218.

Proteſtation of the Scots. p. 220. Whitelock, p. 370.

(1) This treaty is to be found in Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 145. and was very advantageous to the Roman Catholics. Rapin.

"mons,

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" mons, and without, and againſt the conſent of " the houſe of peers, by a ſingle act of their " own, and theirs alone, power was given to cer- " tain perſons of their own members of the army, " and ſome others, to proceed againſt his Majeſty's " perſon, in order whereunto he had been brought " before that extraordinary new court; they did " therefore in the name of the parliament of Scot- " land, for their vindication from falſe aſperſions " and calumnies, declare, That tho' they were not " ſatisfied with his Majeſty's late conceſſions in the " treaty at Newport, in the iſle of Wight, eſpe- " cially in the matters of religion, and were re- " ſolved not to crave his reſtoration to his govern- " ment, before ſatisfaction ſhould be given by him " to that kingdom; yet they did all unanimouſly " with one voice, not one member excepted, diſ- " claim the leaſt knowledge of, or occaſion to the " late proceedings of the army here againſt the " King; and did ſincerely profeſs, that it would " be a great grief to their hearts, and lie heavy " upon their ſpirits, if they ſhould ſee the truſting " his Majeſty's perſon to the two houſes of the " parliament of England, to be made uſe of to " his ruin, contrary to the declared intentions of " the kingdom of Scotland, and ſolemn profeſſions " of the kingdom of England: and to the end " that it might be manifeſt to the world, how much " they did abominate and deteſt ſo horrid a deſign " againſt his Majeſty's perſon, they did, in the " name of the parliament and kingdom of Scot- " land, declare their diſſent from the ſaid proceed- " ings, and the taking away his Majeſty's life; " proteſting, that as they were altogether free from " the ſame, ſo they might be free from all the miſe- " ries, evil conſequences, and calamities, that might " follow thereupon to the diſtracted kingdoms."

The parliament's anſwer. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 221.

The parliament anſwered this proteſtation, but after the King's death, ſaying, " They had " heretofore told them, what power this nation " had in the fundamentals of government: That if " Scotland had not the ſame power and liberty, as " they went not about to confine them, ſo they " would not be limited by them; but leaving them " to act in theirs as they ſhould ſee cauſe, they re- " ſolved to maintain their own liberties, as God " ſhould inable them. And as they were very far " from impoſing upon them, ſo they ſhould not wil- " lingly ſuffer impoſitions from them, while God " gave them ſtrength or lives to oppoſe them." They ſaid, " The anſwer they made to their firſt " and ſecond letter was, that after a long and ſe- " rious deliberation of their own intrinſical power " and truſt (derived to them by the providence of " God, through the delegation of the people) " and upon the like conſiderations, of what them- " ſelves and the whole nation had ſuffered, from " the miſgovernment and tyranny of that King, " both in peace and by the wars; and conſidering, " how fruitleſs and full of danger and prejudice " the many addreſſes to him for peace had been, " and being conſcious how much they had pro- " voked and tempted God, by the neglect of the " impartial execution of juſtice, in relation to the " innocent blood ſpilt, and miſchief done, in the " late wars, they had proceeded in ſuch a courſe " of juſtice againſt that man of blood, as they " doubted not the juſt God (who is no reſpecter " of perſons) did approve, and would countenance " with his bleſſings upon the nation; and tho' per- " haps they might meet with many difficulties, be- " fore their liberties and peace were ſetled, yet " they hoped they ſhould be preſerved from con- " fuſion, by the good will of him who dwelled in " the buſh, which burned and was not conſumed; " and that the courſe they had taken with the late " King, and meaned to follow towards others, the " capital enemies of their peace, was, they hoped, " that which would be for the good and happineſs " of both nations; of which, if that of Scotland " would think to make uſe, and vindicate their " own liberty and freedom (which lay before " them, if they gave them not away) they would " be ready to give them all neighborly and " friendly aſſiſtance, in the eſtabliſhing thereof; " and deſired them to take it into their moſt ſe- " rious conſideration, before they eſpouſed that " quarrel, which could bring them no other ad- " vantage, than the intailing upon them and their " poſterities a laſting war, with all the miſeries " which attended it, and ſlavery under a tyrant " and his iſſue."

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Soon after, the Scotiſh commiſſioners were recalled. But, juſt after their departure, a reply in their name was preſented to the parliament, charging the ſiting members with unfaithfulneſs, violation of promiſes and oaths, and other things extremely offenſive. This was ſo reſented by the parliament, that they ordered them to be arreſted on the road, and taken into cuſtody, 'till it ſhould appear, whether they were avowed by their principals. But, the Scotiſh parliament juſtifying their conduct, and complaining that the law of nations was violated in their perſons, they were forthwith diſcharged.

Anſwer of the Scotiſh deputies. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 221. Whitelock, p. 384, 389. Phillips.

At ſuch a critical juncture, the Scots had only two ways to prevent a dangerous anarchy. They muſt either, with the Engliſh, alter their government into a common-wealth, or acknowledge the late King's eldeſt ſon for their Sovereign. But each of theſe ways had its difficulties. A republican government was directly oppoſite to their ancient conſtitution, both covenants, and the ſentiments of the people. Moreover, it did not appear that ſuch a change would be of any advantage to the nation. The ſecond way was alſo very perplexing, on account of Scotland's circumſtances for many years paſt. Had not James I and Charles I invaded their kingdom's privileges, by introducing the religion of England, contrary to the peoples inclinations: had not the diſputes between Charles I and the Scots produced a civil war: had not the treaty which put an end to that war, and reſtored to the Scots their ancient religion, been extorted from the King: had not the invincible diffidence of the Scots, as to Charles I. armed them to weaken his power in England, and diſable him to revoke his conceſſions to Scotland: had not the Scots ſworn two covenants, the one national and the other common, to ſupport Preſbyterianiſm: had theſe particulars, I ſay, never happened, the Scots might, nay, ought to have owned for Sovereign the next heir of the crown, purſuant to the immemorial cuſtom of Scotland. But, in recogniſing this new King, the maintenance of their laws, privileges, and religion was concerned. Herein lay the difficulty: becauſe a new King's acceſſion to the crown was no reaſon for their parting with things which had coſt them a ten years war. They knew Prince Charles, the late King's eldeſt ſon, held his father's principles, as to religion and civil government; and never had, nor at preſent entertained any about his perſon, who were not avowed enemies to their nation and religion. In receiving him therefore for King, without a previous contract, they ran the riſque of being re-plunged into their former condition under Charles I, who, they believed, by artifices, and at laſt by open violence, had reſolved to reduce the kirk of Scotland to an exact conformity with the church of England. If then it was, agreeably to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom, natural to own him for Sovereign, who was next heir to the crown, it was equally proper, in their preſent circumſtances, to conſult the preſervation of what they had

Difficulties' the Scots were under.

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had with ſo much difficulty recovered. Was it reaſonable for them to throw themſelves at the mercy of a young Prince, yet unknown to them, and render their peace and happineſs dependent on his ſole will, notwithſtanding their ſuſpicions of his having no more affection for them than his father? Nevertheleſs, his affairs being almoſt deſperate, they thought the offer of their crown would induce him to become a good Scot, and diſmiſs his Engliſh counſellors, who were improper for Scotland; in a word, would eſteem himſelf extremely happy to recover one of his kingdoms, and find himſelf in the condition of his anceſtors, before his grandfather's acceſſion to England. They reſolved therefore to recogniſe and proclaim him, but with reſtrictions, leaving them at liberty to capitulate with him. The proclamation was as follows:

Proclamation of Charles II in Scotland. Feb. 5. Phillips.

"The eſtates of parliament preſently (1) "convened in this ſecond ſeſſions of this tri-"ennial parliament, by virtue of an act of "the commitee of eſtates, who had power and "authority from the laſt parliament, for con-"vening the parliament; conſidering, that for-"aſmuch as the King's Majeſty, who lately "reigned, is, contrary to the diſſent and proteſta-"tion of this kingdom, removed by a violent "death; and that, by the Lord's bleſſing, there "is left unto us a righteous heir and lawful ſucceſſor, "Charles Prince of Scotland and Wales, now "King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland; "We, the eſtates of the parliament of the kingdom "of Scotland, do therefore moſt unanimouſly and "chearfully, in recognition and acknowlegment "of his juſt right, title and ſucceſſion to the "crown of theſe kingdoms, hereby proclaim and "declare to all the world, That the ſaid Lord and "Prince Charles is, by the providence of God, "and by the lawful right of undoubted ſucceſſion, "King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, "whom all the ſubjects of this kingdom are bound "humbly and faithfully to obey, maintain and "defend, according to the national covenant, and "the ſolemn league and covenant betwixt the two "kingdoms, with their lives and goods, againſt "all deadly enemies, as their only righteous So-"vereign Lord and King.

"And becauſe his Majeſty is bound by the law "of God, and the fundamental laws of this king-"dom, to rule in righteouſneſs and equity, to "the honor of God, the good of religion, and "the wealth of his people: It is hereby declared, "That, before he be admited to the exerciſe of "his royal power, he ſhall give ſatisfaction to the "kingdom, in thoſe things that concern the ſe-"curity of religion, the unity betwixt the king-"doms, and the good and peace of this kingdom, "according to the national covenant, and the ſo-"lemn league and covenant, for which end we are "reſolved, with all poſſible expedition, to make "our humble and earneſt addreſſes to his Majeſty. "For the teſtification of all which, We, the par-"liament of the kingdom of Scotland, publiſh "this our acknowlegment of his juſt rights, title, "and ſucceſſion to the crown of theſe kingdoms, "at the market-croſs at Edinburgh, with all uſual "ſolemnities in like caſes, and ordain his royal "name, portrait, and ſeal, to be uſed in the pub-"lic writings and judicatories of this kingdom, "and in the mint-houſe, as was uſually done to "his royal predeceſſors, and command this act to "be proclaimed at the market-croſſes of the Royal "burghs, and to be printed, that none may pretend "ignorance."

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The proclamation being publiſhed, the council diſpatched ſir Joſeph Douglas, to inform the King of it; and the States ſent commiſſioners (2), only to acquaint him with what had been done in his favor, but without any order or inſtruction to treat with him. Before the terms, on which he was to be inveſted with the royal authority, were propoſed to him, it was requiſite to know, if he would accept the crown upon conditions yet unknown, but eaſy to be conjectured (3). The commiſſioners found the King at the Hague, where at the ſame time arrived, in another ſhip, the earls of Lanerick and Lauderdale, and ſome time after, the earl of Montroſe from France. The late King, upon his retreat to the Scotiſh army, having ordered Montroſe to lay down his arms, he paſſed into Germany, and ſerved in the Imperial army. He afterwards went to France, where the Queen and Prince of Wales received him quite otherwiſe than he expected, after his ſignal ſervices in Scotland. This coldneſs was occaſioned by his arrival in France, at the very juncture the Queen was indeavoring to perſuade the King, her huſband, to throw himſelf upon the Preſbyterians, and grant all their demands, believing it to be his only refuge. This was therefore an improper ſeaſon to careſs a man, who was extremely odious in Scotland. He had been very ſucceſsful in the King's ſervice, but had ſo barbarouſly uſed his advantages, that he was degraded by the parliament, and excommunicated by the kirk; ſo that in Scotland he was accounted an enemy to the nation, and to Preſbyterianiſm. His reſidence in France being very diſagreeable, he no ſooner heard of the death of Charles I, than he went to the Hague, to offer his ſervice to the new King. He had, in his retinue, ſome Scotch lords and gentlemen attached to his fortune.

The King hears of it by an expreſs. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 217. Whitelock. Heath.

The earls of Lanerick, Lauderdale, and marquis of Montroſe, arrive at the Hague. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 217, 223, 224.

The King very coldly received the news of his being proclaimed, on account of the reſtriction in the proclamation, However there was nothing ſtrange in it, ſince the Scots only required what had been demanded of Charles I purſuant to their covenant, and that of the two kingdoms. But it ſeems, the King and his council thought the Scots had no right to inſiſt on ſuch conditions. That is to ſay properly, the Scots in acknowleging his Majeſty, ought to own the injuſtice of their covenants, and renounce all their pretenſions. They apprehended it to be an irreconcilable contradiction, That the Scots ſhould recogniſe the King's undoubted right, and yet deſire a capitulation with him. In a word, they pretended the tranſactions of the laſt ten or twelve years ought to be wholly buried in oblivion. Charles I, Charles II, and their counſellors, were prepoſſeſſed with an opinion which frequently deceived them, viz. that there was no mean between an abſolute attachment and an intire enmity to the King. The lord Clarendon's Hiſtory abounds with examples of this prepoſſeſſion. But, to confine myſelf to the preſent occaſion, this illuſtrious hiſtorian, in repreſenting the Scots as fired with a juſt indignation againſt the Engliſh parliament, for the King's death, infers, that Scotland would have accepted the Prince, his ſon, for ſucceſſor without any condition: and, as this did not happen, he imputes it to the intrigues and credit of the marquis of Argyle. He tells us, The marquis could have wiſhed to prevent the King's

News of the proclamation coldly received by the King.

Remark on a paſſage in Clarendon's Hiſtory.

(1) Preſently, in the Scotiſh papers, ſignifies Now or At preſent.
(2) The commiſſioners of the kirk likewiſe ſent four miniſters. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 217.
(3) The kirk required, that he ſhould ſign the covenant, ſubmit to their cenſure, renounce the ſins of his father's houſe, and the iniquity of his mother. Ibid. p. 222.

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being proclaimed; but, not daring to oppoſe the general ſentiment of the kingdom, he was obliged to give his conſent. According to this author, the marquis was the ſole cauſe of the reſtriction in the proclamation: which ſuppoſes the proclamation to have been the general ſenſe of the people, and the reſtriction the effect of Argyle's intrigues. But if this reſtriction agreed with the intereſts and ſentiments of the governing party, as I have ſhewn, why is it ſolely aſcribed to the marquis? Was it impoſſible for the Scotiſh nation to recogniſe King Charles II, without intirely confiding in him? But the Scots only acted with him as they had done with his father, as appears from the covenant itſelf, wherein they diſcovered an extreme diſtruſt of the late King, even when they ingaged to defend his perſon and rights. There was therefore nothing new or extraordinary in the reſtriction; it was a natural conſequence of the troubles begun in 1637.

The Scots at the Hague divided. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. p. 222, 224,

However this be, Charles thought little regard was due to what had been hitherto done for him in Scotland. He perceived that, in the intended capitulation, things would be required which he had determined not to grant, as the confirmation of the covenant and Preſbyterianiſm. He deſired however to juſtify his averſion to Scotland, by the advice and approbation of the Scotiſh lords now with him at the Hague. To this end, he would have them appear together before his council, and, after being conſulted, diſſuade him from paſſing into Scotland, and the council thereupon form their reſolution. The marquis of Montroſe liked this proceeding; but the earls of Lauderdale and Lanerick (the latter of whom aſſumed the title of duke of Hamilton, on hearing at the Hague of the tragical death of his brother) would not agree to it. They judged it too nice a point, for Scotiſh lords to appear before an Engliſh council. This had occaſioned the earl of Traquaire's ruin. On the other hand, they were ſo incenſed againſt the marquis of Montroſe, that they would have no concern with him. The King, finding they could not be brought together to conſult on this ſubject, declared however againſt going into Scotland, and his mind was ſtill intent upon Ireland. Thus, upon a bare report, that Scotland would not accept him without conditions, he reſolved to refuſe the crown of that kingdom; nay, he commiſſioned the marquis of Montroſe to raiſe forces in Germany, and invade Scotland. So, tho' he thankfully received the propoſal made him by the Scots, he ordered a war to be levied on them, as on enemies, becauſe they would not acknowlege him for their King, without a previous ingagement. Nothing more clearly demonſtrates the neceſſity of the precautions of the Scots, tho' ſome hiſtorians are pleaſed to repreſent them as very unjuſt.

p. 232, 233.

The King againſt going to Scotland. p. 233. Ludlow.

He commiſſions the marquis of Montroſe to invade Scotland. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 269. Warwick.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 228.

The King could reſide no longer in Holland, where he was told, the States dreaded a rupture with the new common-wealth of England, which rendered his reſidence there very diſagreeable. Moreover, they had advice that the parliament would ſend an agent, to propoſe a ſtrict alliance between the two common-wealths; which affair was not to be negociated while the King continued at the Hague. This agent, named Doriſlaus, did indeed arrive, before the King's departure. But the very evening he came, as he ſat at ſupper in his inn, with ſome other perſons, ſix Scots of the marquis of Montroſe's retinue entered the room, and, dragging him from the table, murdered him (1). The aſſaſſins were neither arreſted, nor immediately purſued; and, tho' afterwards pains were taken to apprehend them, the States diſcovered on that occaſion a great regard for the King, which offended the parliament. Nevertheleſs, the King perceived, after this action, he could not ſtay at the Hague; and the Prince of Orange informed him, that he would be deſired to depart. He therefore ſent his heavy baggage and ſome of his domeſtics to Ireland, reſolving to follow them, after he had made a viſit to his mother in France. But, not being ready, he prevented the ungrateful compliment of the States, by preſenting to them in perſon a memorial of the ſituation of his affairs, and aſked their advice, whether he ſhould go for Ireland or Scotland. The States, finding he was about to depart, judged it inconvenient to preſs him, whereby he gained time to be prepared.

The English agent murdered at the Hague, May 3 Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 228, 229. Ludlow. Whitelock.

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The King prepares for Ireland.

Preſents a memorial to the States. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 230.

While the King was deliberating at the Hague, on the propoſal from Scotland, the States of that nation were ſetling the conditions on which he was to be received, not doubting his readineſs to accept the offered crown. But he had friends in Scotland, who, being better informed of his ſentiments, reſolved to diſturb the public deliberations by an inſurrection, hoping good ſucceſs would procure the King to be admited without any terms. To this end Middleton, Monroe, the Gordons and others drew together ſome forces in the North, and ſeized the town of Inverneſs. But the parliament, having previous intelligence of their intent, had already raiſed forces, which directly marched to the North, under Straughan and Kerr, and diſperſed the mutineers, before they could aſſemble all their forces.

Inſurrection in Scotland. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 222.

Ibid. Whitelock. p. 386. Heath. Phillips.

Tho' the King had taken a firm reſolution to go to Ireland, it was impoſſible to put it in execution, on account of the turn of affairs in that iſland. After the parliament became maſter of Dublin, it had been frequently moved in the houſe, to ſend an able re-inforcement to Ireland: but the interfering intereſts of the Preſbyterians and Independents prevented their coming to any reſolution. The former would have Sir William Waller ſent to command there, and the latter were as ſtrenuous for major-general Lambert. The diviſion between the parliament and army, which happened ſoon after, brought new obſtacles to this affair. At laſt, the revolt of Wales, inſurrections in other places, and preparations of the Scots to invade England baniſhed all thoughts of Ireland. If, at this juncture, the Iriſh had been united together, and joined the marquis of Ormond, they might have expelled the parliament's forces, and taken poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom. But their diviſions prevented their improving ſo fair an opportunity. It was not, as I obſerved, 'till the end of the year 1648, that they entered into a treaty with the marquis of Ormond; and O Neale's oppoſition hindered the marquis from taking the field 'till April, 1649, when the King was dead, and the Engliſh government changed into a common-wealth.

State of Ireland. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 249. Phillips.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 247.

The union of the Iriſh with the Royaliſts, marquis of Ormond's progreſs, and extreme weakneſs of the parliament's party in that iſland, at laſt, brought the houſe to reſolve on ſending thither a powerful army, with all expedition. Waller, being a Preſbyterian, was no longer thought a proper general to ſerve the parliament; and Lambert, hitherto ſupported by Cromwell, was now ſupplanted by him. Cromwell, believing the government of Ireland to be a poſt not unworthy of himſelf, ſo artfully

Cromwell made gover. nor there. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 249. Whitelock.

(1) He was doctor of the civil law, born at Delft in Holland, and educated at Leyden, but afterwards lived long in London, having been admited into Greſham-college, as a profeſſor in one of the chairs indowed for public lectures in that ſociety; and had been, from the begining of the troubles, judge-advocate in the earl of Eſſex's army. Clarendon ſays, they were Scots, and the marquis of Montroſe's dependents, who murdered him. Vol. III. p. 229. But Whitelock affirms, they were twelve Engliſh Cavaliers, who ſtabbed him in ſeveral places, and cut his throat, one of them ſaying on the occaſion, "Thus dies one of the "King's judges." Whitelock, p. 401. According to Ludlow they were Engliſh and Scots. Vol. I. p. 291.

managed,

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managed, that he was unanimouſly choſen lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. But, before his troops could be in readineſs, he had a difficulty to conquer, which might have produced dangerous effects.

The Levellers riſe in arms. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 280. Phillips. Heath. p. 233. Whitelock. p. 401, 402. May 15.

Beſide the Cavaliers and Preſbyterians, the parliament had other enemies, even in the army, who only wanted a pretenſe to declare. Theſe were the Levellers, diſcontented becauſe, after they had been imployed as inſtruments to ruin the Preſbyterian parliament, they were diſregarded, and even ſtiled ſeditious and rebels. On Cromwell's being appointed commander in Ireland they aſſembled, under the pretenſe of inquiring what troops were proper to ſerve in that iſland (1). With this view they met at Burford to the number of five thouſand, pretending Cromwell promiſed, that no part of the army ſhould approach within ten miles. But Reynolds, by general Fairfax's order, unexpectedly attacked them with five or ſix thouſand men, and intirely defeated them. Nine hundred horſe and four hundred foot were ſent priſoners to London, and ſome of them put to death. Others, by Cromwell's mediation, received a pardon. This affair being ſo happily ended, the army was prepared which Cromwell deſigned to lead into Ireland.

Ormond unſucceſsful in Ireland. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 248. Bates. Phillips. Ludlow.

During theſe preparations, the marquis of Ormond approached Dublin, to beſiege it. Upon this, Cromwell forthwith ſent about three thouſand men to re-inforce the gariſon. In the interim, believing he could not arrive in time to ſave the city, he determined to land his army in Munſter, where he hoped to find no obſtacle, ſince the lord Inchiquin, preſident of that province, was gone with his Engliſh troops to re-inforce the marquis of Ormond's army. But the marquis, appriſed of his deſign, immediately diſpatched the lord Inchiquin with his forces to hinder his landing, by which he conſiderably weakened his army. However he proceeded on his march, and began the blocade of Dublin, about the middle of June. He ſtaid ſome time at Finglaſs, two miles from Dublin, in hopes of freſh troops, and at laſt, paſſing the river, he poſted himſelf at Rathmines, to beſiege it in form. While he remained in this camp, the ſuccors ſent by Cromwell arrived in Dublin. A few days after, the marquis reſolved to repair an old caſtle, the ſituation whereof was proper to prevent any freſh relief from entering the city: But colonel Jones the governor, who from a lawyer became an able officer, foreſeeing theſe fortifications might greatly annoy him, reſolved to put a ſtop to their being compleated. With this view, puting the gariſon under arms in the night, at break of day he made a ſally, marched directly to the caſtle, and took it ſword in hand. Upon this happy ſucceſs, he advanced towards the enemy's camp. He met in his way a body of horſe, which ſtopped him ſome time. But, diſperſing of this party, he ſo terrified the Iriſh army, that they fled in diſorder without ſtriking a blow. The marquis of Ormond was obliged to follow them, to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies. After this defeat he was forced to retreat at ſome diſtance, and wait for the ſuccors he expected.

He beſieges Dublin.

Is defeated, Aug. 2. Ludlow.

Cromwell lands at Dublin. Phillips. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 251. Bates. Ludlow.

Cromwell, hearing of this ſucceſs, while he was imbarking his army, altered his reſolution, and, inſtead of going to Munſter, ſailed for Dublin, where he ſafely arrived, about the middle of Auguſt. The marquis of Ormond, upon the news of Cromwell's arrival, retired ſtill farther from Dublin, and left in Drogheda a numerous gariſon (2), under the command of Sir Arthur Aſton, a famous officer, who had been governor of Reading, and afterwards of Oxford. About this time Londonderry, the principal city in the north of Ireland, which was beſieged by the King's forces, received relief by a ſally made by Sir Richard Coot, much in the manner Dublin was relieved by Jones.

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What has been ſaid manifeſtly ſhews the King could not venture into Ireland, without any ſuccors to carry thither but his perſon, while Cromwell was aſſembling his army on the coaſt, and ſtill leſs after Ormond's defeat. But as, on the other hand, he met with cold treatment in France, where, ſince his arrival, the court made no offers to ſerve him, he reſolved to repair to the iſle of Jerſey, the only place where he could hope for a favorable reception (3). He therefore retreated to that iſle with his brother the duke of York, and his ſmall court, where he remained ſome months (4).

The King quits his deſign of going to Ireland. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 251, 264. Retires to Jerſey, Sept. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 252, 258. Phillips.

The commotions cauſed by the King's friends in Scotland being appeaſed, the commitee of eſtates aſſembled to ſetle the conditions to be demanded of the King. It appears the Scots were ignorant of the King's ſentiments, ſince they ſtill deliberated on that ſubject, which doubtleſs they would not have done, had they been informed of his reſolution. In all appearance, as the eſtates had not yet expreſly invited him over to receive the crown, he thought he was not obliged to acquaint them with his ſentiments; and, if he had returned an anſwer to the envoys of the eſtates and council, it was too general to draw any inference from it. However this be, the commitee of eſtates, learning the King was in Jerſey, ſent mr. George Windram to acquaint him, they deſired to treat with him about his eſtabliſhment in Scotland: but the iſle of Jerſey being neither ſafe nor commodious, he was requeſted to name ſome town in the Low Countries, to receive their commiſſioners. To this end it was required, as a neceſſary preliminary to the negociation, that he ſhould acknowlege the authority of the preſent parliament, and eſpecially of the two laſt ſeſſions. Windram left Edinburgh the twenty fifth of September, but did not reach the King before the latter end of October, by reaſon of contrary winds: ſo that the King was fully informed of what had happened in Ireland, where Cromwell, having taken Drogheda by aſſault, had put the gariſon to the ſword, and continued his progreſs with amazing rapidity. Upon this news, the King fixed his eyes more intently on Scotland than before. He was ſenſible he ſhould be welcome neither to France nor Holland. He was intirely excluded from Ireland, nor could Jerſey much longer afford him ſubſiſtence. Moreover he was told, the parliament had given orders for a fleet to reduce that iſland, which was in a defenſeleſs condition. Scotland was therefore the only place where he could ſubſiſt in ſafety. For this reaſon he gave Windram a gracious reception, and appointed Breda for receiving the Scotiſh commiſſioners, promiſing to be there himſelf the fifteenth of the following March. However it was not without ſome reluctance that he came to this reſolution. Beſide his little affection for the Scots, whom he believed to be the principal authors of his father's misfortunes,

Windram ſent to him from Scotland. Phillips. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 265, 266. Bates. Burnet's Hiſt. p. 51. Phillips.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 264, 276. Phillips. Bates.

The King appoints Breda, for treating with the Scotiſh commiſſioners. Phillips. p. 593. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 266. Burnet.

(1) Or rather on the parliament's voting, That eleven regiments, chiefly of Levellers, ſhould be choſen by lot for the ſervice of Ireland. Heath, p. 233.

(2) Of three thouſand foot and two or three troops of horſe. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 251.

(3) Where he had been lately proclaimed King by ſir George Carteret the governor. Whitelock, p. 386.

(4) This year, March 10, upon information that the Turkiſh alcoran was printing in England, it was ordered to be ſuppreſſed. ——May 8, the Queen of Bohemia's penſion of twelve thouſand pounds was ſuſpended. —— June 7, at an entertainment in the city, the earl of Pembroke, refuſing to ſit above mr. Whitelock, ſenior commiſſioner of the great-ſeal, ſaid, "As much "honor belongs to that place under a common-wealth, as under a King." Whitelock, p. 390, 400, 406.

not

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not one counſellor adviſed him to throw himſelf into their hands, tho' it was impoſſible to direct him to another retreat. So that it was pure neceſſity, which cauſed him to reſolve upon liſtening to the propoſals of the Scots. That this was his ſole motive can ſcarce be doubted, if it be conſidered that, on the thirtieth of January, 1649, he wrote to the marquis of Montroſe, that the Scots had ſent Windram to him, and their commiſſioners would be at Breda, in March, to treat with him. He therefore preſſed him to forward his preparations for invading Scotland, before the ſetlement of this affair, in order if poſſible, and it ſhould pleaſe God to proſper his arms, to prevent the concluſion thereof (1).

His letter to Montroſe to haſten his preparations againſt Scotland. Phillips, p. 593. Bates. Burnet, p. 52. Warwick.

Windram being returned with his Majeſty's anſwer, the commitee of eſtates labored inceſſantly to diſpatch the propoſitions to be ſent to the King. The draught was laid before the parliament, and, after ſome amendments, ordered to be ſhewn to the general aſſembly of the kirk, where it was approved. Hence it is manifeſt, theſe propoſitions were ſetled with common conſent, ſeeing they had the concurrence of both parliament and kirk, tho' ſome have been pleaſed to aſcribe them ſolely to the marquis of Argyle, as if they agreed more with his intereſt than that of the kingdom. After this, the parliament and general aſſembly nominated commiſſioners to carry them to the King. Theſe commiſſioners, arriving at Breda at the time appointed, preſented to him the terms, on which the Scots would admit him to exerciſe the regal authority. They contained the four following articles:

Heath.

Terms preſented to the King by the Scotiſh commiſſioners. Phillips, p. 595. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 267. Bates. Whitelock.

I. That all who have been, and remain excommunicate by the kirk of Scotland, may be debared from having any acceſs to court.

II. That he would be pleaſed to declare, that he would, by ſolemn oath under his hand and ſeal, ratify the national covenant of Scotland, and the ſolemn league and covenant of Scotland, England and Ireland; and that he would proſecute the ends thereof in his royal ſtation.

III. That he would confirm and approve all acts of parliament, injoining the ſolemn league and covenant, and eſtabliſhing Preſbyterian government, the directory of worſhip, confeſſion of faith and catechiſm in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are now approved by the general aſſembly of the kirk, and by the parliament of that kingdom; and that he would give his royal aſſent to the acts of parliament injoining the ſame in the reſt of his dominions, and that he would obſerve the ſame in his own practiſe and family, and never oppoſe it, or indeavor any change thereof.

IV. That he would conſent that all civil matters might be determined by the preſent and ſubſequent parliaments of the kingdom of Scotland, all eccleſiaſtical matters by the inſuing general aſſemblies of the kirk, as was formerly condeſcended and agreed to by his late father.

Upon hearing theſe articles, the King demanded, whether the papers they had put into his hands contained all their demands? Whether they were impowered to recede from any particular condition, or to treat with him about the aſſiſtance of Scotland, to place him on the Engliſh throne? They replied, their commiſſion was limited to the offering of theſe propoſitions, and to receive either his conſent or refuſal.

Remarks on theſe propoſitions.

Theſe terms, which the Scots believed to be very juſt, lawful, and abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of their country, appeared to the King extremely hard and unreaſonable. This contrariety will not ſeem ſtrange, if it be conſidered that the King and the Scots reaſoned on different principles, and with contrary views: and this it will not be amiſs to explain.

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The Scots were perſuaded James VI had oppreſſed them in eſtabliſhing Epiſcopacy in Scotland, which had been aboliſhed by the reformation: that this had been done by addreſs, artifice, and force, while corrupt parliaments were imployed to inact new laws concerning religion, without the kirk's advice, in oppoſition to her will and expreſs declarations: that Charles I, by fraud ſupported with violence, had aſſumed a power of ordaining whatſoever he pleaſed in matters of religion, by virtue of an act ſuppoſed by him to have paſſed by a plurality of voices, tho' it was rejected: that by this pretended power he had not only reſtored biſhops to their revenues and government in the church, but alſo granted them a juriſdiction more extenſive than ever: that he had authoriſed a high commiſſion to ſupport this injuſtice, and intirely ſuppreſſed the general aſſemblies. In a word, that he had altered the Preſbyterian government, eſtabliſhed by the reformation, into a hierarchy, perfectly like that of the church of England; that he had likewiſe attempted to impoſe upon them a liturgy and canons, unknown to their anceſtors, and to bring the worſhip of the church of Scotland to an exact conformity with that of England: that the Scots for their own ſecurity, and the preſervation of their rights, ſo manifeſtly invaded, had judged it expedient to unite in a covenant, deſigned for the maintenance of the King's juſt rights, and the privileges of the people and kirk: that the King, not ſatisfied with his juſt rights, had twice made war upon his Scotiſh ſubjects, to ſupport his uſurped power, and render Scotland dependent on England: that this war had been concluded by a treaty, to which the King would not have conſented, had he not been conſtrained to it by the affairs of England: that after this treaty he came into Scotland, where he granted his ſubjects all their demands, and even the things he had before haughtily and obſtinately refuſed: that it was therefore to be ſuſpected he had only adapted himſelf to the times, 'till an opportunity offered to revoke his conceſſions: that it was no wonder the Scots ſhould harbor this ſuſpicion, ſince the King by the like conduct in England had deſtroyed all confidence in him: that it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to reduce him to ſuch a ſtate, as would effectually prevent his retracting: that to this purpoſe the Scots had entered into a ſolemn league with the Engliſh, as having the ſame common intereſt, and that the ſword had decided in behalf of the allies againſt the King: that, notwithſtanding this deciſion, the Scots had never any thoughts of withdrawing the allegiance due to the King, but only of procuring other ſecurity than his bare word: that the late King's tragical death had not changed the ſtate of affairs in Scotland, or brought them the ſo long deſired ſecurity: that they demanded no more of the new King, than they had a right to claim from his father: that their deſires were juſt, ſince they only expected to be maintained in the ſtate they injoyed, before the two laſt Kings had indeavored to alter the eſtabliſhed religion, according to their fancy, and the humor of their Engliſh counſellors: that they had run all riſques to reſtore themſelves to their former condition: that, God having given them good ſucceſs, they could ſee no ſufficient reaſon to deſiſt, and expoſe their tranquillity and religion to the caprices of a young

(1) The earl of Clarendon takes no notice of this letter from the King to the marquis of Montroſe; but Phillips, Bates, and others poſitively affirm it was writen. Rapin. —— The lord Clarendon owns, the King commiſſioned the marquis to raiſe a force together. Vol. III. p. 269. Vid. Warwick's Mem. p. 355.

Prince,

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Prince, who was known to retain the principles of his father and grandfather: that their propoſitions did not limit his prerogative as King of Scotland, but only reſtrained him from treading in the ſteps of the King his father: That, in offering him the crown of Scotland, they might lawfully require him to govern according to the true intereſt of that kingdom: that, if he apprehended theſe terms to be contrary to his intereſt, with reſpect to England, he was at liberty to reject them; but his intereſt, with regard to England, was not a valid motive to ingage the Scots to hazard their happineſs, in leaving him to govern at his pleaſure: that it was not yet fifty years ſince James the VI became King of England, and that as Charles I had by his miſmanagement loſt that crown, and Charles II was in no condition to recover it, he ought to think himſelf happy, that the Scots had offered him the crown of his ancient kingdom, on the very terms it had been injoyed by his predeceſſors for many ages; and that, by being a good Scotſman, he would be reſtored to the ſtate of his anceſtors, Kings of Scotland: that it was unreaſonable to permit perſons excommunicate, and conſpirators againſt their country, in attempting by violence to reſtore the late King, to approach his Majeſty with their pernicious counſels, tending to ſow diſcord between him and his ſubjects.

The King's reaſons and intereſts.

But the King reaſoned on other principles. The propoſal of the crown of Scotland was only regarded by him as a means of reſtoring him to the Engliſh throne; this was the principal object of his attention. He little valued to be King of Scotland, if he could not imploy the Scotiſh forces to procure him the crown of England. In the interim, his power was to be ſo limited, as to render it impoſſible to receive any advantage from Scotland to that purpoſe. Thoſe whom he eſteemed as his beſt friends, and who had labored with all their might to free his father and reſtore him to his rights, were to be diſmiſſed from his perſon and council; and yet theſe were the men he deſigned to make uſe of for the recovery of England. In accepting the crown of Scotland, he muſt forget his juſt pretenſions to England. He was to govern Scotland as his predeceſſors did, before their acceſſion to the Engliſh throne; that is to ſay, he was to look on his Engliſh friends with continual diffidence, and conſequently renounce all hope of a reſtoration in England. He was to ſwear to the national covenant made againſt the late King, to prevent for ever the introducing the church-government and worſhip of England into Scotland, which alone he believed to be lawful. He muſt ſwear to the covenant of the two kingdoms, the ſole intent of which was to ſupport Preſbyterianiſm, already eſtabliſhed in England, which was an infallible way to loſe all his friends. Laſtly, he was not only to approve and protect Preſbyterianiſm in both kingdoms, but likewiſe promiſe a ſincere and conſtant profeſſion of it himſelf. But this directly oppoſed his ſentiments and conſcience, ſince he ſcarce believed the Preſbyterians to be any part of the Chriſtian church.

The King diſguiſes his reſentment. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 267. Phillips. Burnet.

Hence it appears the intereſts of the King and the Scots were no leſs contrary, than during the life of Charles I, and that, as the ſame difficulties ſtill remained, they could only be ſurmounted by the arms or acquieſcence of one of the parties. The King was incapable of uſing force, and yet the conditions propoſed to him ſeemed ſo hard, that he would have at once rejected them, if he could have taken any other courſe. But his unhappy circumſtances not knowing where to ſubſiſt, or even to be ſecure, conſtrained him to diſſemble his reſentment, and to treat with the Scotiſh commiſſioners on terms he thought very unreaſonable. There were two articles he could not digeſt. The firſt was, his being obliged to ſwear to the covenant. He alleged the covenant was made for the ſubjects, but not for the Sovereign, ſince the taker ſwore obedience to the King, and it was abſurd to make him ſwear allegiance to himſelf. This objection would have been unanſwerable, had this been the only article of the covenant. But in others it was affirmed, the King was no leſs concerned than his ſubjects. The ſecond related to religion. He ſaid, he would conſent to the eſtabliſhment of Preſbytery in Scotland by act of parliament: but, as for his own perſon, it was unjuſt to oblige him to renounce the religion for which his father had died a martyr; however he would be contented with only three chaplains, to celebrate divine ſervice in his preſence after the manner of the church of England. But all he could ſay was to no purpoſe; the commiſſioners were not impowered to recede from any article. Thus had the Engliſh parliament offered to treat with his father; leaving him only at liberty to accept or reject their propoſals. But, tho' the King ſaw it was in vain to diſpute on the articles, he deſired as much as poſſible to prolong the negociation, in hopes of agreeable news from Scotland, where he knew the marquis of Montroſe would ſhortly make his appearance. This was his laſt refuge; and, had the marquis met with his former ſucceſs, the treaty of Breda would ſoon have ended, ſince the King might then abſolutely refuſe the offered conditions. But Montroſe's progreſs diſappointed the King's expectations.

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Starts new objections to the covenant and religion, as they concerned his perſon. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 267. Phillips, p. 595.

But to no purpoſe.

The King amuſes the commiſſioners. Phillips.

After this lord had left the King at the Hague, he went into Germany in order to raiſe forces and money, his Majeſty having only given him a bare commiſſion. The King of Denmark, being Charles's near relation, ſupplied him with a ſum of money, and the Engliſh ſetled in Sweden did their utmoſt to aſſiſt him. This relief inabled him to buy arms and ammunition, and to liſt five hundred ſoldiers, which he ſent in March, to one of the iſles of Orkney. In April, he followed them himſelf, and from thence repaired with his troops to Cathneſs in the North of Scotland. At this very time, the Scotiſh commiſſioners were with his Majeſty at Breda. The King, being informed that Montroſe was gone into Scotland, waited for the reſult of this expedition before he would conclude with the commiſſioners, whom however he entertained with hopes of obtaining their demands.

Montroſe's progreſs in Germany. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 270, &c. Phillips.

The marquis, after his arrival at Cathneſs, ſeized a caſtle where he might ſecure his arms and ammunition, and then wrote to his friends to join him. He then alſo publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring "That he was come with a commiſſion from the King "to protect his good ſubjects; but with no deſign to "obſtruct the negociation at Breda; on the contrary, "he hoped to haſten the concluſion of it by means "of his army. If the treaty ſucceeded, he ſhould "readily lay down his arms on the firſt command "from his Majeſty".

His arrival in Scotland. March. Bates. Burnet. Whitelock. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 271.

The Scotiſh parliament, now ſiting at Edinburgh, was aſtoniſhed at the news of Montroſe's arrival, at this juncture, with the King's commiſſion. It was eaſy to ſee, notwithſtanding his pretenſes, it was not to forward, but rather obſtruct the treaty, and compel the parliament to deſiſt from conditions which were judged neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom. It is not to be imagined, this conduced to breed a good opinion of the King's ſincerity.

The Scotiſh parliament diſpleaſed with the King. p. 272.

In the interim, Montroſe being very formidable, on account of his former great ſucceſſes in behalf of the late King, the parliament forthwith gave orders for raiſing, with all expedition, an army of ſix thouſand men, under the command of David Leſley.

An' 1650. They raiſe 6000 men againſt Montroſe. Phillips.

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'Till this army was prepared, colonel Strahan was detached northward with three hundred horſe, to awe the country, and hinder the King's adherents from riſing and joining Montroſe. This precaution had ſurpriſing ſucceſs. His Majeſty's friends, whether from a dread of falling into the hands of the cavalry, or on account of the ſix thouſand men who were to follow, durſt not ſtir, and none, except ſome ill-armed and worſe diſciplined Highlanders, joined Montroſe: ſo that his little army, if it deſerved this name, conſiſting of ſoldiers of different nations, ignorant of each others language, and in a barren country, could not make any conſiderable progreſs. Beſide, as Montroſe wanted horſemen to bring him intelligence, he was a ſtranger to what paſſed in other places, and particularly Strahan's march, vainly hoping to be joined by the King's adherents. This occaſioned his being ſurpriſed by Strahan's little troop, which, after a tedious march, attacked him, when leaſt expected. At the enemy's approach the Highlanders deſerted and fled; the foreigners made ſome reſiſtance, but were at laſt routed (1). The marquis himſelf, being conſtrained to fly, threw away his ribband and george, and put on a peaſant's habit to prevent a diſcovery. He wandered ſome days in this diſguiſe, and at length put himſelf in the power of a gentleman named Aſton, who, having formerly ſerved under him, promiſed to conceal him. But whether for the ſake of the reward publiſhed for apprehending him, or the fear of a rigorous puniſhment if he did not diſcover him, it is certain he delivered him to Leſley, who directly ſent him to Edinburgh (2). The parliament, now ſiting, reſolved to try him themſelves; and as, ſince his degradation, he was called only James Graham, and was univerſally deteſted, no regard was paid to his extraction. They condemned him to be hanged on a gallows thirty foot high, adding to his ſentence, that, after he was dead, his head ſhould be ſevered from his body, and placed on Edinburgh-talbooth: his arms and legs ſent to four ſeveral towns, to be expoſed as a ſpectacle, and his body buried under the gallows. He faced death with extraordinary courage, and before his execution made a ſpeech to the people, in which, far from owning himſelf guilty of death, he on the contrary declared, he was firmly perſuaded of the juſtice of the cauſe he had ſupported. He affirmed that Charles I died a martyr, and aſſured the people his preſent Majeſty would perform all his promiſes to the Scots, wherein he was as falſe a prophet as the lord Capel had been in England. Thus died the marquis of Montroſe, who had rendered himſelf famous by his great actions for the late King in Scotland, but at the ſame time odious to his countrymen by his barbarity to them, when he had the advantage.

Send Strahan before with 400 horſe. Bates.

Montroſe ſurpriſed, defeated, and taken priſoner. April 29. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 272, 273.

Condemned to be hanged. May 21. p. 274.

Makes a ſpeech at the gallows. Phillips, p. 598. Heath.

Montroſe's tragical death defeated all the King's hopes, who was thereby deprived of his only refuge. He made loud complaints to the commiſſioners of the execution of that lord, during the negociation, repreſenting it as a breach of faith. He wrote in the like ſtrain to the commitee of eſtates, but was ſilenced by their anſwer, and told it was more adviſeable for him to drop that affair. The reply imported that papers were found upon Montroſe, which it was more to his honor to ſtifle than publiſh. The King readily perceived that by this was meaned his commiſſion to Montroſe, after the news of his being proclaimed, and his letter of the thirtieth of January, after the time and place of conference were appointed. This juſtified the Scotiſh parliament from violation of faith, of which the King himſelf was not intirely guiltleſs.

His Majeſty complains of his execution. Phillips, p. 599. Bates. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 276.

Anſwer of the States.

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His Majeſty, having after the marquis's death no refuge or retreat, at laſt accepted the propoſitions preſented to him by the commiſſioners. But the ſigning of the covenant was deferred 'till he arrived in Scotland, on his promiſing however to comply, if it was judged expedient to preſs him when he ſhould come to Edinburgh. The commiſſioners granted him this favor, being aſſured the eſtates would never recede from that article. It is manifeſt the King conſented to theſe conditions, purely becauſe it was the only courſe he could take; and it is perhaps no leſs certain he intended to obſerve them no longer, than while he ſhould be forced. This evidently appears in the hiſtory of thoſe times, written by his adherents: for they could not forbear thinking it ſtrange that the King, when in Scotland, ſhould be bound to a punctual obſervance of what he had promiſed by oaths. As if his promiſe and oath had been mere formalities, which were not to oblige him.

The King ſigns the terms. June.

His Majeſty, upon ſigning the terms, went to Sheveling near the Hague and imbarked, attended by duke Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and ſome other Scots, who gave him hopes that his preſenſe in Scotland would baniſh all ſuſpicions, and that a ſtrict performance of his promiſes would be diſpenſed with. But at his arrival, before he was permited to land, the covenant was ſo preſſed upon him, that he could not refuſe it. He had poſitively promiſed to take it Breda, and no man durſt adviſe him to break his word. This exactneſs of the eſtates convinced duke Hamilton and the earl of Lauderdale, that it was dangerous for them to appear publicly in Scotland. They therefore, finding means to land with the King, retired to their own eſtates, or their friends, in hopes of a more favorable juncture.

Imbarks for Scotland June. Phillips.

Arrives there, June 16, and is forced to ſign the covenant. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 285.

Hamilton and Lauderdale retire.

The marquis of Argyle received his Majeſty with all poſſible outward marks of reſpect. But, within two days, all his Engliſh domeſtics were removed, except the duke of Buckingham. Some were forced to retire into Holland; others withdrew at a diſtance from court, to friends who were willing to entertain them. This rigor at firſt ſeems very ſurpriſing, and by ſome is ſo repreſented. But it muſt be conſidered, the Scots were for admiting his Majeſty on thoſe terms only, on which they would have received his father, had he fortunately eſcaped from captivity, and retired into Scotland. Doubtleſs they would never have ſuffered any about him, whoſe principles and maxims directly oppoſed the intereſts of Scotland, and who were reputed the nation's enemies. Why then ſhould they repoſe more confidence in Charles II? There was not more need for precaution under the laſt, than under the preſent reign.

The manner of his Majeſty's reception. p. 286. Burnet's Hiſt. p. 53. and Mem. Reaſons for it.

His Majeſty's confidents being removed from his perſon, he found himſelf in the hands of men whom he was ignorant of, and whoſe principles intirely differed from thoſe in which he had been educated; ſo that he was extremely troubled, tho' he outwardly received all the reſpect due to his dignity. What gave him moſt uneaſineſs was the importunity of the miniſters, who judged it their duty to inſtruct him in the Preſbyterian religion, and did not ſcruple to ſtile the hierarchy and worſhip of the church of England, the doctrine of devils. They alleged, his promiſe and oath to profeſs Preſbyterianiſm, bound him to regard their inſtructions.

The King very uneaſy in Scotland. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 286. Bates. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 53.

(1) About three hundred were ſlain, and five hundred taken priſoners. Whitelock, p. 454.

(2) Bates in his Elenchus Motuum affirms, Aſton had two thouſand pounds, in reward for his treachery. Rapin.

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He diſcovers his diſpoſition as to religion, and loſes the confidence of the Scots.

His preſent imbaraſſment was a natural conſequence of the promiſe he had made, without intending to obſerve it. To be rid as much as he could of this trouble, he attended their ſermons and prayers, but in ſuch a manner as evidently ſhewed it was againſt his will (1). The reluctance he diſcovered on this article created in the Scots a very ill opinion of him, being convinced he had ſworn againſt his conſcience, and with an intent to violate his promiſes the firſt opportunity. It is therefore not ſurpriſing they placed no confidence in him, and that thoſe at the helm did not impart to him all the affairs. He was not conſidered as a Prince attached to the intereſts and religion of Scotland, but as deſigning to eſtabliſh other maxims when freed from reſtraint. But, if we call to mind the tranſactions of ſome years paſt, and the occaſion of the troubles, it will not ſeem ſo ſtrange that they took precautions, with reſpect to his Majeſty, and refuſed him a confidence, which they then apprehended to be of dangerous import.

Attempts to eſtabliſh the Hamiltonians Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 306, 307.

It ſoon appeared how neceſſary theſe precautions were, by the King's indeavors to reconcile the ſtate and the church, to thoſe who had been concerned in the late duke Hamilton's ingagement, to raiſe an army, which, under the pretenſe of acting againſt the Independents, was intended to reſtore the late King to the Engliſh throne without any condition. The authors of that deſign had thereby involved Scotland in a war not only needleſs, but directly oppoſite to her intereſts. Beſide, their bad conduct had occaſioned the loſs of a numerous army, and a great effuſion of blood. What might not the Scots have added to enhance the crimes of the Hamiltonians, had they heard of the ſecret treaty made with the late King in the Iſle of Wight, ſo contrary to the covenant of both kingdoms? It is no wonder therefore men who had ſo directly oppoſed the intereſts of Scotland, or at leaſt of the prevailing party, were conſidered by that party as enemies of the ſtate and religion. And yet theſe were the men for whom his Majeſty labored ſo ſtrenuouſly, under color of happily uniting his ſubjects. But all the while he plainly diſcovered an averſion to the maxims, by which the kingdom was then governed, and his intent to inable his adherents to oppoſe the marquis of Argyle, who was the head of the contrary faction and of the government. This lord eaſily perceived the King's deſign; and therefore, tho' he had hitherto conſtantly attended him, he by degrees withdrew himſelf from him, as from a ſecret enemy who only wanted an occaſion to ruin him.

Argyle diſtruſts the King. p. 287.

Engliſh parliament's reſolution againſt Scotland. p. 292. Phillips. Whitelock. p. 460.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, the Engliſh were not idle; for, finding commiſſioners from that kingdom were to confer with the King at Breda, they apprehended he would accept the crown of Scotland on any conditions, in order to uſe the Scotiſh forces to invade England, in which they were not miſtaken. This war, which the parliament thought unavoidable, muſt of courſe be very dangerous to the Independent party, if brought into England. The Independents, tho' uppermoſt, had no ſupport except the army, having the Preſbyterians, the Royaliſts, and the city of London for their enemies. It was therefore highly probable, if his Majeſty entered England with a Scotiſh army, that he would be joined by the Royaliſts, and favored by the Preſbyterians: wherefore, to avert this danger, the parliament reſolved to carry war into Scotland. This reſolution was intirely founded on policy, ſince the parliament had no reaſon to complain of the Scots, who, in acknowledging the late King's eldeſt ſon for their Sovereign, did not injure England. Nay, it was a conſequence of the covenant between both kingdoms, tho' notoriouſly violated by the Engliſh parliament. But, at this juncture, the parliament believed themſelves not obliged to a ſcrupulous obſervance of the rules of equity, on account of the prejudice which in time might attend ſuch ſcruples. Intereſt therefore was ſolely conſulted, which required the war ſhould rather be carried into Scotland than expected in England.

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Upon this reſolution Cromwell was haſtily recalled out of Ireland, to command the army which was to march againſt Scotland. General Fairfax's behavior, in the late Scotiſh invaſion under duke Hamilton, had given occaſion to believe, that he would not willingly accept the conduct of the war, which was true in fact. Cromwell's ſucceſs in Ireland had anſwered the very wiſhes of the parliament. Having taken Drogheda he ſeized Kilkenny and many other places, and in a ſhort time reduced the greateſt part of the iſland to the obedience of the parliament. The marquis of Ormond was in no condition to reſiſt him, on account of the diviſion ſtill reigning among the Iriſh. This diſſenſion roſe ſo high that O Neale at laſt concluded a treaty with Monk, one of the parliament generals, commiſſioned by the council of ſtate. But the parliament would not ratify the treaty, as being too favorable to the Catholics; and therefore O Neale had begun to treat with Ormond, and was on the point of joining him, when he was prevented by death. Upon this his troops diſperſed, and ſo were of no advantage to the marquis. In the interim Cromwell purſued his conqueſts with amazing rapidity, and, to hinder the agreement and junction of the Iriſh, he thought of an expedient which anſwered his purpoſe. He publiſhed a proclamation permiting all the Iriſh officers to liſt, in the ſervice of foreign Princes, as many ſoldiers as they pleaſed of their own nation, with a promiſe not to give them the leaſt interruption. Upwards of twenty-five thouſand forthwith choſe to ſerve France and Spain, and afterwards a much greater number (2). This proceeding put it out of Ormond's power to bring an army into the field, capable of oppoſing that of the parliament; ſo that, when Cromwell was recalled, the Iriſh affairs were in ſo good a ſituation, that his ſon-in-law Ireton, whom he left there as his lieutenant, had very little to do.

Cromwell recalled from Ireland. Whitelock, p. 450. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 292. Ludlow.

His conqueſts in Ireland. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 276, 277.

Diviſions among the Iriſh. Bates. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 334.

O Neale the Iriſh rebel's death.

Cromwell ſuffers the Iriſh to ſerve foreign Princes. p. 278, 279, 280.

Leaves Ireton the command of Ireland. Bates. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 292, 33.

Cromwell, upon his arrival at London, took his ſeat in parliament, where, by order of the houſe, the ſpeaker thanked him for his late ſervices. The Scotiſh war being now the moſt preſſing affair, the parliament cauſed Fairfax to be aſked, whether he would undertake the conduct of it? He anſwered, If the Scots invaded England, he would indeavor to repel them, but deſired to be excuſed from attacking them in their own country. Some pains were taken to convince him of the juſtice and neceſſity of this war, but without effect. Cromwell acted ſo artfully that, tho' he paſſionately wiſhed to be commander in chief, he gave his opinion for Fairfax, and pretended he ſhould be well pleaſed to ſerve as his lieutenant. Fairfax perceived that being a Preſbyterian, tho' he had but too faithfully ſerved the Independents, the parliament would not have repoſed much confidence in him, and that the zeal ſhewn in his favor was purely ceremony. He therefore ſent his commiſſion to the houſe, which

June 4. Whitelock, p. 457. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 292. Ludlow.

Fairfax reſigns his commiſſion, and is ſucceeded by Cromwell, June 26. Ludlow, Whitelock, p. 462.

(1) Biſhop Burnet ſays, In one faſt-day ſix ſermons were preached before the King without intermiſſion: —— And adds, The kirk's great rigor towards him did not a little contribute to render him averſe to all ſorts of ſtrictneſs in religion. Vol. I. p. 53.

(2) The lord Clarendon obſerves, that Cromwell by this means ſent upwards of forty thouſand men out of that iſland, while Ormond, notwithſtanding all the promiſes, obligations and contracts of the Iriſh with him, could not aſſemble a body of five thouſand. Vol. III. p. 280.

was

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was joyfully received, and a penſion of five thouſand pounds per annum was ſetled on him in acknowlegement of his ſervices. Cromwell was inſtantly declared general of the armies of the common-wealth, and his commiſſion immediately diſpatched (1).

Parliament's manifeſto. p. 464. Phillips. Bates.

While an army was preparing to march againſt Scotland, the parliament appointed a commitee to draw up a manifeſto, relating to the intended war. This precaution ſeemed the more neceſſary, becauſe the houſe knew the Cavaliers and Preſbyterians would take pains to repreſent this war, as the moſt unjuſt that ever was, ſeeing the Scots had offered no provocation. The commitee concerned about the manifeſto, unwilling to publiſh the true reaſon of the war, viz. to ſupport the Independents, were contented with ſuppoſing the Scots intended to force the Engliſh to recogniſe King Charles II, tho' they had not as yet advanced one ſtep towards it. It was however very probable the King would indeavor to ingage them in a rupture with the Engliſh parliament; but there was no likelihood of ſucceſs, conſidering his utter averſion to become a good Preſbyterian.

The Scots raiſe an army under Leſley. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 292, 293. Phillips. Whitelock.

The Scots, hearing of the preparations againſt them in England, raiſed an army with all expedition (2), and gave the command to general Leſley, not daring to truſt his Majeſty for the reaſons aforeſaid. He was even permited to ſee this army only once, leſt he ſhould gain the officers and ſoldiers by his intrigues. David Leſley incamped between Leith and Edinburgh, and fortified his camp with ſuch intrenchments, that he could not be attacked without manifeſt danger.

Cromwell enters Scotland. July 22. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 293. Phillips.

About the middle of July, Cromwell appeared at the head of the Engliſh army, conſiſting of eighteen or nineteen thouſand men, and marched to the frontiers of Scotland, where he publiſhed his manifeſto. The enemy's army lying incamped near Edinburgh, he eaſily penetrated into Scotland. But, finding the country deſtitute of inhabitants, and all things proper to ſubſiſt his army conveyed away, he was obliged to maintain it with ſupplies from his fleet. However he proceeded, and came in ſight of the enemy's army; but he found it incapable of being attacked. He therefore retired towards Muſſelborough, whereupon Leſley detached a large body of horſe, which fell upon the Engliſh rear, commanded by Lambert, with ſome advantage (3). The next day there was a ſharp ſkirmiſh, in which the Scots defeated ſome Engliſh regiments; but at laſt were forced back to their camp with conſiderable loſs. Then Cromwell once more indeavored, by his approach, to draw the Scotiſh army out of their intrenchments, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, after both armies had continued almoſt in view ſeveral weeks, Cromwell, for want of proviſions and forage, was obliged to retire. He deſigned to imbark his foot, and with only his horſe return into England. In order to this he marched towards Dunbar, where his fleet expected him, his army being reduced to about twelve thouſand men.

Skirmiſhes betweeen the armies. Auguſt. Phillips. Whitelock.

Ludlow.

He marches to Dunbar. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 293.

The Scots, appriſed of Cromwell's reſolution, fancied the Engliſh were ſtruck with terror, and that a fairer opportunity could not offer to ingage them, and therefore to purſue them cloſely they quited their camp. The firſt day they incamped on a hill, about a mile from Dunbar, ſo that Cromwell could not imbark his foot, without running the riſque of a defeat. General Leſley was againſt attacking the Engliſh, and only for watching an opportunity to fight them with advantage. But the clamors of the miniſters in his army, who promiſed an undoubted victory, as if they had ſome revelation (4), obliged him on the morrow to draw nearer the enemy. Cromwell, who obſerved them with a perſpective glaſs, when he ſaw them deſcend the hill, cried out, "That God had delivered them "into his hands." He forthwith went to prayers, and then informed ſome of his officers, he had felt, in praying, ſuch a repoſe in his mind, that he doubted not but God would grant him the victory. Perhaps he really believed this, or elſe it was an artifice to invigorate his ſoldiers, who were moſt of them fanatics. The armies remained in ſight all the reſt of the day, Leſley ſtill alleging ſome pretenſe to delay fighting. But, in the night, Cromwell reſolved to attack the Scots at break of day. It was his frequent and ever ſucceſsful maxim, not to expect but attack the enemy, regardleſs of number, being convinced the aſſailants always have a great advantage.

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The Scots purſue him. Sept. 1. Whitelock.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 293. Whitelock, p. 471. Burnet. p. 54.

Upon this reſolution he drew up his army in the night, and begun the fight an hour before day. The Scotiſh cavalry on the right wing at firſt made a briſk defenſe, but were at laſt put to flight. The left wing retreated, without charging once. Three regiments of Scotiſh infantry fought ſo bravely, that they were almoſt all ſlain on the ſpot. The reſt, finding themſelves deſerted by the horſe, fled in diſorder, leaving the field and a certain victory to the Engliſh. It is reported the Scots loſt three thouſand men (5), beſide ſeven or eight thouſand priſoners and twenty-ſeven pieces of cannon; and that the Engliſh loſt only three hundred. The Scots after their defeat quited Leith and Edinburgh, of which Cromwell took poſſeſſion, but Edinburgh caſtle held out 'till the end of December.

Battle of Dunbar. Sept. 3. Whitelock, p. 470. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 293. Phillips. Bates. Ludlow, The defeat of the Scots.

This misfortune to the Scots was of ſervice to his Majeſty, as it obliged them to take notice of the Hamiltonian party. At the raiſing of the army lately defeated at Dunbar, none were admited who had been concerned in the late duke Hamilton's ingagement, or were ſuſpected to be attached to the King. In a word, the rigid Preſbyterians, then at the helm of affairs, would not aſſociate with thoſe whom they ſtiled the luke-warm, that is, men not ſufficiently zealous for the covenant. After the defeat at Dunbar a new army was to be raiſed, to withſtand Cromwell, who threatened to compleat the ruin of Scotland the following ſpring. The parliament was therefore convened at St. Johnſtoun's, where the King retired (6). But, as it was difficult to form a new army of the zealous, it was propoſed in parliament to receive into this all ſuch as had

The Hamiltonians admited to imploys on conditions. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 292, 294. Phillips. Bates. Whitelock. Burnet. p. 55.

(1) Whitelock affirms, the lord Fairfax, being conſulted, at firſt approved of carrying the war into Scotland, but afterwards, upon the hourly ſollicitations of the Preſbyterian miniſters, and his own lady, a great patroneſs of them, he declared, it was againſt his conſcience. Upon this the council of State appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harriſon, St. John and Whitelock to indeavor to convince him of the juſtice of the undertaking. Whitelock relates the conference at large in his Memorials; wherein, tho' Cromwell and the other ſoldiers ſtrenuouſly preſſed him not to lay down his commiſſion, that author owns, they did not much deſire he ſhould keep it. Mem. 460, 462.

(2) Six thouſand horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot. Phillips, p. 600. Thirty-ſix thouſand men in all. Whitelock, p. 466.

(3) Auguſt 26, in a ſkirmiſh, one of the Scots fired a carabine at Cromwell; whereupon Cromwell, calling out to him, ſaid, "If he had been one of his ſoldiers, he would have caſhiered him for firing at ſuch a diſtance." Whitelock, p. 469.

(4) Auguſt 26, Cromwell gave account in a letter that the Scotiſh miniſters ſaid in their prayers, "If God will not deliver "them from the ſectaries, he ſhall not be their God." Whitelock, p. 465.

(5) The lord Clarendon ſays, Between five and ſix thouſand. Vol. III. p. 294. Whitelock affirms, Four thouſand were killed in the field, and in the purſuit. The Engliſh army conſiſted of twelve thouſand, and the Scotiſh of twenty-ſeven thouſand men. Mem. p. 470.

(6) January 25, the King made a ſpeech in this parliament; expreſſing great joy, "That he was the firſt covenanted King of "the nation." Whitelock, p. 485.

been

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been hitherto called Luke-warm, who offered to ſerve their country in its preſent extremity. This affair being debated, the parliament was conſtrained to reſolve, That all, who had been excluded from places, ſhould be permited to produce proofs of their repentance, and then be imployed in the ſervice of their country. Purſuant to this reſolution thoſe, who had 'till now oppoſed the marquis of Argyle, wanted zeal for the covenant, diſcovered an attachment to the King, and had even been imployed by Charles I, readily made an outward ſhow of repentance, in a diſavowal of their former conduct and a reconciliation with the kirk. Upon this they were admited to public imploys, as well as into the parliament, and eſpecially to poſts in the army then raiſing. Hence his Majeſty at laſt obtained what he had ſo paſſionately deſired, namely, to ſee his friends in a condition to ſerve him on a proper occaſion.

Proteſtation againſt it. Phillips. Burnet's Hiſt. p. 55.

But the parliament's reſolution, of which neceſſity was either the motive or pretenſe, diſpleaſed the zealots. They could not bear the admiſſion of Malignants, as they termed them, to imployments, under color of a reſolution procured from the parliament by artifice and cabal, as the levying an army had before been obtained to ſerve againſt the intereſts of Scotland. They alleged, it was mocking God to admit the guilty to an hypocritical repentance, in order to reſtore them to imploys from which they had been juſtly excluded. But it was replied, it was ſtrange cruelty to remove men from imploys, who offered to ſerve their country, at ſuch a critical juncture, and had profeſſed repentance, for having wanted ſufficient zeal for the common cauſe. In a word, the former ſolemnly proteſted againſt the reſolution of the parliament, forming a party, ſtiled Proteſtors, while thoſe who adhered to it formed another, called Reſolutioners. Five weſtern counties (1) joined the Proteſtors, and, entering into an aſſociation, publiſhed a remonſtrance which, being laid before the parliament, was voted ſeditious. But this did not prevent ſeveral officers of reputation, as Strahan, Kerr, and ſome others, from adhering to the Proteſtors.

Two parties in Scotland.

Five counties proteſt.

Remarks on the reſolution of admiting the Hamiltonians. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 308.

Doubtleſs, if the people of Scotland had been conſulted, this reſolution would never have paſſed in the parliament. The people were ſo zealous for the covenant, that there was no probability of their receding from their rigidneſs at once, in behalf of perſons who had not ſubſcribed it, or ſcrupled to break it. It is therefore very likely this reſolution was brought about by the intrigues and cabals of Argyle's enemies, under color of the neceſſity of raiſing new forces. Nothing more clearly ſhews its being oppoſite to the general ſenſe of the people, than the profeſſion of repentance, required of all who were to be admited to any imploys. This was manifeſtly a condeſcenſion for the people, who believed a luke-warmneſs for the covenant to be the moſt heinous of crimes. Accordingly it was publickly ſaid, the defeat at Dunbar was a juſt puniſhment for having called in the King, before he had given any proofs of his repentance. This was the moſt general ſentiment, notwithſtanding the contrary deciſion of the parliament. But parliamentary reſolutions, either in Scotland or England, are not always to be conſidered as the ſenſe of the nation. It is a defect in the conſtitution of both theſe ſtates, that members of parliament receive no inſtructions from their electors. They are no ſooner aſſembled than they become ſovereigns of thoſe by whom they are choſen, and palm upon the nation their own deciſions for thoſe of the public, tho' they are often contrary to the inclinations and intereſts of the people repreſented. Examples are ſo frequent, that the proof of this point is intirely needleſs.

Phillips, p. 601. Bates.

The managers of this affair in parliament were ſenſible, the number of the Proteſtors greatly exceeded that of the Reſolutioners: wherefore they judged it expedient to give an appearance of ſatisfaction to the former, leſt they ſhould obſtruct the deſigns formed in favor of the King. They projected to put his Majeſty at the head of an army, almoſt wholly at his devotion, that he might, when occaſion offered, march into England, where it was not queſtioned he would find many adherents and a powerful aſſiſtance. The rigid Preſbyterians were therefore not to be alarmed, at ſeeing the King at the head of an army, for fear of their preventing the execution of this deſign. Wherefore it was thought adviſeable for his Majeſty to publiſh a ſtrange declaration, wherein he was made to ſpeak a language agreeable to the ſentiments of the people, but very oppoſite to his own. In it he acknowleged "the ſin of his father, in marrying in- "to an idolatrous family:" he owned "the "bloodſhed in the late wars lay at his father's "door: he expreſſed a deep ſenſe of his own ill "education, and the prejudices he had drank in "againſt the cauſe of God, of which he was now "very ſenſible:" he confeſſed "all the former "parts of his life to have been a courſe of enmity "to the work of God:" he repented "of his "commiſſion to Montroſe, and of every thing he "had done which gave offenſe:" and he ſolemnly proteſted, "that he was now ſincere in his decla- "ration, and that he would adhere to it to the end "his life, in Scotland, England and Ireland." When this declaration was offered him to ſign, he ſeemed at firſt reſolved to reject it; alleging, "That, if he paſſed it, he could never look his "mother in the face." But on his being told it was abſolutely neceſſary to gain the confidence of the Proteſtors, in order to execute his deſigns, he ſwallowed the bitter pill, and the declaration was publiſhed.

His Majeſty's ſtrange declaration. Burnet's Hiſt, p. 56.

This declaration did not fully anſwer the King's expectation. No man could imagine he voluntarily ſigned a paper ſo ſcandalous, and ſo highly injurious to his father's memory. The Proteſtors on the contrary, believing he concealed ſome deep project in this ſtrange proceeding, united ſtill more cloſely againſt him, and at laſt declared, They would have no concern with the Reſolutioners, nor with Cromwell and the Independents in England.

It diſappoints his expectations. Burnet.

Charles was extremely mortified to find his declaration attended with no better ſucceſs, than the loſs of the confidence of both parties, and his own reputation. It was univerſally thought, ſuch a ſcandalous diſſimulation was deſigned to deceive the people. At laſt this falſe ſtep, taken ſo contrary to his own judgment, and the ſad life he had led, inclined him to take notice of the propoſals made by ſome of his friends in the Highlands (2), who would accept no imploys at the price of an hypocritical repentance. Theſe gentlemen acquainted him, that, if he would come and appear at their head, they would ſend an able body of troops to receive him at a place appointed. Dr. Frazier, a phyſician, * was the manager of this intrigue, and took care to convey the letters. His Majeſty conſented to join the male-contents, being extremely deſirous to retire from the Preſbyterians, who had laid ſo many hardſhips upon him. He prepared a

The King's flight. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 307. Burnet, p. 57. Phillips, p. 601. Bates.

* To the King.

(1) Cliddiſhdale, Renfrew, Air, Galloway and Nithiſdale. Burnet's Hiſt. p. 56.
(2) The marquis of Huntley, earls of Athol and Seaforth, &c. Bates, p. 111.

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declaration, ſhewing the ill uſage he had received from the marquis of Argyle, and the cruel ſervitude in which he was kept ſince his arrival in Scotland. The duke of Buckingham, diſcovering this ſecret by letters left on the King's table, informed the marquis, who could not imagine the project was on the point of execution. Nevertheleſs, two days after, the King withdrew from St. Johnſtoun, and repaired to the place appointed, where he found only a handful of men, inſtead of the number of troops he expected. But, while he was deliberating how to proceed, the commitee of eſtates diſpatched major-general Montgomery to him, who in a very rude manner preſſed his return to St Johnſtoun, to which at laſt he agreed, being doubtleſs convinced thoſe who had invited him among them were in a worſe condition, than they had made him believe (1).

Phillips, p. 602. Burnet. Bates. He is brought back,

This deſign, however imprudent, proved advantageous to his Majeſty, tho' at the ſame time it loſt him the confidence of the Preſbyterians, who evidently perceived his inſincerity, and the little regard he had to his promiſes at Breda. In the interim, the marquis of Argyle and commitee of eſtates plainly ſaw exceſſive rigor might throw the King upon deſperate reſolutions, and occaſion great diſorders, if he ſhould deſire to head his adherents. This not only procured him better treatment, but a larger ſhare in the public affairs. His Majeſty on the other hand found he ſhould never be eaſy in Scotland, or in a capacity to accompliſh his deſigns, without the concurrence of Argyle, who was the chief of the kirk party. He therefore extremely courted the marquis, making him great offers, and even propoſing to marry his daughter. But that peer, conſidering his propoſals as ſo many ſnares, rejected them, tho' he outwardly paid all due reſpect to the King. The lord Lorn his ſon, who was captain of his Majeſty's guards, did him many kind offices, and privately brought thoſe perſons, whoſe company he deſired (2).

and better treated. Phillips. Burnet. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 307.

Careſſes Argyle. p. 308. Burnet, p. 57.

His Majeſty at laſt was crowned at Scone, the firſt of January 1650 (3), from which day all perſons had acceſs to him; and after this the Scots made it their whole ſtudy to raiſe forces, admiting all volunteers, without diſtinction of party. The army was in readineſs, the begining of June, before Cromwell could take the field for want of forage. It conſiſted of fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, which the King commanded himſelf, with David Leſley, his lieutenant-general (4). As moſt of them were freſh troops, his Majeſty judged it improper to go in queſt of Cromwell, who was formidable for his valor and experience, and beſide at the head of a diſciplined and victorious army. He therefore poſted himſelf to advantage at Torwood, between Edinburgh and Sterling, having a large deep river behind him (5), the paſſes whereof were all ſecured; and by this means, tho' the country before him was intirely laid waſte, the plentiful county of Fife ſupplied him with proviſions. This army was ſo ſtrongly intrenched in the front, that it would have argued raſhneſs to attack it. Here he determined to wait the enemy's motions, and form his meaſures accordingly.

Is crowned in Scotland. Burnet, p. 57. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 308. Phillips. Appears at the head of the Scotiſh army. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 308.

Incamps at Torwood, Phillips, p. 605. Bates.

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Cromwell, having aſſembled his forces, marched directly to the King with a view of giving him battle; but he thought it adviſeable to drop that deſign, when he perceived the ſtrength of his intrenchments. The armies continued in their reſpective camps about ſix weeks, all the ſtratagems to draw his Majeſty out of ſo commodious a poſt proving abortive. The preceding year's experience had taught the Scots greater circumſpection. At laſt Cromwell (forced to quit his preſent ſituation, on account of the difficulty in procuring neceſſaries, which the county of Fife plentifully afforded the King) reſolved upon an attempt to deprive him of that advantage: for he plainly ſaw his Majeſty might avoid fighting, during his pleaſure, and oblige him to ſpend the whole campain in a ſtate of inaction.

Cromwell not daring to attack him, July 3. Phillips. Whitelock, p. 498. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 309.

Purſuant to this reſolution he detached ſixteen hundred men under colonel Overton, who marched towards Edinburgh to a place provided with boats, and, paſſing the Frith, poſted himſelf in the county of Fife. Lambert immediately followed Overton with a more numerous body. At the ſame time Cromwell with the reſt of his army advanced towards his Majeſty's intrenchments, as if he deſigned to attack them, in order to prevent any detachment to oppoſe the landing of his forces. The King no ſooner had intelligence that the Engliſh were in Fife, than he diſpatched major-general Brown with four thouſand men to ingage them. Brown was routed, and thereby Cromwell left at liberty to tranſport his whole army into Fife. By this means he deprived his Majeſty of any farther ſupplies from that county.

enters Fife. Phillips. Bates. Warwick. Whitelock, p. 500, 501.

The King's detachment routed. p. 499. Ludlow. Bates.

Cromwell indeed gained an advantage, by forcing the King to quit a poſt incapable of being attacked: but yet, in ſo doing, he rendered it impoſſible to fight him, becauſe there was a deep river between the armies, joining the lake of Lomund to Edinburgh-Frith. His Majeſty might have croſſed the river, being maſter of all the paſſes; but it was judged imprudent to purſue Cromwell, now at diſtance, who had taken St. Johnſtoun, and threatened Sterling. On the contrary, the King ſuddenly reſolved to march into England, having no oppoſition before him, and was pleaſed Cromwell had given him an opportunity to project and execute a deſign ſo agreeable to his intereſt. He found himſelf at the head of eighteen thouſand men, and did not doubt his army would be greatly augmented in England, by the junction of the Royaliſts and Preſbyterians equally oppreſſed by an Independent parliament. This was the idea his Majeſty and his council conceived of this expedition. The marquis of Argyle alone entertained another

Cromwell takes St. Johnſtoun. Bates. Phillips. Whitelock, p. 501.

opinion,

(1) The King's ſudden withdrawing was afterwards ſtiled the Start. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 307.

(2) This year, March 25, died John Williams archbiſhop of York, formerly lord-keeper; and that learned antiquarian ſir Simon D'ewes. As did alſo, October 27, William Prince of Orange, father to King William III. ——— The ſame year, the Czar of Muſcovy commanded the Engliſh merchants to depart his dominions, and not come thither, unleſs in the King's name and by his patents; which was fomented by the Dutch. ——— Five drunkards in Berkſhire agreed to drink his Majeſty's health in their blood, and that each of them ſhould cut off and fry a piece of his buttock, which four of them did; but the fifth's wife, coming into the room, took up a pair of tongs and ſo laid about her, that ſhe prevented the cuting her huſband's fleſh. ——— May 14, the parliament having paſſed the act to ſuppreſs inceſt, adultery and fornication, Henry Martin declared, "That the ſeverity of the puniſhment, being death, would cauſe theſe ſins to be more cautiouſly commited, and ſo, "being undiſcovered, would be more frequent." ——— July 2, for ſuppreſſing curſing and ſwearing, it was inacted, That, for the firſt offence, a lord ſhould pay 30 s. a baronet and knight 20 s. an eſquire 10 s. a gentleman 6 s. 8 d. every other perſon 3 s. 4 d. But double for the ſecond offenſe, and ſo to the tenth. Then to be bound to his good behavior. Whitelock, p. 427, 453, 455, 462.

(3) He then again ſwore to the covenant. Burnet, p. 51.

(4) Whitelock, p. 486, ſays, duke Hamilton was lieutenant-general, David Leſley major-general; Middletoun, lieutenant-general of the horſe, and Maſſey major-general of the Engliſh.

(5) The lord Clarendon is miſtaken in ſaying, the river was between the two armies; for his Majeſty had the river behind him. Rapin.

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opinion, and ſo far incurred the ſuſpicion of diſloyalty, that the King was adviſed to order his being arreſted: but it was thought improper to regard this advice, which could not procure any advantage. The King therefore, leaving the marquis in Scotland, began his march for Carliſle with extraordinary expedition. He had ſet out ſome days (1) before Cromwell heard of it, and entered England the ſixth of Auguſt, where he was proclaimed by his army.

His Majeſty marches into England. July 31. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 309. Bates. Whitelock.

The news of his Majeſty's march exceedingly ſurpriſed Cromwell, who never expected it. He imagined his forcing a paſſage into Fife to have been a very advantageous ſtep; but it paved the way for the King's marching into England, where in all probability he would be joined by a great number of adherents. The avoiding of this was the parliament's ſole view, in carrying the war into Scotland. It may therefore be affirmed, Cromwell was guilty of an error, which might have produced fatal conſequences to the new common-wealth and governing party. Accordingly, his principal care was to prevent the pernicious effects. As he did not doubt the parliament would be alarmed to hear of his Majeſty's march, he ſpeedily acquainted them with it, and that he was reſolved cloſely to purſue him. He likewiſe adviſed them to put all the militia of the kingdom in arms, with the utmoſt diligence, to deter the Royaliſts from re-inforcing his army. He himſelf gave the ſame orders in the northern counties, not only to reſtrain the Cavaliers from riſing, but alſo to find ſeveral bodies of the trained-bands in readineſs to augment his forces on his arrival in England. At the ſame time he detached major-general Harriſon with three thouſand horſe, which Lambert was to follow at the head of another party of cavalry to retard as much as poſſible his Majeſty's march. Having taken theſe precautions, he left major-general Monk in Scotland with five thouſand men, giving him orders to attempt the making himſelf maſter of Sterling and Dundee. At laſt he ſet out in purſuit of the King, with all expedition, in order to reach him before he ſhould arrive at London, being confident he would march thither without halting.

Cromwell unеaſy at the news of it. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 310.

His precautions and orders. Ibid. Whitelock.

Phillips. Bates.

The King's ill ſucceſs in England. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 309, 311. Phillips.

His Majeſty entered England full of hopes, that both the Preſbyterians and Royaliſts, being equally enemies to the Independents, would eagerly eſpouſe his cauſe. He therefore ſent colonel Maſſey before with a detachment, to receive all who inclined to ſerve him (2). He alſo by letter deſired the earl of Derby, then in the iſle of Man (3), to join him, laying great ſtreſs on his credit in Lancaſhire. But many circumſtances concurred to diſappoint his expectations. 1. As he proceeded on his march, the Scots deſerted in ſuch numbers, that it was computed four or five thouſand returned to Scotland. Theſe deſerters were probably the moſt zealous Preſbyterians, who believed they could not in conſcience aſſiſt the King in recovering England by violence, which was the general opinion of that nation. 2. The militia, being every where in arms, prevented his Majeſty's adherents from aſſembling, by guards placed on all the public roads. 3. The commitee of the kirk, which had followed the army were apprehenſive that, if the King's forces were increaſed by too numerous a body of Cavaliers, their ſuperiority might conſtrain the Scotiſh army not only to contribute to the ruin of the Independents, but alſo the reſtoration of his Majeſty without any conditions, which directly oppoſed the intereſts of Scotland. On this account the commitee ſent Maſſey a declaration, with orders to publiſh it, repreſenting that, the King being zealous for the covenant, none who refuſed to ſign it could be admited into his army. They did this unknown to his Majeſty, who was extremely concerned at the news. He even ordered Maſſey to ſuppreſs the declaration. But, as the import of it was already notorious, the King's adherents judged it expedient to conceal themſelves, not daring to mix with the Scots, becauſe they could not reſolve to take the covenant. 4. The Engliſh Preſbyterians were indeed enemies to the Independents; but not ſo much his Majeſty's friends, as to reſtore him to the throne, without a previous aſſurance of his ratifying the conceſſions the King his father made in the treaty of Newport. But, this being an improper time to negociate ſuch an affair, they did not ſeem very forward to ingage in his ſervice. 5. The earl of Derby, who had been ſent by the King into Lancaſhire, where he raiſed twelve hundred men, was defeated by colonel Lilbourne at the head of ten troops brought from York to join Cromwell. The earl found it difficult to eſcape to the King, after the loſs of his forces, the lord Widdrington and ſir Thomas Tildeſly being left dead on the ſpot. This defeat diſcouraged the Royaliſts in thoſe parts, who deſigned to re-inforce his Majeſty's army.

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The earl of Derby defeated. Auguſt 25. Phillips, p. 607. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 314. Whitelock, p. 504. Ludlow.

At laſt, after a very fatiguing march, the King arrived at Worceſter, where he met with an honorable reception from the magiſtrates, and was ſolemnly proclaimed. He determined to refreſh his weary troops in the neighborhood of that city, ſince they were unable to proceed without ſome repoſe. Probably his intent was to have marched directly to London, if his army, as he expected had been conſiderably augmented on their route: but on the contrary he ſaw it was ſo diminiſhed by deſertion, as to be reduced to twelve or thirteen thouſand men, without the leaſt proſpect of its being increaſed for the reaſons aforeſaid. In all appearance therefore he durſt advance no farther, and believed the ground about Worceſter was proper for defenſe in caſe of an attack.

His Majeſty ſtops at Worceſter. Auguſt 22. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 313, 318. Ludlow.

While the King's army remained at Worceſter, Cromwell advanced with great expedition. His orders for aſſembling the militia of the north were ſo punctually obſerved, that, on his arrival in England, his forces were daily augmented by parties from all quarters; by which means, after his junction with Lambert and Harriſon, he found his army much ſuperior to that of his Majeſty, who lay incamped, about a mile from Worceſter, with a reſolution to withſtand the attacks of his enemy. Cromwell, before he attacked the King, thought fit to make a diverſion on the other ſide of the Severn; and with this view he detached Lambert, who went directly to Upton, where Maſſey was poſted to defend a bridge. This paſs was ſo fiercely aſſaulted that, after a ſharp ingagement, Maſſey quited the place. Immediately after, Cromwell ordered ſome of his forces to croſs over to the weſtern ſide of the Severn, which obliged the King to ſend a party of men the ſame way, and ſo weaken the main body who were to ſuſtain Cromwell's attack.

Cromwell reaches Worceſter. Sept. 1. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 318. Phillips.

Phillips. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 317. Whitelock.

Forces a paſſage over the Severn.

The third of September, a fortunate day to Cromwell (becauſe on it he, the preceding year, defeated the Scots at Dunbar) he charged the Royal army on both ſides of the Severn: but, after a fight of ſome hours, his Majeſty's troops were repulſed on both ſides the river, and conſtrained to retreat into the town in ſuch diſorder, that the defenſe of its entrance was intirely neglected. The King's ſollicitations, to inſpire his now vanquiſhed forces

Battle of Worceſter. Sept. 3. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 318. Whitelock, p. 507.

The Royal army defeated. Phillips. Ludlow.

(1) Only one whole day. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 309.
(2) Captain Cecil Howard, ſon to the lord Howard of Eſtrick, brought him a troop of horſe. Phillips, p. 606.
(3) Where he had ſecurely retired ſince the end of the former war. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 309.

with

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with courage to hold out any longer againſt the conqueror, were to no manner of purpoſe. At laſt, his horſe ſeeing the enemy break into the town, fled, and left the foot to the mercy of the Engliſh. His Majeſty alſo was forced to fly thro' St Martin's gate, and had a very narrow eſcape. Almoſt all the infantry were ſlain or taken, and the cavalry, being cloſely purſued, eaſily diſperſed; ſo that moſt of the officers and ſoldiers were made priſoners of war. It is reported the Scots loſt about two thouſand men, beſide ſeven or eight thouſand captives (1), who were ſent to London, and ſold for ſlaves to the plantations of America. Duke Hamilton, being mortally wounded, nine days after departed this life. Among the perſons of diſtinction were general Leſley, the earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwarth, Kelly, Derby and Cleveland (2).

Phillips, p. 608. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 320. Heath. Burnet's Mem. p. 432.

His Majeſty's flight and arrival in France. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 321, &c. Phillips. Bates. Boſcobel.

The King, tho' he fortunately eſcaped from the defeat, was extremely perplexed. It highly concerned him to avoid the purſuers, but this he found a very difficult taſk. He was in the heart of England, which he could only conſider as an enemy's country, tho' he had ſtill ſome friends in the kingdom. He was under a neceſſity to abandon it, and go beyond ſea, but how to effect this ſeemed next to impoſſible. It was yet more hazardous to attempt a return into Scotland, ſince in all likelihood he would be moſt narrowly ſearched for on this road; and tho' he ſhould ſafely arrive in that kingdom, he was apprehenſive of being in almoſt the ſame danger there as in England. The parliament's army, victorious in Scotland, as the ſequel will inform us, would not have permited him to injoy a ſecure retreat. He therefore reſolved to travel that night, as far as his ſtrength would admit; and, diſmiſſing his attendants who could only ſerve to diſcover him, he commited himſelf to the care of a truſty guide, by whom he was conducted through by-roads in the habit of a peaſant. In theſe melancholy circumſtances he ſpent an intire day in a tree near the road (3), from whence he ſaw and heard people, as they paſſed by, diſcourſe of him and wiſh he would fall into their hands. He travelled only in the night, his guide concealing him by day in obſcure cottages, where his diet generally was no other than a little milk. At laſt, after two months great fatigue, ſurmounting infinite dangers, and traverſing a conſiderable part of the kingdom from Worceſter to the county of Suſſex, he imbarked, (4) and ſafely landed in Normandy the twenty-ſecond of October. The curious reader is refered to the earl of Clarendon, who, from his Majeſty's own mouth, has given a particular account of his eſcape, and the adventures of his flight (5).

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 321——331. Monk reduces Scotland. Phillips, p. 611. Whitelock. Ludlow.

We muſt now return to the affairs of Scotland, ſince both armies left that kingdom. While Cromwell purſued the King, Monk obeying his orders, beſieged Sterling, which held out but few days. This place, one of the ſtrongeſt in Scotland, where the public records were kept, ſurrendered the fourteenth of Auguſt (6). All the papers and records were tranſmited to London, from whence they never returned, the ſhip which was bringing them back after the reſtoration being loſt in a ſtorm. Monk, having taken Sterling, laid ſiege to Dundee, where the inhabitants of Edinburgh had conveyed their beſt effects, after the battle of Dunbar. Some Scotiſh gentlemen, aſſembling forces to relieve the town, were ſurpriſed and diſperſed by a detachment from Monk, and their leaders made priſoners; but notwithſtanding this misfortune, the governor * bravely defended the place, 'till it was ſtormed the firſt of September, two days before the battle of Worceſter. The taking of Sterling and Dundee was followed by that of Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and all the other towns and caſtles capable of reſiſting. Thus in a ſhort ſpace, Monk brought the whole kingdom of Scotland in ſubjection to the Engliſh parliament: and this was the remarkable conſequence of his Majeſty's conducting the Scots army into England.

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* Major Lumſdale.

His Majeſty in great diſtreſs. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 332, 338.

The victory of Worceſter and reduction of Scotland gave ſuch a reputation to the new common-wealth, that all the ſtates in Europe either courted its alliance, or dreaded its arms. Moſt of the Sovereigns therefore excuſed themſelves from making offers to the King, or ſupplying him with money, leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected by the parliament; ſo that his Majeſty was reduced to preſſing extremities, and even to a want of common neceſſaries. He reſided at Paris, maintained by his mother who had a penſion from the crown; but cardinal Mazarine, making his court to the common-wealth of England, overlooked the diſtreſs of her unfortunate ſon.

Cromwell increaſes his credit.

On the other hand Cromwell's glory and intereſt were ſo greatly increaſed, ſince the battles of Dunbar and Worceſter, that, being maſter of the armies of three kingdoms, he could in effect command the reſolutions of parliament, no man daring openly to oppoſe him. Beſide he had in the houſe ſo great a number of creatures, that he might eaſily procure whatever he deſired; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, he was the head of the republic, tho' he only had the title of general.

The Engliſh common-wealth's power.

The common-wealth was extremely powerful from its very begining. This ſeems incredible at firſt, conſidering the vaſt ſums which were expended, and how much blood was ſhed, during the civil war. But, as to the expenſe, it ſhould be remembered that the money had not been carried out of the land. The ſole alteration was, that the rich became poor, and the poor rich, which had not ſunk the capital of England. And with reſpect to the multitudes ſlain in the war, it muſt likewiſe be called to mind, that the kingdom ſwarmed with people in the year 1642, having injoyed peace ſince the death of Queen Elizabeth; ſo that the effuſion of blood had not to ſuch a degree diminiſhed the inhabitants, as conſiderably to impair the ſtrength of England. This is manifeſt from the eaſineſs wherewith, in the ſpace of one year, the parliament raiſed an army for Ireland, and another more numerous againſt Scotland, beſide the forces which remained in the kingdom. The navy, having had no enemies to incounter during the war, was in a flouriſhing condition. In a word, England was not leſs powerful than in the reign of Elizabeth, or than it might have been under

(1) Of the Royal army three thouſand were ſlain, and ten thouſand taken priſoners; and of Cromwell's only one hundred killed, and three hundred wounded. Among the captives were three Engliſh peers, ſeven Scotiſh lords, ſix hundred and forty colonels, and other officers; the King's ſtandard with one hundred and fifty-eight colors were likewiſe taken. Whitelock, p. 508.

(2) Leſley reached Lancaſhire before he was overtaken, and the reſt were made priſoners, at Newport in Cheſhire, by a detachment of Lilbourne's horſe. Phillips. p. 608, 609.

(3) This tree grew in the thickeſt part of the wood, which was very narrowly ſearched.——The wood lay either in, or on the borders of Staffordſhire. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 321.

(4) In a ſmall bark from Brighthelmſted, a ſmall fiſher-town in Suſſex. Whitelock ſays, his Majeſty and the lord Wilmot went to London, where they continued three weeks; alſo that the King went up and down in a gentlewoman's habit and at Weſtminſter ſaw the States arms and Scotiſh colors. Mem. p. 488.

(5) See alſo Bates's Elenchus and a ſmall book intitled Boſcobel.

(6) The following motto was, in the reign of James I, writen over the chapel-door of Sterling-caſtle, "I. C. R. Nobis hæc "invicta dederunt centum ſex proavi. 1617." Phillips, p. 611.

James

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James I, and Charles I, had they thought fit to ingage in foreign wars. Nothing therefore underwent a change but the government, and that was in the hands of the moſt able men the kingdom had for many years produced, tho' the power they had was very unjuſtly uſurped. On this account England found itſelf in quite different circumſtances from what it had been under the two preceding Kings, whoſe capacities to govern cannot be highly commended by impartial judges.

Cromwell returns to London. Phillips. Whitelock. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 347.

Cromwell returned to London the twenty-firſt of September, leading in triumph his principal priſoners, who were ſent to the Tower, from whence Maſſey ſome time after found means to eſcape (1). A majority of the parliament, with the ſpeaker at their head, attended by the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, met him at Acton. Eight days after the earl of Derby, being tried by a council of war, received ſentence of death, and was beheaded at Bolton in Lancaſhire (2).

Earl of Derby's execution. October 15.

The parliament's fleet takes Jerſey, Barbadoes and other iſles. Whitelock.

* Of Parham.

During the tranſactions in England, the common-wealth's fleet ſubdued Jerſey, Cornet-caſtle in Guernſey, and the iſle of Man. In January following ſir George Aſcough reduced the iſland of Barbadoes, then governed by the lord Willoughby * for his Majeſty; and the iſles of Nevis and St. Chriſtophers ſubmited without any reſiſtance.

The parliament unite England and Scotland. Phillips. Whitelock. Heath. Ludlow.

England injoying a profound tranquility, and the reduction of Ireland being almoſt compleated, the parliament attempted to unite Scotland with the republic of England. As they had made a conqueſt of that kingdom, they believed it lawful to uſe it as they pleaſed, without conſulting the Scots who where no longer in a condition to oppoſe their pleaſure. An act therefore paſſed in the parliament of England, which utterly aboliſhed regal power in Scotland, and united that kingdom to the Engliſh common-wealth, impowering it to ſend a certain number of repreſentatives to the parliament. Commiſſioners were afterwards ſent into Scotland, to ſetle the terms of this union; and moſt of the Scotiſh peers, being unable to reſiſt the parliament, ſubmited to their will. The marquis of Argyle became one of the moſt zealous adherents to the republic, but the aforeſaid union highly diſguſted the clergy.

They are afraid of Holland.

The Independents, ſince their firſt open appearance, had made a ſurpriſing progreſs. They had beheaded Charles I; aboliſhed the houſe of lords; transformed the monarchy into a common-wealth; quelled the Levellers; humbled the Preſbyterians; ſubdued Scotland; and almoſt compleated the conqueſt of Ireland. The victory at Worceſter ſeemed to have deprived his Majeſty of any refuge, and diſabled him from giving them any diſturbance. Nevertheleſs, the Cavaliers were ſtill a thorn in their ſide, and laid them under continual apprehenſions. It is certain this party could do very little by their own ſtrength, but it was poſſible they might receive aſſiſtance from foreign powers. Indeed the parliament dreaded neither France nor Spain, being ſatiſfied they who managed the affairs of theſe kingdoms did not deſign to attempt the King's reſtoration, and that, ſhould they indeavor to reſtore him, their maritime forces were incapable of withſtanding the navy of England. But there was another power which inſpired them with fear, viz. the States of Holland, who could ſtrongly aſſiſt the Royaliſts: nay, it was probable the Prince of Orange, his Majeſty's brother-in-law, would imploy his great credit in the United Provinces, to ingage them in the quarrel between the King and parliament. It was therefore equally neceſſary to prevent this, as it had been to hinder the Scots from aiding the Preſbyterians.

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Their indeavors to unite the two common-wealths prove abortive. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 355. Phillips, p. 613. Heath, p. 285.

With this view the common-wealth, in the year 1649, diſpatched Doriſlaus to Holland, to propoſe a ſtrict alliance between both the republics. The murder of this agent at the Hague made the leſs noiſe in England, becauſe the parliament intended to avert the danger which might come from that quarter, by a cloſe friendſhip with the States. The Prince of Orange dying in October 1650, it was judged expedient to treat with the Dutch, becauſe his intereſt could no longer obſtruct the negociation. The parliament therefore, in March 1651, ſent Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland to the Hague, not to negociate a bare alliance, but ſuch an union as might render them one body. This propoſal was warmly oppoſed by the States. Firſt, The Engliſh pretended they ſhould renounce all their alliances, except thoſe common to them and the republic of England. Secondly, The parliament's terms were ſuch, that all the advantages lay on their ſide, and the forces of the United Provinces could in reality only ſerve to augment thoſe of England. Thirdly, If we conſider the time when the two envoys arrived at the Hague, it will evidently appear the parliament's affairs were not yet in a ſituation to oblige the States to accept ſo diſadvantageous conditions. Cromwell indeed had, the preceding year, gained the battle of Dunbar: but this was not a deciſive victory ſince his Majeſty was about to head a new army, as he afterwards did, while the Engliſh envoys remained at the Hague. The States would therefore have acted too raſhly, had they concluded this union before a deciſion between the King and parliament. Laſtly, the houſe of Orange's party not being wholly ſuppreſſed greatly oppoſed the union aforeſaid, which would have intirely deſtroyed the hopes of the young Prince of Orange. On all theſe accounts the Engliſh envoys returned in July, not only diſſatisfied at their ill ſucceſs, but likewiſe for ſome inſults on their perſons by the rabble at the Hague (3). This manifeſtly ſhewed the ſubjects of that republic were more inclined to his Majeſty than the parliament, and confirmed their ſuſpicion, that the States would the firſt opportunity openly eſpouſe his cauſe. Thus their report to the then powers contributed to incenſe them againſt the States; and they would perhaps have immediately diſcovered a warm reſentment, were it not for the war with Scotland. It was therefore thought proper to diſſemble 'till that affair was over, to which the battles of Worceſter and Monk's ſucceſs in Scotland gave at laſt a happy concluſion.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 355. Phillips.

(1) As did likewiſe the earl of Middletoun. Phillips, p. 610.

(2) James Stanley, earl of Derby, confeſſed on his trial the plot for a general riſing of the Preſbyterians in Lancaſhire, to join his Majeſty; but it was prevented by the apprehending of mr. Birkenhead. He likewiſe acknowledged the matters of treaſon charged againſt him, and ſubmited to the parliament's mercy. In excuſe he alleged, 1. "He had quarter given him, "and therefore was not to be tried by a court-martial." 2. He pleaded "ignorance of the acts of treaſon ſet forth by the "parliament." But theſe pleas were over-ruled; and he was ſentenced to loſe his head at Bolton. Whitelock, p. 511. He married the daughter of duke de la Tremouille in France. The reward his ſon received, for this famous earl's loyalty, will appear from the following inſcription, fixed by the preſent earl of Derby on a building erected at Knowſley, his ſeat in Lancaſhire:

"JAMES earl of Derby, lord of Man, and the iſles, grandſon of JAMES earl of Derby, and of CHARLOTTE "daughter of CLAUDE duke de la Tremouille, whoſe huſband JAMES was beheaded at Bolton, xv October MDCLII, "for ſtrenuouſly adhering to Charles the ſecond, who refuſed a bill paſt unanimouſly by both houſes of parliament, "for reſtoring to the family the eſtate loſt by his loyalty to him. MDCCXXXII."

(3) Alſo from ſome of the Engliſh there. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 355.

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They highly reſent the conduct of the States.

But if the proſperous end of this war inabled the parliament to undertake another againſt Holland, it on the other hand ſeems to have removed the motives of that undertaking; for, as they were now maſters of Scotland and Ireland, it is very unlikely the Dutch would think of aſſiſting his Majeſty. Beſide, the Prince of Orange being dead, it was not to be imagined the States would promote the King's reſtoration, uncle to the young Prince whom they intended to reduce to the condition of a private perſon. However the common-wealth of England ſo highly reſented the States conduct, that a war was reſolved (1).

Reſolve to declare war againſt them. Phillips. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 360.

Pretenſes were taken from the injuries ſaid to be done to the Engliſh by the Dutch, thirty years before, at Amboyna and other places in the Indies. It is pretended Cromwell conſented to this war, which he judged unneceſſary, merely in complaiſance to St. John and ſome others, who appeared to be extremely incenſed againſt Holland.

Cromwell's ruin the ſecret motive to this war.

The ardent deſire the parliament ſhewed to ingage in this war, on ſo remote pretexts, gives occaſion to conjecture theſe were not the only motives to that proceeding. It is highly probable, even then ſome members, ſecret enemies or enviers of Cromwell, were ſollicitous to ruin him, or at leaſt conſiderably to impair his exceſſive power; apprehending that its being continued in a private perſon could not but prove extremely dangerous to a republican government. They had participated in his counſels and deſigns to ſubvert the Preſbyterian parliament, which gave them an opportunity of knowing his genius and extenſive capacity; and therefore they could not help dreading that he was laboring for himſelf, how plauſibly ſoever he diſguiſed his ambition under the maſk of public good. They eaſily perceived that, if he projected his own advancement, nothing could prevent the execution of his purpoſe, while he was maſter of the army. He muſt therefore either be deprived of this ſupport, or the common-wealth expoſed to his ambitious projects. But it was difficult to procure his conſent to diſband an army intirely at his devotion, and his great influence in the parliament led them to deſpair of effecting it there, without a preſſing neceſſity. Nevertheleſs they believed that, if the republic could be ingaged in a ſea-war, the great expenſe of which was foreſeen, the houſe would by degrees be brought to diſband a land-army, to avoid a needleſs charge. This at firſt view may ſeem to be too refined a piece of policy, but three things concur to ſtrengthen the conjecture. Firſt, The cauſes alleged for this war appear to be inſufficient to ingage the parliament in ſuch an expenſive affair, at a time when it would have been on the contrary very advantageous to let the people injoy the ſweets of peace, that they might learn to reliſh the late eſtabliſhed republican government. Secondly, The ſequel will inform us, that all the ſubmiſſions of the Dutch were ineffectual to obtain a peace, and the parliament would hardly hear their propoſals. Hence it is manifeſt they had ſome ſecret motive to continue the war; and it is difficult to diſcover any other than what I have related. Thirdly, We ſhall ſee hereafter Cromwell evidently perceived, that the ſole reaſon for continuing the war was to give the houſe an occaſion to diſband the army; which made him reſolve to ruin a parliament who ſought his deſtruction. I confeſs it is hard to prove, that the authors of this war againſt the Hollanders at firſt deſigned what I have aſcribed to them; and that, with reſpect to the begining, it is a bare conjecture. But this point is confirmed, when we conſider that the principal members combined to leſſen Cromwell's power, and the war was ſolely prolonged to render the expenſe of it a plauſible pretenſe for diſbanding the land-army, as uſeleſs, but which was neceſſary to the ſupport of that general.

Ibid.

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An act of parliament gives riſe to the war. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 355.

However this be, Cromwell returning victorious from Worceſter, as he had before done from Ireland and Scotland, his credit ſo greatly increaſed, that he became in a manner the ſoul of the parliament and common-wealth of England. Whether he did not at firſt diſcern the ſecret ſprings of the projected war, or from ſome other motive, he readily conſented to the deſign of humbling Holland, the only foreign power from whom the parliament were apprehenſive of any danger. But as it was expedient to manage the people, who would not eaſily be convinced of the neceſſity of this war, the houſe reſolved to force the Dutch to be the aggreſſors, or at leaſt afford a pretenſe for hoſtilities. With this view, under color of incouraging navigation, they paſſed an act prohibiting the importation of all foreign commodities except upon Engliſh bottoms, or thoſe of the country from whence they were brought. This act, to commence the firſt of December 1651, deſtroyed all commerce between the Engliſh and Hollanders, which wholly conſiſted in foreign merchandiſes imported from Holland in their own veſſels. Moreover the parliament granted letters of mart to ſeveral private perſons, who complained of an unjuſt confiſcation of their ſhips in Holland.

The States indeavor to prevent a war. Decemb. p. 355. Whitelock. Phillips, p. 613.

The States plainly perceived the deſign of this proceeding, but rather than uſe hoſtile means, as the Engliſh expected, they ſent an embaſſy to London, to ſollicit a repeal of the act. The parliament received the embaſſadors with great reſpect, and admited them to ſeveral audiences, intending to intimate that nothing ſhould be wanting on their parts to preſerve the peace between the two common-wealths: but, when the particular articles came to be diſcuſſed, it manifeſtly appeared they were reſolutely bent upon war. Inſtead of revoking the navigation-act, they revived ſeveral ſtale pretenſions. Satisfaction was required for the maſſacre of the Engliſh at Amboyna, in the year 1622; for the loſſes ſuſtained from the Dutch, ſince the year 1618, in the Indies, Perſia, the Mogul's dominions, Muſcovy, Greenland, and the iſle of Poleron. Theſe damages, according to the parliament's computation, amounted to ſeventeen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. A ſuitable reparation was likewiſe demanded for the murder of Doriſlaus commited at the Hague, under the eye of the States, who had taken no proper ſteps to bring the authors to puniſhment. In fine, ſatisfaction was inſiſted on for the ſecret intelligence the laſt embaſſadors from the States had held with the late King, during the civil war. For theſe ſatisfactions and reparations the parliament offered to enter into an alliance with the United Provinces, on the terms propoſed by their envoys at the Hague (2).

The parliament's pretenſions. Burchet's Nav. Hiſt. p. 380.

Letters of the parliament to foreign Princes. p. 41.

An' 1652. Whitelock, p. 535.

Theſe propoſitions convinced the States, that it was neceſſary to make warlike preparations. Accordingly with great diligence and expenſe they fited out a fleet of a hundred and fifty ſail. They were unwilling however to declare war againſt the Engliſh, reſolving, if poſſible, to make them the

(1) Hoſtilities commenced between the two nations, in October 1651. when an Engliſh man of war, meeting ſome Dutch fiſher-men, required of them the tenth herring, as an acknowledgment of England's ſovereignty in thoſe ſeas, or elſe inſiſting on their ſtriking ſail, which the Dutch refuſed; whereupon they proceeded from words to blows, and the Dutch firing firſt at the Engliſh, the man of war ſunk one of their ſhips, and all the men were loſt. Whitelock, p. 512.

(2) They likewiſe demanded a free trade upon the Schelde from Middleburgh to Antwerp. Heath, p. 308.

aggreſſors,

aggreſſors. To this end, while the States embaſſadors continued at London, their admiral Martin Van Trump, one of the moſt valiant and experienced ſea-officers in Europe, appeared in the channel with a fleet of forty-five ſhips of war, under color of conveying ſome merchant-men, and anchored in Dover-road, probably with an intent to provoke the Engliſh to begin hoſtilities. Admiral Blake, commander of the Engliſh fleet conſiſting only of twenty-ſix ſail, coming in ſight, the Dutch weighed anchor and put to ſea without ſtriking their flag, whereupon Blake fired three guns without ball for a ſignal to ſtrike. Trump only anſwered by drawing up his ſhips in line of battle, and, to ſhew his contempt of the ſignal, diſcharging a ſingle gun, and advancing up to the Engliſh admiral gave him a broad-ſide: ſo that the begining of the fight leaves it uncertain, which ſide was the aggreſſor (1). Both the admirals had expreſs orders not to ingage, unleſs there was an apparent neceſſity. The Engliſh affirm the States ordered Trump not to ſtrike to their fleet, to oblige them to commence hoſtilities. This is not unlikely; tho' it is not mentioned by the Dutch hiſtorians (2). Blake being re-inforced with eight ſhips, the ingagement continued from four in the after-noon 'till night. The Engliſh, if credit is to be given to their authors, had not ſo much as a ſhip damaged, while the Dutch loſt two, one ſunk and the other taken. They farther add that, night approaching, Trump drew his fleet to the back of Goodwin-ſands, and next morning ſailed for Zealand. The Dutch acknowledge the loſs of two ſhips, but ſay the Engliſh had ſix ſunk, and that the night only preſerved their fleet from intire deſtruction. It is not eaſy with exactneſs to diſcover the truth in ſuch contradictory accounts, eſpecially concerning naval ingagements. However the conſternation this battle occaſioned at London, and inſults the populace offered to the Dutch embaſſadors, which obliged the parliament to allow them a guard, ſeem to ſhew the people were diſpleaſed with the ſucceſs.

May. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 356. Phillips. Whitelock.

First naval ingagement. May 17. Phillips. Whitelock, p. 533. Heath. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 356.

p. 357.

The embaſſadors, knowing the ſentiments of their maſters, attempted, in an audience obtained of the parliament, to prove that the battle was purely accidental. On the other hand the States diſpatched an embaſſador extraordinary, to propoſe an agreement; viz. Adrian Paw, who had been plenipotentiary at the treaty of Munſter: but the parliament rigidly inſiſting on all the articles propoſed before the rupture (3), they recalled their embaſſadors, and reſolved to continue the war, ſince this was the only ſtep they could take to procure a peace. A manifeſto was publiſhed, in which they pretend to demonſtrate, the Engliſh attacked them, without the leaſt provocation; and the parliament replied in another, repreſenting all the aforeſaid occaſions of complaint, and adding the refuſal to ſtrike the flag, a right they at all hazards reſolved to maintain. The States anſwered, it was true their commonwealth, in its infancy, had paid that compliment to the royal dignity, when England was governed by a King, but they could not think themſelves obliged to the ſame reſpect ſince the monarchy was altered into a republican government. After all, this was far from being the real cauſe of the war: but theſe manifeſto's were neceſſary on both ſides to perſuade the people, that they did not ingage without neceſſity in extraordinary expenſes to ſupport hoſtilities.

Whitelock, p. 533. Phillips, p. 614. The States embaſſy fruitleſs. July. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 357. Phillips. Whitelock. Manifeſto's from both nations. Collection of treaties, Vol. III. p. 36, &c. The Engliſh inſiſt on ſtriking the flag, and the States reply. Whitelock.

The war being ſufficiently declared, not only by a battle but alſo manifeſto's, Van Trump put to ſea with a fleet of ſeventy ſhips: and Van Gallen ſailed to the Mediterranean to fight the Engliſh there. Trump's intent was to ingage admiral Aſcough, who lay in the Downs with part of the Engliſh fleet; but, while he waited an opportunity, admiral Blake with forty ſhips ſailed to the Northward, to attack the herring-fleet and their convoy (4). Trump, hearing of it, chaſes and overtakes him near New-caſtle: but, before he was prepared for the fight, a furious tempeſt ſo diſperſed his fleet, that he returned to Holland with only forty ſail, the reſt which eſcaped ſhipwreck not arriving at the Texel 'till ſome weeks after.

Van Trump's fleet diſperſed by a ſtorm. Auguſt. New Hiſtory of Holland. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 357. Phillips. Whitelock, p. 541.

About this time Ruyter, convoying a fleet of merchant-men with thirty-four ſhips (5), was met by ſir George Aſcough, and a fierce battle inſued, in which both ſides fought with bravery, 'till the latter at laſt was conſtrained to retire to Plymouth, and the former left at liberty to convoy his fleet into Holland.

Ruyter and Aſcough ingage. Aug. 16. Whitelock.

During the ingagement in the channel, Van Gallen attacked and defeated the Engliſh in the Mediterranean; but at the expenſe of his life, being ſlain in the fight.

Van Gallen ſlain. Septemb.

In the interim the Engliſh, puting to ſea with a formidable fleet, became maſters of the channel, their enemy not daring to appear; and a conſiderable number of Dutch veſſels, returning from Holland without being informed of the war, were taken by them, and among the reſt a fleet of forty ſail from Portugal with ſix India ſhips richly laden.

The Engliſh formidable at ſea, take many of the enemies ſhips. Whitelock.

The States, unwilling to expoſe their merchants to greater loſſes, gave notice to the merchant-men homeward bound, to ſail for the iſle of Rhé, where they ſhould find a fleet prepared to convoy them. Accordingly Trump left the Goree in November, with ſeventy men of war and ſix fire-ſhips, and met Blake who expected him in the channel. The ingagement laſted from eight in the morning 'till night, when one part of the Engliſh fleet retired to the Downs, and another into the Thames. A wound Blake received having thrown his fleet into ſome diſorder, he could not prevent Trump from purſuing his courſe (6).

Trump ſails to the iſle of Rhé.

An ingagement in the channel. Novemb. 29. Whitelock. Heath. R. Coke.

Since the late King's death, the duke of Gloceſter, his third ſon, had been confined in the iſle of Wight, and educated as a private gentleman, thoſe who were intruſted with the care of his education having expreſs orders to ſhew him no reſpect, which might remind him of his royal extraction. At laſt the parliament reſolved to ſend him out of the kingdom, and for this purpoſe he was conducted to Dunkirk, from whence he paid a viſit to his ſiſter the Princeſs of Orange, at Breda, and then repaired to the King his brother at Paris.

The duke of Gloceſter ſent out of England. February. Phillips. Heath.

(1) Trump's refuſing to ſtrike the flag and giving Blake a broad-ſide ſeems to put it out of all doubt, that the Dutch were aggreſſors.

(2) The admiralty-council of Holland, who govern the maritime affairs without any communication with the States-general, ordered Trump not to ſtrike. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 356.

(3) They would liſten to no propoſals, without previous ſatisfaction for their charges and damages. Whitelock, p. 537.

(4) Conſiſting of twelve men of war. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 358.

(5) According to the Engliſh hiſtorians there were ninety ſhips, and thirty of them merchant-men. Aſcough had only thirty-eight ſail. Whitelock, p. 541, 542.

(6) With a broom on his main-top-maſt, as if he had ſwept, or deſigned to ſweep all the Engliſh ſhips out of the channel. Phillips, p. 615.———This year Prince Maurice was loſt by means of a hurricane in the Weſt-Indies. In September, Ralph, lord Hopton departed this life at Bruges in Flanders.———The ſame year likewiſe died Jacob, lord Aſtley, and John Digby, earl of Briſtol. Heath.

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A naval ingagement which lasted three days. Feb. 18, &c. Whitelock. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 360. Phillips. Heath. Ludlow.

Blake put to sea again in February, being at his own request assisted with Monk and Deane, lately arrived for that purpose from Scotland. The three admirals designed to attack Trump, in his return from the isle of Rhé with three hundred merchantmen he was to convoy into Holland. The States, having intelligence of the mighty preparations in England, had equiped twenty sail to re-inforce their admiral in his passage, but they were detained by contrary winds. In the mean while Trump, entering the channel and conducting the merchant-ships along the coasts of France, met the English fleet, much more numerous than his own: but having advanced too far to recede, a furious fight commenced which continued three days, and would have been renewed the fourth, had the ships on either side been able to sustain a fresh charge. The Dutch lost in this action eighteen men of war, and eight merchant-men(1): but their historians pretend twenty ships of the enemy were sunk, and three stranded. Each side claimed the victory. However this be, Trump brought his three hundred merchant-men safe into Holland, the eight excepted which were taken by the English; and he afterwards ingaged them four several times, but not in so important a manner.

An' 1653.

His Majesty offers to put himself on board the Dutch fleet. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 358. His proposal rejected. p. 360.

Shortly after the King, believing he had many friends among the English commanders, offered to put himself on board the Dutch fleet, without any command except such English ships as should voluntarily join him: but the States thought fit to reject his proposal. It was considered as a snare to ingage them in his quarrel, to which they had no inclination in their present condition. They were desirous of peace, and unwilling to obstruct, or render it impossible, by espousing his Majesty's cause. They even contrived a secret way to convey a letter to Lenthal, the speaker, from the particular States of Holland, to propose an agreement. Some affirm this was occasioned by a private intimation given by Cromwell, who at length perceived a peace to be proper for his own security. He had the address to procure from the parliament a civil answer to the letter received by Lenthal; but the reply was directed to the States General. Upon this the States sent another letter, dated the thirtieth of April, in which they openly requested the parliament would be pleased to nominate a place for the treaty.

The States sue for a peace.

Project against Cromwell. p. 360, 371, 372. Ludlow.

Cromwell at last discovered the continuation of the war was projected by his enemies, that the expense might render it necessary to disband an army now become useless, to which he saw the house was inclined. This evidently tended to supplant his authority: for tho' he was indowed with excellent qualities, and had by his valor and capacity raised the common-wealth to its present grandeur, he was however still an object of their fear. They dreaded that his power, already excessive, would still farther increase, to the prejudice of the republic; and his ruin had been infallible, were it not for the army's assistance. Cromwell was even privately informed of a conspiracy against him, in which not only several Presbyterians and Royalists were concerned, but even some considerable members of parliament of the Independent party. Affairs therefore were so situated, that either the house must be subdued, or himself destroyed: but such a choice does not long amuse the ambitious. Cromwell, resenting a design to requite his services with ingratitude, readily resolved to hazard every thing to become master of the parliament, rather than be made their vassal, who were properly indebted to him for all their authority.

Which oblige him to destroy the parliament.

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Cromwell's measures to support his authority. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 371. Whitelock.

The house, as I observed, was wholly supported by the army, by whose means they held the kingdom in subjection; but since the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, Cromwell had so gained the esteem and affections of both officers and soldiers, that they no farther regarded the parliament's interest, than they were confounded with those of their general. The leading members perceived this, and had therefore formed a design of disbanding the army, more easily to effect Cromwell's destruction: but such a project could not long be concealed from a person of his penetration. Having discovered the intentions of his enemies he directly resolved to withdraw the army's confidence from the parliament, judging it the only way to support himself; for, this step being taken, it would not be difficult to bring about their ruin. This was the very means practised by himself and the other Independents, to destroy the Presbyterian parliament. He therefore caused the officers of the army, in a general council, to draw up a petition, and present it to the house, in which they demanded, "The arrears "of their pay, that they might not be compelled "to take free quarter upon their fellow subjects, "who already paid so great contribution and "taxes, which they were well assured, if rightly "managed, would defray all the charges of the "war, and of the government."

The officers petition the parliament. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 372. Phillips. Whitelock.

They demand its dissolution. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 372.

The house, as was foreseen by Cromwell, complained of the insolence of this petition, and ordered a reprimand to the officers for their presumption, to intermeddle in affairs which did not concern them, and to arraign the parliament's management of the treasury. This occasioned a second petition from the army, which reminded the house of some of the professions they had formerly made, "That they would be glad to be dissolved, and "that there might be successive parliaments, to "undergo the same trouble they had done. "They therefore desired them to remember, how "many years they had sat, and tho' they had "done great things, yet it was a great injury to "the rest of the nation, to be utterly excluded "from bearing any part in the service of their "country, by their ingrossing the whole power "into their hands: and thereupon besought them "that they would setle a council of war for "the administration of the government, during "the interval, and then dissolve themselves, and "summon a new parliament; which, they told "them, would be the most popular act they could "perform."

This remonstrance, tho' designed to exasperate the parliament, seemed however very just in itself, and agreeable to the general sentiment of the kingdom. This will evidently appear if we consider, how the members, of which the house consisted, had attained the supreme authority. The violence they had used to their collegues; the tragical death of Charles I; the change of the monarchy into a republican form, and the taxes imposed on the people for an unnecessary war, had rendered them odious to the whole nation. They were themselves convinced of these things: but, as it was extremely mortifying to think of divesting themselves of an authority which had so many charms, they had also reason to dread an account would be demanded of their proceedings. They were therefore unwilling to quit possession, tho' they could not avoid solemnly deliberating on the petition, which was of too great importance to be neglected. In this debate all the members, who were officers in the army, strenuously maintained the petition. p. 373. Phillips.

(1) According to some they lost eleven ships of war, thirty merchant men, and had fifteen hundred men slain in the ingagement. Burchet, p. 383.

They

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The Preſbyterians, who had been admited into the houſe on ſwearing to the ingagement, were likewiſe of opinion, the parliament ought to diſſolve themſelves, ſince it was undoubtedly the nations, deſire. But, the negative being carried by a majority of votes, the houſe reſolved, that it was not yet time to diſſolve themſelves, while affairs were depending which muſt neceſſarily be finiſhed, and particularly the important war with Holland: but that nevertheleſs the ſpeaker ſhould iſſue out writs for filling the vacant ſeats in the houſe. A commitee was alſo then appointed ſpeedily to prepare a bill, by which all perſons were prohibited to preſent ſuch petitions, on pain of being declared guilty of high-treaſon.

The houſe votes againſt it,

and prepares an act to prohibit ſuch petitions.

This was no more than Cromwell expected. After ſo poſitive a declaration it could not be doubted, that the members who had ſat upwards of twelve years, and but too much abuſed their power, would always retain the ſupreme authority, under color of being repreſentatives of a commonwealth, which properly was compoſed only of themſelves. Cromwell therefore, well aſſured the people deteſted this parliament, and that it was equally odious to the army, believed he owed no farther regard to men, who only ſought his deſtruction. Having previouſly concerted matters with the principal officers, he came to the houſe, the twentieth of April, with ſome officers and ſoldiers, and without any ceremony told the members, he was come to deſtroy their power, which they had abuſed; and therefore they were forthwith to be diſſolved. The officers and ſoldiers entered at the ſame time, and ſtayed at the door 'till the members walked out. Cromwell, as they paſſed him, reproached one with drunkenneſs, and another with corruption, not ſparing to upbraid any whom he knew to be his enemies. After that he gave the mace to one of his officers, and locked the door (1). This, tho' a very extraordinary action, was no more than general Fairfax had done a few years before, when he expelled and impriſoned the members who were diſliked by the army.

Cromwell diſſolves the parliament. April 20. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 373, 374.

Remarks on that proceeding.

However it cannot be ſaid Cromwell had hitherto pulled off the maſk. He might ſtill be thought to have the good of the public in view, ſince he had only delivered the nation from a parliament which had long inſlaved them; and had he afterwards called a free parliament, and ſubmited himſelf to it, the people would have loaded him with bleſſings. But the ſequel manifeſtly ſhews, he ſolely conſulted his own advantage (2): yet if it be conſidered that the kingdom was then divided into three parties, each of them avowed enemies to the other two, it is ſcarce to be imagined a parliament, tho' ever ſo free, would have been able to ſetle the peace of the nation. It was almoſt impoſſible to content three parties, of ſuch oppoſite principles and intereſts both with reſpect to government and religion. Force alone, by rendering one of them ſuperior, was capable of awing the other two. This doubtleſs was foreſeen by Cromwell, who therefore reſolved to model the ſtate according to his own inclination, ſupport his ſetlement by violence, and diſregard the chimerical project of pleaſing every man in the kingdom. He perceived the neceſſity of a ſupreme authority to command obedience, without which all would run into diſorder, and that it muſt be ſupported by the army; and queſtionleſs he thought himſelf more able than any other perſon, to preſide at the helm of affairs. I do not pretend to juſtify all the proceedings of this great man, whoſe ability was never diſputed; but only to prove he could have taken no other courſe at that juncture, without throwing the ſtate into a moſt dreadful confuſion. Since therefore, as matters were then ſituated, England muſt be governed by force, was it more inconvenient for the nation to be ruled by the greateſt general and ſtateſman England had for many years produced, than by an Independent or Preſbyterian parliament, or a King intoxicated with arbitrary power? The people, after a trial of all theſe governments, found them inſupportable; and therefore a fourth muſt be tried, things being in ſuch a ſituation that it was neither poſſible nor expedient to ſubmit to any of the other three. This being ſuppoſed, it cannot be denied Cromwell was better qualified to govern ſo great a ſtate, than any other man then in the kingdom. No objection could be made againſt him, which might not with more reaſon have been urged againſt any other perſon who ſhould ſeize the government, or any body of men inveſted with the ſupreme authority. If on certain occaſions he abuſed his power, and in all he did ſolely conſulted his own glory and intereſt, it is not my deſign to vindicate his behavior. However it is certain things have been highly aggravated, and ſome of his actions miſrepreſented, which with impartial and unprejudiced perſons, are capable of an eaſy vindication. The whole difficulty attending this affair lies in the ſuppoſition made by each of the ſeveral parties, that their form of government was beſt and moſt perfect: but, as Cromwell had no regard to any of the ſchemes, he was equally exclaimed againſt by all the three parties. The Independents, fond of their democracy, tho' it was no more than an empty name, were incenſed at him, for ſubverting a ſtructure himſelf had erected. The Preſbyterians would have been extremely well pleaſed, had he reſtored the parliament to its former ſtate, at the begining of the year 1648, when they were maſters; and they could not forgive him, for taking a courſe contrary to that which they believed the moſt natural. It was agreeable to the Royaliſts that Cromwell had diſſolved the Independent, without reſtoring the Preſbyterian parliament; but, to content them, he muſt have placed the King on his throne, and put the church of England in poſſeſſion of all her rights. The reader is left to judge, whether, in the then condition of England, what the three parties deſired was either juſt, expedient, or poſſible. It is not therefore ſurpriſing, if all theſe parties equally diſliked Cromwell's proceedings, and loaded him with invectives.

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Shortly after Cromwell publiſhed a declaration

(1) Whitelock, who was preſent, affirms, Cromwell led a file of muſqueteers into the houſe, and in a furious tone ordered the ſpeaker to quit his chair, telling the houſe, "They had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good; that ſome "of them were whore-maſters (looking towards Henry Martin and ſir Peter Wentworth) others of them were drunkards, "and ſome corrupt and unjuſt men, and ſcandalous in the profeſſion of the goſpel; and that it was not fit they ſhould ſit any "longer, and deſired them to go away." Whereupon among all the members, many of whom wore ſwords and would ſometimes talk big, not a man offered to draw againſt Cromwell, but every one tamely departed the houſe. He ſaid to the ſoldiers, "Take away that fool's bauble the mace." Whitelock, p. 554.

(2) It is probable he formed the project of invading the government, juſt after the battle of Worceſter; for he met at the ſpeaker's, with ſeveral members of parliament and principal officers of the army, to conſult about the ſetlement of the nation. The ſoldiers were for a common-wealth, the lawyers for a mixed monarchy, and many for the duke of Gloceſter's being placed on the throne; but Cromwell ſtill put off that debate, and it is believed his intent in this conference was only to ſound thoſe great men, that he might manage accordingly. Whitelock, p. 516.

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to juſtify his diſſolution of the parliament; and, his deſigns not being yet diſcovered, it was ſubſcribed by the colonels of the army and all the ſea-captains, and met with a general approbation.

Cromwell vindicates his conduct in a declaration. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 374. Heath, p. 340. Whitelock.

The houſe being diſſolved, it was neceſſary the ſupreme power ſhould be ſome where lodged. Cromwell might have aſſumed the reins of government by force, as he had diſmiſſed the parliament: but he did not deſign to uſurp the ſovereign authority in ſuch a notorious manner. His intent was that it ſhould be given him by parliament, in order to dazzle the eyes of the public. The council of officers, who had petitioned the houſe, being ſtill aſſembled, Cromwell cauſed them to reſolve, that a hundred and forty-four perſons ſhould be intruſted with the ſovereign power. In the choice of theſe men Cromwell at once diſplayed his capacity, and diſcovered he had ſome ſecret deſign, which would openly appear on a proper occaſion. They were all of mean extraction, illiterate, of no particular merit, unexperienced in buſineſs, and in a word utterly incapable of an imploy of ſuch importance (1). Cromwell evidently perceived they would ſoon be tired, and obliged to reſign the government into his hands, and ſo furniſh him with a pretenſe to aſſume it to himſelf. Having made this remarkable choice, he wrote to each ſeparately to meet at Whitehall the fourth of July, in order to enter upon the adminiſtration of public affairs (2).

Chuſes 144 perſons to take care of the government. Whitelock, p. 558, 559. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 376. Bates. Dugdale's View. Heath, p. 350.

Theſe new ſovereigns meeting on the day appointed, Cromwell made a ſpeech, and, when he had ended, gave them an inſtrument, ſigned by himſelf and the principal officers of the army, by which they were inveſted with the ſupreme authority. It imported, that all theſe members, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowleged the ſovereign power of England, to whom all perſons were to yield obedience and ſubjection 'till the third of November, 1654, that is during a year and four months: that, three months before their diſſolution, they were to chuſe ſucceſſors, whoſe authority ſhould not exceed one year, and then they were alſo to provide and take care for a like ſucceſſion in the government. But we ſhall preſently ſee, Cromwell was far from intending this regulation ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved. Theſe members, being thus impowered, did not ſcruple to ſtile themſelves a parliament, and choſe one Rouſe (3) for their ſpeaker. The whole kingdom was aſtoniſhed to find themſelves under the dominion of ſuch perſons, moſt of whom were artificers, or retail merchants (4). There was among them one Barebone a leather-ſeller, who in his neighborhood paſſed for a notable ſpeaker, becauſe he uſually entertained them with long harangues upon the times; and from him the people in deriſion called them Barebone's parliament (5). I ſhall for a moment leave this ridiculous aſſembly, which did nothing worth notice, to reſume the recital of the wars and affairs between England and Holland.

Delegates it to them by an inſtrument. Bates. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 377. Whitelock, p. 559. Phillips.

They aſſume the name of parliament. Whitelock, p. 560. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 377, 378.

Are in deriſion called Bareboue's parliament.

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The letter the States-general ſent to the parliament the twentieth of April, the day on which its diſſolution happened, was refered to the council of ſtate, eſtabliſhed by Cromwell and his officers, 'till the new parliament ſhould be aſſembled; and, being under Cromwell's direction, they gave a favorable anſwer to the States, with hopes of a peace on ſending plenipotentiaries to London.

The council of ſtate anſwer a letter from the States. May 6.

The Engliſh affairs were then in a ſtate of uncertainty, of which it was difficult to foreſee the iſſue. Cromwell had by his ſole authority diſſolved the parliament, and named a council of ſtate who ruled the nation, with no other right than what they derived from the officers; and therefore it was improper for the States either to treat of, or conclude a peace with ſuch perſons. But the provinces of Holland and Zealand, the greateſt ſufferers by it, wiſhed at any rate to put an end to the war; and at laſt, after warm debates, the States-general nominated four embaſſadors to negociate a treaty at London.

who appoint embaſſadors to negociate a peace. Whitelock, p. 558. R. Coke.

While their inſtructions were preparing, the Engliſh and Dutch fleets met the ſecond of June, and came to an ingagement, which was renewed the next day: in the latter of which Trump, fighting with great diſadvantage, was forced to retreat in diſorder, having loſt many ſhips which were taken or ſunk by the enemy (6).

After this battle the Engliſh fleet, being reinforced to the number of a hundred ſail, was for ſome time miſtreſs of the ſea, and frequently alarmed the coaſts of Holland. At laſt Trump, having as much as poſſible repaired his fleet, tho' inferior to that of the enemy both in the number and largeneſs of ſhips (7), attacked it again near the Texel. The fight laſted from morning to night, neither ſide gaining any conſiderale advantage. It was renewed the next day with the ſame fury, Trump being re-inforced by twenty-ſeven ſhips; nor did the ſecond day decide the victory. The third day introduced a freſh ingagement, in which Trump was ſlain by a muſquet-ball: but vice-admiral De Witzen continued the fight 'till both fleets, as if by conſent, retired to their own coaſts, unable any longer to ſuſtain a charge. The loſs was great on both ſides (8), and neither had reaſon to boaſt of the victory, but the loſs of admiral Trump was irreparable to Holland.

The two fleets ingage. June 2. Trump beaten. Whitelock. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 380---382. Another fight which continues three days, begun July 29. p. 381. Whitelock, p. 562. Phillips. Heath, p. 346, 348. Trump ſlain. The fleets retire. Whitelock, p. 564.

Cromwell repaired the Engliſh fleet with all expedition, in hopes of reaping ſome advantage from the conſternation cauſed by Trump's death, the loſs of ſo many ſhips, and the diviſion then reigning among the United Provinces: but a tempeſt ſo damaged his fleet, that he was obliged either to make a peace, or load the people with new taxes, which was extremly improper in the preſent ſituation of

The Engliſh put to ſea again. Their fleet damaged by a tempeſt.

(1) Several of them were gentlemen and had eſtates, credit, and reputation. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 376.

(2) After a ſhort preamble the letter ran as follows; "I Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all "the armies and forces raiſed, or to be raiſed within this common-wealth, do hereby ſummon and require you (being one of "the perſons nominated) perſonally to appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall, within the city of Weſtminſter, upon the "4th of July next inſuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the truſt unto which you are hereby called and "appointed, to ſerve as a member for the county of——and hereof you are not to fail." O. Cromwell.

Given under my hand and ſeal the 8th day of June 1653. Whitelock, p. 558.

(3) An ancient gentleman of Devon, provoſt of Eaton, and member of the long parliament.

(4) Some were greatly ſurpriſed that theſe gentlemen, many of whom were perſons of fortune and capacity, would at this ſummons, and from ſuch hands, take upon them the ſovereign authority of the nation, conſidering how little right Cromwell and his officers had to give it, or they to take it; but it was accepted by them. Whitelock, p. 559.

(5) His name was Praiſe God Barebone, from whom, he being a great ſpeaker in the parliament, it was called as above.

(6) Six were ſunk, and twelve taken with thirteen hundred and fifty priſoners. Blake, Monk, and Deane at firſt jointly commanded the Engliſh fleet; but Deane was ſlain, and in the latter ingagement Monk alone had the command. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 380. Whitelock, p. 558.

(7) The Dutch had ninety men of war, and the Engliſh one hundred and ſix. Whitelock, p. 562. Phillips. p. 619.

(8) Twenty-ſeven Dutch ſhips were fired or ſunk, and above a thouſand priſoners taken. The Engliſh loſt but four ſhips, four hundred men, and eight captains; and they had upwards of ſeven hundred common ſailors and five captains wounded. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 381.

his

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Peace negociated at London.

his affairs. He therefore regarded the States propoſals, and the whole following winter was ſpent in this negociation.

The parliament returns the ſupreme authority to the officers. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 378. Whitelock, p. 570, 571. Phillips.

Barebone's parliament did nothing remarkable in a ſeſſion of more than five months (1): nor indeed was it called for that purpoſe. At laſt the twelfth of December, the ſpeaker, with a conſiderable number of the members, who knew Cromwell's deſign, being aſſembled ſooner than uſual, one of them roſe up and ſaid; that they were unequal to the burden laid upon them, and therefore propoſed a diſſolution of themſelves; and a reſignation of the ſoverein power into their hands from whom it was received. This motion met with a ready and unanimous approbation. Then the ſpeaker, and all the preſent members, without waiting for thoſe who were abſent, quited their ſeats, and directly repaired to Cromwell and the council of officers: to whom they declared, that they found themſelves incapable of the truſt repoſed in them, and, reſigning their inſtrument, intreated them to take care of the government. Thus Cromwell and his council of officers were a ſecond time inveſted with the ſupreme authority, by thoſe perſons on whom they had confered it; and it is evident this had been reſolved from the calling of the parliament, in order to derive a parliamentary authority to thoſe who had by their own power diſſolved the former parliament. This was ſo groſs an artifice, that Cromwell's belief to impoſe upon the people is matter of amazement: but the moſt palpable abſurdity is eaſily ſwallowed by means of an irreſiſtible power.

The council of officers make CromwellProtector. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 378. Whitelock, p. 571. Bates.

Two days after the council of officers, by virtue of the authority lately received from the parliament, declared that henceforward the government of the common-wealth ſhould reſide in a ſingle perſon, viz. Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of the forces of England, Scotland and Ireland, who ſhould be ſtiled Protector of the three kingdoms, and be aſſiſted by a council of twenty-one perſons.

Inſtrument of government. Whitelock. p. 571. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 379. Bates.

The ſixteenth of December, the council of officers ſent for the commiſſioners of the great-ſeal, with the lord-mayor and aldermen of London; and, acquainting them that Cromwell was made Protector, they cauſed to be read in their preſenſe, a paper termed the inſtrument of government, the ſubſtance whereof was: I. A parliament to be called every three years by the Protector. II. The firſt to meet the third of September 1654. III. No parliament to be diſſolved 'till they have ſat five months. IV. Such bills as are offered to the Protector by the parliament, if he do not confirm them in twenty days, to be laws without him. V. That his council ſhould not exceed the number of one and twenty, nor be leſs than thirteen (2). VI. Immediately after Cromwell's death, the council ſhall chuſe another Protector before they riſe. VII. No Protector after the preſent ſhall be general of the army. VIII. The Protector ſhall have power to make war and peace. IX. The Protector and his council may make laws binding on the ſubject, during the intervals of parliament. After the reading of this inſtrument, Cromwell ſwore to obſerve it to the utmoſt of his power. Then he was conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, Lambert carrying the ſword of ſtate before him, and from that time he was honored with the title of Highneſs and Lord Protector. Immediately after he was proclaimed as ſuch in London, and then in the three kingdoms which were united into one common-wealth. The city of London invited him to a magnificent entertainment, and gave him ſuch a reception as was not inferior to what had ever been performed to the King.

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Cromwell takes an oath to obſerve it. Whitelock, p. 577.

Aſſumes the title of Highneſs.

The city invite him to an entertainment. Feb. 8. Idem. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 379.

Thus Cromwell, whoſe extraction ſeemed to have placed him at an infinite diſtance from ſovereignty, found means to attain the ſupreme authority. When the long parliament's proceedings againſt Charles I; the meaſures taken to effect his deſtruction; their obſtinate refuſal of peace, unleſs epiſcopacy was aboliſhed and the regal power reduced; the Independents policy in concealing themſelves many years among the Preſbyterians, 'till his Majeſty was in no condition to hurt them, their intrigues to gain the army; tyrannical treatment of the Preſbyterians and the King himſelf, and in fine Cromwell's early adherence to that party: I ſay when theſe particulars are conſidered, one is inclined to believe his grand deſign was projected from the begining of that parliament, and the following tranſactions ſolely flowed from this fountain. Accordingly nothing leſs is inſinuated by ſome, with an intent to ſhew Charles I was perſecuted, merely to put the aforeſaid project in execution. But if on the other hand we remember, that it was almoſt impoſſible for Cromwell to entertain any ſuch views, when his credit was ſmall and himſelf hardly known to the parliament; that his reputation increaſed by a ſeries of events intirely out of his power, and by battles he might have loſt, it is ſcarce credible he could have formed ſuch a deſign before his victory at Worceſter. In all appearance he had, even before that battle, an eye to his own advancement, but not to the ſupreme authority. Some of Cromwell's party were perſons of too great ſagacity not to diſcover his intentions, had his ambition ſoared ſo high: but as no ſteps were taken to ruin him 'till after this victory, very probably they did not any ſooner perceive his deſigns, and it was only from that time, or perhaps not ſo early, he began to aſpire after the ſovereign power, for, being then commander in chief, he had leſs way to go, than when he was only lieutenant-general (3).

Remarks on Cromwell's advancement.

(1) They paſſed an act for marriages, ordering the banes to be publiſhed in the next market, three ſeveral days, and the ceremony to be performed by a juſtice of peace: and that a regiſter ſhould be appointed in all pariſhes to keep an account of them. Scobell.

(2) The firſt council choſen, purſuant to this inſtrument, were colonel Montague, colonel Lambert, viſcount Liſle, colonel Deſborough; Gilbert Pickering, Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Charles Wolſey, baronets; major-general Skippon, Walter Strickland, colonel Sydenham, colonel Jones, Francis Rouſe, John Lawrence, Richard Major. Phillips, p. 621. See the inſtrument at large in Whitelock's Mem. p. 571, &c.

(3) Cromwell told mr. Bellievre: "L'on ne montoit jamai, ſi haut, que quand on ne ſcait ou l'on va." That is, "A man "never riſes ſo high, as when he knows not where he is going." Retz. Mem. Vol. III. p. 385.

OLIVER

OLIVER CROMWELL, Protector.

Inter-reg. An' 1654.

A peace between England and Holland. Collect. of Treaties, Vol. III. p. 67. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 382.

THE treaty between England and Holland was at laſt brought to a concluſion, being ſigned the fifth of April 1654. Cromwell took great advantage of the neceſſity the States were under to conclude a peace. Before they could obtain it, he obliged them to promiſe the payment of large ſums for the damages the Engliſh had ſuſtained thirty years ſince (1); and alſo to ſtrike to the common-wealth's ſhips as they had formerly done to thoſe of the King. They were intirely to abandon his preſent Majeſty's intereſts, and to receive no exiles from England into their dominions; and he likewiſe laid them under an ingagement to reſtore to the Engliſh twenty-two merchant-ſhips, confiſcated by the King of Denmark, or to pay their full value. I do not find in this treaty any mention of the navigation-act, which had occaſioned the war (2): it is probable either that this article was adjuſted in a private and particular treaty, or the States were ſatisfied with a bare promiſe of not being diſturbed on that account. Laſtly, the States by a ſeparate article bound themſelves never to make the young Prince of Orange their Stadtholder, general, or admiral: but this was only ratified by the province of Holland, the other ſix refuſing it, and Cromwell judged it improper to continue the war to force their compliance. Thus ended a war which had been very warmly carried on, and inexpreſſibly deſtructive to both nations. It is ſaid the two provinces of Holland and Zealand loſt in it fifteen hundred ſhips, which fell into the hands of the Engliſh; and this very war, tho' it had been undertaken to ruin Cromwell, proved the means of his advancement, as it obliged him to diſſolve the parliament for his own ſecurity.

May 5.

Cromwell makes many his enemies. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 363.

The new Protector did indeed meet with a general ſubmiſſion, yet not without pretty open complaints of his uſurping the ſovereign power, by a pretended title he received from men who had no right to confer it. The Royaliſts conſidered Cromwell's advancement as a mortal wound to his Majeſty. The Preſbyterians were almoſt equally diſpleaſed with it: for, tho' their government ſtill ſubſiſted in the church, the liberty of conſcience injoyed by all Proteſtants they apprehended to be an intolerable indulgence. Beſide they were excluded from the beſt poſts, which Cromwell took care to fill with perſons intirely devoted to his ſervice; but nevertheleſs Cromwell careſſed them, becauſe he wanted their aſſiſtance to accompliſh his deſign of being confirmed in the Protectorate by a free parliament, where he foreſaw their influence would be very conſiderable. However he deteſted the Cavaliers, and greatly depreſſed them; which occaſioned many conſpiracies againſt him, the authors whereof were ſeverely puniſhed (3), particularly mr. Vowell and mr. Gerard (4), the former of whom was hanged in London, and the other beheaded in the Tower.

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Conſpiracies againſt him and the authors rigorouſly puniſhed. Phillips.

At this very time, and on the ſame ſcaffold, Don Pantaleon Sa, knight of Malta and brother to the Portugueſe embaſſador, loſt his head. This gentleman, having quarreled with mr. Gerard aforeſaid on the New Exchange, returned next morning with a numerous retinue; but unfortunately ſingling out a man in the croud whom he miſtook for Gerard, and entering into a freſh quarrel, he killed him, and others were wounded by his ſervants, after which he retired to his brother the embaſſador's. This tumult drew the people together, who ſurrounded the embaſſador's houſe, and threatened to drag the criminals to juſtice. Cromwell, hearing of it, diſpatched an officer with ſome ſoldiers, to demand the murderers. The embaſſador loudly complained of this inſult, and required an audience of the Protector, but was refuſed and told that, if the criminals were not delivered, the people would proceed to extremities, nor could the Protector anſwer for the conſequences: that, ſince a man had been ſlain, and ſeveral wounded, juſtice muſt have proper ſatisfaction. In the interim the embaſſador, finding himſelf in no condition to reſiſt, was at laſt conſtrained to deliver up his brother and the other criminals, in hopes of afterwards obtaining their pardon: but, Cromwell remaining inflexible, the Portugueſe gentleman was beheaded in the Tower, and his accomplices hanged at Tyburn. I do not preſume to determine, whether this act of juſtice did not violate the privilege of embaſſadors, or if it had not been more equitable in Cromwell to have connived at the priſoner's eſcape. I ſhall only in a few words ſhew, that the preſent juncture was not favorable to the embaſſador, or the King his maſter.

The Portugueſe ambaſſador's brother beheaded. July 10. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 385. Bates. Whitelock, p. 569.

Occaſion of this embaſſy from Portugal.

Don John IV, King of Portugal, formerly duke of Briganza, had in 1640 ſeized the crown of Portugal, alleging it was unjuſtly wreſted from his anceſtors by Philip II of Spain. This had ingaged him in a fierce war with Spain, during which Charles I had, in a treaty ſigned at York the twenty-ſecond of May, 1642, acknowleged him as King of Portugal. Thus the crowns of England and Portugal were in peace and alliance, before the declaration of war between Charles I and the parliament: upon which foundation the two Princes Palatine, Rupert and Maurice, the firſt of whom was commander of his Majeſty's navy, being forced in 1650 to leave Ireland, where they could no longer

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 262, 263, 264.

(1) To reſign the iſland of Poleron in the Eaſt-Indies, taken from the Engliſh in the reign of James I, and to pay, it is ſaid, three hundred thouſand pounds for the affair of Amboyna (85, 000l. whereof to the Engliſh Eaſt-India company) for which the two laſt Kings could never obtain any ſatisfaction. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 382. The ratifications of the treaty were preſented to the Protector in a ſilver box. Whitelock, p. 588. Collect. of Treaties, Vol. III. p. 134. ——— The demands of the Engliſh amounted to two millions, ſix hundred ninety five thouſand, nine hundred ninety-nine pounds, fifteen ſhillings: and thoſe of the Dutch to two millions, ſixty-nine thouſand, eight hundred ſixty-one pounds, three ſhillings and ſix-pence. Ibid. p. 127, 130.

(2) The author of Cromwell's Life affirms one of the articles was, "That the Dutch ſhould comply with the act of navigation." p. 280.

(3) A High-court of Juſtice was erected on purpoſe, "to try ſuch as were accuſed of holding a correſpondence with Charles "Stuart, and of having a deſign againſt the life of the Protector, &c." Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 383.

(4) He is called colonel by Rapin, but he was a young gentleman, and had been only an enſign in the Royal army. Ibid.

continue

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continue in ſafety, ſailed into the river Liſbon: but they were no ſooner arrived there than a fleet from the parliament came to the mouth of the Tagus, the admiral whereof demanded of the King of Portugal the delivery of the ſhips commanded by Prince Rupert, affirming they belonged to the commonwealth of England. This demand extremely perplexed that Monarch, who had concluded an alliance with the King of England; but on the other hand England was the King's avowed enemy, and Don John could not avoid declaring for one or the other on the preſent occaſion. Policy directed to a declaration for the parliament, but honor and hoſpitality required him to protect the King's ſhips, which were come for refuge to Portugal. This queſtion was warmly debated in his council. The majority adviſed him to abandon a Prince expelled his dominions, who could neither ſerve nor hurt him, and thereby procure the friendſhip of a powerful republic, from which he might expect great aſſiſtance againſt Spain: whereas, in declaring on the other ſide of the queſtion, he would perhaps involve himſelf in freſh difficulties, at a time when all his forces were ſcarce ſufficient to withſtand his enemies. But his Majeſty by his reaſons and authority cauſed it to be decided, that the King of England's ſhips ſhould be protected; and accordingly a ſquadron of thirteen men of war was immediately equiped, to join Prince Rupert's. Both the ſquadrons ſailed together, with an intent to ingage the Engliſh if they ſhould meet between the two capes (1): for the Portugueſe ſquadron had orders to ſail no farther, that it might appear the King only deſigned to ſecure the mouth of the Tagus. Upon notice of this junction the Engliſh admiral put to ſea: but, to revenge the protection granted to Prince Rupert, he attacked a Portugueſe fleet returning from Brazile, and took fifteen ſhips. The approach of winter obliging him to return to England, the Princes Palatine ſailed to America, after creating a ſort of rupture between the Engliſh commonwealth and Portugal. To adjuſt this difference Don John had ſent to London the Condo de Penaguaio, his circumſtances (during a war with Spain, which had now laſted thirteen years) not permiting him to remain in a ſtate of hoſtility with the Engliſh. In all probability this was the reaſon of not recalling his embaſſador, upon the execution of Don Pantaleon Sa: and I do not know whether this accident did not retard the peace between England and Portugal, which was not ſigned 'till two years after in 1656 (2).

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 263, 264.

The King's circumſtances in France. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 393, 407. Whitelock, p. 584.

Since Charles II's arrival in France, after his miraculous eſcape from the battle of Worceſter, he had lived in extreme want, not having what was ſufficient for his ſubſiſtence. The French court overlooked his neceſſities, either in complaiſance to Cromwell, from a deſire of entering into a ſtrict alliance with him, or thro' dread of his declaring in favor of Spain: ſo that his Majeſty was in a melancholy condition. He had even the mortification to ſee monſieur de Bourdeaux, who 'till then had been his reſident in England, appointed embaſſador by the court of France (3), upon Cromwell's being declared Protector. This change convinced his Majeſty, that France intended an alliance with Cromwell, and he did not queſtion but the treaty would be followed with a requeſt for him to depart the kingdom. He therefore, to prevent that compliment, acquainted cardinal Mazarine, he deſigned to withdraw, which was agreeable news to that miniſter. The cardinal, to forward this deſign, promiſed him the arrears of a penſion of ſix thouſand livres a month, which had been granted him, tho' never regularly paid, and the continuance of it, while he ſhould remain out of France. At the ſame time the King received another ſmall relief, which inabled him to diſcharge his debts. Prince Rupert ſafely arrived at Nants with the fleet, after he had loſt his brother Maurice in a ſtorm. Beſide that the ſhips were extremely damaged, and his Majeſty unable to repair them, he was in preſſing want of money, which determined him to ſell the ſhips with the ordnance and tackling. Cardinal Mazarine was the purchaſer, but at a very cheap rate if we may believe the lord Clarendon, and paid him without delay. Prince Rupert afterwards went to Paris, and, taking leave of the King, retired into Germany. His Majeſty no ſooner received the money than he left France, and retreated to Cologne where he reſided many years.

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Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 339, 408.

Prince Rupert arrives in France.

His Majeſty ſells the ſhips he brought.

The Prince retires to Germany, and the King to Cologne.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 400, —422. p. 393, 394. p. 246, 247.

The King, before his departure from Paris, ſent Wilmot, then earl of Rocheſter, embaſſador to the Emperor and ſome other German Princes, to procure a ſupply of money. He even applied to his Holineſs by the mediation of cardinal de Rhetz, who, it is pretended, in order to ſucceed, prevailed on him to renounce his religion and privately received his abjuration. At leaſt dr. Burnet in the Hiſtory of his own Times poſitively affirms, that his Majeſty imbraced the Catholic religion before he left France, where he never returned: but others, who believe themſelves better informed, aſſign this change of his religion to the year 1659.

p. 73, 74. Whitelock, p. 579.

While the King remained in this ſtate of adverſity, Cromwell was honored, reſpected and feared by all the powers of Europe, who equally courted his friendſhip. His Engliſh enemies durſt not ſhew their heads; Scotland was intirely ſubdued, and Ireland reduced to the laſt extremity. But, before I reſume the affairs of England, it is neceſſary briefly to relate what happened in Ireland and Scotland to Midſummer 1654.

Affairs of Ireland. Ludlow. Bates. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 333, 334, 335, 336.

Since Cromwell left Ireland in 1650, Ireton his ſon-in-law, who had commanded there as his deputy, treated ſuch of the Iriſh rebels as fell into his hands with extreme ſeverity, the parliament having ordered that the maſſacrers ſhould be uſed in a rigorous manner; but this was incapable of uniting the Iriſh with the marquis of Ormond. On the contrary the monks and clergy had inſpired them with a religious zeal, which would not ſuffer them to ſubmit to a Proteſtant commander: nay, they conſpired againſt the marquis's life, and, in an inſurrection at Limerick raiſed by a monk, he was in danger of being ſlain. At laſt the Iriſh biſhops, in a full aſſembly, publiſhed a declaration, proteſting they would have no communion with heretics, nor obey the marquis of Ormond: whereupon they required him to reſign his command to a Catholic, on whom they could better rely. The marquis (finding himſelf thus expoſed to the ſuſpicions and perfidious deſigns of the Iriſh, and utterly unable to reſtore the affairs of his Majeſty) appointed the marquis of Clanrickard his deputy, and withdrew into France, from whence he afterwards accompanied the King to Cologne.

The marquis of Ormond leaves Ireland. p. 337.

Ireton dying of the plague in 1651, the parliament confered the command of their forces in Ireland on lieutenant-general Edmund Ludlow, a zealous republican and one of Charles I's judges.

Ireton's death. p. 362. Ludlow.

The Iriſh were not more obedient to Clanrickard than to Ormond. The Catholic clergy, and all

(1) Finiſterre and St. Vincent.
(2) It was ſigned July 10, 1654. Collect. of Treaties, Vol. III. p. 97. Life of Cromwell, p. 288.
(3) He made a public entry into London in great ſtate, being attended with ſixty Coaches. Whitelock, p. 584.

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Ulster, refuſed to aſſociate with the Engliſh, under the command of the marquis, tho' a Catholic, for it was ſufficient to render him odious that a Proteſtant had given him his commiſſion. A certain number of perſons were therefore choſen to conſtitute a council for the management of their affairs. This aſſembly judged it proper to invite to their aſſiſtance a foreign Catholic Prince, capable of conducting them, and put him in poſſeſſion of the government of Ireland. They fixed their eyes on the duke of Lorrain, then at Bruſſels, and reſolved to ſend deputies to treat with him. Having taken this reſolution, they demanded of the marquis of Clanrickard a commiſſion for the deputies, being afraid of their meeting with an ill reception, if not authorized by the King's governor: but the marquis refuſed to grant ſuch a commiſſion, 'till he ſhould know his Majeſty's pleaſure. This refuſal inflamed their former animoſities: they exclaimed againſt him with extreme bitterneſs, and ſent their deputies notwithſtanding his oppoſition (1). The duke of Lorrain thought it imprudent to ingage in ſuch an undertaking without better information of ſome important particulars relating to the invitation: but when an abbot whom he ſent into Ireland for that purpoſe brought him intelligence, that the affairs of the Iriſh were almoſt deſperate, and they had taken this reſolution without the conſent of the King's lieutenant, he abſolutely refuſed to treat with the deputies. The Iriſh, inſenſed with the marquis of Clanrickard for obſtructing their deſign, perſecuted him various ways, and at laſt negociated a treaty with Ludlow, by means of a monk, without the marquis's privity, who, perceiving himſelf unable to ſerve his Majeſty, informed him of what happened, and deſired leave to retire. The King readily complied with his requeſt, apprehending it impoſſible to ſave Ireland, and left the Iriſh to their own meaſures, whoſe affairs from that time daily declined.

The Iriſh invite the duke of Lorrain to accept their government. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 363.

Bates.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 363.

Rejects the propoſal. p. 366.

Bates.

It was then, and in the ſucceeding years, that the Iriſh, utterly unable to reſiſt the parliament's forces, were expoſed to the utmoſt ſeverity of the Engliſh commanders. The barbarity they had uſed to the Engliſh Proteſtants ſetled in Ireland, was juſtly revenged upon themſelves. Many were executed, and others, to the number of a hundred thouſand, moſt of whom periſhed with hunger and miſery, had permiſſion to enter into the ſervice of foreign princes. The families ſtill remaining in the country were for the moſt part removed into Connaught, where ſome lands were alloted them for their ſubſiſtence, while the reſt was delivered to the adventurers, who advanced money for the Iriſh war. Part alſo of thoſe confiſcated lands was given to the officers and ſoldiers in payment of their arrears, and a part was ſold to the higheſt bidders. From this time the nation has been kept ſo low, that there is no probability it will ever recover. In 1654, Fleetwood, who had married Ireton's widow, Cromwell's daughter, was appointed governor of Ireland, and two years after ſucceeded by Henry Cromwell, younger ſon to the Protector.

Sept. 19. Whitelock.

Tho' Scotland was ſubdued, it was not wholly free from diſturbances. The general aſſembly of the kirk had been ſuppreſſed by Cromwell, being ſenſible that from thence had flowed all the troubles which had for many years infeſted Scotland. Beſide; as he deſigned to introduce a liberty of conſcience in that kingdom as well as England, he knew it would be impoſſible to execute his intentions ſo long as theſe aſſemblies ſubſiſted. The Scots were inſenſed at a liberty directly contrary to their covenant, and the maxims of the kirk. They ſufficiently diſcovered their ſentiments, tho' in vain, ſince they had neither places, forces, arms, nor leaders to inable them to attempt a deliverance. On the other hand, ſome lords and gentlemen of the Royal party ſtill kept in the Highlands, with troops under the earl of Glencarn's command: but theſe troops ill armed and undiſciplined were defeated by colonel Morgan (2). Nevertheleſs, with the remains, they ſtill poſted themſelves in ſome inacceſſible places, where it was impoſſible to attack them. But at laſt, diſſenſion ariſing among them, they were obliged to ſend to his Majeſty for colonel Middleton, and obtained his conſent. On Middleton's arrival Glencarn quited them, and made his own peace. Middleton ſupported the remainder of this party about a year, and then was forced to abandon it, ſeeing it was impoſſible to do the King any remarkable ſervice in that country. It is time now to return to the affairs of England.

Inter-reg. An' 1654.

Affairs of Scotland. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 394, 395. Bates.

Burnet, p. 58. Whitelock. Phillips. Heath.

Whitelock, p. 597.

As purſuant to the inſtrument of government, a parliament was to meet the third of September, Cromwell called one for that day. But in his writs for electing members, there was a ſtrict order not to chuſe any perſons, or their ſons, who had born arms for his Majeſty; and this was punctually obſerved. A new regulation was alſo made to proportion the number of repreſentatives to the largeneſs of the boroughs and counties, and to their reſpective ſhares of the public expenſe. This regulation, as it was very juſt in itſelf, met with univerſal approbation (3).

Cromwell calls a parliament. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 386. Whitelock, p. 591. Phillips.

The parliament being aſſembled, Cromwell made a ſpeech in the Painted-chamber, where the houſe attended him. He briefly touched upon the diſorders of the preceding government, and attempted to juſtify the preſent eſtabliſhment. After aſſuring them of his good intentions, he repreſented his ſervices for the nation, ſince the diſſolution of the long parliament, and told them, he had ſummoned a free parliament, agreeable to the deſire of all good Engliſhmen; adding, that he did not ſpeak to them as one that would be a lord over them, but as their fellow-ſervant, in the grand affair of ſetling the government.

His ſpeech to them. Sept. 4. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 387. Whitelock. p. 599.

Cromwell expected this parliament, free indeed, excepting the excluſion of the Royaliſts, who could not have been admited with ſafety, would confirm his protectoral dignity, and that the confirmation of a free parliament would ſtop the mouths of his enemies. Upon his own recommendation Lenthal, ſpeaker of the long parliament, was choſen again to that poſt. It very ſoon appeared many members of the parliament were enemies to tyranny, and,

Lenthal made ſpeaker. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 387. Whitelock.

(1) After he had been inveighed againſt with great virulency, he could not withſtand the importunity of the council of confederate Catholics, but gave his credentials to the perſon recommended to him. However the commiſſioners were reſolved to follow the inſtructions of the aſſembly, and not thoſe of the marquis. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 364.

(2) The Scots had eight hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot; and Morgan eight hundred and fifty horſe, and ſixteen hundred foot. Whitelock, p. 588. —— The Scots invited King Charles to come among them, but he did not think fit ſo to do. Burnet, p. 60.

(3) By the ninth and tenth article of this inſtrument (which ſee in Whitelock, p. 552.) it was provided, that the perſons to be elected in England and Wales ſhould not exceed four hundred. Thoſe for Scotland and Ireland (for the three kingdoms were united in one common-wealth, the iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey being alſo included) were to be thirty for each kingdom. Then the perſons to be choſen in England and Wales were to be in a certain proportion there ſet down at large. A proportion, which it would have been happy for England, had it been always obſerved, the little inſignificant boroughs being omited, and the number of the knights of the ſhire increaſed from four to twelve, according to the extent of the county. This (the lord Clarendon obſerves) was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. Vol. III. p. 387.

having

having ſerved in the long parliament, had imbibed maxims very oppoſite to thoſe eſtabliſhed by Cromwell. The firſt thing propoſed was to examine the authority by which they were aſſembled; a queſtion unexpected by the Protector. In all probability his enemies intended to give him a mortal blow, by a deciſion that his authority was imaginary and illegal, which was the truth of the caſe. Perhaps too the parliament deſigned to ſeize the ſovereign power, tho' convened by unlawful authority. Cromwell himſelf had given them an example of what could be done by compulſive methods. But, having friends as well as enemies in the houſe, he made them loſe time by the oppoſition they met with from the officers and others, thro' fear or friendſhip attached to his intereſt; ſo that, tho' he could not prevent the frequent debates on this queſtion, his enemies had reaſon to apprehend they ſhould not carry it, when it came to be decided. At laſt, finding they only wanted a proper opportunity to put the queſtion, he ſent for the members to meet him in the Painted-chamber, and tho' in his firſt ſpeech he declared, he would only be their fellow-ſervant, in this he ſpoke as their lord, telling them, they were too bold in their diſputing an eſtabliſhed form of government, from which themſelves had derived their authority, ſince, if they were unlawfully convened, they had no right to debate. At their return to the houſe, they found a guard at the door, refuſing entrance to all who would not ſign the following ingagement: "I. A. B. do here- "by freely promiſe and ingage myſelf to be true "and faithful to the lord Protector, and to the "common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ire- "land, and ſhall not (according to the tenure of "the indenture, whereby I am returned to ſerve "in this preſent parliament) propoſe or give any "conſent to alter the government, as it is ſettled "in one ſingle perſon and a parliament." Many, who refuſed to ſign this ingagement, were excluded from the houſe (1).

Cromwell's authority queſtioned. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 388.

He ſpeaks to the houſe with heat and reſentment. p. 319. Bates. Whitelock, p. 605.

Excluded ſeveral members. Ibid.

Nevertheleſs the members, who ſigned the ingagement, perſiſted in ſhewing their enmity to Cromwell: they had only ſubſcribed, to have it in their power to ruin him at a favorable occaſion, which they hoped would ſoon fall in their way. A plot was formed principally by the Cavaliers, but with the privity of many members of parliament, to raiſe an army in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. Cromwell, informed of it by his ſpies, defeated the deſign of his enemies, by diſſolving the houſe eleven days before the time fixed for its continuance by the inſtrument of government (2), viz. on the twenty-ſecond of January. At the diſſolution he acquainted the members, he was no ſtranger to their projects, and that ſeveral were ingaged in a conſpiracy againſt him (3).

Diſſolves it. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 389. Whitelock, p. 618.

A plot againſt Cromwell. February 13. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 389, 390. Whitelock, p. 618.

It was not without grounds he mentioned a conſpiracy, which was now ripe for execution. Tho' he had no intelligence of all of the particulars, yet he knew in general, that an inſurrection was deſigned in ſeveral places, and had the names of ſome of the principal actors. Two days after he diſſolved the parliament, major Wildman was apprehended by Cromwell's order, and a declaration found in his houſe, containing the reaſons which obliged the Engliſh to take up arms againſt the Protector (4). Some others, both Republicans and Royaliſts, were likewiſe arreſted.

Since his Majeſty's retreat to Cologne, he had received frequent expreſſes from his adherents, acquainting him with the national diſlike of Cromwell's government, and the fair opportunity for a general riſing. The former of theſe things was true in fact: but they built upon a falſe principle which had often deceived Charles I, and now alſo themſelves. They fancied all who were diſaffected to the government inclined to ſerve the King and reſtore him without any conditions. Indeed the Preſbyterians would have gladly promoted his Majeſty's reſtoration, on the terms granted by his father in the treaty of Newport, that is, with the limitation of the regal power, and the eſtabliſhment of Preſbyterian juriſdiction in the church: but it was unlikely Charles II, at liberty, would make the ſame conceſſions Charles I had done under confinement. On the other hand it is likewiſe certain, that moſt of the Independents and Anabaptiſts, and in a word all the zealous Republicans, were enemies to Cromwell ſince his ſeizing the government, and that even in the army there was a numerous party againſt him. But theſe men did not entertain the leaſt thought of reſtoring the King; and yet the Royaliſts imagined all the Protector's enemies would eſpouſe his cauſe, as if it was impoſſible to be Cromwell's enemy without being his Majeſty's friend. Upon this foundation they projected an inſurrection in the Weſt, and another in the North, not doubting of the army's joining, or at leaſt permiting the Cavaliers to act againſt Cromwell without interruption. This project was communicated to the King, who approved of it, and the day appointed for its execution, viz. the eighteenth of April. The King diſpatched the neceſſary commiſſions, and ſecretly came into Zealand, to be in readineſs to ſail for England, if the undertaking ſhould prove ſucceſsful. At the ſame time Wilmot, earl of Rocheſter, repaired privately to London (5), with ſir Joſeph Wagſtaff, who had been major-general in the army of Charles I. Having conſulted their friends in the city it was reſolved, Wagſtaff ſhould conduct the inſurrection in the Weſt, and the earl of Rocheſter that in the North (6).

A project for two inſurrections. Whitelock, p. 415, 419, 429.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 429.

p. 431.

p. 432, 433.

On the day prefixed, Wagſtaff, coming within two miles of Saliſbury, found Penruddock, a Corniſh gentleman, Jones, Groves, and ſome others, who had drawn together about two hundred horſe. He with this ſmall force entered Saliſbury, without any reſiſtance; for it being then the time of aſſizes, little notice was taken of thoſe who came into the city. The market place was forthwith ſeized, and all the ſtables locked up, that the horſes might be at their diſpoſal. The judges and ſherifs were afterwards ſeized, and in great danger of being hanged for refuſing to proclaim his Majeſty, who nevertheleſs was proclaimed. But the conſpirators, ſoon perceiving that the inhabitants

Saliſbury ſurpriſed. March 11. Ibid. Whitelock, p. 620. Phillips.

(1) This year November thirty, the learned John Selden departed this life.——Likewiſe mr. Doddeſworth, who was principally concerned in compiling the Monaſticon Anglicanum, and Henry Elſynge, clerk of the long parliament.

(2) By the VIIIth article of this inſtrument, the parliament was not, during five months, to be reckoned from the day of their firſt meeting, to be adjourned, prorogued or diſſolved, without their own conſent. Whitelock, p. 572.

(3) Whitelock recites his long ſpeech, p. 610——618. He ſays, the parliament was diſſolved January the thirty-firſt, p. 610.——Before their diſſolution, they voted him and his ſucceſſors a revenue of two hundred thouſand pounds per annum. p. 609.

(4) Intitled, "The Declaration of the well affected people of England, now in arms againſt the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, "Eſqs" See it in Whitelock, p. 618, who affirms, "Many who viewed it knew there was too much truth in it."

(5) Leſt another ſhould be general before him, if the plot ſucceeded. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 431.

(6) He ſent ſir Marmaduke Darcy, a gallant gentleman and nobly allied in thoſe parts, to prepare his Majeſty's party there. Ibid. p. 433.

continued

Inter-reg. An' 1654. continued in their houſes without offering to join them, left the town and took the Weſtern route. A troop of horſe, accidentally quartered in the neighborhood, purſued and ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that at their approach they laid down their arms. Wagſtaff had the good fortune to eſcape, but Penruddock, Groves and Jones were taken. The two former were beheaded, and the other hanged(1). Notwithſtanding the great hopes the Royaliſts entertained of a general riſing in England, the people no where attempted to favor the deſign. It is impoſſible to know, how the army would have behaved, ſince there was no neceſſity for their aſſembling, that affair being ended in two or three days. It may here be remarked (what uſually happens on theſe occaſions) that the authors of ſuch projects, for the moſt part converſing with none but thoſe of their own party, are inclined to believe the whole nation to be in the ſentiment of their companions, wherein they are often miſtaken. This was, in a manner, the peculiar weakneſs of the Cavaliers, of which the earl of Clarendon's Hiſtory furniſhes various inſtances.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 434, 435. Whitelock.

An' 1655. The conſpirators defeated, and three of them are executed. May 16. Ibid.

The deſign in the north abortive. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 436.

The Nothern inſurrection vaniſhed, before it was begun to be put in execution. The earl of Rocheſter went into the county of York, where he found ſome gentlemen zealous for his Majeſty's ſervice: but after he had inquired what they could perform, he judged it expedient to decline any attempt, and returned to the King with an account of his ill ſucceſs.

Manning, Cromwell's ſpy executed. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 437---443. Phillips.

His Majeſty, being thus diſappointed, returned to Cologne. Soon after he arrived it was diſcovered, that one of his domeſtics, named Manning, lately come from England, carried on a ſecret correſpondence with Thurlo, Cromwell's ſecretary, and informed him of the tranſactions of the King's court. He was apprehended and ſhot to death, in a caſtle belonging to the duke of Newburg. It is now time to treat of Cromwell's affairs with France and Spain.

Affairs between France and England.

In the reign of Charles I, Cardinal Richelieu, as has been obſerved, was concerned in the troubles of Scotland in the year 1637, from which thoſe of England were afterwards produced. The French court all along ſeemed to eſpouſe the cauſe of the late King, during his life, but never offered him any real aſſiſtance. Cardinal Richelieu believed nothing could more promote his project of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, than to hinder the Engliſh from aſſiſting Spain, in order to preſerve the balance of Europe, as the intereſt of England required. On this account that able miniſter, inſtead of ſerving Charles I, ſtudied only to foment the troubles of England. Cardinal Mazarine his ſucceſſor, under the minority of Lewis XIV, purſued the ſame maxim, and never did Charles any real ſervice. But it may be affirmed, he carried this policy to an extreme, ſince he was ſo far from keeping the balance even between the King and parliament, that he gave the latter an opportunity to acquire a ſuperiority, which might prove extremely prejudicial to France. After the death of Charles I, the common-wealth of England became ſo powerful, that it was too late to indeavor to weaken it, eſpecially as France was then involved in a war with Spain. If France had aided Charles II, it would have run the riſque of ſeeing the parliament in alliance with Spain, which was not to be hazarded in its preſent condition. The intereſts of that unhappy Prince were for this reaſon intirely abandoned by France, and all his aſſiſtance from that quarter was a penſion inſufficient for his ſubſiſtence; and even this was allowed him privately, to prevent the jealouſy of the parliament. The Engliſh were ſo little afraid of them, that, in 1652, their fleet did not ſcruple to attack that of France, ſent to the relief of Dunkirk beſieged by the Spaniards, and taken by them the ſame year: yet, notwithſtanding this affront, an embaſſador arrived from the French court to deſire the friendſhip of the parliament. Cromwell, being made protector, held for ſome time the two crowns of France and Spain in ſuſpenſe, equally flattering them both with hopes of the favor of England: but it afterwards appeared he only deſigned to amuſe Spain, having reſolved to enter into an alliance with France.

Inter-reg. An' 1655.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 359. Whitelock.

Affairs between England and Spain. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 279, 288. p. 235---295.

Spain had not given more aſſiſtance to Charles I than France. On the contrary Don Alenzo de Cardenes, the Spaniſh embaſſador in England, had diſcovered a partiality for the parliament, which Charles conſidered as a ſort of declaration againſt him. After the death of Charles I, the King of Spain ſhewed a great regard to the parliament, and gave them no juſt provocation to make war upon him. All that England could lay to his charge was his receiving, tho' very coldly, in 1649, lord Cottington and mr. Hyde as embaſſadors, from Charles II, but without ingaging in any negociation which might create in the parliament jealous apprehenſions. The ſole intent of this embaſſy was, to procure ſome money from the Spaniſh court for his Majeſty's ſubſiſtence, in which the embaſſadors were unſucceſsful. The murder of Aſcham, the parliament's envoy at Madrid, by ſome Iriſh, and the court of Spain's want of zeal in not puniſhing the murderers, might be another occaſion of complaint. But affairs of this nature are liable to ſo many diſcuſſions, that it is not eaſy to know whether it was poſſible for the King of Spain to give the parliament intire ſatisfaction. However this be, theſe cauſes of complaint did not ſeem ſufficient grounds for a war between two nations. Nevertheleſs Cromwell, now Protector, had no ſooner concluded a treaty with Holland, than he reſolved upon a war with Spain. It is difficult to gueſs at (2) the real motives to this undertaking, but there is ſome room for the following conjecture. Cromwell, as I ſaid, deſigned to be confirmed by a parliament in his Protectoral dignity, which he only received from the officers of the army. It was neceſſary for him therefore firſt, to do ſome ſignal ſervice for the ſtate, to make his uſurpation paſs with leſs interruption. Secondly, as Spain was then in a declining ſtate, he perhaps believed ſome conqueſts might be eaſily made upon that crown, which might render his Protectorale famous, and demonſtrate to the Engliſh that, if he ſought his own advancement, it was with a view of being more ſerviceable to the common-wealth. Thirdly, it is probable Mazarine was concerned in this reſolution in order to give a powerful diverſion to Spain.

Cromwell reſolves on a war with Spain. Probable motives to the war.

A deſign upon St. Domingo. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 452, 453. Bates. Whitelock. Burnet. Phillips. Ludlow.

However this be, Cromwell, upon his becoming Protector, ſent out two fleets, one under Blake's command to the Mediterranean, to chaſtiſe the Algerines, who frequently took Engliſh ſhips, and the other under Penn, with about five thouſand land-ſoldiers commanded by Venables (3). The two laſt commanders had ſealed orders from

(1) According to others Jones was reprieved. Rapin is miſtaken in ſaying, Groves was hanged, for he and Penruddock were beheaded at Exeter. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 435.

(2) Probably the principal motive of it was, that he might be able, by means of Spaniſh gold, to purſue his deſign in England, without depending on a parliament for money. Welwood, p. 100.

(3) A gentlemen of a good family in Cheſhire. Clarendon, Vol III. p. 451,

Cromwell,

INTER-REG. AN' 1655.

Cromwell, not to be opened 'till the time prefixed (1). This fleet left Portſmouth the twenty-ſeventh of December, and arrived at Barbadoes the twenty-eighth of January, from whence they ſailed the thirtieth of March 1655. Purſuant to the ſealed orders, the commanders were to proceed to Hiſpaniola and take St. Domingo, the capital of that iſland. Cromwell's inſtructions for this expedition were ſo particular and circumſtantial, that they appeared to be drawn up by men thoroughly acquainted with the country (2). The Spaniards, at the approach of the Engliſh fleet, abandoned St. Domingo. But Venables, inſtead of landing his troops (3), according to inſtructions, within a mile of the place, cauſed them to diſ-embark at a much greater diſtance (4). This gave the inhabitants time to recover themſelves, return to the town, and put it in a defenſive poſture. When they approached Domingo, the Engliſh were ſo fatigued, by a long march, by exceſſive heat, by hunger and thirſt, that they were eaſily repulſed, and forced to retire to their ſhips, leaving many dead and wounded on the iſland.

April. Whitelock.

Miſcarries.

Conqueſts of Jamaica. May 17. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 454. Whitelock.

This attempt miſcarrying, the Engliſh fleet ſailed to Jamaica, and ſeized the iſle with little oppoſition. Some troops were left there, which afterwards were re-inforced by Cromwell, in order to preſerve this conqueſt, where the Engliſh have ſince eſtabliſhed a rich colony. Venables, on his return to London, was ſent to the Tower, but ſoon diſcharged. The war being ſufficiently declared by this attempt, which the Spaniards had no cauſe to expect, the King of Spain ordered the effects of the Engliſh merchants in all his dominions to be ſeized, which was a very conſiderable loſs to them. Nor did the miſchief ſtop here; for by this war ſo unjuſtly undertaken, the Engliſh forfeited the trade to Spain, which, transferred to the Dutch, inabled them to repair their loſſes ſuſtained in the laſt war.

King of Spain ſeizes the effects of the Engliſh Merchants. Ibid. R. Coke.

Peace made with France, October 23. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 455 Whitelock. Phillips.

The Spaniſh war was ſoon followed by a peace with France, proclaimed at London the twenty-third of October. This peace was eaſily made, as France was willing to forget the injury done them by the Engliſh in 1652. That point was only to renew the ancient treaties, to which there was no obſtacle, after Cromwell's declaration againſt Spain (5).

Cromwell ſurrounded with enemies. Burnet, p. 65.

Beſide the conſpiracies and inſurrections from the Cavaliers and Preſbyterians, Cromwell was alſo in danger from the male-contents of his own party, who had effectually ſerved him, without knowing his deſign, but who were extremely provoked at their having been tools to his private ambition. The Republicans were inſenſed againſt him. The Republican government was as much their idol as the covenant was that of the Preſbyterians. So Cromwell by being inveſted with the Protectorſhip, had offended them no leſs than the Cavaliers and Preſbyterians. It was not eaſy to curb three parties, which, if they could have reſolved to unite, would have been ſtrong enough to ruin him. But he knew the difficulty of ſuch an union, and yet it was not impoſſible, but particular men of each party, whether openly or privately, might combine for his deſtruction. His only ſupport was the army, in which too there were Republicans who mortally hated him, as appears in Ludlow's Memoirs, one of the moſt inveterate againſt him. Nay, very likely, if he had been obliged to aſſemble the diſperſed army, and the officers could have communicated their thoughts to one another, they would not have intirely obeyed him. As to the Royaliſts, he never wanted pretenſes to perſecute them, which not only pleaſed the other parties, but was agreeable to their intereſts. As for the Preſbyterians, as they were equally enemies of the Cavaliers and Independents, in keeping them low, he obliged theſe two laſt parties, who knew, if the Preſbyterians ſhould again be ſuperior, they would treat them no better than Cromwell. But the rigid Republicans were his moſt dreaded enemies, becauſe he had no pretenſe againſt them. They had the more cauſe to complain, and ſpeak freely, as Cromwell, being their head, had made uſe of them, under color of acting for the public, and brought them to labor for his own private advancement; therefore, to hold all theſe parties in ſubjection, he divided England into eleven diſtricts, and eſtabliſhed in each, officers, whom he called major-generals, with an almoſt abſolute power, that they might be always ready to prevent or diſperſe inſurrections. In this eſtabliſhment his principal view was to awe the Republicans, tho' the pretenſe was to curb the Cavaliers. Theſe major-generals became true tyrants, and ſo oppreſſed the people, that Cromwell at laſt was forced to reduce their power within much narrower bounds (6).

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Conſtitutes major-generals. October. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 458. Whitelock, p. 634. Ludlow.

Reſolves to call a parliament. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 460.

Tho' Cromwell's ambition inclined him to ſupport by force the dignity confered on him, yet he ſaw how ridiculous it was to exerciſe an authority given by men who had no lawful power to beſtow it. He eaſily perceived it to be a fertile ſourſe of plots and conſpiracies againſt his perſon and government. He could not puniſh the conſpirators by law, ſince his dignity, far from having any ſolid foundation, was a pure uſurpation. On theſe occaſions therefore it was neceſſary to uſe a tyrannical power, and ſuch violences might in the end produce very ill effects. To remedy this evil, he had called a free parliament, in expectation of having his authority confirmed, but was diſappointed. He reſolved therefore, inſtead of a free parliament, to call one on which he might depend, and to uſe their authority to eſtabliſh his own.

(1) People could not imagine whither the fleet was going. Some fancied it was to rob the church of Loretto, which occaſioned a fortification to be drawn round it: others talked of Rome itſelf; ſome Cadiz, &c. Burnet, p. 75.

(2) It is ſaid, Thomas Gage, who had been a prieſt, and was come from the Weſt-Indies put him upon this deſign, by informing him of the weakneſs as well as riches of the Spaniards in thoſe parts. Burnet, p. 74. Whitelock, p. 621.

(3) Venables had in all, reckoning the forces he took up at Barbadoes, above nine thouſand men; with a troop of horſe. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 453.

(4) Ten leagues more weſtward. Whitelock, p. 627.

(5) This confederacy was dearly purchaſed on the part of England, for by it the balance of the two crowns of France and Spain was deſtroyed, and a foundation laid for the future greatneſs of the French, to the unſpeakable prejudice of all Europe in general, and of the Engliſh nation in particular, whoſe intereſt it had been hitherto accounted to maintain that equality as near as might be. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 559.——It is very remakable, That, in this treaty, Cromwell would not allow the French King to call himſelf King of France, but of the French; when he himſelf aſſumed the title of Protector of England and France. And what is more, in the inſtrument of the treaty, Cromwell's name was put before the French King's. Welwood, p. 99.

(6) Bates makes the number of diſtricts to be fourteen. The major-generals were, Kelſey, Goffe, Deſborough, Fleetwood, Skippon, Whaley, Butler, Berry, Worſely, Lambert, Berkſtead, who was alſo lieutenant of the Tower. They had all the authority which was before divided among commitee-men, juſtices of peace, and other officers. They could commit to priſon all ſuſpected perſons; levied monies; ſequeſtred thoſe who refuſed to pay had power to liſt horſe and foot upon occaſion; and from them lay no appeal, but to the Protector himſelf. Clarendon ſays, there were twelve. Vol. III. p. 458.——This year died James Steward duke of Richmond, and the learned James Uſher, primate of Armagh.

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The parliament agreeable to the natural meaning of the word, is the repreſentative of the nation, whoſe deciſions and laws are looked upon as conformable to the ſentiments of the people in general. The great reſpect, veneration, and attachment which the Engliſh have for the parliament, are therefore not to be thought ſtrange, ſince in ſupporting its privileges, they maintain their own liberty: but this ſuppoſes a parliament agreeable to the conſtitution, compoſed of King, lords, and commons, with an intire freedom in elections. A parliament thus compoſed may be truly called the nation's repreſentative. It is needleſs here to obſerve, that artifices, intrigues and cabals have ſometimes altered this happy conſtitution. The frequent inſtances occuring in this hiſtory, render it undeniable. We have ſeen parliaments regardleſs of their country's good, and devoted intirely to the will of the Prince. Kings have been depoſed by others, and their Sovereigns deprived of their moſt lawful prerogatives. But without looking ſo far back, it needs only be conſidered, what paſſed in the late reign, particularly ſince December 1648. A parliament, by force and violence, reduced to leſs than a hundred members, brought their Sovereign to the ſcaffold; aboliſhed the houſe of lords; deſtroyed Monarchy; changed the government into a common-wealth, and inveſted themſelves with an authority ſupreme, under the ſpecious pretenſe of repreſenting the nation, tho' without King or houſe of peers. Nevertheleſs, tho' the conſtitution of the parliament was intirely ſubverted, and tho' the name of parliament, one would have thought, ſhould not have deceived the people, that venerable appellation was ſtill uſed to force them to obedience, on a groundleſs ſuppoſition, That an aſſembly with only the title of parliament was inveſted with all the authority of the moſt legal repreſentatives. Upon this foundation, theſe tyrants claimed a right to inact laws, to ordain, to decree, as the moſt regular parliament might have done. I ſhall not ſtay to ſhew the extravagance of this pretenſion. Very probably, thoſe who claimed it, were not themſelves ſatisfied with it. But as they were deſtitute of all other foundation, they built upon this, tho' weak and unſecure.

Reflections on parliaments.

On Cromwell's authority.

Cromwell's authority was no better ſupported. So viſible was his uſurpation, that a man muſt have been wilfully blind not to ſee it. He was himſelf ſo fully convinced of the unlawfulneſs of his power, that he left no means uneſſayed to get it confirmed by a free parliament, being the only way which could furniſh him with a plauſible pretenſe to exerciſe it. But failing of ſucceſs, he continued in the ſame ſtate, i. e. inveſted with the dignity of Protector, by men who had no power to confer it. Wherefore, the authority of a parliament appeared to him abſolutely neceſſary to confirm him in his own. But, as he had experienced what was to be expected from a free parliament, he reſolved to call one which might be more at his devotion. He therefore ſummoned a parliament to meet the ſeventeenth of September; but he took ſuch juſt meaſures, that tho' the people ſeemed to injoy a perfect freedom in the election of their repreſentatives, he ſecured a majority of voices. Beſide, he would admit no man in the houſe, who had not firſt promiſed, under his hand, to do nothing againſt the eſtabliſhed government. This parliament, compoſed of the three kingdoms repreſentatives, met on the day appointed (1); above a hundred members refuſing to ſign the ingagement, were denied their ſeats in the houſe. The reſt appeared ready to perform Cromwell's deſires. An act was forthwith paſſed, for renouncing the title of Charles Stuart (for ſo they called the King) and ſigned by all the members. By another act it was declared high-treaſon to attempt the life of the Protector. In fine, ſome few months after, the parliament liberally granted all the money deſired by Cromwell, as well for the maintenance of the army and government, as for the contiuation of the Spaniſh war.

He calls a parliament of the three nations. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 460. Whitelock. Ludlow.

Scobel's collect. Whitelock.

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Some days before the parliament met, their admirals Blake and Montague, falling in with eight Spaniſh ſhips, returning from the Weſt-Indies richly laden, took two, and ſtranded ſome others. This action was performed near Cadiz, where the Engliſh admirals had long expected this fleet. Cromwell ordered the two prizes to be brought to Portſmouth, and in a ſort of triumph, conveyed the money and goods in waggons to London.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 459. Whitelock, p. 653. Ludlow.

In January 1656-7, Cromwell diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt his perſon, by one Sindercomb, diſcharged out of his guards. This man being convicted, and condemned to die, was found dead in priſon, the day on which he was to be executed (2).

Jan. 19. Clarendon. Whitelock, p. 654.

About two months after, ſome Anabaptiſts were diſcovered, who had projected to kill the Protector. Major-general Harriſon, vice-admiral Lawſon, colonel Rich, major Danvers, and ſome others, all Anabaptiſts, on ſuſpicion of being concerned in the conſpiracy, were arreſted.

An' 1657. Ibid. p. 655.

Since Blake and Montague had taken the two prizes, they continued cruiſing off Cadiz, in expectation of the Spaniſh fleet returning from Peru. As this fleet did not appear, in the time looked for, Blake had notice, it was retired to Teneriff, one of the Canaries, 'till the Engliſh ſhips ſhould be ſailed from Cadiz. Whereupon, he ſtood for the Canaries, the begining of April, and found there the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of ſix galeons richly laden, and ten other ſhips of leſs burden. The commander of this fleet had anchored in the bay of Santa Cruz, and taken all poſſible care to ſecure himſelf againſt an attack. The ten ſmaller ſhips were moored cloſe to the land, and defended by two forts well mounted with guns, and ſeveral batteries erected on the ſhore. But the galeons drawing more water, could not come ſo near the land, but lay farther off, with their broad-ſides towards the ſea. Blake ſeeing no poſſibility of approaching the ten ſhips, reſolved, nothwithſtanding the raſhneſs of the attempt, to attack the galeons. Accordingly, with a fair wind, he approached, received their fire and boarded them. The particulars of this ingagement are very confuſedly related by the hiſtorians. Thus much, however, is certain, that Blake, after an obſtinate fight, poſſeſſed himſelf of the galeons, and as the wind, which had brought him into the bay, would not ſerve to carry them out, fired them. Immediately after a land-breeze ariſing put him ſafe to ſea again. The Spaniards on this occaſion ſuſtained a very great loſs, in ſhips, money, men, and marchandiſe; and the Engliſh acquired nothing but glory. Blake dying in his return to England, was pompouſly buried by Cromwell, in Henry the VIIth's chapel, among the monuments of the Kings.

Blake's attempt upon the galeons at St. Croix in the Canary iſles. April. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 469.

Deſtroys them.

Sept. 4. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 471.

The parliament, which met the ſeventeenth of September, continued their ſeſſion without interruption, being imployed in the moſt important affair that could ever come under their conſideration. Whether Cromwell had now formed the project of his higher advancement, or the diſpoſition of the houſe in his favor, inſpired him with the thought, he ſuddenly became more popular than ever. He

Debates in the houſe concerning making an offer of the crown to Cromwell. Burnet. p. 67, &c. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 461. Whitelock.

(1) Sir Thomas Widdrington was choſen ſpeaker. Whitelock, p. 651.

(2) He was tried at the upper-bench-bar. The court declared "That by the common law, to compaſs or imagine the "death of the chief magiſtrate, by what name ſoever he was called, whether Lord Protector, or otherwiſe, is high-treaſon, and that the ſtatute 25 Edw. III. was only declaratory of the common law." Ibid. p. 655.

careſſed

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careſſed all parties alike. The Preſbyterians were told, he was not far from their ſentiments; the nobility met with great reſpect from him; and he appeared leſs inſenſed againſt the Cavaliers. At length, after his friends and creatures had been long laboring to diſpoſe men in his favor, a member of parliament *, and one of the city aldermen, propoſed, in direct terms, that he might be inveſted with the title of King. This propoſition was immediately ſeconded by a great many members (1), and it was even obſerved, that his known enemies very readily gave their conſent. Theſe imagined, there was no better way to ruin him, and excite plots againſt his life. But for the ſame reaſon, his chief friends oppoſed it with all their power. Nevertheleſs, it is very probable, he was privy to this propoſal, tho' he thought not fit to tell it to Deſborough his brother-in-law, or Fleetwood his ſon-in-law, from whom it met with the greateſt oppoſition. This contraſt between Cromwell's friends, held thoſe in ſuſpenſe, who only intended to make their addreſs to him, and cauſed them to be irreſolute. The propoſal therefore was debated in the houſe two days ſucceſſively. In all likelihood the irreſolute were informed, in this interval, how they were to behave. However that be, it was at laſt carried by a majority of voices, that the crown ſhould be offered to the Protector. Agreeable to this reſolution, the houſe immediately appointed a commitee, to acquaint his Highneſs with what had been reſolved for the public good. He ſeemed ſurpriſed at the offer, and told the commitee, he thought it very ſtrange, the parliament ſhould entertain ſuch a deſign: that he did not believe it proper for them to offer, nor would his conſcience admit the acceptance. The commitee expecting this anſwer, replied, They did not queſtion but he would grant their deſire, when he ſhould be informed of the reaſons which had induced the parliament to take this reſolution, and which they beſought him only to hear. Whereupon, he appointed a day to hear what they had to ſay (2).

The propoſal brought in by an alderman of London, and incouraged by others. Feb. 21. Dugdale's View. Ludlow. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 462.

* Mr. Pack.

Cromwell waited on by a commitee, with the offer of the crown. April 9. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 463. Heath.

Reaſons laid before him to prevail with him to accept it. Apr. 11, 12. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 463.

The commitee (3), on the day appointed, entertained him with long diſcourſes, concerning the reaſons on which the parliament founded their requeſt, of which the principal were: "That the "people of England had for many ages been ac- "cuſtomed to the government of Kings: that in "changing this government, there had neceſſarily "been an abolition of many laws, cuſtoms, and "formalities, and an eſtabliſhment of others, which "would never be indured by the people on account "of their novelty: that according to the laws of "England, there could be no ſecurity to any act "concerning the government, without the inter- "vention and authority of a King: that hitherto, "thoſe concerned in the war, and the late changes, "could not be ſafe, but would remain liable to "dangerous inquiſitions, agreeable to the laws of "the land: that the daily conſpiracies againſt the "preſent government, clearly ſhewed, the people "were inclined to a King, nor would be ſatisfied "without one: In a word, that the kingdom would "never be in peace, 'till things were brought "back to their ancient channel. That it was "very true, the royal family had been rejected on "account of their tyrannies; but this was no ob- "jection to the choice of a King of another family, "nor could any kingdom be produced, where the "like had not happened, as well as in England."

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In the debates of the houſe, theſe very reaſons were alleged, and the Republicans anſwered them to this effect: "That an oath had been taken to "be faithful to the common-wealth without a "King; and to make a new King was returning "to Egypt. Where was the neceſſity of recuring "to Kings, ſince it was agreed, they invaded the "rights of the ſubject? That it was advantageous "that all the ſubjects ſhould be equally liable to be "called to an account, that they might be more "united among themſelves. That if a King "was at laſt neceſſary, they would chuſe rather to "have the true heir to the crown." Cromwell was not unacquainted with the reaſons alleged on both ſides in the houſe, and therefore to ſhow, he would neither accept nor refuſe the offer without deliberation, he appointed the eighth of May for his final determination.

He is greatly perplexed what choice to make. Whitelock, p. 556. Clarendon, Vol. III. P. 466.

In this interval, it is pretended, he was in the utmoſt diſtraction, not knowing how to act. His ambition prompted him to accept the offered crown, the whole intrigue being probably directed by himſelf. But the diſpoſition of his relations and principal friends made him tremble. For how could he promiſe to himſelf allegiance from ſtrangers, when he ſaw his own moſt intimate friends determined to abandon him? Nay, it is ſaid, ſome threatened to kill him, and that he was informed of a plot to aſſaſſinate him, the moment he accepted the diadem. The very day he was to give his anſwer, Deſborough and Fleetwood, walking with him in St. James's park, told him, if he accepted the crown, they could no longer ſerve him. He was diſcouraged by all theſe events, at the very inſtant the crown was going to be placed on his head. His anſwer therefore to the commitee was, that he could not accept the government under the title of King (4). Whether this refuſal was for or againſt his intereſt, is a problem that admits of great diſpute. For my part, I believe, that being ſo able a politician, he did not think the advantages of accepting the diadem, equal to the inconveniencies.

Burnet's Hiſt. P. 70.

Refuſes the crown, May 8. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 465. Heath.

Is confirmed in his Protectorſhip by the parliament. p. 67, &c. Ludlow. Vol. II. p. 591.

However, to reward in ſome meaſure ſo great a moderation, the parliament confirmed his dignity of Protector, with more power than was annexed to it by the council of officers. This was done by a ſolemn inſtrument, called, The humble petition and advice (5), the parliament thereby manifeſting it was not a law to be impoſed on him but an advice, which was ſubmited to his judgment and diſcretion, with freedom to accept or refuſe it, as he ſhould think proper. The ſubſtance of it was:

Contents of the act of the humble petition and advice. Whitelock, p. 657. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 466.

"That his Highneſs Oliver Cromwell ſhould, "under the title of Protector, be pleaſed to exe- "cute the office of chief magiſtrate, over England, "Scotland and Ireland, and the territories, and the "dominions thereunto belonging, and to govern ac- "cording to all things in that petition and advice. "And alſo that he would, in his life-time, appoint "the perſon that ſhould ſucceed him in the govern- "ment:

(1) Particularly by Charles Boyle lord Broghill, chief juſtice Glynn, &c. Life of Cromwell, p. 363.

(2) Whitelock's account is thus: The parliament had been long about the ſetling of the nation, and had framed a writing, which they ſtiled, "The humble petition and advice of the parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to his Highneſs." The firſt buſineſs of it was, for the Protector to have the title of King. This petition and advice was preſented to his Highneſs by the houſe, and he deſired that a commitee might be appointed to confer with him about it; which was named, and Whitelock one of the commitee, was made chairman. When the commitee attended his Highneſs, Whitelock ſpake to him upon the title of King, giving reaſons why he ſhould accept of it. The Protector urged his reaſons againſt it, and Whitelock replied. The whole debate is in print, Whitelock, p. 655.

(3) Of this commitee Whitelock was chairman; and the chief ſpeakers were, the lord Broghill, mr. St. John, Glynn, Fiennes, Liſle, Lenthal, ſir Charles Wolſey, ſir Richard Onſlow, and colonel Jones. Life of Cromwell, p. 364.

(4) Tho' a crown was actually made, and brought to Whitehall. Welwood, p. 100.

(5) The reader may ſee it at large in Whitelock's Mem. p. 657.

"ment:

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" ment: that he would call a parliament conſiſting " of two houſes once in a year (1) at fartheſt: " that thoſe perſons who are legally choſen by a " free election of the people to ſerve in parliament, " may not be excluded from doing their duties, " but by conſent of that houſe whereof they are " members: that none but thoſe under the qualifi- " cations therein mentioned, ſhould be capable to " ſerve as members in parliament: that the power " of the other houſe be limited as therein is pre- " ſcribed: that the laws and ſtatutes of the land be " obſerved and kept; no laws altered, ſuſpended, " abrogated, or repealed, but by new laws made " by act of parliament: that the yearly ſum of a " million of pounds ſterling be ſetled for the main- " tenance of the navy and army; and three hun- " dred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of the go- " vernment; beſide other temporary ſupplies as " the commons in parliament ſhall ſee the neceſſities " of the nation to require: that the number of the " Protector's council ſhall not exceed one and " twenty, whereof ſeven ſhall be a Quorum (2). " The chief officers of ſtate, as chancellors, " keepers of the great-ſeal, &c. to be approved " by parliament: that his Highneſs would incou- " rage a godly miniſtry in theſe nations; and that " ſuch as do revile and diſturb them in the worſhip " of God, may be puniſhed according to law; " and where laws are defective, new ones to be " made: that the Proteſtant Chriſtian religion, as " it is contained in the Old and New Teſtament, be " aſſerted and held forth for the publick profeſſion " of theſe nations, and no other; and that a con- " feſſion of faith be agreed upon, and recommended " to the people of theſe nations; and none to " be permited, by words, or writing, to revile or " reproach the ſaid confeſſion of faith."

The general terms in which the laſt three articles concerning religion are expreſſed, plainly ſhew, that the intention of the parliament, or rather of Cromwell who directed them, was, to oblige equally the Preſbyterians and Independents. The firſt, by ſupporting the miniſtry on the preſent eſtabliſhment, and the others, by introducing into religion, a latitude which left every man free to believe and practiſe as he pleaſed, and both parties, by equally flattering them with a confeſſion of faith, in which each party ſhould find their account. The Epiſcopalians alone could not expect any advantage.

Cromwell ſolemnly inaugurated, June 26. Whitelock, p. 662. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 592. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 468.

Cromwell having ſolemnly ſworn the punctual obſervation of theſe articles, appointed the twenty-ſixth of June for the day of his inauguration, which was performed with great pomp (3). Doubtleſs, he was of opinion, that this ſecond inauguration was neceſſary to ſupply the defects of the firſt, which had been made without any lawful authority. This done, the houſe adjourned to the twentieth of January 1657-8.

Since the renewal of the ancient treaties between France and England, another negociation was begun for a league offenſive and defenſive againſt Spain. This negociation, ſet on foot by the embaſſador of France in 1656, at London, was concluded at Paris the thirteenth of March 1657, by a treaty of league, importing, that Cromwell ſhould join ſix thouſand men with the French army; that Mardyke and Dunkirk ſhould be beſieged, and when taken, delivered to the Engliſh (4).

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A league offenſive and defenſive between France and Cromwell. March 13. Aubery's Hiſtory of cardinal Mazarine.

King Charles being informed of this negociation, ſent a truſty meſſenger to arch-duke Leopold, ſtill governor of the Low-Countries, to offer a league with Spain. The King's deſign was to give himſelf ſome reputation by a league with that crown; and beſide, he wiſhed to reſide in the Low-Countries in order to be nearer England, in caſe his preſenſe there ſhould be neceſſary. The arch-duke accepted the propoſal, believing, if the King of England was attached to Spain, he would have credit enough to draw the Iriſh forces from the French, into the Spaniſh ſervice. This was all the benefit Spain could expect from a junction with a Prince, who had properly nothing to offer. Beſide he was to be ſubſiſted, when he ſhould be deſerted by France. However this be, the King and the arch-duke concluded a treaty, by which the King's reſidence at Bruges was only to be connived at by Spain, which was little able to maintain him according to his dignity. Spain alſo ingaged to furniſh him with ſix thouſand men, as ſoon as he ſhould be poſſeſſed of ſome good port in England. His Majeſty, ſatiſfied with theſe conditions, not being able to procure better, ſigned the treaty, which was ratified by the King of Spain. With the ratification, Philip ſetled upon the King a monthly penſion of ſix thouſand Guilders, and another of three thouſand upon the duke of Gloceſter, who had been ſent for out of France by his brother the King, where his mother was perſuading him to change his religion. So, the King left Cologne in April 1657, and retired to Bruges, at the ſame time as arch-duke Leopold reſigned the government of the Low-Countries to Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon of Philip IV. The King afterwards prevailed with the lord Muſkerry, colonel of an Iriſh regiment in the French ſervice, to deſert their imployment, and join the Spaniſh army with his regiment. He alſo found means to cauſe four regiments, of Engliſh, Scots and Iriſh, to come in ſingle companies, and offer him their ſervice. Theſe regiments, tho' not in very good order, ſerved in the Spaniſh army.

King Charles makes an alliance with Spain. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 455, 456, 457.

April. Has a penſion granted from that crown of 6000 Guilders a month.

Goes to reſide at Bruges. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 474, 475, &c.

As ſoon as the treaty of league between France and England was ſigned, cardinal Mazarine ſignified to the duke of York, that he was to retire out of the dominions of France. All the Engliſh of the King's party, in the French ſervice, had the ſame orders, and among the reſt the lord Digby, now

The duke of York obliged to quit France. P. 477, 480.

(1) Once in three years, or oftner. Whitelock's Mem. p. 657.

(2) This expreſſion is taken from the clauſe inſerted in moſt commiſſions, in which after the number of commiſſioners is fixed, the King appoints ſome particular perſons amongſt them, who are to be preſent to give a validity to all acts done in virtue of the commiſſion, and this he does by ſaying, " a quorum eſſe numero volumus, &c. Rapin.

(3) A place being prepared at the upper end of Weſtminſter-Hall, in the midſt of it was ſet a rich cloth of ſtate, with a chair of ſtate under it, upon an aſcent of two ſteps. Before it a table and chair for the ſpeaker, and on each ſide of the hall covered ſeats one over another, for the members. About two o'clock his Highneſs came, the earl of Warwick carrying the ſword before him (and being the only nobleman that was preſent at that ſolemnity, ſays Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 592.) and the lord-mayor of London, with the city-ſword. His Highneſs ſtanding under the cloth of ſtate, the ſpeaker preſented to him a robe of purple velvet lined with ermines, which ſir T. Widdrington, the ſpeaker, aſſiſted by Whitelock, put upon him. Then he delivered to him the bible richly gilt and boſſed; after that he girt on his ſword, and delivered into his hands the ſcepter of maſſy gold, and then made a ſpeech to him, and gave him the oath. After this, the people gave ſeveral ſhouts, and the trumpets ſounded: the Protector ſat in the chair of ſtate, holding the ſcepter in his hand; on his right ſide ſat the embaſſador of France, on the left the embaſſador of the United Provinces: near him ſtood his ſon Richard, Fleetwood lord deputy of Ireland, Claypole, maſter of the horſe, the council and others of ſtate. The earl of Warwick held the ſword on the right, and the lord-mayor the city ſword on the left ſide of the chair. Near the earl of Warwick ſtood viſcount Liſle, general Montague, and Whitelock, each of them with a drawn ſword in their hands. Then the trumpets ſounded, and a herald proclaimed his Highneſs's title, and proclamation was made to the people, crying, " God ſave the Protector." The ceremonies being ended, he went in ſtate to Weſtminſter-hall gate, where he took coach, and went to the houſe, and paſſed ſome bills. Whitelock. p. 662.

(4) Some authors, by confounding theſe two treaties, the one of the twenty-third of October 1655, and the other of the thirteenth of March 1657, have fallen into ſome miſtakes. Rapin. See Collect. of Treaties, Vol. III.

become

become earl of Briſtol upon the death of his father, and a convert to the Catholic religion. All theſe Engliſh, diſmiſſed from France, retired into the Low-Countries, ſome to their King, and the reſt to Don John of Auſtria, to ſeek imployment in his army.

Cromwell ſends ſix thouſand Engliſh into France. Sept. 23. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 473. Whitelock. Ludlow.

In conſequence of the league, Cromwell ſent ſix thouſand of his beſt troops into France under the command of Reynolds, who had concluded the treaty at Paris in quality of his embaſſador. In this campain, the French took ſeveral places from the Spaniards, and among the reſt Mardyke which was delivered to the Engliſh. Reynolds being unfortunately drowned in his return to England, was ſucceeded in the command of the Engliſh forces in the French ſervice, by Lockhart a Scotſman, embaſſador to that crown.

Compoſes another houſe of parliament. Whitelock, p. 665. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 472. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 594, 595. Heath.

As by the ſecond article of the humble petition and advice, the Protector was to ſummon every year a parliament, conſiſting of two houſes, Cromwell reſolved to obſerve that article, which had been inſerted in the inſtrument by his ſole direction. To compoſe the other houſe, he choſe at his own pleaſure a certain number. Moſt of theſe were officers, or other perſons devoted to him, to whom he added ſome ancient peers; but they refuſed to take their ſeats with thoſe of his nomination (1). This choice being made, he iſſued out writs for their aſſembling in parliament, in a ſeparate houſe, the twentieth of January 1657-8. His intention was to have this houſe conſidered as a houſe of peers and inveſted with all thoſe privileges the peers had formerly injoyed. He however durſt not give it that name, but contented himſelf with calling it the "Other Houſe," 'till a more proper name could be thought of (2).

Deſigns of his enemies againſt him. Ludlow.

It has been obſerved, Cromwell had created himſelf many enemies, not only among the Royaliſts and Preſbyterians, but even among the Independents themſelves. Theſe laſt were highly provoked at his having made uſe of them for his advancement, under color of laboring with them to eſtabliſh a Republican-government. The ſequel had ſhown them, that in ſuppreſſing Kingly juriſdiction, he had never intended to aboliſh the Monarchy, ſince he had ſeized the ſupreme power, under the name of Protector. They therefore looked on him as the moſt perfidious of men, and were not leſs his enemies than the Royaliſts and Preſbyterians. He was ſupported only by the army, filled by himſelf with Fanaticks and Enthuſiaſts, who imagined the time was come to erect a Fifth-Monarchy, or the reign of Jeſus Chriſt upon earth. Cromwell was not ignorant, his enemies had deſigned to deſtroy him, on pretenſe of raiſing him higher, and this had made him refuſe the title of King. It was alſo to break their meaſures, that he had aſked and obtained a power of erecting another houſe, to oppoſe it occaſionally to the houſe of commons, where he knew he had but too many enemies, of which he had cauſe very ſoon to be ſtill more ſenſible.

The parliament meets in two houſes. Jan. 20. 1657-8. Whitelock, p. 666. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 472.

During the adjournment, his enemies having had time to concert their meaſures, took another courſe to deſtroy him when the parliament re-aſſembled. As by the third article (3) of the humble petition and advice, it was ſaid, the members legally choſen, ſhould not be excluded without the conſent of their houſe, a motion was made to admit all the elected members, who had refuſed to ſign the ingagement. This motion was ſo ſuddenly received and approved, that Cromwell had not time to oppoſe it, and it was ſo much the more out of his power, as it was founded on a ſolemn act, which he had ſworn to obſerve. By this means above a hundred members, Republicans and Preſbyterians, all enemies to the Protector, were admited into the houſe of commons (4). From that time, the face of affairs began to change, Cromwell's enemies having gained the ſuperiority in that very houſe which would have made him a King. As they had formed great projects againſt him, their firſt care was to hinder the other houſe, wholly conſiſting of his creatures, from uſing their pretended negative voice to fruſtrate their meaſures. The authority therefore of the other houſe was called in queſtion, and it was affirmed to be abſurd, that they ſhould have a negative voice, ſince the commons, by whom they were created, never pretended to make peers of men who had no other power than what they voted them. Adding, that therefore it was ſaid in the humble petition and advice, that the power of the other houſe ſhould be limited. Cromwell, perceiving to what all this tended, ſent for the parliament to Whitehall, and in a ſpeech maintained the authority of the other houſe with ſuch warmth, that the commons fearing an immediate diſſolution, found it neceſſary to acknowlege the other houſe as an eſſential part of the parliament.

The excluded members received into it, who were Cromwell's enemies. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 597, 598. Phillips.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 472.

The parliament examines the validity of the humble petition and advice. Phillips.

Notwithſtanding this, the commons took into conſideration the humble petition and advice, and many were of opinion, it was null and void, becauſe it was made when ſeveral members were excluded from the parliament, without any lawful cauſe. This evidently tended to a revocation of the act, and withal of the ſubſequent confirmation of Cromwell's protectorſhip. Cromwell was too quick-ſighted not to ſee how far it concerned his intereſt, not to ſuffer this parliament to ſit any longer. Wherefore he came to the other houſe and ſending for the commons, ſpoke to them in theſe terms:

Cromwell's ſpeech to the parliament. Feb. 4. Phillips, p. 631.

"I had very comfortable expectations that God "would make the meeting of the parliament a "bleſſing; and the Lord be my witneſs, I deſire "the carrying on the affairs of the nation to theſe "ends. The bleſſing which I mean, and which we "ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteouſneſs, "and peace, which I deſire may be improved.

"That which brought me into the capacity I "now ſtand in, was the petition and advice given "me by you, who, in reference to the ancient "conſtitution, did draw me to accept of the place "of Protector. There is not a man living can "ſay I ſought it; no, not a man, nor woman "treading upon Engliſh ground; but I, con-"templating the ſad condition of theſe nations, re-"lieved from an inteſtine war unto a ſix or ſeven "years peace, I did think the nations happy therein. "But to be petitioned thereunto, and adviſed by you "to undertake ſuch a government, a burden too "heavy for any creature, and this to be done by "the houſe that then had the legiſlative capacity,

(1) Ludlow ſays, None of the ancient nobility, except the lord Eure, ſat in the other houſe. The earl of Warwick himſelf, tho' his grandſon, and had married one of Cromwell's daughters, would not be perſuaded to ſit with colonel Hewſon, and colonel Pride, whereof the one had been a ſhoemaker, and the other a drayman. Mem. Vol. II. p. 595.

(2) The form of the writs was the ſame with thoſe which were uſed to be ſent to ſummon the peers in parliament. They were in all ſixty; (ſeventy ſays Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 584.) among whom were diverſe noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient families, and good eſtates, and ſome colonels and officers of the army. This is Whitelock's account, who was one of them, and who has given us the names of all the ſixty. Among whom were four earls, two viſcounts, and ſeveral lords, as the reader may ſee, p. 665, of Whitelock's Mem. And here again, there is reaſon to wiſh Rapin had ſeen Whitelock's Memorials.

(3) Rapin ſays the fourth. See the petition in Whitelock, p. 657.

(4) Among whom particularly were ſir Harry Vane, Haſlerig, and many others of great credit and intereſt.

Inter-reg. An' 1657.

" I did look that the ſame men who made the " frame, ſhould make it good unto me: I can " ſay in the preſenſe of God, in compariſon of " whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon " the earth, I would have been glad to have lived " under my wood-ſide, to have kept a flock of " ſheep, rather than undertook ſuch a government " as this is; but undertaking it by the advice and " petition of you, I did look that you who had " offered it unto me ſhould make it good.

" I did tell you, at a conference concerning it, " that I would not undertake it, unleſs there might " be ſome other perſon who might interpoſe be- " tween me and the houſe of commons, who then " had the power to prevent tumultuary and popu- " pular ſpirits, and it was granted I ſhould name " any other houſe; and I named it of men who " ſhall meet you whereſoever you go, and ſhake " hands with you, and tell you it is not titles, nor " lords, nor party, that they value, but a Chriſ- " tian and an Engliſh intereſt, men of your own " rank and quality, who will not only be a balance " unto you, but to themſelves, while you love " England and religion.

" Having proceeded upon theſe terms, and " finding ſuch a ſpirit as is too much predominant, " every thing being too high or too low, when " virtue, honeſty, piety and juſtice are omited: I " thought I had been doing that which was my " duty, and thought it would have ſatisfied you; " but if every thing muſt be too high or too low, " you are not to be ſatisfied.

" Again, I would not have accepted of the go- " vernment, unleſs I knew there would be a juſt " accord between the governor and governed; un- " leſs they would take an oath to make good what " the parliament's petition and advice adviſed me " unto; upon that I took one oath, and they took " another oath upon their part anſwerable to " mine; and did not every one know upon what " condition they ſwore? God knows, I took it " upon condition expreſſed in the government: " and I did think we had been upon a foundation, " and upon a bottom; and thereupon I thought " myſelf bound to take it, and to be adviſed by " the two houſes of parliament. We ſtanding " unſetled till we were arrived at that; the con- " ſequences would neceſſarily have been confuſion, " if that had not been ſetled. Yet there are not con- " ſtituted hereditary lords, nor hereditary Kings; " the power conſiſting in the two houſes and my " ſelf. I do not ſay, waht the meaning of your " oath was to you, that were to go againſt my " own principles, to enter upon another man's con- " ſcience: God will judge between me and you: " if there had been in you any intention of ſetle- " ment, you would have ſetled upon this baſis, " and have offered your judgment and opinion.

" God is my witneſs, I ſpeak it, it is evident " to all the world and people living, that a new " buſineſs hath been ſeeking in the army againſt " this actual ſetlement by your conſent; I do not " ſpeak to theſe gentlemen or lords (pointing to " his right hand) whatſoever you will call them, " I ſpeak not this to them, but to you; you ad- " viſed me to run into this place to be in a capa- " city by your advice; yet inſtead of owning a " thing taken for granted, ſome muſt have I know " not what; and you have not only disjoined your " ſelves, but the whole nation, which is in like- " lihood of runing into more confuſion in this " fifteen or ſixteen days that you have ſate, than it " hath been from the riſing of the laſt ſeſſion to " this day, thro' the intention of deviſing a " common-wealth again, that ſome of the people " might be the men that might rule all, and they " are indeavoring to ingage the army to carry that " thing; and hath that man been true to this na- " tion, whoſoever he be, eſpecially who hath taken " an oath, thus to prevaricate? Theſe deſigns " have been upon the army, to break and divide " us: I ſpeak this in the preſenſe of ſome of the " army, that theſe things have not been according " to God, nor according to truth (pretend what you " will.) Theſe things tend to nothing elſe, but " playing the King of Scots's game, if I may ſo " call him; and I think myſelf bound before God, " to do what I mean to prevent it. That which " I told you in the Banqueting-houſe was true, " that there were preparations of force to invade " us; God is my witneſs it hath been confirmed " to me ſince within a day, that the King of Scots " hath an army at the water-ſide ready to be " ſhipped for England. I have it from thoſe " who have been eye-witneſſes of it. And while " it is doing, there are indeavors from ſome who " are not far from this place to ſtir up the people " of this town into a tumulting: what if I ſaid in- " to a rebellion? And I hope I ſhall make it " appear to be no better, if God aſſiſt me; it " hath been not only your indeavor to pervert the " army while you have been ſiting, and to draw " them to ſtate the queſtion about a common- " wealth, but ſome of you have been liſting of " perſons by commiſſion from Charles Stuart, to " join with any inſurrection that may be made: " and what is like to come upon this (the enemy " being ready to invade us) but even preſent blood " and confuſion? And if this be ſo, as I do aſſign " to this cauſe your not aſſenting to what you did " invite me to by the petition and advice, as that " which might be the ſetlement of the nation, and " if this be the end of your ſiting, and this be your " carriages, I think it high time that an end be " put unto your ſiting, and I do diſſolve this par- " liament: and let God judge between me and " you." At which many of the commons cried Amen.

Inter-reg. An' 1657.

On the diſſolution of the parliament, Cromwell ſuſpecting, or perhaps being informed, that Lambert was one of the principal authors of the plot formed againſt him, diſmiſſed him from all his imployments (1). Fleetwood was recalled from Ireland to ſucceed Lambert in the lieutenant-generalſhip, and Henry Cromwell, younger ſon of the Protector, was diſmiſſed into Ireland in Fleetwood's room. Since Cromwell had been confirmed in the Protectorate, he called his eldeſt ſon Richard to court (2), and made him chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford. He had married his ſecond daughter to the lord Falconbridge, and his third to Mr. Rich, grandſon to the earl of Warwick. His eldeſt had been long ſince married to mr. Claypole, and a fourth lived unmarried, if I am not miſtaken, 'till the reign of William III (3). Soon after Lambert's diſmiſſion, Cromwell

An' 1658. Lambert turned out of his preferments. Ludlow. Vol II. p. 593. Succeeded by by Fleetwood. Who is ſucceeded by Henry Cromwell.

Cromwell's Family. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 469.

(1) But however, allowed him two thouſand pounds a year. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 594.

(2) He had 'till this time lived privately at Hurſly in Hampſhire, upon the fortune brought him by his wife, who was Dorothy, eldeſt daughter of Richard Major, eſq; Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 469.

(3) The marriage of his daughters; Mary to the lord Falconbridge, and Frances to mr. Rich, the earl of Warwick's grandſon, were celebrated firſt according to ceremonies then in uſe, but privately afterwards, according to the rites of the church of England. Ibid. Bridget had two huſbands, Ireton and Fleetwood; and Elizabeth (whom Rapin by miſtake ſays lived unmarried) was wife to Claypole. The lady Falconbridge lived to extreme old age.

ſo

INTER-REG. AN' 1658.

He reduces the power of the major-generals. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 473. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 580——582.

so reduced the authority of major-generals, that they had no longer the power, as before, of oppreſſing the people. In all appearance, they were deeply concerned in the plot to gain the army, mentioned by Cromwell in his ſpeech to the parliament. It is pretended, he meaned a greater reformation in his army, and was reſolved to diſmiſs every perſon of ſuſpected fidelity. But he had not time to execute this project.

A conſpiracy of the Royaliſts. Warwick. Phillips. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 482, &c.

Cromwell had great reaſon to ſpeak of a conſpiracy forming in England in favor of the King. The Royaliſts not doubting that all who were enemies either to Cromwell's perſon or government, were the King's ſecret friends; built upon that foundation to place him on the throne by the aſſiſtance of his greateſt enemies. This would appear incredible, if they had not given frequent inſtances of their partiality. The project was, as uſual, to raiſe inſurrections in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, in the belief, that the King's private friends would not loſe the occaſion of joining thoſe who ſhould appear in arms. The principal managers of this plot were

p. 483, &c. Ludlow.

John Mordaunt brother to the earl of Peterborough, ſir Henry Slingſby a rich and popular man in the county of York, and dr. Hewet a miniſter of the church of England. This plot had been repreſented to the King in ſo advantageous a manner, by reaſon of the general diſcontent under the preſent government, that he conceived hopes of ſucceſs. And therefore he himſelf had made ſome preparations in the Low-Countries, and the four regiments raiſed by him, and after the miſcarriage of the deſign, added to the Spaniſh army, were intended for his ſervice. Moreover he had ſent commiſſions into England, for thoſe who would ingage in his intereſt. One of theſe commiſſions, to raiſe a regiment of horſe, had been granted to one mr. Stapley, whoſe father had been Cromwell's great friend, and one of the King's judges. Cromwell, upon ſome infor-

Diſcovered by Stapley. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 481—— 485.

mation, ſent for Stapley, and artfully drew from him a confeſſion of whatever he knew; and that he had received his commiſſion from mr. Mordaunt. He alſo told him, the marquis of Ormond had been at London, and ſtayed there three weeks to concert meaſures with the conſpirators, and give them his directions; which was true. The earl of Clarendon intimates, the marquis, when in England, had not found things ripe for the execution of what was intended; and yet the great number of commiſſions ſhew, that the court had a better opinion of the undertaking. However this be, the marquis had the good fortune to leave England, and return to the King, before Cromwell knew he had been there. Immediately after the diſſolution of the parliament, Mordaunt, Slingſby and Hewet were commited to the Tower, and many of their aſſociates were apprehended in all parts of the kingdom. After which,

p. 484. Whitelock, p. 673. State Trials, Vol. II.

Cromwell erected a High-court of Juſtice (1) for trial of the criminals, and eſpecially of the three principal. Mr. Mordaunt eſcaped death by means of his wife, who bribed ſome of the judges, and prevailed with one (2) of the two witneſſes againſt her huſband, to make his eſcape. Sir Henry Slingſby and dr. Hewet were condemned and executed (3). Before the ſame court were tried, condemned, hanged and quartered for the ſame crime, Aſhton, Stacy, and Battely. Some others were condemned, and pardoned by Cromwell, not to multiply any more the number of his enemies. It is certain he had a great many, and thoſe who had been moſt attached to him while he was believed to be in their views, hated him mortally, when they found themſelves deceived.

INTER-REG. AN' 1658.

Slingſby, Hewet, and others, executed. State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 296. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 487, 488.

Addreſs of ſome ſectaries to the King. p. 489, &c.

The earl of Clarendon relates on this occaſion a long addreſs to the King, from ſeveral Independents, Quakers and Anabaptiſts, brought him by a young gentleman (4), wherein they ſuppoſed the death of Cromwell to be near, which ſeemed to intimate a deſing to aſſaſſinate him. To this addreſs were annexed ſome conditions required of the King, with which certainly he could not comply. Wherefore he contented himſelf with returning a general anſwer, that he intended not to perſecute or trouble any men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable, and that they might hope for his favor, if he received ſervice from them; by which he ſeemed to incourage them to execute their deſign. It is certain, theſe men abhored Cromwell, but depended too much on their own ſtrength, and filled their heads with chimerical deſigns. After all, tho' their projects ſhould have ſucceeded, the King would have received no advantage, their principles being ſo oppoſite to his. Probably, their intention was to make uſe of the King to accompliſh their aim, but not to place him on the throne in the manner he deſired, therefore this project vaniſhed.

Dunkirk taken. p. 500.

This year, in June, marſhal Turenne, the French general, beſieged Dunkirk, contrary to the opinion of Don John of Auſtria, who expected he would have opened the campain with the ſiege of Cambray. As this belief had made him neglect providing for the defenſe of Dunkirk, he was forced to hazard a battle to ſave that place, which was in no condition to make a long reſiſtance. But this battle proved fatal to the Spaniards, who were intirely defeated (5), and the ſiege was continued by Turenne, who made himſelf maſter of Dunkirk the twenty-ſixth of June. The town, in purſuance of the treaty with England, was ſurrendered to Cromwell, who made Lockhart governor, and in it placed a ſtrong gariſon.

The battle of Dunes. p. 502. Whitelock.

Dunkirk delivered to Cromwell. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 504. Ludlow.

The Protector had for ſome time, appeared more uneaſy and fearful than ever. This is not very ſtrange, ſince he had informations from diverſe parts, of a deſign to aſſaſſinate him, by ſome of his former moſt zealous adherents. Theſe informations cauſed him to take new meaſures, as not to lie two nights together in the ſame chamber, nor appear in public without a ſtrong guard. But all theſe precautions to avoid a violent death, could not

(1) Of which Whitelock was one of the commiſſioners; but never ſate with them, it being againſt his judgment. He was for trying the conſpirators in the ordinary courſe of common law; but, ſays he, his Highneſs was too much in love with the new way, which he thought to be more effectual, and would the more terrify the offenders. Mem. p. 673.

(5) Col. Mallory. He had been truſted by mr. Mordaunt in the buſineſs of Suſſex, and apprehended about the ſame time with Stapley. He was brought from the Tower in cuſtody, to give in evidence againſt mr. Mordaunt, but was prevailed with, when he was brought to the hall, to withdraw from his guard, and ſlip away in the crowd. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 486.

(3) They were both beheaded on Tower-hill, June eight. State-trials, Vol. II. p. 296. Hewet's greateſt crime was collecting and ſending money to the King, and diſperſing his commiſſions. Mrs. Claypole uſed all her intereſt with her father the Protector, to ſave the doctor's life, but without ſucceſs; which denial ſo afflicted her, that it was reported to be one cauſe of her death: ſhe dying Auguſt 6. Idem. p. 485. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 607.

(4) Sexby was not the perſon ſent with the addreſs (as Rapin ſays by miſtake) tho' he was an agent both for theſe people and the Spaniards. He was an illiterate but ſenſible man, of no family, and at firſt only a common ſoldier in Cromwell's troops. The perſon that brought the addreſs, was, as Clarendon ſays, a young gentleman of an honorable extraction. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 488, 499.

(5) Chiefly by means of Lockhart (who had married Cromwell's niece) and his ſix thouſand Engliſh foot. Ibid. p. 502.—— There were twelve hundred Spaniards ſlain, and two thouſand taken priſoners. Whitelock, p. 673.

(6) The French general had ſecret order not to deliver that place to the Engliſh. But Cromwell had an information of it, tho' it was known but to four perſons, and rendered that order ineffectual, as the reader may ſee in Welwood, p. 96.

ſecure

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Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 505. Whitelock. Cromwell's death.

secure him from a natural one. In Auguſt, this year, he was ſeized with a fever at Hampton-court, which at firſt had no dangerous ſymptoms, but his diſtemper daily increaſing, he was removed to White-hall, where, after nominating his eldeſt ſon Richard for his ſucceſſor, he expired in the ſixtieth year of his age, on the third of September, on which day he had gained the two great battles, of Dunbar in 1650, and of Worceſter in 1651 (1).

Deſcent and character. Life of Cromwell. Appendix, p. 427. Bates.

Cromwell's family was originally of Glamorganſhire in Wales, and called Williams, one of which marrying a ſiſter of Cromwell, vicar-general in the reign of Henry VIII, aſſumed the name of Cromwell, and tranſmited it to his poſtirity. Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntington, April twenty-five, 1599. His education had nothing extraordinary (2), nor have we any account how he beſtowed his time before he arrived at the age of thirty five, when he led a very regular life, without indulging himſelf in any indecent or ill action. He then probably, if not ſooner, ingaged in the Preſbyterian party (3). The reputation he had acquired of an honeſt man and good chriſtian, and doubtleſs his principles concerning the government, were the cauſe of his being returned for the town of Cambridge, to the parliament which met the third of November, 1640 (4). Two years he ſate without being diſtinguiſhed, not having a genius for ſpeaking to ſet him upon a level with ſome of the members of that parliament. His delivery was ungraceful, and his ſpeeches prolix and confuſed. In theſe two years probably he was gained by the Independents, and liſted in their party, tho' concealed under the name of rigid Preſbyterians, agreeable to the views and intereſts of that party. Cromwell affected an extraordinary zeal for Preſbyterianiſm, and the liberty of the kingdom againſt the uſurpations of the court, in which he followed the directions of the then leading members of the houſe. So, when the civil war began in 1642, he had a poſt in the army, as a man intirely devoted to that houſe, of which he was member. At firſt he was a major of horſe, and tho' two and forty years of age before he had drawn a ſword, he was ſo diſtinguiſhed by his valor in that poſt, that he had ſoon after a regiment given him. In the army there was not an officer that faced danger with more intrepidity, or who more ardently ſought occaſions to ſignaliſe himſelf. His reputation increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he became major-general, then lieutenant-general under Fairfax, and at laſt his ſucceſſor. His great talents for war gave him opportunity to ſhew that he had no leſs genius for civil affairs. He entered into the deepeſt deſigns of his party, and at laſt became one of the principal leaders, advancing here with the ſame rapidity as in the field. It was he, who accuſing the earl of Mancheſter of not having done his duty in the ſecond battle of Newbury, broke the ice, and gave occaſion to the new model of the army, which was the firſt ſtep to the triumph of the Independents. From that time, he was looked upon as the chief of the Independent party, and, properly as general of the army, Fairfax acting only by his directions. I ſhall no farther inſiſt upon what has been related at large, but only obſerve, that the troops believed themſelves invincible under his command, and that he was never once forced to turn his back. The victory gained over Prince Rupert at Marſton-moor, was chiefly aſcribed to his valor. What greatly increaſed his glory was, the reduction of Ireland in leſs than a year; and the battles of Dunbar and Worceſter carried it to the higheſt degree.

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Let us now view him in his Protectorate. If his government be compared with thoſe of the two laſt Kings, there will appear a very great diſparity with regard to the honor and reputation of the Engliſh nation. James I and Charles I ſeem to have ſtudied diſgracing the Engliſh name; whereas Cromwell, in the ſpace of four or five years carried the glory of his nation as high as poſſible, and in that reſpect was not inferior to Elizabeth (5). He made himſelf equally dreaded by France and Spain, and the United Provinces. Theſe three ſtates courted his alliance and friendſhip with ſuch ardor, that they may be ſaid to cringe to him beyond what was becoming. Charles Guſtavus, King of Sweden, thought himſelf honored in being his particular friend and ally. His greateſt enemies cannot avoid doing him honor on this account.

Burnet's Hiſt. p. 81.

As for his morals and conduct, as a private perſon, they may be ſaid to have been very regular. He was guilty of none of the vices to which men are commonly addicted. Gluttony, drunkeneſs, gaming, luxury, avarice, were vices with which he was never ſo much as reproached. On the contrary, it is certain, he promoted virtuous men; as, on the other hand, he was inflexible in his puniſhments of vice and ill actions. It is true, his own preſervation obliged him ſometimes to imploy men of ill principles; but this is not uncommon to thoſe, who are at the head of a government.

Welwood.

Tho' he was an Independent, as to his religion, his principle was to leave every man at liberty in the perſuaſion he had choſen, and never puniſhed any perſon on that ſcore. He even connived at the private meetings of thoſe who remained attached to the church of England, tho' he was well informed of them. If they were not favored with the free and public exerciſe of their religion, it was becauſe they were conſidered by him as Royaliſts, always ready to form plots in the King's favor, and from whom, conſequently, he had great reaſon to ſecure himſelf. Tho' he was of the Independent opinion, and therefore averſe to all union with the national church, he however conſidered all Proteſtant churches, as part of the Proteſtant church in general; and without aiming to eſtabliſh Independency and Fanaticiſm by force and violence, he expreſſed, on all occaſions, an extreme zeal for the Proteſtant religion. Dr. Burnet, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, ſays, If Cromwell had accepted the title of King, he intended to eſtabliſh a council, in imitation of the 'Congregation de propagande fide' at Rome, to have an eye to what paſſed all over the world, with reſpect to the intereſts of the Proteſtant religion. He adds, that a fund was to have been ſetled upon this council, of ten thouſand pounds a

p. 77.

(1) Whitelock ſays, Cromwell went to reſt in the grave the ſame day he had obtained the victories at Dunbar and Worceſter: after his many great actions and troubles, he now died quietly in his bed. Some were of opinion he was poiſoned. Mem. p. 674. There was that day one of the greateſt ſtorms of wind that ever was known. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 505.

(2) His education was ſuitable to his birth, he being firſt ſent to Cambridge, and then to Lincoln's-Inn.

(3) In 1637, Cromwell, Haſlerigg, Hampden, and ſome others, reſolved to take refuge in New-England (on account of the perſecution raiſed by arch-biſhop Laud againſt the Puritans) and were actually imbarked for that purpoſe; but they were prevented, by a proclamation againſt tranſporting his Majeſty's ſubjects to the plantations of America; and by an order of council, for ſtoping eight ſhips in the river of Thames, prepared to go for New-England, in one of which Cromwell was. Life of Cromwell, p. 3.

(4) The reaſon of his being choſe, was, becauſe he oppoſed the draining the fen-lands in the iſle of Ely, which was then propoſed, and not liked by the town of Cambridge. Ibid.

(5) He ſaid once in parliament, "That he hoped he ſhould make the name of an Engliſhman, as great as ever that of a Roman "had been." Burnet, p. 81.

year,

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year, for ordinary emergencies, beſide a ſalary of five hundred pounds a-piece to four ſecretaries.

To Cromwell's honor it may alſo be added, that never man was better acquainted with the inward ſprings of human actions, tho' he ſeemed not to have made it his particular ſtudy: never man had more addreſs to manage people, and lead them to his ends, nor more natural capacity for affairs, who had received no aſſiſtance from learning; for he ſcarce remembered the little Latin he had brought from ſchool: in a word, never man choſe at once his moſt advantageous courſe with more judgment, or executed a deſign with more vigor and readineſs. Such, in ſhort, were the virtues and ſhining qualities of Cromwell; but we muſt not conceal the vices and imperfections with which he is calumniated.

Burnet, p. 65.

This charge turns ſolely upon three points. The firſt, that thro' a boundleſs ambition, he ſeized a government to which he had no right. The ſecond, that he maintained himſelf in his dignity, by an exceſſive diſſimulation. The third, that he put to death many of his private enemies, without any regard to laws immemorially practiſed in England. Upon theſe three articles I ſhall offer ſome conſiderations to the reader, to aſſiſt in forming a juſt idea of Cromwell's character.

On the firſt, it muſt be conſidered, that tho' the Cavalier authors traduce Cromwell's memory as much as poſſible, and tho' in particular, the action by which he was poſſeſſed of the government, is the principal foundation of all their complaints, it is certain, the King was no way intereſted in the change it produced. It was not Charles II, but a Republican parliament, that was deprived of the ſupreme power by the Protector. Tho' he had been ſubjected to this parliament; tho' he had miſcarried, and himſelf been ruined by his ambition, the King's affairs would have received no advantage, ſince the parliament was not leſs his enemy than Cromwell. Of what therefore do they complain with reſpect to the King? It muſt be one of theſe two things, either that Cromwell was too wiſe, to ſuffer himſelf to be ſupplanted by all the efforts of the Royaliſts; or that, after ſeizing the ſupreme power, he did not reſtore it to the King, to whom alone it belonged; i. e. that Cromwell did not at once turn Royaliſt, and intirely change his principles. But this charge lies no more againſt Cromwell, than againſt the Independents and Preſbyterians, who were at leaſt three parts in four of the kingdom, and who, no more than Cromwell, thought it proper to declare for his Majeſty.

Ludlow. Vol. II. throughout. Burnet. p. 65.

As for the Republicans, they have not left us many writings on their ſide. The only Memoirs of that party, which I know of, are thoſe of Edmund Ludlow. It there appears, that the Republicans were inraged againſt Cromwell, and deemed him the moſt perfidious of mankind. This is not very ſurpriſing, ſince he had wreſted from that parliament the ſovereign power, ſeized by theſe Republicans without any lawful authority. But, what was this parliament? It was an aſſembly of Independents, Anabaptiſts, Fanatics, Enthuſiaſts, and others of no religion, who, under color of eſtabliſhing a free common-wealth, held the nation in bondage; who, to confirm their own authority, had treated their fellow-members with unheard of inſolence, and dared to imbrue their hands in the blood of the late King, at a time when he had almoſt granted every thing that was deſired; who, in ſhort, were induſtrious to break the union of the church, to ſubvert all religion, or introduce a moſt ridiculous and extravagant one. Was it therefore more eligible for England to be governed by theſe men, than by Cromwell? If, therefore, Cromwell be blameable, it is not for diſſolving a parliament, which certainly deſerved to continue no longer, and had ſtrangely abuſed the power they aſſumed. But if, after the diſſolution of that parliament, Cromwell had reſtored the King (for this, in all appearance, is what the Cavaliers would have) he had drawn upon himſelf the hatred and curſes of all England, which, at that time, was by no means diſpoſed to ſuch a reſtoration, whatever the Royaliſts may affirm. He was therefore, to do one of theſe three things; either to reſtore the King, contrary both to his own principles, and to thoſe of the Preſbyterians and Independents; or to abandon the ſtate to a horrible anarchy, which muſt have followed, if he had left affairs in the ſtate they were in after the diſſolution; or take to himſelf the adminiſtration of the government, unleſs he had intruſted it with ſome other perſon, which, had been the ſame, in reſpect to the juſtice of the action. Let it now be examined, which was moſt advantageous for England, conſidering her then circumſtances, and whether it was not better, he ſhould himſelf take the government, than attempt a reſtoration, in which he could never have proved ſucceſsful; ſince his ſole ſupport was the army, which at that time was very averſe to the King, not to mention the oppoſition he would have met from the Republicans and Preſbyterians. On ſuppoſition that he was in the right to diſſolve the parliament, was it not alſo better for him to aſſume the government, than relinquiſh the ſtate to a fatal anarchy? Thoſe who pretend, he had projected his advancement long before, ſpeak only by conjecture. They do not conſider, that they never were in a condition to form ſuch a deſign, before the battle of Worceſter; nor that this parliament, which he diſſolved, had, in ſeeking to ruin him, reduced him to a neceſſity of deſtroying them, for his own preſervation.

But what cannot be juſtified in his conduct, is, his throwing himſelf, from the begining of the parliament, into a violent party, which aimed at the ruin of church and ſtate; his directing afterwards that party; and his being the chief author of the violences forced on the parliament and the King. This, however, is ſlightly paſſed over, becauſe it is common to him with the whole Independent party; and yet, it is, in my opinion, the only thing he can juſtly be reproached with, and on which it is ſcarcely poſſible to excuſe him.

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His exceſſive diſſimulation is the ſecond charge againſt him; but here we are to diſtinguiſh. If it be true, as is pretended, tho' without proof, that he carried his diſſimulation ſo far, as to mock God and religion, by expreſſing a piety and devotion which he had not, and by making long prayers, full of ſeeming zeal. If it be true, that his mouth uttered what his heart never meaned, no man ought to indeavor to vindicate him. But his ſtrong biaſs to Enthuſiaſm is well known; and who can affirm, it was more out of hypocriſy than real perſuaſion? We are not raſhly to aſcribe inward motives to men, which mortals cannot be acquainted with. His diſſimulation, practiſed for the better management of the ſeveral parties, all equally his enemies, has nothing that I can ſee, very blameable in it, unleſs it was a crime, not to leave it in the power of his enemies with eaſe to deſtroy him. I ſhall juſt mention ſome of his methods, to maintain himſelf in his dignity, by which it may be judged, whether Cromwell's diſſimulation is to be juſtly imputed to him as a crime.

Welwood. Warwick's Mem. Burnet. p. 79.

The parliament he diſſolved was compoſed of Independents, Republicans, Enthuſiaſts, or Fifth-monarchy-men. If this parliament had continued longer, things would have been carried to the laſt extremity. They began to talk of pulling down the churches, deſtroying the clergy, and every thing that looked like the union of a national

Whitelock, p. 560, 681. Burnet, p. 67.

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church. The Preſbyterians, who knew this, were in continual apprehenſions of their executing their deſigns, and conſequently the diſſolution of this parliament was conſidered by them, as a great happineſs. Cromwell, to gain their confidence, poſitively promiſed, he would maintain their miniſtry on the foot of the preſent eſtabliſhment, and kept his word, tho' he was far from being Preſbyterian. By this means, the Preſbyterians were attached to his intereſt, by reaſon of their dread to fall again under the tyranny of the Independents.

Burnet, p. 67.

Ibid.

In the Republican party were two ſorts of men, whom it was difficult to govern. The one were Deiſts, or men very indifferent as to religion, who acted only on the principles of civil liberty. The others were Enthuſiaſts, who expected every day when Chriſt ſhould appear to reign upon earth. Theſe were the moſt difficult to manage, becauſe they would not hear reaſon, when it contradicted their headſtrong and violent zeal. Cromwell's accepting the Protectorſhip, was conſidered by them as a ſtep to Monarchy, to which they were ſuch enemies, that they affirmed it to be the great Antichriſt, that hindered Chriſt's reign upon earth. Cromwell found means ſo to divide theſe two parties, that all combinations between them, for his ruin, became impoſſible. To the Deiſts, he made himſelf merry with the extravagant zeal of the Fanatics; and to theſe laſt, he talked of the others as of Heathens and Infidels. But as the Enthuſiaſts were the moſt obſtinate, he intimated to ſome of them, that he would rather have taken a ſhepherd's ſtaff than the Protectorſhip, had it not been to prevent every thing from running into confuſion: that he would reſign this dignity with more joy than he accepted it, as ſoon as things ſhould be ſetled: that nothing was more contrary to his inclination and principles, than a grandeur which obliged him to aſſume an outward ſuperiority over his fellow-laborers. To convince them of what he ſaid, he frequently called them into his cloſet, and ſhuting the door, made them ſit covered, converſing familiarly with them as his equals. Commonly theſe diſcourſes ended in a long prayer. Doubtleſs, there was in this much diſſimulation. The queſtion is, whether it was ſo criminal as is pretended?

Id. p. 68.

Phillips, p. 631.

Burnet, p. 68.

He had likewiſe chaplains of all ſorts. So, hinting ſometimes to one, ſometimes to another, that he was not averſe to their principles; the report was ſpread throughout the whole party, and made each hope for an advantageous change.

He conſtantly implied ſpies among all the parties, and was thereby fully informed of what was contriving againſt his perſon or government (1). Among others, he gained ſir Richard Willis, chancellor Hyde's agent, for conveying the King's orders to his friends in England. All the Royaliſts confided in Willis, knowing he received the King's orders, and yet he betrayed them. But to keep the correſpondence more private, Cromwell aſſured him, that the informations from him ſhould only be made uſe of to diſconcert the plots of his enemies, that none might ever ſuffer for them; and if he impriſoned any, it ſhould only be for a little time, and on other pretenſes. By this means he defeated their deſigns, as by accident, in commiting them to priſon for ſuppoſed crimes, and releaſing them when their meaſures were broken.

p. 65, 66, 71.

He ſometimes intimated a willingneſs to treat with the King. Probably his deſign was to ingage the Royaliſts to offer propoſitions, which would have given him opportunity to amuſe them, and prevented any conſpiracies againſt his perſon; having received information from ſeveral parts of deſigns to deſtroy him. Wherefore he affected to ſpeak publicly of aſſaſſinations with the utmoſt deteſtation, and to declare, he would never begin them; but if an attempt was made upon his life and miſcarried, he ſhould not ſcruple to uſe the ſame method, and that he did not want inſtruments to execute it, nor money to reward them. This declaration kept the Royaliſts in awe, thro' a fear of their own danger, or that of the King and royal family.

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Burnet, p. 65.

If this conduct of Cromwell be impartially conſidered, it will, doubtleſs, appear, that his diſſimulation and artifices for his own preſervation, were not ſo criminal as they have been repreſented. What has given thoſe, who ſpeak of them with moſt paſſion, the greateſt offenſe, is, that they were proper to diſconcert his enemies projects. The diſſimulation of Queen Elizabeth, for the ſame reaſon, has been extolled, as ſhe uſed it only for her own preſervation.

The third and laſt charge againſt Cromwell is, cruelty, becauſe, while Protector, ſome men were put to death, for conſpiring againſt his perſon and government. That is, according to this reproach, he ſhould have patiently ſuffered the plots againſt him; and when one failed, liberty ſhould have been given for a ſecond and a third, till ſome one had ſucceeded. This deſerves no confutation. But to ſhew, that Cromwell was not for an unneceſſary effuſion of blood, we need only recite what is owned by the earl of Clarendon in his hiſtory, who aſſures, that when it was propoſed in a council of officers, that there might be a general maſſacre of the Royaliſts, Cromwell would never conſent to it.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 509.

To finiſh Cromwell's character, I will add, that in the begining of the Long-parliament, he was a Preſbyterian. After that, he threw himſelf into the Independent party, and was even one of their leaders, and affected to be of the number of the Enthuſiaſts: but when he had accepted the Protectorſhip, he was neither Preſbyterian, nor Independent, nor Republican, nor Enthuſiaſt. As he had to manage all theſe different parties, who were equally oppoſite to him, he was not to appear an enemy to any in particular, and this management furniſhes convincing proofs of his great ability.

It is, nevertheleſs, certain, that Cromwell was very much hated, while he lived, by all the parties then in England, tho' they could not avoid fearing and eſteeming him. But if it be now conſidered, that the prejudices againſt him are not ſo ſtrong as they were then, it will be found that the hatred of him was owing to intereſt, and grounded chiefly upon his ability to diſconcert the meaſures and deſigns of all parties. This general hatred is ſolely refered to his principal action; that is, to the uſurpation of the government, which equally diſguſted the Royaliſts, Preſbyterians, and Republicans. The Royaliſts thereby ſaw their hopes of the King's reſtoration more deſperate than ever. The Preſbyterians could hardly expect, by their intrigues, to render themſelves once more ſuperior in the parliament, after its diſſolution. The Republicans were inraged to ſee the ſupreme power, which they had aſſumed, wreſted from them. It is therefore no wonder, that he incurred ſo much cenſure,

(1) He laid it down for a maxim, to ſpare no coſt or charge in order to procure iutelligence. When he underſtood what dealers the Jews were every where in that trade, that depends upon news, the advancing money upon high or low intereſt, in proportion to the riſque they run, or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in buying and ſelling of the actions of money ſo advanced, he brought a company of them over to England, for which ſome ſay, he received a conſideration of two hundred thouſand pounds, and gave them leave to build a ſynagogue, Burnet, p. 71.—— Among other good regulations, he alſo appointed a Council of Trade, to conſider how to improve, order and regulate the trade and navigation of the commonwealth. Whitelock, p. 632.

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since all the people of England, that is these three parties, were equally concerned to aspersе him. It was not for the enormity of the action, but because, by his advancement, each party despaired of acquiring over the rest the superiority. This is what has drawn, from many writers, expressions so injurious to his memory. The lord Clarendon speaks thus of him, and his usurpation. "Without doubt "no man with more wickedness ever attempted "any thing, or brought to pass what he desired "more wickedly, more in the face and contempt "of religion, and moral honesty. Yet wickedness, "as great as his, could never have accomplished "those designs, without the assistance of a great "spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, "and a most magnanimous resolution." It is easily seen, that this wickedness is refered only to his usurpation of the government. "In a word (continues the same author) "as he was guilty of many "crimes, against which damnation is denounced, "and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had "some good qualities which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated, "and he will be looked upon by posterity as a "brave wicked man." Here the author, no doubt, has an eye to the murder of Charles I, in which Cromwell was too deeply concerned to admit of any excuse. I shall only observe, that this accusation is not peculiar, but is common to him with the whole Independent parliament.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 506.

p. 509.

To form a just and rational idea of Cromwell's character, his conduct and actions in themselves must be examined, and joined to the juncture of the time, independently of the opinions of his enemies. We have no other historians of those times than Royalists, who have laid down certain principles, by which he is condemned. But, it must be observed, these principles were not generally received, in England, during his life. What can never be intirely excused in him, is the death of Charles I, to which he contributed to the utmost of his power, and which will be an indelible blot upon his memory. Another principle, which was absolutely false, and of which he made great use, is likewise to be condemned in him: this was, that moral laws were only binding on ordinary occasions, and might be dispensed with upon extraordinary cases. His usurpation of government has been already considered, and the reader is left to his judgment. I shall only observe, that the confusion which prevailed in England, soon after the death of Cromwell, clearly shews the necessity of this usurpation.

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Burnet, p. 79.

In general it cannot be denied, that Cromwell was one of the greatest men of his age, if 'tis considered, that without the advantages of birth and fortune, he rose so near a throne, that it was in his power to mount it. History furnishes very few instances of this kind (1).

Cromwell's death was followed with so many alterations in the government, that the interval between that and the restoration, may be justly called a time of true anarchy. Oliver should have had a successor like himself, to finish what he had so ably begun. But two such great men are not commonly found so near to one another, nor often in the same age.

(1) The wife of Oliver Cromwell, was Elizabeth daughter of sir James Bourchier. Life, p. 2. ——— His mother, who was daughter of sir Richard Steward, must have lived to a very great age, for she was buried in Westminster-Abbey, Nov. 17. 1654. Whitelock, p. 608.

RICHARD CROMWELL, PROTECTOR.

Richard Cromwell succeeds his father. Whitelock, p. 674. Life of Cromwell, p. 405. Ludlow. Heath. Phillips.

IN the last days of Cromwell's illness, some of his intimate friends, seeing him in danger, asked him twice concerning the succession, and he readily answered, he would have his son Richard to succeed him. However he had, in the time of his Protectorship, signed an instrument by which he appointed Fleetwood his son-in-law for his successor; but probably he had burned that paper, for it could never be found (1). An hour after his death, the privy-council met, and upon the report made of the deceased's will, as also upon the instrument of government, impowering them to chuse a Protector, they immediately elected Richard Cromwell. Fleetwood even relinquished before them, the right he might have, in case the paper signed in his favor should be produced. Presently after, the lord-mayor of London was acquainted with the election, and the day following Richard was proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The same proclamation was made in all the principal towns of the three kingdoms, without the least opposition. On the contrary, addresses were presented to Richard from all parts, signed by many thousands to congratulate him upon his accession to the dignity of Protector, and to assure him, they would willingly hazard their lives and fortunes to support him. But such addresses are not always to be depended on, experience having often shewn, many are far from being sincere, tho' carefully expressed in the strongest terms. Thus Richard was installed successor to his father Oliver, and took the same oath. The first care of the new Protector, after his installation, was to gain Monk, governor of Scotland, to his interests. After the voluntary resignation of Fleetwood his brother-in-law, of Desborough his uncle, and all the officers of the army, as well Republicans as Presbyterians, he seemed to have nothing to fear from England. Henry Cromwell his brother, then governor of Ireland, held that island in subjection. Scotland therefore only remained to be secured to his interests. Monk had command d in that kingdom, ever since its reduction, and had so artfully managed the Scots, sometimes by rigor, sometimes by gentleness, and the exact discipline of his army, that he had acquired

Receives addresses from all parts. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 513. Whitelock. R. Coke. Vol. II. p. 77. Heath.

Indeavors to gain the friendship of Monk.

Burnet, p. 61. R. Coke. Vol. II. p. 82.

(1) Some say, that Oliver had actually made Fleetwood his heir; but one of his daughters knowing where his will was, took it away, and burned it, before Fleetwood came at it: and a few minutes before Cromwell's death, when he was asked, "Who "should succeed him?" He replied, "In such a drawer of the cabinet, in my closet, you will find it." Life of Cromwell, p. 405.

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their eſteem and affection, and were never more happy than under his government, tho' the earl of Clarendon inſinuates that he ruled like a tyrant, which ſeems to have no other foundation, than his diſabling that people to withdraw their obedience from the parliament or the Protector, by means of forts erected in convenient places. However this be, it is certain Monk was maſter of Scotland, and Cromwell himſelf would have found it difficult to deprive him of that government without his conſent. Many blamed the confidence Cromwell repoſed in Monk, who had been in arms for the late King, and only ingaged in the parliament's ſervice, to free himſelf from captivity after the battle of Nantwich, where he was taken priſoner. It was, perhaps, for theſe ſuſpicions, that Richard thought himſelf obliged to neglect nothing to gain him to his intereſts. To this end, knowing Monk's eſteem and affection for Clarges his brother-in-law, he ſent him to deſire his friendſhip. But Clarges, as well as Monk, had been zealouſly attached to the King, and was ſtill ſo in his heart, tho' he outwardly complied with the times; therefore in the diſcharge of this commiſſion, he took occaſion to ſound him, and eaſily found he was far from being the King's enemy. From that time Monk and Clarges held a ſtrict correſpondence. Clarges informed Monk of the tranſactions at London, and, in all likelihood, deſigned then to ſerve the King, tho' perhaps he thought it not yet proper to explain himſelf to Monk, who was very reſerved. Clarges, according to his inſtructions, acquainted Monk with the new Protector's great eſteem for him, in which he followed the ſentiments of Oliver his father, who had expreſly charged him to be intirely directed by his advice. Monk readily ſubmited to Richard's government. He obligingly acknowleged his civilities, and only ſaid to him, in general, that having no particular advice to give him, by reaſon of his diſtance, he recommended him to incourage a learned, pious, and moderate miniſtry in the church, to permit no councils of officers, a liberty they too often abuſed, and indeavor the maſtery of the forces.

Clarendon in ſeveral places of his Hiſtory.

Phillips, p. 636.

Sends Clarges to him.

Monk ſubmits to Richard.

Other addreſſes to Richard from the army. R. Coke, p. 77. Ludlow. Oliver's funeral. Heath, p. 411. Phillips.

At the begining of his Protectorſhip Richard had, as I ſaid, the pleaſure of receiving addreſſes from boroughs, cities and counties, to the number of fourſcore and ten; he had afterwards, the like compliment paid him from all the regiments, without exception, ſo that he had reaſon to believe his power ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. Mean while, preparations were making for Oliver's interment; which was ſolemnized with great magnificence, large ſums of money being borrowed by the new Protector for that purpoſe (1). After the ceremonies uſually paid to deceaſed ſovereign princes, his body was depoſited in Henry's VII's chapel, among thoſe of the Kings and Queens of England (2).

The different factions conceive hopes from Richard's advancement.

The royaliſts.

Tho' the late Protector was both careful and capable to preſerve himſelf amidſt the different parties then in England, and to keep them in awe, it was not however in his power to extinguiſh them. Each party, when he was taken out of the world, hoped to gain the advantage under the Protectorate of Richard, who wanted his father's abilities, and to theſe hopes perhaps may be aſcribed, their ready concurrence in declaring him Protector. The Royaliſts juſtly flattered themſelves, that the many parties into which their enemies were divided, having no longer a common head capable to govern them all together, would diſ-unite, and that diſunion be ſerviceable to the King, and perhaps procure his reſtoration, Thoſe who had approved of the government by a ſingle perſon in the deceaſed Protector, and had been moſt truſted by him, hoped to preſerve the ſame credit under the ſon, which they had injoyed under the father, and to direct the new Protector according to their pleaſure. Theſe were the principal members of the council, tho' they had alſo among them a mixture of the Republicans and Fanatics.

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The Republicans.

If the Republicans conſented to acknowlege Richard, it was becauſe they were unprepared to make oppoſition. The army, chiefly compoſed of this party, being diſperſed in ſeveral counties, the officers had neither time nor opportunity to conſult together. But they doubted not of finding an occaſion to diſplace the new Protector, and reſtore the common-wealth to the ſtate it was in till the year 1653, when Oliver diſſolved the parliament which had formed it.

The Anabaptiſts.

Burnet, p. 67.

The Anabaptiſts were all of the Republican party, becauſe they perceived the impoſſibility of eſtabliſhing their Fifth-Monarchy under a Protector. Theſe were the moſt zealous Republicans, and the hardeſt to be managed, on account of their ſingular notions, which cauſed them to refer every thing to their extravagant religion, and rendered them deaf to any reaſons not drawn from their principles.

The Republican Deiſts.

There was another ſet of Republicans, who, regardleſs of religion, were governed by political views. Theſe were accuſed of having no religion, or of being properly Deiſts.

The Preſbyterians.

As for the Preſbyterians, who were very numerous in England and Ireland, beſide the Scots, who were almoſt all of this ſect, they had not changed their principles, ſince their expulſion from the parliament in 1648. They would have willingly admited the King with a limited power, and the firm eſtabliſhment of Preſbyterian government in the church. This principle had always cauſed them to remain by themſelves, without being able to unite either with the Royaliſts, who would hearken to no limitation on the Regal power, and were averſe to their church-government, or with the Republicans, who would have neither King nor Protector. Beſide, theſe laſt granted an intire liberty to all ſects, which had joined the Independent party, a liberty inconſiſtent with the principles of the Preſbyterians. For, tho' the Preſbyterians had, under the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, taken it very ill to be denied the free exerciſe of their religion, they were by no means inclined to grant others the ſame liberty they had for themſelves demanded. Nevertheleſs, as their number was conſiderable, and they might at laſt find a leader capable to conduct their affairs, the deceaſed Protector thought it proper to manage them, and preſerve their government in the church, but without obliging any perſon to conform to it. This moderation kept the Preſbyterians quiet under Oliver's government, and the more, as they could expect no aſſiſtance from the army, as it was then modelled. But in remaining thus ſeparate from all the other parties, they diſabled themſelves from making any great progreſs againſt the Independent, who took care to keep them low. This gave the Royaliſts room to hope, the Preſbyterians would at laſt he obliged to unite with them, to free them-

(1) The charges of it came to ſixty thouſand pounds. Manley, p. 279.

(2) The Corps was removed, September 26, privately in the night, from Whitehall, to Somerſet-houſe; where it lay in ſtate till the 23d of November; and then it was carried, in a very ſolemn and magnificent manner, to Weſtminſter-Abbey, where it was depoſited. —— Some ſay, that it was depoſited, as to outward appearance there, but that in reality, it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the Thames. —— And again, others affirm, that it was buried in Naſeby-field. See Compl. Hiſt. and Life of Cromwell, p. 418——422.

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selves from the bondage in which they were held by the Independents and Republicans. This hope was not groundless, as will appear by the sequel.

Richard designs to become master of the council and the army. Phillips.

This short recapitulation of the several parties interests, plainly demonstrates Cromwell's capacity, who could keep them all in awe, without a positive declaration in favor of any one. Richard proposed to begin his Protectorate with his father's maxims. He formed the design of making himself master of the deliberations of his council, and of reducing the army to receive his orders with submission. By these two things Oliver maintained his authority, and, if he had lived, would not have left an officer in the army of whom he could conceive the least suspicion. But to pursue these maxims, and execute this project, Richard should have had his father's ability for civil and military affairs; his bravery and resolution, and, in a word, by a series of victories, should have been able to strike terror into all who could oppose his designs. But Richard had none of those great talents to command fear and respect, or to inspire his friends with hopes of a powerful protection. So, heading no party, and not having capacity to govern all, he stood exposed to their ambition and violence, without being sure of an effectual assistance when he should want it. Mean while, knowing that the bare election of his person by the council, and the addresses presented to him, were insufficient to establish his authority, he thought it expedient to have his dignity confirmed by parliament, and accordingly summoned one to meet the twenty-seventh day of January 1658-9. This parliament was to consist of two houses, namely, a house of commons, containing four hundred English, thirty Scots, and thirty Irish members; and of the Other House (it having as yet no other name) which was instead of a house of peers, and consisted chiefly of officers. They were generally men of mean extraction, and who, during the late war, had advanced themseves by military imployments.

Calls a parliament of two houses. Dec. 4. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 514. Whitelock. Phillips.

Richard proposes an addition of new members to his council. Phillips, p. 639.

Richard had caused no alteration in his father's council; but he was immediately sensible, that this council, which was intirely directed by Oliver, was aspiring to more power under his successor. The army, on the other hand, appeared less devoted to the son than the father. Before Oliver's death, they had even began to seem less submissive, which had obliged him to remove Lambert, and some other colonels and officers, who were sowing division among the troops. His design was to make other changes, by degrees, in the army, in order to reduce them to an intire obedience, but death prevented him. He wanted no assistance nor advice for such purposes, and commonly his designs were executed before they were made public; and so well established was his authority, that no officer whatsoever retained any credit among the troops, the moment he was cashiered. This Lambert and some others had lately experienced. Richard was desirous to tread in his father's steps, but being sensible that his authority was not powerful enough, he thought he would attempt nothing, without consulting some of his principal friends. He therefore held a privy-council, in which he proposed, first, the admission of more new counsellors, to secure a majority, and make himself master of the debates, in spite of the old counsellors, who were less tractable than in his father's time. Secondly, he proposed to reduce the army to an intire dependence upon him (1).

Meets with great difficulties. Phillips.

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Those whom he consulted on this occasion, were self-interested, and attached to him only in hopes of governing in his name. They apprehended, the Protector's proposal might be prejudicial to themselves, and that in procuring him an absolute power, they might be the first sufferers. He therefore found a strong opposition in these pretended friends. Instead of approving his design, they advised him to call into his council two colonels, wholly devoted to the Republican party. Nor was this all; some of the leading officers of the army was informed of the Protector's designs, and that was sufficient to put them in motion. Fleetwood his brother-in-law, and Desborough his uncle, were the first who combined against him, and caballed with the officers, to deprive him of the generalship of the army, to which they were authorized by the instrument of government. But, probably, they would never have thought of exercising that power, if Richard had not discovered his intentions of becoming absolute master of the army, and puting himself in a condition not to want their assistance. However, as the army lay dispersed, and it was necessary, that the officers should consult together, and act in concert, for the preservation of their authority, and opposing the Protector's designs, a snare was laid, in which he suffered himself to be taken. It was insinuated, that the parliament which was going to sit, might prove dangerous to his authority, should they not be tractable, and therefore it was necessary to fortify himself with a good number of officers, as well to consult them, as to shew the parliament, he was supported by the army, which must certainly produce a good effect. Richard believing this advice proceeded from their zeal for his service, immediately gave orders for every regiment to send as many officers to London as could be spared. This order was punctually executed, and a great number of officers soon appeared in London, who among them formed a council, which frequently met, and assumed, the title of the "Great council of the army."

The principal officers of the army combine against him. Phillips, p. 639. Ludlow.

Advise him to call a great number of officers to London. Ibid. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 640.

These officers formed a great council.

Beside this great council, some members of the privy-council, officers of the army, met also at Desborough's house; as well to consult how to deprive Richard of the generalship, as to manage the great council, which being composed of many inferior officers, wanted to be directed in their deliberations. The result of this council was, that Desborough, attended with several officers, waited on the Protector with a petition, "That no officer or soldier should be turned out by sentence "of a council of war: That no member of the "army should be proceeded against capitally, "otherwise than by martial law: and lastly, "That the army might have power to chuse "their own general." As nothing was more contrary to Richard's designs than this demand, he positively rejected it, and threatened even to cashier them if they brought him any more such proposals.

Offer a petition to the Protector. Phillips. R. Coke, Vol. II. p. 78. Bates.

He rejects it.

The parliament assembling the twenty-seventh of January (2), it was immediately debated in the lower house, by what right the Scots and Irish sent representatives to the English parliament. The authority of the other house was also taken into consideration, and the same objections made to it,

The parliament meets. Jan. 27. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 514.

(1) The officers of the army were then divided into three parties. The first, or common-wealth-party, consisted of colonel Ashfield, Lilburn, Fitz, Mason, Moss, Farly, Creed, &c. The second, called the Wallingford-house, or army party, who had set up Richard Cromwell, in expectation of governing as they pleased, were Fleetwood, Desborough, Sydenham, Clark, Kelsey, Berry, Haines, Blackwell, &c. The third, or Richard's-party, were, Ingoldsby, Gough, Whalley, Howard, Goodrick, Reins, &c. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 631.

(2) Challoner Chute, was chosen speaker of this parliament. Whitelock, p. 676.

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as had been in Oliver's laſt parliament. As there were many Republicans in the houſe of commons (1), great indeavors were uſed to ſuppreſs the other houſe, for fear of its becoming at laſt a houſe of lords, and oppoſing the re-eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth, which was the object of their moſt ardent wiſhes. The debate upon theſe two articles held two months, and it was the twenty-eighth of March, before it was reſolved, by a majority of voices, that the other houſe ſhould ſubſiſt, and the Scots and Iriſh repreſentatives continue to ſit in the houſe of commons. After that, the parliament made an act to recognize Richard Cromwell Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland (2).

Debates about the Scots and Iriſh members, and the other houſe. Whitelock. R. Coke. Phillips. Ludlow. Deciſion. An act to recognize Richard. Whitelock. Heath.

While theſe things were tranſacting in parliament, the great council of officers at Fleetwood's houſe, and the private council at Deſborough's continued their conferences and deliberations. They at laſt preſented a petition to the Protector, deſiring Fleetwood for their general. This was directly depriving the Protector of the command of the forces, to which he could not conſent, without expoſing himſelf to the caprices of the principal officers, who directed the army as they pleaſed. Wherefore inſtead of returning a favorable anſwer to their petition, he gave them a ſharp reprimand, ordering them to diſſolve their council and return to their quarters. On the contrary, the houſe of commons perceiving, the officers were contriving ſome plot which might be prejudicial to the parliament, voted againſt holding a council of officers during that ſeſſion of the parliament; and moreover, that no perſon ſhould have any imploy in the army, till he had taken an oath not to diſturb the parliament's deliberations. Immediately after, theſe votes were ſent to the other houſe, now called the upper-houſe, for their concurrence. But as the officers were moſt prevalent there, they believed it no part of their duty to contradict what their comrades were doing. So, the votes of the commons were no more capable, than the orders of the Protector, to diſſipate the councils of the officers who ſtill continued to aſſemble.

An' 1659. Petition of the officers in favor of Fleetwood. April 6. Whitelock. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 515. Phillips. Rejected by the Protector. Ibid. Vote of the commons againſt the officers. p. 516. Phillips. R. Coke. Heath. Ludlow.

At length, on the twenty-ſecond of April, Richard had notice, that the officers had reſolved to force him to diſſolve the parliament. He immediately aſſembled his council to prevent, by their advice, this attempt. Some were of opinion, that he ought abſolutely to refuſe ſuch a demand, and, as his only ſupport, adhere to the parliament. But they pointed not out the means of defending himſelf againſt the officers, who began to aſſemble in the neighborhood of Whitehall, and would probably have been too ſtrong for his guards. Others adviſed him to leave the palace and ſuffer the officers to act as they pleaſed with the parliament, without any promiſe of its diſſolution. But the officers foreſeeing he might take that courſe, had now ſeized all the avenues about Whitehall. In ſhort, every man propoſed expedients, to which others objected inſuperable difficulties. During theſe irreſolutions, Deſborough, with a ſtrong retinue, demanded an audience of the Protector, and required him, in the name of the officers, to diſſolve the parliament (3). Richard at firſt refuſed to grant this demand; but he was told, his refuſal would be attended with danger to himſelf, and that, in a word, they were reſolved to obtain, by fair means or foul, what they demanded. Finally, Richard, who, before Deſborough came, had not been able to take any reſolution, was ſtill more incapable to conſider what was to be done, after he was ſurrounded with men who ſhewed but little regard for his authority. He therefore promiſed to diſſolve the parliament by commiſſion under the great-ſeal. But as the commons, informed of what paſſed, had adjourned themſelves for three days, the parliament was diſſolved by proclamation.

The officers force the Protector to diſſolve the parliament. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 516. Phillips. R. Coke.

Whitelock, p. 677.

Bates. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 636.

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Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 516, 517. Phillips, p. 641.

April 22. Whitelock.

From that time, Richard was no longer regarded, tho' he ſtill bore the title of Protector. The officers conſidered him as an impotent adverſary, incapable of hurting them. So he loſt on a ſudden the ſupport of the parliament, without gaining that of the army. This is what cannot be denied. But thoſe who imagine, he would have ingaged the people in his intereſts, and been ſupported by Monk and his army, had he ſtood by the parliament, build their conjecture upon a very uncertain ſuppoſition. Beſide, was it in his power to refuſe a diſſolution of the parliament, without hazarding his own life; or to ſupport himſelf, till he ſhould have received a ſufficient aid, againſt the violence of the army? Be this as it will, after the parliament was diſſolved, the great council of officers thought themſelves impowered to ſetle the government as they pleaſed, without conſulting the Protector, who was now regarded but as a private perſon (4). This anarchy however laſted only a few days, during which the officers elected Fleetwood for their general. They diſcharged alſo by their own authority five colonels, who adviſed Richard to adhere to the parliament, viz. Ingoldſby, Goffe, Whaley, lord Falconbridge brother-in-law to Richard, and Howard afterwards earl of Carliſle, and reſtored Lambert, and others, diſmiſſed by Cromwell a little before his death. After this, they conſidered of ſetling the government, it being impoſſible the preſent ſituation of affairs ſhould long continue.

Richard loſes all his credit.

The officers ſeize the government. Phillips.

Chuſe Fleetwood for their general, and diſcharge ſeveral colonels. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 517. Phillips. R. Coke. Ludlow.

Lambert, a man of immoderate ambition, would not have ſcrupled following the example of Oliver, had the juncture ſeemed favorable to him. But Fleetwood being his general, and the idol of the army, he could not hope to ſucceed in an attempt to ſeize the government. He therefore thought proper to wait a more convenient opportunity, and, in the mean time, hinder Fleetwood from puting himſelf at the head of the government, whether under the name of Protector, or any other title, to which he had ſeveral reaſons to believe he was aſpiring. Firſt, Cromwell, by an inſtrument under his own hand, had once named him for his ſucceſſor, and many believed this inſtrument had been artfully conveyed out of the way, either during Cromwell's life, or after his death, leſt it ſhould obſtruct his ſon Richard's election. It was even ſaid, that Cromwell's nomination of his ſon in the time of his illneſs, was only the contrivance of ſecretary Thurlo, and another perſon, to procure Richard the ſucceſ-

Lambert's deſigns. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 642.

(1) Particularly Hafterigge, Henry Nevil, ſir Henry Vane, Berry, Deſborough, Fleetwood, &c. Whitelock, p. 677.

(2) In the examination of the public accounts, brought into this parliament, it was found, That the yearly incomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, came to eighteen hundred ſixty-eight thouſand, ſeven hundred, and ſeventeen pounds. And the yearly expenſes to two millions, two hundred and one thouſand, five hundred and forty pounds. And to maintain the conqueſt of Scotland, coſt yearly, one hundred ſixty-three thouſand, ſix hundred, and nineteen pounds. Heath, p. 415.

(3) Threatening, if it were not ſpeedily done, they would ſet fire to the houſe, and kill all who ſhould reſiſt. R. Coke, p. 79.

(4) Ludlow ſays, one great offenſe given by Richard to the nation was, by his irreligion. For an officer having murmured at the advancement of perſons, who had been Cavaliers, to commiſſions in the army, was brought to Whitehall to anſwer for it. Richard in a deriding manner, aſked him, "Whether he would have him prefer none but thoſe "that were godly? Here, continued he, is Dick Ingoldſby, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will truſt him "before you all." Mem. Vol. II. p. 633.

ſion.

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sion. Secondly, Fleetwood was one of the moſt zealous Enthuſiaſts, of whom the army was full, and therefore looked on with veneration by the ſoldiers, and judged moſt worthy to be Cromwell's ſucceſſor. Thirdly, it was ſcarcely to be doubted, that it was the army's intereſt to chuſe a Protector, who ſhould depend on them, and in his turn ſupport their credit. This Lambert conſidered, but as it was not for his advantage to have Fleetwood raiſed to a dignity to which he himſelf aſpired, he ſecretly ingaged colonel Lilburn to cabal among the inferior officers, and break Fleetwood's meaſures, if they pointed to the Protectorſhip, while he regularly made his court to him, and indeavored by his flatteries to influence him as Cromwell had formerly done Fairfax. This example made Lambert hope, that he might by this means put himſelf one day at the head of the government.

April 29. Phillips, p. 642. Warwick. Ludlow.

Lambert's cabal being made with the greateſt ſecreſy, Fleetwood, as general, convened his officers at Wallingford-houſe to ſetle the government. All the ſuperior officers came; but at the ſame time the inferior, by the intrigues of Lambert and Lilburn, aſſembled at St. James's in much greater numbers. In this aſſembly the ſetlement of the government was likewiſe debated, and occaſion taken, to magnify the happineſs which England injoyed under the adminiſtration of the parliament, from the ſixth of December 1648, to the twentieth of April 1653, when it was diſſolved by Cromwell. Their prudence, ſteadineſs, and happy ſucceſs in England, Scotland, Ireland, and in the Dutch war were extolled, with ſome intimations of advice, that nothing could be more advantageous to the three nations, than that parliament's reſtoration (1).

The officers come to a reſolution of reſtoring the parliament diſſolved by Cromwell in 1653. May 5. Phillips, p. 643. Whitelock, p. 677. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 517. Dugdale's View.

This debate was carried no farther; but it ſufficed to convince the aſſembly at Wallingford-houſe that a diviſion between them and the inferior officers could not but be dangerous to both, and that their beſt way was to join with thoſe inferior officers in reſtoring the Long-parliament. It is not known what was the deſign of the chief officers with regard to the government, but it is certain, the propoſal of the inferior officers was contrary neither to the principles nor ſentiments of the army in general. This will be eaſily perceived, when it is conſidered, that the officers and ſoldiers, for the moſt part, were Independents, Anabaptiſts, Enthuſiaſts, Republicans, ſuch in a manner as were the members of the parliament diſſolved in 1653, and now propoſed to be reſtored. However this be, all the officers being united, declared for the Good Old Cauſe, i.e. for the cauſe ſupported by the parliament, which brought the King to the ſcaffold, and turned the Monarchy into a Commonwealth. It was therefore reſolved in a general council at Fleetwood's houſe, to reſtore the Long-parliament.

They have a mind to take ſome precautions for their ſecurity. Phillips, p. 643. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 645.

In the interim, as this parliament had no reaſon to be pleaſed with the army, which in 1653, took part with Cromwell againſt them, the great officers were afraid, that when the members were reſtored to their authority, they would think of being revenged. Beſide, they knew the reſolution and firmneſs of theſe members, who would infallibly keep the army in a ſtate of dependence. Therefore it was judged abſolutely neceſſary, by the officers, before they proceeded, to demand certain conditions, and to be previouſly aſſured of the compliance of the parliament, when they ſhould reſume their authority. To this end, they had conferences with ſome of the members, who had been the leading men in that parliament, viz. Vane, Haſlerig, Scot, Salway, ingaging them to promiſe, theſe conditions ſhould be granted. But theſe members would not make any ſuch promiſe, under color, it did not belong to them to preclude the reſolutions of the parliament. This refuſal rendered them ſuſpected to the ſuperior officers, but the inferior, being the moſt numerous, overlooked the difficulty, and were contented with a verbal promiſe from theſe four members, that they would uſe their indeavors to procure a grant of theſe conditions.

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Meets with difficulties.

The Long Parliament reſtored.

THINGS being thus ſetled, Lambert at the head of a conſiderable number of officers (2), repaired to the houſe of Lenthal, ſpeaker of the Long-parliament, and preſented to him the declaration of the great council of officers, by which the members of the parliament, diſſolved by Cromwell, April the twentieth, 1653, were invited to return to the exerciſe of their authority. Lenthal anſwered, he would communicate the declaration to the members then in London, which he did the next day, and, the invitation being accepted, they met in parliament the ſeventh of May, to the number of only forty-two (3). Thus the three kingdoms were once more under the tyrannical dominion of a parliament, which had not feared to imbrue their hands in the blood of their Sovereign: but with this difference, that the number was reduced to the half of what it was in 1648, when the Preſbyterian members were excluded. Hence they were called in deriſion the Rump-parliament, in alluſion to a fowl all devoured but the Rump. The Preſbyterian members, who had been expelled in 1648, would have reſumed their ſeats, but none were admited beſide thoſe who had ſate, from the firſt of January 1648, to the twentieth of April 1653, and in this the pretended parliament was ſupported by the officers, whoſe intereſt it was not to ſuffer the Preſbyterians to prevail in the houſe.

The parliament diſſolved in 1653, is reſtored, May 7. Whitelock, p. 678. Phillips. Heath.

Ib. p. 419. R. Coke, p. 80.

Called in deriſion, the Rump, and why.

The Preſbyterian members not ſuffered to take their ſeats in the houſe. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 517, 518. Heath.

When the parliament was reſtored to their authority, they ſent Clarges to Monk, to ingage his ſubmiſſion to the new government. They knew, Monk was not of their principles, and if they had dared, they would have ſent him a ſucceſſor, to govern Scotland, inſtead of requiring his acquieſcence. But Monk had ſo eſtabliſhed himſelf in that country, being maſter of the fortified places, and aſſured of the affection of the Scots and his army, it would have been dangerous to deprive him of his government againſt his will. The parliament therefore judged it more ſafe to gain him by fair means, and undermine his credit and authority in the army by degrees. The late change in England having been little foreſeen by Monk, he had not time to take any meaſures to regulate his conduct. When he ſounded his officers, he found they were pre-ingaged by letters from their friends in London. So, all he could do after the arrival of Clarges, was to acquieſce, and expreſs his ſatisfaction to ſee the parliament

The parliament ſent Clarges to Monk. Phillips, p. 644. Burnet.

Monk ſubmits to the authority of the parliament. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 520. Whitelock. Phillips.

(1) Whitelock ſays, upon the diſſolution of the parliament, all matters were at a ſtand; the army had thoughts of raiſing money without a parliament; but upon advice, they durſt not adventure upon it, ſo thought it a ſafe way to reſtore the members of the long parliament. The great officers of the army were adviſed to conſider better of their deſign of bringing in the members of the old parliament, who were moſt of them diſcontented, for their being formerly broken up by Cromwell, and did diſtaſte the proceedings of the army; and whether this would not probably, more increaſe the diviſions, and end in bringing in the King; but the officers had reſolved on it. Mem. p. 677.

(2) Lambert, Berry, Cooper, Haſlerigge, Lilburn, Aſhfield, Salmon, Zanchey, Kelſey, Okey, Blackwell, Haines, Allen, Packer, and Pierſon. Whitelock, p. 678.

(3) See a liſt of them in Heath, p. 419.——May 7. They went in a body to the houſe, Lambert guarding them with ſoldiers. Then they paſſed a declaration touching their meeting, and, "their purpoſe to ſecure the property and liberty of "the people, both as men, and as Chriſtians, and that without a ſingle perſon, kingſhip, or houſe of peers, and to uphold ma- "giſtracy and miniſtry." Whitelock, p. 678.

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liament reſtored, tho' he was convinced, the leading men both in parliament and army were not in his intereſt.

The officers preſent a petition to the parliament. May 12. Phillips, p. 644.

Four days after the parliament met, Lambert, attended by ſeveral officers, preſented a petition and addreſs from the general council of officers, in which, after ſome compliments, they demanded,

"1. That the liberty of the perſons, and property of the eſtates of all free people of theſe nations, be maintained, preſerved, and kept inviolable according to law, under the government of a free ſtate and commonwealth, without a ſingle perſon, kingſhip, or houſe of peers.

"2. That there may be ſuch a juſt and due regulation of law, and courts of juſtice and equity, as that they may be a protection, and not vexatious or oppreſſive to the people of theſe nations.

"3. That by an act of oblivion, all and every perſon and perſons, who have, ſince the nineteenth of April 1653, mediately or immediately adviſed, acted, or done any matter or thing whatſoever, in reference to the ſeveral changes or alterations in the government of theſe nations, ſince the ſaid nineteenth of April 1653, or in order to the public ſervice, peace, or ſafety of theſe nations, be indemnified and ſaved harmleſs, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever.

"4. That all laws, ordinances, declarations, and eſtabliſhments, made in the ſeveral changes and alterations of government, that have been in theſe nations, ſince the nineteenth of April aforeſaid, and not as yet particularly repealed, be deemed good in law, until particularly repealed.

"5. That ſuch debts as have been contracted for the public ſervice and affairs of this commonwealth, and for the charges of the government, ſince the twentieth of April 1653, be carefully paid and ſatisfied.

"6. That all perſons who profeſs faith in God the Father, and Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit God co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God bleſſed for ever, and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, to be the revealed or writen word or will of God, ſhall not be reſtrained from their confeſſion, but have due incouragement, and equal protection in the profeſſion of their faith, and exerciſe of religion, while they abuſe not their liberty to the civil injury of others, or diſturbance of others in their way of worſhip: ſo that this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to ſuch as ſhall practiſe or hold forth licentiouſneſs or prophaneneſs, under the profeſſion of religion: and that all laws, ſtatutes, or ordinances, and clauſes in any laws, ſtatutes, or ordinances to the contrary, may be declared null and void.

"7. That a godly, faithful, and painful goſpel-preaching miniſter, be every where incouraged, countenanced, and maintained.

"8. That the univerſities and ſchools of learning be ſo countenanced and reformed, as that they may become the nurſeries of piety and learning.

"9. That ſuch perſons as have, at any time ſince the twentieth of May, 1642, aided or aſſiſted, or adhered to the late King, Charles Stuart his ſon, or any perſon or perſons whatſoever of that party, againſt the parliament or commonwealth of England, and all other perſons whatſoever, that have made uſe of any authority or power under the pretenſe of law, or otherwiſe, to deprive or abridge any of the good people of theſe nations of their Chriſtian liberty, or have, or ſhall expreſs themſelves in any way mockers, ſcoffers, or revilers of godlineſs, or of the profeſſors thereof, or are otherways ſcandalous or looſe in their converſations, or have not given good ſatisfaction of their affection and faithfulneſs to this cauſe, may be ſpeedily removed out of all places of power or truſt in the magiſtracy, or other management of the public affairs of theſe nations; and that no ſuch perſons may be admited unto any ſuch place of power or truſt for the future. Inter-reg. An' 1659.

"10. And foraſmuch as no godly, or other good intereſt can be preſerved, or maintained, unleſs the perſons, who are chiefly intruſted with the management and exerciſe of the government, be of ſuitable ſpirits to thoſe intereſts; that thoſe who are or ſhall be intruſted therein, be ſuch perſons as ſhall be found to be moſt eminent for godlineſs, faithfulneſs and conſtancy to the good cauſe and intereſts of theſe nations.

"11. That to the end the legiſlative authority of this commonwealth may not, by their long ſitting, become burthenſome or inconvenient, there may be effectual proviſion made for a due ſucceſſion thereof.

"12. And for the better ſatisfaction, and more firm union of the forces of this commonwealth, in this juncture of affairs, for preſerving and maintaining the principles, and other matters thereunto ſubſervient, we do unanimouſly acknowledge and own the lord Charles Fleetwood lieutenant-general of the army, to be commander in chief of the land-forces of this commonwealth.

"13. That in order to the eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the peace, welfare, and freedom of the people of theſe nations, for the ends before expreſſed, the legiſlative power thereof may be in a repreſentative of the people, conſiſting of a houſe, ſucceſſively choſen by the people, in ſuch a way and manner as this parliament ſhall judge meet, and of a ſelect ſenate, co-ordinate in power, of able and faithful perſons, eminent for godlineſs, ſuch as continue adhering to this cauſe.

"14. That the adminiſtration of all executive power of government, may be in a council of ſtate, conſiſting of a convenient number of perſons qualified, in all reſpects, as aforeſaid.

"15. That all debts contracted by his late highneſs, or his father, ſince the fifteenth of December 1653, may be ſatisfied, and that an honorable revenue of ten thouſand pounds per annum, with a convenient houſe, may be ſetled upon him and his heirs for ever; and ten thouſand pounds per annum more upon him during life; and upon his honorable mother, eight thouſand pounds per annum during her life, to the end a mark of the high eſteem this nation hath of the good ſervice done by his father, our ever renowned general, may remain to poſterity."

The parliament's anſwer, Phillips, p. 647.

To this petition the parliament returned a general anſwer, thanking the army for their affection to the public. Then, taking it into conſideration, they approved of all the articles in general, but appointed a particular commitee to examine thoſe which concerned the government. As to what related to Richard Cromwell and his mother, it was not to be debated, till they ſhould be aſſured of his ſubmiſſion to the government. To this end, a commitee was ſent to inform him of the reſolution of the houſe, and to require his acquieſcence in the late change. The next day, Richard delivered the following anſwer in writing:

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 394.

The Protector Richard's ſubmiſſion to

"I have peruſed the reſolve and declaration "which you were pleaſed to deliver to me the "other night, and for imformation touching what

"As

the powers in being. Phillips, p. 647.

" is mentioned in the ſaid reſolve, I have cauſed a " true ſtate of my debts to be tranſcribed, and an- " nexed to this paper, which will ſhew what they " are, and how they were contracted.

" As to that part of the reſolve, whereby the " commitee are to inform themſelves, how far I do " acquieſce in the government of this common- " wealth, as it is declared by this parliament :

" I truſt, my paſt carriage hitherto hath mani- " feſted my acquieſcence in the will and diſpoſition " of God, and that I love and value the peace of " this commonwealth much above my own con- " cernments ; and I deſire, that by this, a meaſure " of my future deportment may be taken, which, " thro' the aſſiſtance of God, ſhall be ſuch as ſhall " bear the ſame witneſs, having, I hope, in ſome " degree, learned rather to reverence and ſubmit " to the hand of God, than to be unquiet under it. " And (as to the late providences that have fallen " out amongſt us) however, in reſpect of particular " ingagements that lay upon me, I could not be " active in making a change in the government of " the nations; yet, thorough the goodneſs of God, " I can freely acquieſce in it being made; and do " hold myſelf obliged, as (with other men) I ex- " pect protection from the preſent government, ſo " to demean myſelf with all peaceableneſs under " it, and to procure to the utmoſt of my power, " that all in whom I have any intereſt do the " ſame."

RICHARD CROMWELL.

The parliament grants him but 20,000l. to pay his debts, and order him to quit Whitehall. Phillips. Whitelock.

When the houſe examined the account of Richard's debts, the expenſes for his father's funeral was rejected; ſo Richard was forced to pay that debt out of his inheritance, which ſwept away the greateſt part of his eſtate, it not being very large, conſidering Cromwell's advancement during his life. As to the revenue, and annual penſion deſired by the officers for Richard and his mother, the parliament refered the conſideration of them to another opportunity, contenting themſelves with aſſigning twenty thouſand pounds for the payment of his private debts (1). The members had but too much cauſe to complain of Oliver Cromwell, who had deceived and ſhamefully diſmiſſed them, to think themſelves obliged to do ſo much honor to his memory, and beſtow ſo great advantages on his widow and ſon. When they granted him the twenty thouſand pounds, they required him in ſix days to remove from Whitehall (2).

Fleetwood appointed general but for one year only. Phillips. Whitelock.

In the twelfth article of the petition of the officers, it may be obſerved, that, as they expreſſed themſelves, they did not intend to leave to the parliament the liberty of not appointing a general, or of naming any other than Fleetwood, ſince, inſtead of petitioning, they ſaid in that article, " We do una- " nimouſly acknowledge the lord Charles Fleetwood " to be commander in chief of the land-forces of " the common-wealth." The houſe conceived it not proper then to examine the manner in which this article was expreſſed, for fear of raiſing ſome difference between them and the army, at a time when they derived their authority only from the declaration of the officers who had reſtored them. Fleetwood therefore was appointed commander in chief of the land-forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, but only for one year. This reſolution being taken, the parliament voted, That Fleetwood ſhould have power to ſign and ſeal ſuch commiſſions, for the conſtituting of officers under him, as ſhould be approved by parliament, and nominated by ſir Henry Vane, ſir Arthur Haſlerig, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and the colonels Lambert, Deſborough, Ludlow, Berry, or the major part of them, who were made commiſſioners for that purpoſe. But upon the bill's ſecond reading, the clauſe impowering Fleetwood to ſign commiſſions was altered, and it was ordered, that all commiſſions, both to the commiſſion-officers of the army, and the captains of the fleet, ſhould be ſigned by the ſpeaker of the parliament of the common-wealth of England, to be writen by the clerks attending the council of ſtate (3), and delivered to the officers gratis by the ſpeaker, in the parliament-houſe. This was a plain indication, that the parliament pretended, the officers ſhould owe their advancement to them alone. The ſame day the houſe voted, That the government of Ireland ſhould be by commiſſioners, nominated and appointed by parliament, and not by one perſon, and that Henry Cromwell ſhould be acquainted with the order, and required forthwith to repair to the parliament. He peaceably ſubmited, tho', in all probability, if he had been inclined to reſiſt, the new governors would have found it difficult to remove him. He was extremely beloved in Ireland, both by the army, and the Engliſh inhabitants, having never injured any perſon, but, on the contrary, obliged every one, as far as lay in his power. But, doubtleſs, not thinking himſelf ſecure of ſucceſs, and receiving no orders from his brother, he was unwilling to undertake ſo important an affair. The hiſtorians are unanimous in their praiſes of him, and generally believe, that if he had been Protector inſtead of his elder brother, the officers would have met with their match, or not attempted what they undertook againſt Richard.

Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 660. Phillips.

Ludlow, Ibid.

The parliament orders all military commiſſions to be ſigned by the ſpeaker. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 520. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 656, 660, 664. Whitelock.

Provides for the government of Ireland, and recalls Henry Cromwell. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 518. Ludlow, p. 666. Phillips.

His good character. Clarendon, Ibid.

The parliament enters upon meaſures to make itſelf maſter of the army. Phillips. p. 648.

Fleetwood, Deſborough, Lambert, and the reſt of the principal officers, were by no means pleaſed with the proceedings of parliament, but knowing, the inferior officers conſidered their dependence on the parliament as an advantage, they diſſembled their reſentments, and from the ſpeaker received their commiſſions. Contrariwiſe, the parliament believed it of the utmoſt importance, to be maſter of the army; which they flattered themſelves, would inable them to rule peaceably and abſolutely, and, without doubt, perpetuate their authority. They ſaw they were to expect a ſtrong oppoſition 'till this was done, conſidering the reſtleſs temper of the principal officers, ever ſeeking to make themſelves neceſſary, for fear of loſing their imploys. This was the firſt, and almoſt open deſign of the

(1) Whitelock ſays, That his debts were in all, twenty-nine thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty pounds. p. 681. And Ludlow, That the parliament ordered twenty thouſand pounds to be preſently paid him, and paſſed a reſolution to pay thoſe debts he had contracted on the public account. Vol. II. p. 665.

(2) After the Reſtoration he went to France, and continued ſome years in obſcurity at Paris; but upon the rumor of a war between France and England, he removed to Geneva. Some years before the death of King Charles II, he returned to England, and died at Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire in 1712. Life of Cromwell, p. 432.

(3) The parliament had named a council of State, for the more immediate executive power. It was to conſiſt of thirty-one perſons, whereof twenty-one were to be members of parliament, and ten not. The twenty-one were Whitelock, ſir James Harrington, ſir Arthur Haſlerig, ſir Henry Vane, Thomas Chaloner, Henry Nevil, chief-juſtice St. John's, Thomas Scott, Robert Reynolds, Wallop; lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major Saloway, colonel Morley, Algernoon Sidney, Walton, Dixwel, Thompſon, Sydenham, Jones, Downes, and Ludlow: The ten were, preſident Bradſhaw, lord Fairfax, major-general Lambert, ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, ſir Horatio Townſend, colonel Deſborough, Berry, Barnes, Johnſon and Honywood. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 656. They had alſo nominated the judges and commiſſioners of the great-ſeal, a new one being made different from the old, &c. Whitelock, p. 679.

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parliament. For this purpoſe, the commitee appointed to examine commiſſions was continued, who knowing the intentions of the houſe, made great alterations in the army, diſplacing ſuch as were ſuſpected, and ſubſtituting others of more aſſured fidelity. The ſame was done to the army commanded by Monk, and many officers being removed, others were appointed to ſucceed them, and thoſe moſt confided in by that general were diſplaced. Clarges had now acquainted Monk with the parliament's intentions, which were ſo manifeſt, and Monk had but too much cauſe to perceive them, by the alterations the commitee would have made in the army of Scotland. He wrote to the commitee ſo as to intimate, he plainly ſaw their deſign to undermine his authority. In his letter he uſed ſome expreſſions, which made the parliament apprehenſive there would be danger in driving a man to extremities, who was twelve thouſand ſtrong, and had all Scotland at his diſpoſal. For this reaſon, the officers, appointed by the commitee to go into Scotland, received orders, not to proceed on their journey. But this was only to gain time, in expectation of a more favorable opportunity.

Phillips, p. 648.

They continue the monthly tax upon the three kingdoms. Phillips. p. 649. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 668.

The eighteenth of June the parliament voted a continuation of the monthly aſſeſſment of thirty-five thouſand pounds, impoſed by parliament in 1656. Then commiſſioners were named for the civil government of Ireland, and a commiſſion granted to Edmund Ludlow, one of the late King's judges, and a moſt zealous Republican, to command the forces of that country.

Conſpiracy of the Royaliſts in favor of the King. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 521. Phillips.

Mean while the parliament having received confuſed informations of a plot forming in favor of the King, the Royaliſts had orders to withdraw twenty miles from London. This intimation was groundleſs. In March this year, his Majeſty, by a declaration, had impowered commiſſioners to treat in his name with thoſe, who having been againſt him, or his father, were willing to return to his obedience. Neither pains nor promiſes were ſpared by theſe commiſſioners, to increaſe the number of the King's friends, and certainly there could not be a more favorable opportunity. All were weary of the tyranny of an Independent parliament, conſiſting of forty perſons, and of an army, whoſe officers were moſtly Fanatic, and who, under color of promoting piety, and extending the kingdom of Chriſt, had only their intereſt in view. The Preſbyterians themſelves, and the members of that party, who had been expelled the houſe in 1648, ſeeing little appearance of ever recovering the ground they had loſt, and that they yet remained expoſed to the tyranny of the Independents and Fanatics, agreed at laſt with the King's party, to deliver the nation from the ſervitude to which it was reduced. The particulars and terms of this union are not known, becauſe the hiſtorians who ſpeak of it, being all Royaliſts, have not thought fit to do ſo much honor to the Preſbyterian party. But it cannot be concealed, that from this time the Preſbyterians no longer appeared as the King's enemies, but on the contrary, as will hereafter be ſeen, very much promoted his reſtoration.

The Preſbyterians inclinable to join with them. R. Coke, p. 81.

The project of an inſurrection. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 521. Phillips, p. 649.

It was on the hopes, that the Preſbyterians would aſſiſt, or at leaſt not oppoſe them, that the Royaliſts projected an inſurrection in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, in expectation it would at laſt become general. For this purpoſe, they intended to ſeize at once Gloceſter, Lynn, Plimouth, Exeter and Cheſter. They believed their meaſures ſo well concerted, that they doubted not of ſucceſs. For they ſtill relied on the people's affection for the King, in which they were ſo often miſtaken. Mr. Mordaunt croſſed the ſea, to inform the King of the project, which he thought ſo well laid, that he repaired ſecretly to Calais (1), and then to St. Malo's, to be nearer England, in caſe the plot ſucceeded. But this project vaniſhed like the reſt. Sir Richard Willis who, as I have ſaid, betrayed the King's party, informed Thurlo of it, and Thurlo the council of ſtate, who immediately put the militia into the hands of perſons of approved fidelity, and took other precautions, which invincibly obſtructed the execution of this deſign. Maſſey, taken in attempting to ſurpriſe Gloceſter, found means to eſcape. The lord Willoughby of Parham, and ſir Horatio Townſend, who were gone to the weſt (2) to ſerve the King, were arreſted and ſent to priſon. There was only ſir George Booth, who, aſſembling about four or five thouſand men, took Cheſter, and publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the tyranny of the parliament, without any mention of the King, intending to make the public believe, that the people's diſcontent was the ſole motive of his taking arms. Sir Thomas Middleton joined him with ſome troops, but theſe two united bodies were ſo inconſiderable, that Lambert, who marched againſt them by order of parliament, eaſily defeated them, and re-took Cheſter. Sir George Booth had the good fortune at firſt to eſcape, but was taken ſome days after in woman's clothes, and brought to the Tower of London. Middleton retired to a caſtle of his own, which held out but few days. It did not appear on this occaſion that the people had the King's intereſt much at heart (3).

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Are betrayed by Willis. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 522, &c.

Sir George Booth ſeizes Cheſter, and publiſhes a manifeſto. July. Id. p. 526. Whitelock. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 685, &c.

Joined by ſir Thomas Middleton.

Defeated by Lambert. Auguſt 19. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 527. Whitelock. Phillips.

The King's friends, during theſe tranſactions, not doubting of ſucceſs, ſent the reverend Nicolas Monk, the general's brother, into Scotland, to ingage him in the King's party. Some have reported, that Monk in hopes of his Majeſty's party prevailing in England, was upon the point of marching to ſupport them, but was ſtopped by the news of Booth's defeat, and forced to feign himſelf intirely devoted to the parliament. I cannot eaſily be perſuaded Monk ſo early thought of ſerving the King. However, it cannot be denied, that the parliament ſuſpected Monk, becauſe his principles were very far from Fanaticiſm, which then infected both parliament and army. This the parliament plainly ſhowed, immediately after Booth's and Middleton's defeat by Lambert. For judging that victory would keep Monk in awe, they readily confirmed the changes before intended in the army of Scotland. Monk was ſo offended with this proceeding, that he wrote to the ſpeaker, to deſire his diſmiſſion, but Clarges his brother-in-law prevailed with the ſpeaker not to communicate his letter to the parliament, who doubtleſs would not have failed granting his requeſt.

Monk the clergyman ſent by the Royaliſts to general Monk. Auguſt. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 548. Phillips. Skinner. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 691.

The Scotiſh army reformed by the parliament, which offends Monk. Phillips, p. 653. Skinner.

As the peace between France and Spain was to be treated at St. Jean de Luz, by the prime miniſters of the two crowns, the King believed his preſenſe at this negociation might procure him ſome advantage. He therefore departed for Fontarabia in September, and croſſed the kingdom of France incognito. I ſhall preſently ſpeak of the ſucceſs of this journey, but muſt firſt relate the change which happened in England.

The King goes to Fontarabia. Septemb. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 531, 532.

The chief officers of the army, who kept in London, were ſtill highly diſpleaſed with the parliament, plainly ſeeing their intention was to become

Conferences of the army-officers to prevent the deſigns of the parliament. Phillips, p. 654.

(1) Where he ſtaid ſome time, before he went to St. Malo's.

(2) They undertook to ſecure Norfolk and Lynn for the King. Thoſe that deſigned to act in the weſt, were, Arundel, Pollard, Greenvil, Trelawny, &c. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 521, 522.

(3) After this defeat, the parliament thought of tranſporting the loyal families into Barbadoes, Jamaica, and other plantations; and by degrees ſo to model the army, that they might never give them more trouble. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 541.

maſter

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master of the army. Wherefore, they began to think of means to prevent this design, and maintain themselves in their credit and posts. For this purpose, before any resolution could be taken, they had several secret meetings. But one difficulty was to be surmounted. This was, that the inferior officers were very well pleased with the parliament, who greatly caressed them, intending to use them, to get rid of their commanders. Lambert, who commanded the forces about Chester, was intirely in the party of Fleetwood and Desborough, knowing, the parliament had no better intentions for him, than for others. Beside, his chief aim was to procure a perpetual confirmation of the generalship to Fleetwood, in hopes to govern and make use of him for his own advancement to that post, as Cromwell had before done to Fairfax. Tho' he was absent from London, he was informed of what passed at their meetings, and gave his advice. After many deliberations, it was at last resolved, that Lambert should indeavor gaining the inferior officers of his army, which was less difficult, than to prevail with the officers of the rest of the army, who were dispersed in different quarters. Pursuant to this resolution, Lambert coming to Derby, so managed, that his officers, whom he had carefully inspired with discontent, met to draw a petition, which, before it was offered to the parliament, was to be communicated to Fleetwood, for the approbation of the general-council of officers. Sir Arthur Haslerig having received advice that the petition was come to London, informed the commons, and told them, the army was contriving a very dangerous plot, of which it was necessary to prevent the consequences. Upon this declaration Fleetwood was examined by the parliament, whether he knew of the petition? He answered, he had a copy of it, and the original was in the hands of three officers, whom he named. Whereupon he was ordered to give notice to these officers to attend the house that afternoon with the petition, which was done, and the petition read. The stile was in the fashionable language of that time, among those who pretended to a more exalted piety. The substance of it was to this effect:

Lambert tho' absent has a great share in them. R. Coke, p. 81.

His officers send the plan of a petition to be offered to the parliament. Sept. 16. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 541. Phillips. R. Coke. Whitelock.

The parliament informed of it. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 719.

Orders the petition to be laid before it.

Demands of Lambert's officers. Phillips, p. 655.

I. "That the parliament would be pleased not "to suffer the petition of the general-council of "officers at Wallingford-house to be laid asleep, "as it was the best expedient yet offered to a happy "and durable setlement.

II. "That since a great many ill-affected persons, "were indeavoring to sow division in the army, "the parliament would be pleased, for the preservation of that union, wherein its greatest strength "lay, to establish firmly the lord Fleetwood in "the command of the army, whose commission "was to expire in a few months, with Lambert "for his lieutenant-general, Desborough for the "command of the horse, and Monk of the "foot."

III. "That considering the negligence of a great "many persons intrusted with public imploys; the "ill designs of the enemies of the Good Cause; the "activity of some to favor those designs, and the "affection and zeal shewn by others for a blameable neutrality, at a time, when their assistance "is most wanted; the parliament would be pleased "to make a diligent inquiry upon this subject, and "proceed to the depriving of the guilty of all "their imploys: that on the contrary, such as in "this distracted juncture declared willingly and "cheerfully for the Good Cause, either in the county-troops, or militia-voluntiers, or otherwise, may "be looked on as friends, incouraged, satisfied in "their arrears, and invested with authority in their "several countries.

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IV. "That in the late insurrections some considerable corporations having assisted the enemy, "received and furnished them with arms; the parliament would be pleased to give some signal "mark of their disfavor against them; and for the "future so regulate the corporations, that persons "well qualified, according to the government of "a well constituted common-wealth, may be intrusted with authority of the magistracy in any "of the several towns, that so the footsteps of "monarchy may be rooted out.

V. "That all persons whatsoever, magistrates, "ministers, or others, who have secretly stired "up the inhabitants of these nations to war and "commotions against the parliament, and particularly to the late insurrections, may be proceeded "against as the parliament in their judgment shall "think fit."

The parliament vote against it. Phillips, p. 656. Whitelock. Ludlow.

The house, in a debate upon this petition, voted the next morning, "That to have any more general "officers in the army than are already setled by "parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth; and that Fleetwood "shall acquaint them with this resolve (1)."

This vote having been communicated by Fleetwood at his own house, to some officers, it was resolved, That the petition should not be insisted on, but, on the contrary, an address offered to the parliament, to profess an adherence to their authority against the common enemy, and that they would stand by them in the setlement of the commonwealth, against all disturbances whatsoever; and that this should be prepared and brought to be read, and considered by a general council of officers, to meet for that purpose, the twenty-seventh of September.

The great council of officers resolve to present another petition. Phillips, p. 656.

The preparing of this address was left to the persons who discharged their trust, in a manner little agreeable to the intention of those who ordered it, as will be seen presently. However, the address was approved in the general council of officers, by a majority of voices, and signed by two hundred and thirty, who were in and about London, but was not presented till the fifth of October. In this interval of seven or eight days, the officers sent a copy of the petition to general Monk for his concurrence, tho' they were resolved not to stay for his answer. On the other hand, the parliament took all possible precautions to hinder its being presented, whether by satisfying the army in its arrears, or by sowing division among the officers, as they knew the address was not universally approved, the visible aim whereof was, to beget a breach between the army and the parliament. But all their indeavors were fruitless. The fifth of October, Desborough, with many other officers, presented the petition to the house. It was introduced by a long preamble, pretending, That the intentions of the army were maliciously represented to the parliament by ill-affected persons, to create division between the parliament and the army; and that it was in justification of themselves, from such false accusations, that they presented this humble address, containing the four following assertions:

The parliament tries to prevent it. Id. p. 657.

"We do humbly and plainly declare,

It is presented, October 5. Phillips, p. 657.

1. "That notwithstanding what any persons may "suggest, or say to the contrary, We are not for, "but against the seting up any single person whatsoever in supreme authority: and for a demonstration hereof we may appeal to your own judgments, upon our late actings, wherein, since our "declaration of the sixth of May last, we have,

(1) This vote was contrived and promoted by Haslerig, Nevil, &c. Whitelock, p. 684.

"with

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" with all induſtry and faithfulneſs, indeavored to " render ourſelves ſerviceable to you and the com- " monwealth, and have chearfully obſerved your " commands, ſome of us with our lives in our " hands in your late ſervice, wherein to our great " incouragement, the lord hath once more ap- " peared to own you and your army, and the " Good Old Cauſe, for which we have contended. " And at the late return of this parliament to the " diſcharge of their remaining truſt, we did with " ſimplicity and plaineſs, in our humble petition " and addreſs preſented to you, manifeſt our hearts " and deſires, and that with much unanimity and " fullneſs of conſent, which we apprehended was " well accepted by you.

" 2. That we have not ſince changed our prin- " ciples leading to a well-regulated commonwealth, " wherein the liberties of the people thereof, both " ſpiritual and civil, may be fully ſecured, and " perſons of known integrity, piety, and ability, " imployed in places of truſt and concernment; " but reſolve, by the aſſiſtance of God, to remain " conſtant to them: and make it our humble " prayer to God, that he would incline your hearts " effectually to proſecute the ſame, and make you " inſtrumental in bringing forth ſuch a foundation " of government, whereby all the good people of " theſe nations may rationally expect, that ſuch " liberties and rights ſhall be preſerved to them " and their poſterities. And we can truly ſay, " that it is in our hearts earneſtly to deſire that God " would crown you with the honor of making " theſe nations happy, by ſuch a ſetlement as may " not be liable to every change of governors, and " to have the peace thereof diſturbed by intro- " ducing new governments.

" 3. Whereas a petition and propoſals were " lately drawn up by the officers of the brigade, " that (under the command of major-general " Lambert) hazarded themſelves in your ſervice " with good ſucceſs, whereby, thro' the bleſ- " ſing of God upon them, and others of your " faithful friends and ſervants, the peace of this " commonwealth is ſtill continued: and the ſaid " petition was ſent up to ſome officers here to be " preſented to the lord Fleetwood; which had " been by ſome interpreted to evil and ſiniſter " ends, and from thence ſuggeſtions derived, as " if they were intentions to violate the parliament, " to ſet up a ſingle perſon, or another general: in " order thereunto, we do ſincerely profeſs (what- " ever the deſign of any perſons may be to pro- " mote ſuch cauſeleſs jealouſies) we have had no " other than faithfulneſs and candor in our hearts " and actions towards the parliament; nor do we " apprehend (with ſubmiſſion we may ſpeak it) " any reaſon or cauſe of offenſe to be conceived " againſt your faithful ſervants, who lately gave " ſo ample proof of their fidelity and courage.

" 4. We cannot but eſteem ourſelves unhappy " to have been ſo miſrepreſented to the parliament, " as ſhould occaſion ſuch a public admonition up- " on record; and conſidering what evil uſe may " be made of theſe things by the public enemy, " and to the end they may be diſappointed of their " hopes, and all ſuch perſons diſcouraged, as ſhall " go about for the future to promote jealouſies, " or miſinformation, to beget diviſions betwixt " the parliament and their faithful ſervants the " army: and that a good underſtanding may be " preſerved between them, we humbly pray:

" 1. That the officers of the army, and parti- " cularly thoſe who have reaſon to bear the marks " of your favor for their faithfulneſs in the late " northern expedition, may ſtand right in your " opinion, and have your countenance.

" 2. That whatſoever perſon or perſons ſhall " for the future groundleſly and cauſeleſly, inform " the houſe againſt your ſervants, thereby creat- " ing jealouſies and ſcandalous imputations upon " them, may be brought to examination, juſtice " and condign puniſhment. Inter-reg. An' 1659.

" 3. That it being an undoubted right of the " people to have a liberty, in a peaceable and ſub- " miſſive way, to petition the ſupreme authority, " which liberty hath been by yourſelves aſſerted, " allowed, and approved of; we cannot but alſo " aſſert the ſaid liberty, and humbly conceive, that " your faithful ſervants of the army, have no " ways forfeited their rights as freemen, and that " therefore they hope it will be no offenſe for " them to ſubmit their humble deſires to the par- " liament.

" 4. That you would be pleaſed to take into " your ſerious conſideration, the neceſſitous con- " dition of the poor ſoldiers of your armies, and " that all poſſible care may be taken for their " timely ſupply, their wants being ſuch as earneſtly " call for it: and that ſome ſpeedy and effectual " courſe may be taken to provide for the maimed " ſoldiers, and poor widows and orphans of ſuch " as have been ſlain in your ſervice, that the " bleſſing of God may be upon you.

" 5. That ſuch who have freely offered them- " ſelves in the ſeveral counties and cities of theſe " nations, to own and ſtand by you and your " cauſe in the late inſurrections, with the hazard " of all which is dear unto them, may have your " incouragement, and be imployed in places of truſt " and command.

" 6. That it being a thing granted by all, that " without due execution of martial diſcipline, the " peace, union, and good government of an army " cannot be preſerved; the diſcipline of the army " may be preſerved inviolable, and in particular, " that no officer or ſoldier of the army may be " caſhiered, or diſmiſſed from their places, with- " out a due proceeding at a court-martial, or by " his own conſent, except in caſes of reducement " or diſbanding.

" 7. That it being judged neceſſary by the par- " liament, for the keeping of the army under ſuch " a conduct, as may render the ſame ſerviceable " to the commonwealth, to appoint a commitee " of nominations, for the propoſing of officers to " the parliament, for their approbation: we hum- " bly pray, that no officers may be brought into " the army, but ſuch as ſhall firſt come under the " conſideration of the ſaid commitee, and be by " them preſented.

" 8. The office of the commander in chief of " the army, being of ſo great concernment to the " peace of this commonwealth, and his commiſ- " ſion at preſent (as we conceive) expiring within " a few months, we humbly pray, that the con- " ſideration of that matter may come before you, " and ſome ſuch effectual courſe be taken therein, " as may prevent our fears, and the hazard of " leaving the army to confuſion.

" 9. And that you would retain a good opinion " of your army, and, againſt all diſcouragement " whatſoever, proceed in the carrying on of that " good work intruſted in your hands, for the " glory of God, and the advantage of theſe na- " tions. In the proſecution whereof, thro' the help " of our God, we ſhall be found (notwithſtanding " all indeavors to the contrary) faithful to you and " this commonwealth."

The parliament offended, yet returns a mild anſwer. Phillips, p. 659.

However reſpectful the terms of this addreſs might appear, the parliament were not pleaſed with the contents, it ſeeming to teach them their duty, or rather to reproach them for neglect. They had forgot, this was the language of the army to the Preſbyterian parliament, in ſupport of the Independent

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dependent party, and how grateful it had been to them. It was manifeſt, the officers ſought occaſion of quarrel, and the parliament was but too ſenſible of it. But they had no ſupport againſt the army, and the hopes of diviſion among the officers, becauſe many oppoſed the preſenting this addreſs, was their only reſourſe. For this reaſon, after ſome members had warmly inveighed againſt the officers inſolence, the houſe, however, returned a moderate anſwer, to gain time, and keep thoſe in temper whom they were unable to reſiſt. The officers therefore, who had delivered the addreſs, were called in and thanked by the ſpeaker, for their affection and faithfulneſs to the parliament; to which he added, that the parliament had already taken into conſideration the relief of the maimed ſoldiers, orphans, and widows; and had alſo ſetled a way for ſatisfaction of the arrears due to the army, and would indeavor ſpeedily effecting it.

The officers diſtruſtful of the parliament. Phillips, p. 659.

Deſborough brought this anſwer to the general council of officers, who aſſembled that day. But as they were informed of the ſpeeches againſt them in the houſe, it was ſuſpected, that the parliament intended only to gain time, in order to ſtrengthen themſelves, or change the conſtitution of the army. Wherefore, they reſolved to cauſe their addreſs to be ſigned by all the regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and to write to them on that ſubject, which was done the ſame day.

Monk writes ſubmiſſively to the parliament. Skinner.

The parliament, two days after, receiving a letter from Monk, with aſſurances of his intire obedience, returned him a gracious anſwer, leting him know the high eſteem they had of his ſervices, with a promiſe to revoke all the orders which might have given him any cauſe of diſguſt. Both theſe parties thought it of great importance to gain Monk to their intereſt. The hopes the parliament conceived of that general's good diſpoſition in their favor, gave them a little more firmneſs than they had at firſt ſhown. So, in their debates upon the propoſals of the officers, a particular anſwer was returned to each article, and the officers given to underſtand, that their complaints were cauſeleſs, and the parliament neither obliged nor pleaſed to give them an account of their conduct. This anſwer convinced the officers, that matters were come to ſuch a height, that they were either to ſubmit to the parliament, or indeavor a diſſolution. But this ſubmiſſion they could not reſolve on, without trying firſt to render themſelves ſuperior. To this end, Lambert marched his brigade towards London, and there appeared himſelf to ſupport his friends. The parliament, on their ſide ſeeing a breach with the army not very remote, haſtily paſſed an act, to declare it high-treaſon to levy money upon the people, without the conſent of parliament. Herein their aim was to hinder the army's ſubſiſtence. They did ſtill more: for Monk the clergyman being arrived from Scotland, with aſſurances from his brother, the general, of his ſupporting the parliament, and marching to their aſſiſtance, if required, Lambert, Deſborough, and ſome other principal officers, who had ſigned the addreſs, were caſhiered. They then annulled Fleetwood's commiſſion, and named commiſſioners (1) for the government of the army, from the eleventh of October to the twenty-ſecond of February. But theſe proceedings not being ſupported with power, the officers, with ſcorn, received the parliament's orders.

The parliament returns a haughty anſwer to the addreſs from the officers. October 10. Phillips, p. 659.

Lambert comes to London, and draws his forces thither. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 542.

The parliament makes an act injurious to the army. Phillips, p. 660.

Caſhiers ſeveral of his officers, and vacates Fleetwood's commiſſion. Phillips. Whitelock. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 542. R. Coke. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 722.

Mean while, the council of ſtate, being informed that Lambert was aſſembling the army, ordered two regiments to Weſtminſter to guard the parliament, whoſe colonels and officers were devoted to them, and had refuſed to ſign the addreſs. This did not prevent Lambert from executing his deſign. Having drawn ſome regiments into London, on the thirteenth of October he ſecured all the avenues to the parliament (2). Immediately after, the ſpeaker going to the houſe in his coach, was ſtoped by Lambert, and forced to return. He then ordered the colonels of the two regiments in Palace-yard to retire to their quarters, which they refuſing to do, he ſmilingly bid them ſtay there as long as they pleaſed. But at the ſame time, he took care to ſtop thoſe members who were going to the houſe, and hindered them entering (3). So the parliament, as well for want of a ſufficient number of members, as for the abſenſe of the ſpeaker, not being able to ſit that day, the two regiments placed at Weſtminſter to ſecure them from violence retired, after having remained there till night. No ſooner were they gone, but Fleetwood ſeized their poſts, and placed a ſtrong guard at the door of the parliament-houſe, to retard the members aſſembling. Next day, the diſcontented officers, by their own authority, caſhiered thoſe of the two regiments appointed to guard the parliament, and ſent others to fill their places. The ſoldiers obeyed their new officers, and abandoned the old.

Lambert aſſembles the army. Two regiments ordered to Weſtminſter by the council of ſtate for ſecurity of the parliament. R. Coke.

Lambert hinders the ſpeaker from going to the houſe. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 543.

The members not ſuffered to aſſemble. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 723——726.

The parliament's guard retires.

A guard placed by Fleetwood at the door of the parliament houſe.

Ten days this ANARCHY laſted, before the officers, now grown ſuperior, thought of ſetling any form of government. All they did, was to nominate ten of their own body to form a council, to take care of the moſt urgent affairs. Then they declared Fleetwood their general, Lambert their lieutenant-general, and Deſborough commiſſary-general of the horſe. They eſtabliſhed likewiſe a council of ſeven to nominate ſuch officers as were not ſuſpected, with orders to exclude thoſe, in whom they could not confide. Mean time a diſcipline ſo exact was obſerved by the troops, that it was wonderful to ſee ſoldiers ſo ſubmiſſive to their officers, and ſo inoffenſive to the people during ſuch an Anarchy. The ſuſpicion the officers entertained of Monk, gave them great uneaſineſs, becauſe he was not of their principles, and beſide, was an enemy to Lambert; they therefore ſent colonel Cobbet to indeavor gaining him to their party, with ſecret orders, in caſe he could not ſucceed to try corrupting his troops, and, if poſſible, put him under an arreſt. Clarges gave Monk intelligence of Cobbet's ſecret commiſſion.

An Anarchy of a few days. 1659. The officers form a council of ten. Elect their own generals. Whitelock.

The exact diſcipline of the army.

Colonel Cobbet ſent to Monk by the officers. Skinner. Clarendon, Vol. III. P. 545.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the King was in his journey to Fontarabia, where he arrived but very little before the treaty between the two crowns was concluded, having by miſtake (4) proceeded to Saragoſſa, where he had no buſineſs, while the two miniſters of France and Spain finiſhed their treaty. But in all appearance he would have

The King's ſucceſs at Fontarabia. Id. p. 537.

(1) Fleetwood, Monk, Haſlerig, Walton, Morley, Overton, and Ludlow. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 722.

(2) Whitelock ſays, Evelyn who commanded the life-guard of the parliament, marching forth with his troop, was met by Lambert at Scotland-yard gate, who commanded him to diſmount, which he thought ſafeſt to do, tho' at the head of his troop, and tho' Lambert was alone, and on foot. The troop alſo obeyed Lambert, which he placed along King-ſtreet, and ſtopped the ſpeaker. Mem. p. 685.

(3) Sir Peter Wentworth alone, being rowed by ſome able watermen, broke thro' the guard on the river, and got into the houſe. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 725.

(4) This miſtake aroſe not from ignorance of the way leading to Fontarabia, but from a miſtake in the King's intelligence, That the treaty between the two crowns was finiſhed, while it was actually in negociation. In the firſt caſe, the King had no buſineſs at Fontarabia, and therefore curioſity, and perhaps ſome better view, determined him to go to Madrid. When his miſtake was removed, he turned back, and purſued his firſt intended journey to Fontarabia. See Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 537.

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received no advantage from that treaty, had he arrived at the begining. Nay, it is difficult to conceive, what advantages he propoſed to himſelf from this journey, nor has the earl of Clarendon thought fit to inform his readers. Don Lewis de Haro, prime miniſter of Spain, received him very civilly, and expreſſed a ſenſe of his unhappy condition, by making him a preſent of ſeven thouſand piſtoles. But Cardinal Mazarine, for fear of rendering himſelf ſuſpected to the parliament, would not ſo much as ſee him. So the King left Fontarabia, in order for Bruſſels, where he arrived about the end of December.

The Commitee of Safety.

The army erect a commitee of ſafety for the adminiſtration of the government. October 26. Phillips, p. 662. Ludlow. Whitelock, p. 685.

MEAN time, the great council of officers held frequent aſſemblies in London, to indeavor at ſome ſetlement of the government, which could not be in greater confuſion than at preſent. At laſt, on the twenty-ſixth of October, thirteen days after the diſperſion of the parliament, they agreed to eſtabliſh a Commitee of Safety (1), and put the government into their hands. Sir Henry Vane, who, ſince the laſt change, had come into the meaſures of the army, was of this commitee, with Fleetwood, Lambert, Deſborough, Ludlow, &c. The great-council of officers, as ſole ſovereign then of the three kingdoms, authorized this commitee to execute all the powers of the late council of ſtate, with authority to puniſh delinquents concerned in the late conſpiracy: to give indemnity to all who had acted for the commonwealth ſince the year 1649: to oppoſe and ſuppreſs all rebellions and inſurrections: to diſpoſe of all places of truſt that were void, and remove ſuch as were ſcandalous: [to treat with foreign States: to raiſe the militia:] and laſtly, to make ſale and compoſition for the eſtates of delinquents.

Its power.

The declaration of the council of officers.

At the ſame time, a declaration was publiſhed, to annul the acts or orders of the parliament, of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth of October. In this paper the officers declared, that they had no deſign to erect a military government, but had already lodged the executive part in a Commitee of Safety, who were to prepare ſuch a form of government as might beſt comport with a free ſtate and commonwealth, without a ſingle perſon, Kingſhip, or houſe of lords. This declaration ended with ſome ſcriptural expreſſions, adapted to the taſte and practiſe of the godly party.

State of Monk's affairs in Scotland. R. Coke, p. 82. Burnet. p. 61.

While the officers ruled in England, Monk was greatly imbaraſſed in Scotland. He was indeed at the head of the government, and of twelve thouſand men, moſt of whom he could rely on, tho' many of the officers were Fanatics, or inclined to be ſo, and conſequently juſtly ſuſpected by him. But this army was ſupported by money regularly paid from England, Scotland being unable to maintain them. Monk had thereby been able to keep the army under ſtrict diſcipline, and to procure Scotland a tranquillity, to which ſhe had long been a ſtranger, tho' the clergy were diſſatisfied with the liberty of conſcience granted to all, Catholics and Prelatiſts excepted. The forts erected by Monk in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and well gariſoned by him, prevented all inſurrections. The changes in England ſince Cromwell's death, diſturbed Monk's peaceable ſtate in Scotland. For tho' he was equally careſſed by the army and parliament, becauſe they either wanted or feared him, he perceived, that on which ſide ſoever the advantage ſhould turn, he was to be the victim. He had already experienced it in the parliament's indeavors to undermine his credit, and could not doubt, if that parliament had ſubſiſted, he ſhould have been, by one means or other, diſplaced, becauſe he was feared. On the contrary, his hopes were no better from the army, which was properly commanded by Lambert, under the name of Fleetwood. Lambert conſidered Monk as a formidable rival, who would never ſuffer him to execute his deſigns, if it was in his power to prevent him (2). Monk, for his part, would never have been willing to ſubmit to Lambert. Of taking one of theſe two courſes he was under an abſolute neceſſity. A neutrality would have expoſed him to the danger of being ſacrificed by both, if they ſhould be reconciled, which was not impoſſible. Beſide, on ſuch occaſions, the victorious party never thinks any great regard due to the neutral. In fine, a neutrality would have intirely deprived him of the ſupplies received from England for the ſubſiſtence of his army. He therefore determined to ſide with the parliament, and, without any evaſion, ſent his reſolution to Fleetwood. To this end, he prepared for a ſpeedy march into England with the beſt part of his army.

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Reſolves to march into England.

Motives of this reſolution.

When this reſolution is conſidered, it is difficult to believe, that Monk could take it, without being influenced by other motives than what at firſt ſight appear. Firſt, he had no cauſe to be pleaſed with this parliament, nor is it ſeen what intereſt, either public or private, he could have, to reſtore a parliament generally hated, and which had been always diſtruſtful of him. Secondly, Monk had joined with the Republicans only to free himſelf from confinement. Thirdly, tho' he had twelve thouſand men, he could, at moſt, take with him but half, unleſs he would give the Scots opportunity to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke. How therefore could he venture to go with five or ſix thouſand men, to incounter an army ſtronger than his own? Laſtly, The people of England hitherto had declared for neither parliament nor army, but equally hated both. Monk therefore could not expect the peoples aſſiſtance, to reſtore a parliament which had ever held them in ſervitude. This was not at leaſt, the intereſt of the Royaliſts or Preſbyterians, who properly were the body of the nation; there being but very few who were really attached to the parliament or the army, tho' fear compelled them to obedience: and, by the way, the ſmall intereſt which the parliament had in the boroughs and counties, was the true reaſon why they never filled the vacant ſeats, becauſe they could not be aſſured ſuch members would be choſen as they deſired. Theſe are the conſiderations which naturally create a belief, that Monk, when he reſolved to march into England, under color of re-eſtabliſhing the parliament, ſecretly intended to ſerve and reſtore the King. This is almoſt univerſally agreed. But it is not equally clear what was his plan, or his means to accompliſh ſuch a deſign. If the Royaliſt authors are to be credited, he marched into England with only five thouſand men; and the terror of that army, joined to the nation's wiſhes, and Monk's prudent conduct, produced this happy reſtoration. All this is true, but not the whole truth; party-intereſt having obliged the hiſtorians

He deſigns to reſtoring the King. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 549. Skinner.

(1) Conſiting of twenty-three perſons. Whitelock (who was one) ſays, he was not deſirous of that imployment, at ſuch a time as this. Mem. p. 685.

(2) In order to weaken Monk, the parliament ſent him an order, when Lambert was marching againſt Booth, to ſend Lambert two regiments of foot, and two of horſe; but he excuſed himſelf, under color of the enemies ſtrength, and inclination to revolt; tho' ſome then thought, that his ingagements with Charles II, were the true reaſons of his refuſal. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 691.

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to conceal, or ſpeak confuſedly of ſome things. For my part, I ſhall give my opinion, and leave it to the judgment of the unprejudiced reader. I own, I cannot ſupport it with the clear and undeniable teſtimony of the hiſtorians of thoſe times. But I think, I can ground it upon ſomething ſtronger than the teſtimony of thoſe hiſtorians; I mean, upon the facts themſelves, and general Monk's whole conduct. The reader will judge of it hereafter.

His plan in order to the King's reſtoration.

Since the Preſbyterians had been expelled from the parliament in 1648, they had been kept extremely low, becauſe their number ever rendered them formidable to the Independent parliament, and afterwards to Cromwell. They had never been able to recover their ſeats in parliament, a few only excepted, who had thruſt themſelves in by a diſſimulation, which nevertheleſs, as appears in Ludlow's Memoirs, could not deceive the Independents. Sir William Waller, one of their generals, was not in condition to head an army, and Maſſey had eſpouſed the King's cauſe. So, having nothing more to ſay in the parliament, and wanting a leader to head them, they had remained in ſubjection to the Independent parliament, and afterwards to Cromwell, without any likelihood of reviving their humbled party. They had for enemies Cromwell, the army, the parliament, the Royaliſts, and were in no places of truſt which might give them credit. We have already ſeen, that being weary of this ſituation, they had diſcovered an inclination to unite with the King's party, or at leaſt ſhewn, that they ſhould not be diſpleaſed with the good ſucceſs of that party's deſign for an inſurrection in ſeveral parts of the nation. The miſcarriage of that undertaking was doubtleſs the reaſon the union was carried no farther. Nevertheleſs, Monk knowing the diſpoſition of the Preſbyterians, imployed, in all likelihood, Clarges his confident, to make a ſecret agreement with ſome of their chiefs for reſtoring the King by their means. The ſcheme projected for that purpoſe, and which without the Preſbyterians could not be executed was, as appears by the ſequel, briefly this:

Ludlow. Vol. II.

No doubt Monk ingaged to march into England and reſtore the Rump-parliament, diſperſed by the officers. This was the firſt ſtep he was to take. The parliament being reſtored, Monk was to join with the city of London, wholly Preſbyterian, and demand, that the members expelled in 1648, might reſume their ſeats, or, if the Rump refuſed to admit them, to introduce them by force. The number of theſe reſtored members could not but have a great majority in the houſe, and compoſe properly a Preſbyterian parliament. It was agreed, that this parliament ſhould diſſolve itſelf, after ſummoning another free parliament, compoſed, agreeably to the ancient conſtitution, of a houſe of lords and a houſe of commons. This new parliament muſt have naturally conſiſted of Royaliſts and Preſbyterians (the Independents having too little credit to carry any elections) and was to reſtore the King, to which the Preſbyterians ſhould conſent. 'Tis very likely theſe laſt ſtipulated ſome conditions, the particulars whereof are not known. It cannot however be doubted, that there were conditions, ſince, after the reſtoration of Charles II, they complained bitterly of breach of promiſe. This alſo appears in that, to vindicate Charles II, for not keeping his word with the Preſbyterians, 'tis pretended, it was not in his power to diſpenſe with the laws, and conſequently his promiſe was void. This was the ſcheme for reſtoring the King, which, as will hereafter be ſeen, was cloſely purſued. If, Monk on ſome occaſion, ſeemed to ſwerve from it, 'twas becauſe he believed diſſimulation abſolutely neceſſary, and that he could not diſcover his intention without danger of rendering the project abortive. It was to be done on a ſudden, and under other pretenſes, before the enemies to Royalty ſhould have time to oppoſe. Therefore he could not uſe more proper inſtruments than the Preſbyterians, who were little ſuſpected of deſiring the King's reſtoration. But the hiſtorians are unwilling to allow the Preſbyterians any ſhare in this unexpected event, tho' they are forced in ſome meaſure to follow, in their writings, the ſcheme I have explained. They are contented to inſinate, that this reſtoration was owing to the prayers of the people, as if the Preſbyterians had not been a conſiderable, and perhaps a major part of them. This ſcheme being ſuppoſed, all difficulties will vaniſh, and Monk's proceedings appear natural, as well as the conſequences. But if it be ſuppoſed, that Monk reſtored the Preſbyterian members, expelled from the parliament in 1648, without any previous agreement, it can never be conceived, that he ſhould think the re-eſtabliſhment of a Preſbyterian parliament neceſſary, in order to place the King on the throne, without any conditions.

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The Preſbyterians contribute to the King's reſtoration.

The firſt thing the commitee of ſafety, lately eſtabliſhed by the general council of officers did, was the ſending Clarges to Monk, to bring him to ſome agreement. They were not ignorant of the error commited by the officers, in uſurping the ſovereign power, without the approbation of a general at the head of twelve thouſand men, and would have gladly repaired it. But they could not chuſe a worſe meſſenger than Clarges, whoſe ſole aim was to ſerve the King, and who, probably, had ingaged monk in the ſame deſign.

The commitee of ſafety ſend Clarges to Monk, to propoſe an accommodation. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 546. Heath.

In the interim, Monk was preparing with all poſſible diligence for his expedition, tho' not without ſeveral obſtacles. 1. His army being diſperſed thro' all Scotland, required, at leaſt, ſix weeks to draw them together. 2. Ready money was to be provided for their ſupport, becauſe he expected no more from England. For this purpoſe, the taxes were to be anticipated, and even extraordinary ſupplies obtained of the Scots. 3. In his troops were ſome officers, on whoſe fidelity he had no dependence. 4. In ſhort, it was abſolutely neceſſary to his deſign, to have ſome towns on the frontiers of England, to facilitate his entrance, as he knew that Lambert was marching to oppoſe him. All theſe difficulties were happily ſurmounted, except the firſt, becauſe of the remoteneſs of his forces. As to the reſt, he began with caſhiering ſeveral of his ſuſpected officers, and ſubſtituting others in their room. He kept thoſe whom the parliament had diſplaced, and whoſe ſucceſſors were not yet come. He then ſummoned to Edinburgh the officers of the neareſt regiments, and imparting to them his deſign of marching into England, to reſtore the parliament, had the ſatisfaction of meeting with their concurrence. This done, he found means to ſecure Berwick, and arreſt colonel Cobbet who was there, and whoſe ſecret inſtructions were told him by Clarges. Cobbet was ſent to Edinburgh, and there impriſoned. Monk alſo attempted to ſurprize Newcaſtle, but was diſappointed. As to the money he wanted, he raiſed as much as was poſſible, and while his army was aſſembling, ſollicited the Scots for an extraordinary ſupply.

Monk prepares for his march. Skinner.

Whitelock. Ludlow. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 546. Phillips, p. 664.

Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 728. Skinner.

Clarges comes to him in Scotland. May 2. Phillips.

While Monk was making theſe preparations, Clarges his brother-in-law arrived in Scotland, with a propoſal for a treaty with the commitee of ſafety. It was reſolved between them to accept the propoſal, not with deſign to conclude the treaty,

R. Coke, Monk and he agree to amuſe the commitee by a negociation.

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treaty, but to gain time till Monk's army was ready (1). Agreeably to this reſolution, Monk, with the conſent of his officers, made choice of colonel Wilks, lieutenant-colonel Cloberry, and major Knight to go and treat in his name with the commitee, and ſent them away with ſuch inſtructions, as he thought would raiſe inſurmountable obſtacles to the concluſion of the treaty. Theſe three commiſſioners met Lambert at York, who told them, he was ſufficiently impowered to treat with them (2). But to their demand for the parliament's reſtoration, he anſwered, his power did not extend to that article, and therefore they were obliged to go on to London.

Commiſſioners ſent to London for that purpoſe. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 546. Phillips, p. 667. Whitelock, p. 688. Ludlow.

Theſe commiſſioners, ignorant of Monk's ſecret intentions, were no ſooner at London, than they made all poſſible haſte to conclude with the commitee of ſafety, and the rather, becauſe every thing was accepted which they propoſed. So, the treaty was concluded and ſigned the fifteenth of November, to the great diſſatisfaction of Monk, whoſe aim was to prolong the negociation, and then break off. It would be needleſs to inſert the treaty, by reaſon it was never executed. I ſhall only obſerve, that by the firſt article, a vigorous oppoſition to the King's reſtoration was agreed to by both parties. Monk, upon receiving the treaty, evaded the ratification, pretending, his commiſſioners had acted contrary their inſtructions, and thereby became ſtill more ſuſpected by the commitee of ſafety.

A treaty concluded contrary to Monk's intention, who refuſes to ratify it. Nov. 15. Phillips, p. 670, 672. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 549. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 752. Skinner.

The members of the late parliament were not idle, while Monk was preparing to march into England. They were ardently indeavoring to reeſtabliſh themſelves, and wreſt from the officers their uſurped authority, without the leaſt thought of reſtoring the King. They believed, or pretended to believe, that Monk had no other view than the reſtitution of the parliament, and, in this belief, conſidered Monk's friends as their own. This was true in general, tho' ſome of Monk's adherents in London, better informed than the reſt, knew what they were to believe. However, all the friends of the Rump united to ſupport Monk's deſigns, imagining, the reſtoring the parliament was his ſole intention. For that reaſon, the members who had formed the council of ſtate, before the interruption of the parliament, being privately aſſembled, ſent Monk a commiſſion, conſtituting him general of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The members of parliament buſy to reſtore themſelves. Whitelock.

Nov. 24. Phillips, p. 673.

On the other hand, the governor of Portſmouth *, Monk's particular friend, declared for the parliament, and received into his garriſon Haſlerig, Walton, and Morley, three members of the houſe, the moſt inſenſed againſt the army. The commitee of ſafety, upon the firſt notice of this defection, ſent a detachment of the army to block up Portſmouth, but the ſoldiers deſerted their officers, declared for the parliament, and were received into Portſmouth as friends. Another detachment ſent from the army on the ſame errand, did almoſt the ſame thing, ſo that the commitee knew not on whom to rely. At the ſame time, Lawſon, vice-admiral, declared for the parliament againſt the army, and entered the Thames with ſeveral of his ſhips, to awe the commitee's adherents. Lambert, who commanded a body of the army in the North, being informed of the ill ſituation of the commitee's affairs, detached a † regiment to the aſſiſtance of his friends in London, but that regiment at St. Albans, declared for the parliament.

The governor of Portſmouth declares for the parliament. Id. p. 674. R. Coke. Whitelock. * Col. Witham. The town is blocked up, and the ſoldiers deſert. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 550. Vice-admiral Lawſon declares for the parliament. Id. p. 551. Whitelock.

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And a regiment ſent from Lambert. † Deſborough's.

During theſe tranſactions, the commitee of ſafety ſeeing all this oppoſition, ſeemed diſcouraged. They took no meaſures for their own preſervation, and inſtead of aſſembling the army, ſuffered it to be diſperſed into quarters. It is likely, they feared to ſee the army together, ſince the ſoldiers of the two detaehments ſent to Portſmouth had deſerted. Mean while, Haſlerig, Walton, and Morley, finding themſelves ſufficiently ſtrengthened by the ſoldiers of the army, which had retired to Portſmouth, marched at the head of theſe troops towards London. Then it was that Fleetwood, and the reſt of the commitee of ſafety, were in the utmoſt perplexity. They durſt not truſt their own ſoldiers, and knew not what courſe to take. Whitelock, as appears in his Memorials, adviſed Fleetwood either to head the army, or agree with the King (3). He ſeemed to approve of this laſt courſe, but altering his mind, did neither. At laſt, his collegues and himſelf wanting capacity and reſolution to extricate themſelves out of ſuch an emergency, conſented to the meeting of the parliament, and voluntarily reſigned their uſurped authority. They had no ſooner given their conſent, but their whole party intirely abandoned them.

Commitee of ſafety conſents to reſtore the parliament. Phillips, p. 676. R. Coke. p. 691.

The Rump Parliament reſtored.

THUS on the twenty-ſixth of December, the parliament met peaceably, and named a commitee to govern the army in their name, and under their direction. Then they diſpatched expreſs orders to Lambert to diſperſe his forces, and ſend them into the quarters aſſigned by that ſame order. But Lambert's troops hearing the parliament was re-eſtabliſhed, had in ſome degree prevented this order, and put their general under arreſt, who was ſent priſoner to the Tower of London. At the ſame time ſir Henry Vane, and ſome other members of parliament, who had ſided with the army, were confined to their own houſes. Thus, by a revolution little expected, the firſt and moſt difficult part of Monk's undertaking, viz. the reſtitution of the parliament, was executed even before he left Scotland, and without having any other ſhare in it, than his intention to march into England (4).

The Rump reſtored, who meets the 26th of December.

Lambert put under an arreſt by his own troops. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 552. Vane put under an arreſt. Whitelock, p. 693.

Mean while, this revolution ſeemed intirely to deſtroy the hopes of the King, ſince a parliament ſo oppoſite to him was reſtored. His affairs were believed to be irrecoverably loſt. France and Spain began to think of making a firm and laſting alliance with the parliament, whereby his Majeſty would not have known where to retire for a ſubſiſtence. But tho' he himſelf feigned to be extremely afflicted, not to diſcover his ſecret, very probably, he was informed of Monk's intentions, and of the manner in which they were to be executed. For tho' the

The King's affairs believed to be deſperate. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 553.

A conjecture upon this ſubject. Ibid. p. 553.

(1) He all along deluded the Independents, by his ſolemn proteſtations, and public declarations of his firm reſolution to adhere to the parliament and their cauſe, againſt a King, ſingle perſon, or houſe of peers. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 747, &c.

(2) Monk's commiſſioners ſo far ſatisfied Lambert of the reality of Monk's intentions, that Lambert ſtoped his forces from marching northward. When notice of this came to Lambert, Whitelock was ordering Lambert to advance ſpeedily with all his forces, and attack Monk, before he ſhould be better provided; believing, as he ſays, that Monk only ſought delays. But his advice was not taken. Whitelock, p. 688.

(3) And thereby be beforehand with Monk; by which means he might make terms with the King for the preſervation of himſelf, his friends, and his cauſe; but if it were left to Monk, they, and all that had been done, would be in danger of deſtruction. Hereupon they two agreed, that Whitelock ſhould immediately go to the King; but Vane, Deſborough, and Berry, coming to Fleetwood in the mean time, made him alter his reſolution. Whitelock, p. 691.

(4) This year, on October 31, died John Bradſhaw, Preſident of the court that condemned King Charles I.

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earl of Clarendon affirms, the King had only a very faint hope of being ſerved by Monk, in order to provide for his own ſecurity, yet I cannot believe, that Monk, however reſerved he might be to others, concealed his deſigns from the King, ſince there was no danger in the diſcovery (1).

Whitelock, p. 682. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 549.

Be this as it will, Monk before he left Scotland, by circular letters, aſſembled at Edinburgh two commiſſioners from every ſhire, and one from each borough, and communicated to them his intention of marching into England; reſcuing the parliament from the force put on them by the army, and reſtoring them to their authority. Theſe commiſſioners, who made a ſort of convention of eſtates, tho' the union of the two kingdoms denied them the name, offered Monk to increaſe his army with twenty thouſand Scots, and granted him thirty thouſand pounds * to inable him to maintain them. He accepted the money, but refuſed the troops, believing he wanted them not. Some Scotiſh writers affirm, that in diſmiſſing this aſſembly, he recommended them, to take all poſſible care in preſerving the peace and tranquility of the kingdom, and deſired them to abjure the King, and Royal family. But Gumble, who was his chaplain, and wrote his life, poſitively denies it. Thus much is certain; it was abſolutely neceſſary for him carefully to conceal his intention to ſerve the King, and his fear of betraying this ſecret, made him, on ſome occaſions, carry his diſſimulation to exceſs. He was, however, extremely ſuſpected by thoſe, who would not hear of the King's reſtoration. Theſe men were very numerous, not to mention the army, which aſſuredly had no ſuch intention, tho' unknown to them, their march was only deſigned for that purpoſe.

Monk procures a ſupply of money from the Scots. R. Coke, p. 87. Heath.

* Above the aſſeſſment.

Armies in England. January 2. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 549. Phillips, p. 677.

On the ſecond of January 1659-60, Monk entered England with his army, and conſequently might now be informed of the Rump's re-eſtabliſhment. Some days after he received a letter from the ſpeaker, acquainting him with the late tranſactions, giving him thanks in the name of the parliament, for his kind intentions, and inſinuating, that if he thought it proper, he might not give himſelf the trouble of coming to London, ſince the parliament was in peaceable poſſeſſion of their authority: but this letter did not hinder his march.

Receives a letter from the parliament to ſtop his journey, but pays no regard to it. Ibid.

If it be conſidered, that the pretenſe he had hitherto alleged for his expedition into England, was the reſtitution of the parliament, and that he continued his march, tho' the parliament was reſtored, it will be eaſy to perceive, he had quite another motive than what was at firſt alleged. This pretenſe failing him, he was obliged to find another, and that was, to aſſiſt the parliament in reducing the army to obedience and ſubmiſſion. On his arrival at York, he found the lord Fairfax, formerly general to the parliament, at the head of ſome troops of that county, and in poſſeſſion of the city, in order to hinder the commitee of ſafety from being maſters thereof. The lord Fairfax received Monk into York without any difficulty, and they had many conferences together. Fairfax was a Preſbyterian, tho' Cromwell had made him ſubſervient to the Independents riſe. So, it would be hard to conceive what intereſt he could have in countenancing Monk's deſigns, if the Preſbyterian party had not ſecretly agreed to concur in the King's reſtoration.

Is received into York by the lord Fairfax. January 11. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 552. Phillips, p. 678. Burnet.

Whatever diſſimulation Monk had uſed, in pretending that he had no other view than to reſtore the Rump, the members of that parliament were too wiſe not to perceive, he had ſome other hidden deſign. But they heſitated between two opinions, in appearance equally probable, viz. that he intended either to advance himſelf in imitation of Cromwell, or to reſtore the King. For this reaſon, the Rump, a few days after their meeting, appointed a Council of State, conſiſting of twenty-eight members, of whom Monk was one, and ordered each counſellor to take the following oath:

The parliament ſuſpects him.

Forms a Council of State. Phillips, p. 678.

And impoſes an oath upon the members. Ibid. Whitelock, p. 683.

"I do hereby ſwear that I do renounce the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and the whole line of the late King James, and of every other perſon, as a ſingle perſon, pretending, or which ſhall pretend to the crown or government of theſe nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any of them, and the dominions and territories belonging to them, or any of them; and that I will, by the grace and aſſiſtance of Almighty God, be true, faithful and conſtant to the parliament and commonwealth, and will oppoſe the bringing in, or ſeting up any ſingle perſon or houſe of lords, and every of them in this commonwealth."

However, this precaution did not remove the parliament's fears with regard to Monk, who daily became more ſuſpected, notwithſtanding all his care to conceal his intentions. It was therefore reſolved to ſend two of their members to him, under pretenſe of doing him honor, but in reality, to obſerve his proceedings. Scot and Robinſon were named, who found him at Leiceſter the twenty-ſecond of January (2). In this (3) he received alſo commiſſioners from London, with an addreſs, to deſire the re-admiſſion of the ſecluded members in the year 1648. Scot one of the commiſſioners from the parliament, interrupted the London commiſſioner, who was reading the addreſs, and commanded him ſilence, looking upon this propoſal as tending directly to the deſtruction of the Republican parliament. Nevertheleſs, Monk received the addreſs. As he continued his march, he had many ſuch preſented him, ſo that it ſeemed the general ſenſe of the nation, that the Preſbyterians ſhould reſume the reins of government. Let us here reflect a little on this extraordinary change.

Sends two commiſſioners to be ſpies upon him. Phillips, p. 678. R. Coke. Skinner. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 812.

Monk receives an addreſs from London for the reſtitution of the ſecluded members. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 555. Phillips, p. 681.

Doubtleſs the ſecluded members in 1648 were Preſbyterians, who had, on all occaſions, ſhewn an extreme zeal againſt the King and church of England. If they had teſtified a deſire to reſtore the late King by the treaty of Newport, this was owing to conditions, which he looked upon as intolerable, and which neceſſity alone compelled him to grant. Nay, the parliament could not reſolve to allow ſome reſtrictions deſired by his Majeſty to their demands. If they voted that the King's conceſſions might ſerve for foundation to a peace, it was at a time when the army was in London, ready the next day to execute the violence which was acted. This party therefore cannot be conſidered as having been, at any time, favorable to Charles I. Since the ſixth of December 1648, they had been greatly ſubjected; the Royaliſts, Parliament, Protector, and army, having conſtantly been their enemies, ſo that they had no power: and yet, during Monk's march, this party not only revives, but even became ſuperior to all the reſt, and the whole nation ſeemed conſpiring

And others of the like nature. Whitelock. Reflections upon this occaſion.

(1) Monk placed no confidence in Hyde, and when he ſent the aſſurance of his ſervice to the King by ſir John Greenvil, it was with this proviſo, that Hyde ſhould not be let into the ſecret. So ſays Bevil Higgons, who had it from his own mother, ſiſter to ſir John Greenvil.

(2) All the way from Leiceſter to St. Albans, they lodged in the ſame houſe with him, and when they withdrew to their own apartment, they always found or made ſome hole in the door or the wall, to look or liſten. Skinner, p. 197.

(3) It was Harborough, January 23. See Skinner, p. 195, and Phillips, p. 681.

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to reſtore them the ſupreme authority, in demanding the re-admiſſion of the ſecluded members in 1648. What could be the motive of ſo great a number of addreſſes on this account, preſented to Monk in his march? And why did Monk receive them ſo favorably? Certainly, when he left Scotland, his intention, however concealed, was to labor the King's reſtoration (1). But if the Preſbyterians had not ingaged to favor this reſtoration, the raiſing their party, and puting them in poſſeſſion of the government, would have been a very unlikely means for its accompliſhment. All that Monk could thereby gain, was, the King's reſtoration, on the ſame terms which his father had granted in the treaty of Newport, which was, doubtleſs, very far from his intention. Let us therefore conclude, that all theſe addreſſes were an effect, or conſequence of a ſecret agreement between the Royaliſts and Preſbyterians, whereby theſe laſt had conſented to his Majeſty's reſtoration, on conditions relating to their religion alone, without inſiſting, as they had before conſtantly done, on any terms relating to government. Without this ſuppoſition, the ſteps, afterwards taken for the King's reſtoration, can never be conceived, and, with it, all the proceedings are natural.

Burnet, p. 85.

Monk's diſſimulation.

This agreement was a ſecret carefully to be concealed, leſt its diſcovery ſhould produce an accommodation between the parliament and the army, in which caſe Monk, who had but five thouſand men, would have been little able to ſucceed in his deſigns. Wherefore, tho' he received all the addreſſes, he was very careful not to expreſs the leaſt ſigns of approbation, but contented himſelf with a general anſwer, ſaying, they ſhould be laid before the parliament (2).

The reaſon of it. Skinner. Phillips. p. 679.

Monk, as aforeſaid, had but five thouſand men (3). With this army it was impoſſible to withſtand the other, which was three times as numerous, and of which ſeveral regiments were now in London. If the parliament and army could have united together, they would, doubtleſs, have rendered all Monk's projects impracticable. But the parliament was ſtill more jealous of their own army than of Monk. They only ſuſpected that general of having ſecret deſigns, without knowing directly wherein they conſiſted. But it could not be doubted, that the general-officers of the army would become maſters, if their aſſiſtance was neceſſary. Therefore it was Monk's intereſt to foment this diſ-union, and how could he more ſucceſsfully do it, than by profeſſing an intire devotion to the parliament. He thereby removed from the parliament all thoughts of an union with the army, which appeared unneceſſary, while Monk's fidelity could be relied on. This was the true reaſon of Monk's extreme diſſimultation, and of his pretending, on all occaſions, that his march to London was only to ſerve and obey the parliament.

Demands that the forces in London withdraw to make room for him. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 555. Phillips. p. 680. R. Coke. Skinner.

When he came to St. Albans, within twenty miles of London, he wrote to the parliament, deſiring that the regiments in the city might be ſent to more diſtant quarters, it not being convenient, that troops which had ſo lately been in rebellion, ſhould mix with thoſe which were intirely devoted to the parliament, and come to offer their ſervice. With this letter he ſent the manner in which his ſoldiers might be lodged in London, and the quarters that might be aſſigned to the regiments which were to be removed. Tho' this demand was ſuſpected by many members to have in it ſome myſtery, it was however granted by a majority of voices, and the regiments in the city were ordered to withdraw. This ſhews, either that Fleetwood and Deſborough were no great politicians, if they did not ſee Monk's demand tended to make himſelf maſter of the city and parliament, or that they believed they had not a ſufficient influence over their inferior officers, to venture oppoſing it. It ſeems, they could reſolve nothing without Lambert, who was now priſoner in the Tower.

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His demand granted.

Monk enters London. Feb. 3. Phillips, p. 682. Skinner. Ludlow.

Refuſes the abjuration oath. Ibid.

However this be, Monk artfully improving the diviſion between the parliament and army, entered London, in triumph, the third of February 1659-60. After he had given orders for quartering his troops, he repaired to the council of ſtate, who immediately tendered him the abjuration-oath, to the taking of which all members were obliged. But he begged time to reſolve, ſaying, he had been informed ſtrong objections had been made to this oath, even in the parliament itſelf. Upon this refuſal he was denied admitance into the council, till he had taken the oath, and was obliged to withdraw.

Complimented by the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 556. Phillips, p. 682. Ludlow. Skinner. Whitelock.

The ſixth of February he went to the parliament, where by the mouth of the ſpeaker, he received the compliments and thanks of the houſe; to which he returned the ſubſequent anſwer:

Mr. Speaker,

"AMong the many mercies of God to theſe poor nations, your peaceable reſtitution is not the leaſt. It is (as you ſaid) his work alone, and to him belongs the glory of it; and I eſteem it as a great effect of his goodneſs to me, that he was pleaſed to make me, among many worthier in your ſervice, ſome way inſtrumental in it. I did nothing but my duty, and deſerve not to receive ſo great an honor and reſpect as you are pleaſed to give me at this time and place, which I ſhall ever acknowlege as a high mark of your favor to me.

"Sir, I ſhall not now trouble you with large narratives, only give me leave to acquaint you, that as I marched from Scotland hither, I obſerved the people in moſt counties in great and earneſt expectations of a ſetlement, and ſeveral applications were made to me, with numerous ſubſcriptions to them. The chiefeſt heads of their deſires were for a free and a full parliament, and that you would determine your ſiting; a goſpel-miniſtry; incouragement of learning and univerſities; and for admitance of the members ſecluded before the year 1648, without any previous oath or ingagement. To which I commonly anſwered, that you are now in a free parliament; and if there be any force remaining upon you, I would indeavor to remove it; and that you had voted to fill up your houſe, and then you would be a full parliament alſo; and that you had already determined your ſiting: and for the miniſtry, their maintenance, the laws, and univerſities, you had largely declared concerning them in your laſt declaration; and I was confident you would adhere to it: but as for

(1) Biſhop Burnet more reaſonably ſuppoſes, That Monk had no ſetled deſign any way, but reſolved to do as occaſion ſhould be offered to him. p. 84.

(2) He kept himſelf under ſuch a reſerve, that he declared all the while in the moſt ſolemn manner for a commonwealth, and againſt a ſingle perſon, in particular againſt the King. See Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 811. The ſame day he entered London, Ludlow viſiting him, he told Ludlow, "That he was fully reſolved to promote the intereſt of a commonwealth." Adding, "We muſt live and die for and by a commonwealth." Idem. p. 820.

(3) Dr. Skinner ſays, his army, upon a review at Highgate, amounted to five thouſand eight hundred men. (p. 221.) Namely, four thouſand foot, and eighteen hundred horſe. The parliament's forces in London conſiſted of two thouſand horſe, and eight thouſand foot. Phillips, p. 679.

"thoſe

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" thoſe gentlemen ſecluded in the year 1648, I " told them you had given judgment in it, and all " people ought to acquieſce in that judgment; but " to admit any members to ſit in parliament " without a previous oath or ingagement, to pre- " ſerve the government in being, it was never done " in England.

" But altho' I ſaid it not to them, I muſt ſay, " with pardon, to you, that the leſs oaths and in- " gagements are impoſed (with reſpect had to the " ſecurity of the common cauſe) your ſetlement " will be the ſooner attained to. I am the more " particular in theſe matters to let you ſee how " grateful your preſent conſultations about theſe " things will be to the people. I know all the " ſober gentry will cloſe with you, if they may " be tenderly and gently uſed; and I am ſure you " will ſo uſe them, as knowing it to be the com- " mon concern, to amplify, and not to leſſen our " intereſt, and to be careful that neither the Ca- " valier, nor Fanatic party have yet a ſhare in " your civil or military power; of the laſt of whoſe " impatience to government, you have lately had " ſo ſevere experience. I ſhall ſay ſomething of " Ireland and Scotland; indeed Ireland is in an un- " ſetled condition, and made worſe by your inter- " ruptions, which prevented the paſſing an act for " the ſetlement of the eſtates of adventurers and " ſoldiers there, which I heard you intended to " have done in a few days; and I preſume, it will " be now quickly done, being ſo neceſſary at this " time, when the wants of the commonwealth " call for ſupplies; and people will unwillingly pay " taxes for thoſe eſtates, of which they have no " legal aſſurance: I need not tell you how much " you were abuſed in the nomination of your officers " of your armies there; their malice that deceived " you, hath been ſufficiently manifeſted: I do " affirm, that thoſe now who have declared for you " will continue faithful, and thereby evince, that " as well there as here, it is the ſober intereſt muſt " eſtabliſh your dominion. As for Scotland, I muſt " ſay, the people of that nation deſerve to be " cheriſhed; and I believe your late declaration " will much glad their ſpirits; for nothing was to " them more dreadful, than a fear to be over-run " with Fanatic notions. I humbly recommend " them to your affection and eſteem; and deſire " the intended union may be proſecuted, and their " taxes made proportionable to thoſe in England, " for which I am ingaged by promiſe to become a " ſuitor to you. And truly, ſir, I muſt aſk leave " to intreat you to make a ſpeedy proviſion for " the civil government there, of which they have " been deſtitute near a year, to the ruin of many " families: and except commiſſioners for managing " of the government, and judges to ſit in courts " of judicature, be ſpeedily appointed, that coun- " try will be very miſerable.

" I directed mr. Gumble lately to preſent ſome " names to you, both for commiſſioners and judges, " but by reaſon of your great affairs, he was not " required to deliver them in writing: but I hum- " bly preſent them to your conſideration."

Skinner. Phillips, p. 684.

This ſpeech was not agreeable to all; ſome members complained, Monk ſpoke too poſitively, and aſſumed too great an authority: that he affected a popularity, which juſtly gave room for ſuſpicion: that he ingaged for the fidelity of the Iriſh officers, which, however, was to be doubted: In ſhort, that in ſaying, the Cavaliers were not yet to have a ſhare in the government, he gave that party hopes of being one day admited.

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The city of London refuſe the payment of taxes. Phillips, p. 684. Skinner. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 824.

The parliament, two days after, had occaſion to try Monk's fidelity, and be aſſured, whether he was ſo devoted to their intereſt as he would have it appear. The common-council of the city of London, aſſembling the ſeventh of February, reſolved to pay no more taxes till the parliament was filled (1). They knew Monk's deſign was to reſtore the ſecluded members in 1648, and, doubtleſs, thought by this reſolution to advance the affair. They had nothing to fear from Monk, and knew the parliament would not recall the regiments which were removed from London, to force the city to obedience.

Monk ordered by the parliament to chaſtiſe the city for its inſolenſe. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 557. Phillips. p. 648. R. Coke. Whitelock.

Upon advice of this reſolution, the parliament ordered Monk to lead his army into the city, ſeize eleven members of the common-council, and pull down the chains, gates, and portcullices. Monk inſtantly obeyed the order (2). He aſſembled his forces, entered the city, and arreſted the eleven members of the common-council. Then he wrote to the parliament an account of his proceedings, praying them withal to moderate their rigor, with reſpect to the gates and portcullices. But the parliament, whether thro' animoſity againſt the city, or a farther trial of Monk's fidelity, and perhaps to ingage him in an irreconcileable quarrel with the city, inſiſted on a punctual compliance with their order, and were immediately obeyed. After this, he returned with his troops to Whitehall, which diſpleaſed the parliament, believing Monk ought not to have quited the city without their order.

Barebone preſents a petition that the abjuration oath might be univerſally taken. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 558. Phillips, p. 685. R. Coke.

The ſame, or the following day, Praiſe-God Barebone, formerly mentioned on occaſion of Oliver Cromwell's firſt parliament, preſented a petition to the houſe, ſubſcribed by many perſons, deſiring the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart might be taken by all perſons without exception, and he received the thanks of the houſe.

Monk by the remonſtrances of his friends comes to know his error in imbroiling himſelf with the city.

Monk's late proceedings aſtoniſhed both his friends and the city of London. The magiſtrates, inraged at this treatment, looked upon him as a perfidious man, who had only amuſed them with hopes of ſupporting the re-admiſſion of the ſecluded members, in order to know their ſentiments, and as one abſolutely devoted to the parliament. On the other hand, his friends repreſented to him, that he was guilty of an irreparable error, in quarreling with the Londoners, who were alone able to ſupport him againſt a parliament, bent upon his ruin, whatever they might pretend. That this commiſſion was a ſnare, which had loſt him the confidence of the city, and expoſed him to the parliament's deſigns; beſide, without the aſſiſtance of London, he could never, with his ſmall army, be able to execute what he had projected (3).

Reſolves to repair it. Phillips, p. 685, 686. Skinner.

Monk, convinced by theſe reaſons, that he had carried his diſſimulation too far, thought only of repairing his error, by an open rupture with the parliament, in order to regain the eſteem of the city. He therefore ſent Clarges his confident, without loſs

(1) It was an aſſeſſment of one hundred thouſand pounds a month, lately impoſed. Heath, p 436. Whitelock ſays, The council of ſtate found the city of London generally inclined to bringing in of the King; or to have forthwith a free parliament for that end. p. 695.

(2) " He offered himſelf, if they would command theſe things to be done, to ſee their orders put in execution." Ludlow. Vol. II. p. 824.

(3) In Skinner's life of Monk, 'tis ſaid, That the orders to march the army into the city, were not directed to Monk alone, but alſo to the other commiſſioners, whereof Haſlerig, Walton, and Morley, were upon the place, and, ever ſince his arrival at London, had acted jointly with him; ſo that had the general refuſed his orders, the others might have done the buſineſs without him, and conſequently put it to the hazard of removing him from the command of his army. But as he did not let his friends know this reaſon, the action was variouſly cenſured. p. 237.

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of time, to ſir Thomas Alleyne lord-mayor, to tell him, he was very ſorry for what he had done, and deſired a conference with him and the common-council, to make reparation for his fault. But Clarges could obtain nothing from the lord-mayor, who was perſuaded that Monk was deceitful and treacherous, and fought only to deceive him. Notwithſtanding all this, Monk aſſembled his forces, with a reſolution to march once more into the city, and be reconciled to the magiſtrates, whatever might be the conſequence. At his departure, he ſent a letter to the parliament, writ with the approbation of his principal officers, complaining, "That "they gave too much countenance to Lambert, "Vane, and ſeveral who ingaged with the late "commitee of ſafety; and that they had permited "Ludlow and ſome others to ſit in their houſe, "who had been, by ſir Charles Coot, and ſome "of the Iriſh officers, accuſed of high-treaſon; "and had countenanced too much a late petition "to exclude the moſt ſober and conſcientious, "both miniſters and others, by oaths, from all "imployment and maintenance; and in fine, pe-"remptorily demanded, that by Friday next, they "would iſſue out writs to fill up their houſe; and "when filled, ſhould riſe at an appointed time, to "give place to a full and free parliament."

Brings back his forces into the city. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 559.

Writes a letter to the parliament, filled with complaints and reproaches. Febr. 11. Phillips, p. 686. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 826.

The parliament eaſily perceived by this letter, Monk ſought an occaſion of quarrel, which, as it was difficult to avoid, it was judged the wiſeſt courſe to vote Monk the thanks of the houſe, for his care, and that his deſires ſhould be ſatisfied without delay. At the ſame time, Scot and Robinſon were diſpatched to him with this reſolution. But, Monk was now marched into the city, and had, tho' with great difficulty, prevailed with the mayor to aſſemble the common-council that afternoon. Mean while the two commiſſioners of the parliament, having waited on Monk with the meſſage, returned with little ſatisfaction. He only told them, "All "would be well, if his letter was complied with." Upon this anſwer, the parliament voted, that the command of the army ſhould be lodged in five commiſſioners (1), of whom Monk himſelf was to be one, and that the Quorum of them ſhould be three; but when it was moved, that Monk ſhould always be one of the three, it was carried in the negative.

Marches into the city. R. Coke.

The parliament ſends deputies to ſatisfy him. Whitelock. Phillips, p. 686. But without ſucceſs.

Paſſes an inſignificant vote. p. 687. Ludlow.

In the interim, Monk repairing to the common-council, made a ſpeech, in which he teſtified his concern for having accepted a commiſſion, ſo diſagreeable to the city in its execution. That he was forced to accept it, or reſign his command, which he thought proper to keep at that juncture, for the good of the city, and of the whole nation, whoſe happineſs and advantages he ſhould to the utmoſt of his power always promote. To give an unqueſtionable proof of his ſincerity, he communicated to the council his letter to the parliament, and anſwer to the two commiſſioners. As theſe laſt proofs were convincing, the council was appeaſed, and Monk looked upon as a friend come to their relief, notwithſtanding the tranſactions of the foregoing day. When the news of this reconciliation was diſperſed thro' the city, it was followed with ringing of bells and bone-fires in every ſtreet, at which numberleſs rumps were roaſted in contempt of the parliament (2). The Council of State, ſome days after, ſent to deſire Monk to come and aſſiſt them with his counſels, in regulating the national affairs: but he did not think fit to expoſe himſelf to this danger. He anſwered, that the inhabitants of London were ſo diſſatisfied, that his preſenſe was abſolutely neceſſary in the city, to keep them in awe. On the other hand, the lord-mayor and aldermen conjured him to ſtay in the city, acquainting him, that the parliament was ſecretly indeavoring to corrupt his army, and that ſir Arthur Haſlerig had written to ſeveral perſons in London to that end; ſo Monk took care to avoid this ſnare.

Monk reconciles himſelf with the city magiſtrates. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 559. Phillips, p. 687. Burnet. Skinner.

Great rejoicings in the city. Phillips. Ibid. R. Coke. Burnet.

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Monk being required by the council of ſtate to aſſiſt in their deliberations, refuſes. Phillips, p. 677.

Since Monk's union with the city, addreſſes for the re-admiſſion of the ſecluded members were more frequent than ever. Very likely, emiſſaries were diſperſed in ſeveral quarters, to incite the people to offer theſe petitions, which were always favorably received by Monk, it being neceſſary for him to ſupport his deſigns by the general inclination of the people. He knew what uſe was to be made of a Preſbyterian parliament, tho' many who ſigned the petitions imagined, that Preſbyterianiſm was going to have the aſcendancy.

Monk receives great numbers of petitions for the re-eſtabliſhment of the excluded members. Phillips, p. 687. Whitelock.

At laſt, on the eighteenth of February, Monk ſo managed that ſome of the ſiting members had a conference with ſome of the ſecluded, concerning their re-admiſſion. He wiſhed this might be done by common conſent. But the conference proved fruitleſs, becauſe the ſiting members could not, or would not, undertake for the parliament's accepting the conditions which might be agreed on. They were for leaving that to the determination of the parliament, who, doubtleſs, would have found means to prolong the affair. But Monk found himſelf indiſpenſably obliged to bring it to a ſpeedy concluſion, leſt a delay might produce an agreement between the army and parliament. This union was ſo natural, in the extremity to which the parliament affairs were reduced, that it is aſtoniſhing no indeavors were uſed to procure it. At leaſt, hiſtory is ſilent upon this head. So Monk, deſirous to improve ſo favorable an opportunity, reſolved to introduce the ſecluded members into the houſe, in ſpite of thoſe who were then ſiting. But as this could not be done without the army's aſſiſtance, he aſſembled his officers, to acquaint them with his intentions. All conſented, on certain conditions relating to their own intereſts, and which were poſitively promiſed. Then Monk made the ſecluded members ingage, that after their re-admiſſion, they would diſſolve the preſent parliament, and call a free one (3).

A conference between the members of the preſent parliament, and the ſecluded ones, comes to nothing. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 560. Phillips, p. 687.

Monk's reaſons to preſs the concluſion of the conference. He reſolves to reſtore by force the ſecluded members. Phillips, p. 688. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 563.

Theſe reſolutions being taken, Monk repaired to Whitehall the twenty-firſt of February, accompanied by all the ſecluded members, and after an exhortation to take care of the intereſts of the nation, gave them a guard to conduct them to the parliament, where they took their ſeats, without any previous notice to the ſiting members. They were ſo ſuperior in number to the Independents, that the heads of that party, after a ſhort demur among themſelves, thought fit to withdraw, and abandon their cauſe.

The ſecluded members reſume their places. Feb. 21. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 455. Phillips. R. Coke.

The Independent chiefs withdraw. Phillips, p. 689.

Monk the ſame day, wrote a circular letter to all the regiments, to inform them of the change in the parliament; to aſſure them of the reſtored mem-

Circular letters ſent by Monk and his officers to all the regiments. Id. p. 688.

(1) They were ſir Arthur Haſlerig, colonel Morley, Walton, Alured and Monk. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 830, 831.

(2) This Saturday night, Febr. eleven, was called the "Roaſting of the Rump." Skinner, p. 230.

(3) Monk made the ſecluded members, before their admiſſion, ſubſcribe theſe four articles: 1. To ſetle the conduct of the armies in the three nations ſo as might beſt ſecure the peace of the commonwealth. 2. To provide for the ſupport of the forces by ſea and land, and money alſo for their arrears, and the contingencies of the government. 3. To conſtitute a council of ſtate for the civil government of Scotland and Ireland, and to iſſue out writs for the ſummoning a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter the tweuty-fifth of April. 4. To conſent to their own diſſolution, by a time that ſhould be limited to them. Ibid. p. 241.

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bers zeal for the intereſts of the army, and to deſire their oppoſition to all attempts in favor of Charles Stuart. This laſt clauſe was thought neceſſary to keep the army in temper, which was yet far from deſiring the King's reſtoration. This letter was ſigned by Monk himſelf, and his principal officers, and ſent the ſame day to the colonels of the ſeveral regiments.

Acts made by the parliament during the remainder of its ſeſſion. Phillips, p. 690, &c.

This parliament continued their ſeſſion but twenty-five days, during which they did ſeveral things, plainly ſhewing they were far from being enemies to his Majeſty. Some of their proceedings ſhall here be laid together, that I may not be obliged to break the thread of the narration. 1. They annulled all votes and orders made by the parliament ſince the ſixth of December 1648, againſt the ſecluded members. 2. They releaſed all the impriſoned friends of the King, and among the reſt ſir George Booth (1). 3. They conſtituted Monk, by act of parliament, captain general of the armies of the three nations. 4. They repealed the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart, and all the Royal Family. 5. They appointed a new Council of State conſiſting of one and thirty members, moſt of them Royaliſts, and well-diſpoſed to ſerve the King (2). 6. They made great alterations in the militia of London, and the ſeveral counties, and revoked all commiſſions granted by the Republicans. 7. They abrogated the ingagement "to be "true and faithful to the commonwealth without a "King, or houſe of peers," by which the lords, who were generally the King's adherents were reſtored to their right of conſtituting a ſeparate houſe in parliament. Laſtly, they diſſolved themſelves the ſixteenth of March, after having iſſued writs for a free parliament to meet the twenty-fifth of April, who were to reſtore the King, which was no longer doubted (3). However, as ſuch a change could not pleaſe every one, after ſo long an interruption of Kingly power, the parliament, before their ſeparation, thought it ſtill neceſſary to amuſe the public, or at leaſt to leave room to doubt whether the King's reſtoration was intended. Wherefore it was voted, firſt, that no perſon ſhould be admited to any military imploy, before he had ſworn to acknowlege the lawfulneſs of taking arms againſt the late King (4). Secondly, that no perſon who had appeared in arms againſt the parliament, ſhould on this new choice be elected. In all appearance, theſe reſolutions were only taken to prevent diſturbances from the male-contents, in the interval between the two parliaments. It is at leaſt certain, that the laſt was neglected in the new elections of Repreſentatives, among whom were numbers of Royaliſts. As the non-obſervance of

The parliament ſummon another, and diſſolves itſelf. March 16. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 563. Phillips, p. 694.

Votes of the parliament before its ſeparation to amuſe the public. Ibid.

it was to be queſtioned by the next parliament only, ſo till they ſhould meet there could be no inquiry.

But theſe deceitful votes were not capable of impoſing on the Republicans, who ſaw but too plainly, that the King's reſtoration was reſolved. To prevent this blow which muſt cruſh them intirely, they indeavored to perſuade Monk to take upon himſelf the government, and ſupply the place of Oliver Cromwell (5), chuſing rather to acknowledge him for governor or even ſovereign, than be expoſed to the King's vengeance. Monk having conſtantly rejected this offer, they applied to Clarges to deſire him to perſuade the general to accept the government. But Clarges diſcovered their propoſal to the Council of State, who, if Monk had not interceeded, would have puniſhed them ſeverely.

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The Republicans indeavor to prevail with Monk to take the government upon himſelf. Phillips, p. 693. Warwick. But without ſucceſs. Phillips, p. 693.

This project failing, they privately excited a good number of officers of their own principles to draw up a declaration, by which they ingaged to ſupport the Republican government. This declaration was brought to the general to ſign, pretending it ſhould afterwards be ſubſcribed by the whole army. But Monk excuſed himſelf, alleging this precaution was needleſs after the vote, That no adherent of the King ſhould be elected to ſerve in the inſuing parliament. But of this evaſion they made no account, knowing, that it belonged to the houſe of commons to judge of the qualifications of their members. In ſhort, as they continued to importune him, he with an air of authority, forbad them to aſſemble without his miſſion.

An ingagement of ſome officers preſented to Monk to oblige him to abjure the King. He rejects it: Phillips, p. 694.

Forbids the officers to aſſemble without leave from him.

Cardinal Mazarine being ſpeedily informed of the Engliſh tranſactions, it was not difficult for him to perceive, that Monk had ſome great deſign in view: but as he could not judge whether that general was laboring for himſelf or the King, he ordered Monſieur de Bourdeaux, the French embaſſador at London, to offer his friendſhip to Monk, and every thing in his power, whatever were his deſigns. Probably, the cardinal, who had always treated the King with neglect, was but little, if at all, deſirous of his reſtoration, and would have been glad, Monk had been ploting for himſelf (6). But in caſe Monk intended to reſtore his Majeſty, the cardinal was willing to have ſome ſhare in it, in order to make amends for his harſh uſage of the King, on ſundry occaſions. The embaſſador applying to Clarges, intimated to him, that the cardinal was ready to ſerve the general in all his undertakings, and deſired a conference with him. But tho' Monk would not abſolutely refuſe the embaſſador a viſit, he ordered Clarges to tell him, it was on condition, he ſhould

Mazarine iendavors to intereſt himſelf in the Engliſh affairs, but without ſucceſs. Id. p. 695. Warwick.

(1) The earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, and the lord Sinclare, were alſo releaſed.

(2) To let the reader ſee who were then the leading men, it may not be amiſs to inſert the names of this council, which Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, conſiſted but of twenty-one members. General Monk, William Pierpoint, John Crew, colonel Roſſiter, Richard Knightly, colonel Popham, colonel Morley, lord Fairfax, ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, ſir Gilbert Gerrard; lord-chief-juſtice St. John, ſir John Temple, lord-commiſſioner Widdrington, ſir John Evelyn, ſir William Waller, ſir Richard Onſlow, ſir William Lewis, colonel Edward Montague, colonel Edward Harley, colonel Richard Norton, Arthur Anneſley; Denzil Holles, colonel George Thomſon, John Trevor, ſir John Holland, ſir John Potts, colonel John Birch, ſir Harbottle Grimſtone, John Swinfin, John Weaver, Serjeant Maynard. Phillips, p. 690.

(3) They alſo raiſed an aſſeſſment of one hundred thouſand pounds a month, for the payment of the army, and defraying the public expenſes for ſix months, Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 563.

(4) In the act of the militia of London was a clauſe, that every commiſſioner ſhall acknowledge and declare, "That the "war undertaken by both houſes of parliament in their defenſe againſt the forces raiſed in the name of the late King, was "juſt and lawful, and that magiſtracy and miniſtry are the ordinances of God." Whitelock, p. 699.

(5) Among the reſt (ſays Skinner) ſir Arthur Haſlerig, to preclude the King's reſtoration, offered him one hundred thouſand hands that ſhould ſubſcribe his title, p. 276.

(6) Mr. Locke ſays, That Monk had agreed with the French embaſſador to take the government on himſelf, by whom he had promiſe from Mazarine of aſſiſtance from France, to ſupport him in this undertaking. This bargain was ſtruck between them late at night, but not ſo ſecretly, but that Monk's wife, who had poſted herſelf behind the hangings, where ſhe could hear all that paſſed, finding what was reſolved, ſent immediately notice of it by her brother Clarges to ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper. She was zealous for the reſtoration of the King, and promiſed ſir Anthony, to watch her huſband, and inform him from time to time how matters went. Upon this notice ſir Anthony ſummoned the Council of State, and before them, indirectly charging Monk with what he had learned, propoſed, That to remove all ſcruples, Monk would at that inſtant take away their commiſſions from ſuch and ſuch officers in his army, and give them to thoſe whom he named. By this means the army ceaſed to be at Monk's devotion, and was put into hands that would not ſerve him in the deſign he had undertaken. "Memoirs "of the earl of Shaftſbury."

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not propoſe any thing to him in reference to the Engliſh affairs. So, the viſit paſſed in general compliments.

Sir John Greenvil diſpatched to Monk from the King. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 574. Phillips, p. 695. Monk anſwered his meſſage. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 574. Phillips. Skinner.

The day after the parliament's diſſolution, ſir John Greenvil, ſent by the King to general Monk, was introduced to him in the night. He informed him, the King expected great ſervices from him, and that he would finiſh a work ſo happily begun, and even very far advanced. Monk anſwered, he was always diſpoſed to ſerve his Majeſty to the utmoſt of his power: but the troops of the two armies were yet ſo averſe to his reſtoration, that the deſign could not be kept too ſecret, becauſe a diſcoverv would give occaſion to the Republicans to overturn it. Diſſimulation therefore was yet neceſſary, till the parliament which was to meet ſhould complete the work; and, in the mean time, it ſhould be his care to model the army to the King's advantage, by the removal of the moſt ſuſpected officers. He added, the better to execute the projected deſign, it was abſolutely neceſſary for the King to prepare a declaration capable of diſpelling the fears of thoſe who were moſt guilty, and promiſe a free and general pardon to all his ſubjects, except ſuch as ſhould be exempted by parliament; and that he would conſent to any act which ſhould be preſented to him for the payment of the arrears due to the army, and for the ſetlement of public ſales and diſpoſitions of lands to officers, ſoldiers and others; as alſo for toleration or liberty of conſcience; and that no perſon ſhould be moleſted on account of his religion, who did not diſturb the public peace. Laſtly, his advice was, that the King ſhould remove in time to ſome town of the United Provinces, to prevent his being arreſted by the Spaniards, which might ruin the whole deſign, ſhould they have any ſuch intention.

Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 578.

The King punctually followed theſe inſtructions, as will be preſently ſeen, and removed from Bruſſels to Breda, not without danger of being ſtopped at Bruſſels, according to the lord Clarendon.

Monk caſhiers ſeveral officers, and ſubſtitutes others more faithful in their places. Phillips, p. 697. Burnet. April 9.

Mean while, Monk made good uſe of the time which preceded the meeting of the parliament. He diſplaced, on diverſe pretenſes, ſuch officers as were moſt ſuſpected by him, and filled their poſts with others in whom he could intirely confide. Moreover, ſome officers, by his direction, framed an ingagement, in form of an addreſs to the general, by which they promiſed a ready obedience to the orders of the parliament, when aſſembled. Monk approved this ingagement which was preſented to him, and ordered it to be ſubſcribed by all the regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland. This gave him a pretenſe to remove ſuch as refuſed to ſign it.

An' 1660. Lambert eſcapes out of the Tower, puts himſelf at the head of ſome troops. April 9. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 567, &c. Phillips, p. 698. R. Coke. Whitelock. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 873.

While the hopes of the King and his party were daily increaſing, an accident happened, which might have been attended with ill conſequences, had it not been ſpeedily remedied. This was Lambert's eſcape out of the Tower, and his puting himſelf at the head of ſome troops (1). As he was greatly eſteemed by the ſoldiers, it was to be feared all the Republicans, who were very numerous in the army, would declare for him. Wherefore Monk loſt not a moment to prevent this danger before the miſchief ſpread too far. Lambert having aſſembled ſome diſcontented troops at Daventry, Ingoldſby was immediately ſent againſt him, with Monk's own regiment, and ordered to take ſome other troops in his way, and give him battle. This extreme diligence did the buſineſs effectually. As Lambert had not yet time to aſſemble many troops, Ingoldſby met him the twenty-ſecond of April, thirteen days after his eſcape, defeated, and ſent him to the Tower. Thus the panic which Lambert's eſcape had difuſed into the King's party was intirely diſpelled.

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Is defeated and made priſoner by Ingoldſby.

A forged letter diſperſed to prevent the the King's reſtoration. Phillips, p. 699.

The Republicans, two days before the parliament met, made another attempt to prevent the King's reſtoration, by diſperſing a forged letter from Bruſſels, in which it was ſaid, that the King only waited his reſtoration, to take full vengeance on all his oppoſers. It was alſo added, that his party was preparing to put them all to the ſword. This forged letter begining to do miſchief, the lords, and others of the King's party, publiſhed a declaration, ſigned by ſeventy perſons, in which they diſavowed the intentions aſcribed to them, and proteſted, that their deſire was to live peaceably, without any thoughts of revenge on the authors of their ſufferings.

Declaration of the King's party. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 578. Phillips, p. 700.

The twenty-fifth of April the new parliament met, in two houſes, the one of lords, the other of commons, agreeably to the ancient conſtitution (2). In the houſe of lords moſt were the King's friends. In that of the commons, it was found, that many Royaliſts were elected, notwithſtanding the above-mentioned vote. Some Preſbyterians, who were not in the ſecret, had a mind to complain, and moved for an examination of the election, but were not heard. Moſt of the Preſbyterian members were no leſs zealous than the Royaliſts for the King's reſtoration, which every one wiſhed, not ſo much, perhaps, out of affection to him, as to deliver the kingdom from the dominion of the Independents and Fanatics, and from the tyranny of the army, which they had ſuffered twelve years.

The parliament meets. April 25. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 589. Phillips, p. 701. Whitelock. Warwick.

The King ſends a commiſſion to Monk to make him general. Phillips, p. 701. Skinner.

Two days after the opening of the parliament, Greenvil, returning from Bruſſels, waited on Monk, with a commiſſion from the King, conſtituting him captain-general of all the forces of the three kingdoms, and alſo with a letter from his Majeſty to be communicated to the council of ſtate, and the officers of the army. But Monk declined opening the letter, till he had received the parliament's directions. Mean while, the commons having adjourned themſelves for two or three days, Greenvil applied himſelf to the lords, and preſented to them a letter from the King, with a declaration dated the fourteenth of April.

Greenvil preſents a letter, and a declaration to the lords from the King. The ſubſtance of it. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 591. Whitelock.

The King told the lords in the letter, that hearing, they were again acknowleged to have that authority, belonging to them by birth, he hoped they would make uſe of it for the public good; for compoſing the diſtractions of the kingdom, and for reſtoring him to his juſt prerogatives; the parliament to their privileges, and the people to their liberties. As for the declaration, it will be neceſſary to inſert it at large.

Charles Rex.

The King's declaration. Phillips, p. 702. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 582.

"CHARLES by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, greeting. If the general diſtraction and confuſion which is ſpread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a deſire and longing, that thoſe wounds which have ſo many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can ſay will be to no purpoſe: however, after this long ſilence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we deſire to contribute

(1) Seven or eight troops of horſe, and one company of foot. Phillips, p. 698. —— Four troops of horſe in all ſays Whitelock, p. 699.

(2) Edward Montague, earl of Manchester, was choſen ſpeaker for the lords, and ſir Harbottle Grimſtone for the commons. Phillips, p. 701.

"thereunto:

D. Logan Ad Vivum Anno 1661.

R. Sheppard Sculp. 1735.

FORTITER FIDELITER FELICITER

The Most Illustrious and Noble Prince GEORGE, Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron MONK of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Teyes, Privy Counsellor to Charles II, King of Great-Britain, &c. Captain General and Commander of all the Royal Forces in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, &c. ——

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" thereunto: and that as we can never give over " the hope, in good time to obtain the poſſeſſion of " that right, which God and nature hath made our " due; ſo we make it our daily ſuit to the divine " providence, that he will, in compaſſion to us " and our ſubjects, after ſo long miſery and ſuffer- " ings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peace- " able poſſeſſion of that our right, with as little " blood and damage to our people as is poſſible; " nor do we deſire more to enjoy what is ours, " than that all our ſubjects may enjoy what by " law is theirs, by a full and intire adminiſtration " of juſtice throughout the land, and by extending " our mercy where 'tis wanted and deſerved.

" And to the end that fear of puniſhment may " not ingage any, conſcious to themſelves of what " is paſt, to a perſeverance in guilt for the future, " by oppoſing the quiet and happineſs of their " country, in the reſtoration both of King, peers, " and people, to their juſt, ancient, and funda- " mental rights; we do by theſe preſents declare, " that we do grant a free and general pardon, " which we are ready, upon demand, to paſs under " our great-ſeal of England, to all our ſubjects of " what degree or quality ſoever, who within forty " days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold " upon this our grace and favor, and ſhall by any " publick act declare their doing ſo, and that they " return to the loyalty and obedience of good ſub- " jects, excepting only ſuch perſons as ſhall here- " after be excepted by parliament: Thoſe only " excepted, let all our ſubjects, how faulty ſoever, " rely upon the word of a King, ſolemnly given " by this preſent declaration, That no crime " whatſoever, commited againſt us, or our royal " father, before the publication of this, ſhall ever " riſe in judgment, or be brought in queſtion " againſt any of them, to the leaſt indamagement " of them, either in their lives, liberties, or eſtates, " or (as far forth as lies in our power) ſo much as " to the prejudice of their reputations, by any re- " proach, or terms of diſtinction from the reſt of " our beſt ſubjects; we deſiring and ordaining, " that henceforward all notes of diſcord, ſeparation, " and difference of parties, be utterly aboliſhed " among all our ſubjects, whom we invite and con- " jure to a perfect union among themſelves, under " our protection, for the re-ſetlement of our juſt " rights and theirs, in a free parliament, by which, " upon the word of a King, we will be adviſed.

" And becauſe the paſſion and uncharitableneſs " of the times have produced ſeveral opinions in " religion, by which men are ingaged in parties " and animoſities againſt each other, which, when " they ſhall hereafter unite in a freedom of con- " verſation, will be compoſed, or better under- " ſtood; we do declare a liberty to tender con- " ſciences; and that no man ſhall be diſquieted, or " called in queſtion for differences of opinion in " matters of religion, which do not diſturb the " peace of the kingdom, and that we ſhall be ready " to conſent to ſuch an act of parliament, as upon " mature deliberation ſhall be offered unto us, for " the full granting that indulgence.

" And becauſe in the continued diſtractions of " ſo many years, and ſo many great revolutions, " many grants and purchaſes of eſtates have been " made to and by many officers, ſoldiers, and " others, who are now poſſeſſed of the ſame, and " who may be liable to actions at law, upon ſe- " veral titles; we are likewiſe willing, that all " ſuch differences, and all things relating to ſuch " grants, ſales and purchaſes, ſhall be determined " in parliament, which can beſt provide for the " juſt ſatisfaction of all men who are concerned.

" And we do further declare, that we will be " ready to conſent to any act or acts of parliament, " to the purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the full ſatiſ- " faction of all arrears due to the officers and " ſoldiers of the army under the command of ge- " neral Monk, and that they ſhall be received into " our ſervice upon as good pay and conditions as " they now enjoy."

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The lords voted, immediately after the reading of this declaration, " That, according to the an- " cient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the " government is, and ought to be by King, lords, " and commons."

Vote of the lords in favor of the King. Phillips, p. 703,

Then, ſir John Greenvil came to the houſe of commons, and preſented a letter to them from his Majeſty, with the ſame declaration incloſed, which was read, as well as the letter directed to general Monk to be communicated to the council of ſtate and the army. Theſe papers, which three months before, would have lain unregarded on the table, were now conſidered as convincing proofs of the King's good intentions, and ſufficient reaſons for reſtoring him to the exerciſe of the kingly power, without requiring other conditions than what he ſhould himſelf be pleaſed to grant. The commons therefore readily agreed to the vote of the lords, and ſo the King ſaw himſelf reſtored without any of the conditions which had cauſed ſo long a war, and ſo great an effuſion of blood. This is a clear evidence, either that the Royaliſts were much ſuperior in num- ber in the houſe, which nevertheleſs is not very pro- bable, or that the Preſbyterians were willing to de- ſiſt from conditions which they had not long ſince ſo ardently demanded, for certain terms relating to their religion, which had been poſitively pro- miſed, but which, as they were never performed, gave afterwards too juſt cauſe of complaint.

The commons receive a letter from the King, with the de- claration. Id. p. 703.

The com- mons concur with the lords, and the King is reſtored without any conditions.

The King being effectually recognized, by the vote of both houſes, the commons ordered, that fifty thouſand pounds ſhould be given him, ten thouſand to the duke of York, and to the duke of Gloceſter five thouſand. Theſe princes had never before been maſters of ſuch ſums (1).

Preſents made by the com- mons to the King, duke of York, and duke of Gloceſter. Whitelock. Phillips. p. 705, 706. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 592, &c. R. Coke.

Then the commons ordered, that all the journals ſhould be ſearched, and thoſe acts and orders razed out which were inconſiſtent with the government of King, lords, and commons. The army, the navy, and the city of London prepared addreſſes to congratulate his Majeſty on his reſtoration, and to promiſe him perfect obedience, and theſe ad- dreſſes were delivered to Clarges, who undertook preſenting them to the King. The King was pro- claimed in London with great ſolemnity the eighth of May, and commiſſioners from the parliament and city departed on the eleventh to wait on him at the Hague, where he expected them. Some Preſby- terian miniſters alſo repaired thither, as well to im- print on his Majeſty a ſenſe of the ſervice lately done him by their ſect, as to found his inclinations with regard to the liberty, which they had probably ſtipulated, before they ingaged in the affair of his reſtoration. The King confirmed by word of mouth what he had promiſed by his declaration: But when they beſought him not to revive the uſe of the common-prayer in his chapel, and that the ſurplice might be diſcontinued, he warmly anſwered, " That " whilſt he gave them liberty, he would not have " his own taken from him (2)."

The King proclaimed May 8. Phillips. p. 708. Commiſſio- ners from the parliament and city to the King. Id. p. 707. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 600. Conference between ſome Preſbyterian miniſters and the King. Id. p. 601.

After the King had given audience to the parlia-

(1) The city of London ſent alſo ten thouſand pounds to the King, and a thouſand pounds a piece to his two brothers. Phillips, p. 707.

(2) Whitelock ſays, " The miniſters had diſcourſe with the King, and were much ſatisfied with him." p, 702. But the lord Clarendon's words are: " Tho' they were much unſatisfied with him, they ceaſed farther troubling him." Vol. III p. 602.

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The King gives audience to the deputies from the parliament. May 16.

ment's commiſſioners the ſixteenth of May, and received the homage of admiral Montague, and the other officers of the navy, who waited on him at Scheveling, he ſtill remained ſome days at the Hague, as well to prepare for his departure, as to receive the compliments of the States (1), and imbarked the twenty-third. He arrived at Dover the twenty-fifth, and the ſame day at Canterbury, where on the morrow, he honored Monk with the Order of the Garter. The twenty-ninth, his birth-day, he arrived at Whitehall, thro' a numberleſs croud of people, who, by their acclamations, demonſtrated their joy at his reſtoration (2).

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Arrives at Whitehall. May 29. Phillips, p. 710, 711. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 602.

(1) Who made him a preſent of ſix thouſand pounds. Whitelock, p. 701.

(2) Burnet obſerves in the Hiſtory of his own Times, that ſuch unanimity appeared in the proceedings of the parliament for the King's reſtoration, that there was not the leaſt diſpute among them, but upon one ſingle point, yet that was a very important one. Hale, afterwards the famous chief-juſtice, moved, That a commitee might be appointed to look into the propoſitions that had been made, and the conceſſions that had been offered by the late King, and from thence digeſt ſuch propoſitions, as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to the King. This was ſeconded, but by whom the biſhop forgot. As ſuch a motion was foreſeen, Monk was inſtructed how to anſwer it: he told the houſe, That he had information of ſuch numbers of incendiaries ſtill in the kingdom, that if any delay was put to the ſending for the King, he could not anſwer for the peace either of the nation or army. And as the King was to bring neither army nor treaſure with him, either to fright or corrupt them, propoſitions might be as well offered to him when he ſhould come over; ſo he moved for ſending commiſſioners immediately. This was echoed with ſuch a ſhout over the houſe, that the motion was no more inſiſted on. And this, ſays Burnet, was indeed the great ſervice Monk did. To the King's coming in without conditions, may be well imputed all the errors of his reign, and it may be added, many miſchiefs that followed afterwards, p. 88, 89.

END of the Twenty-Second Book.

BOOK XXIII.

CHARLES II, Twenty-ſixth King of England ſince the Conqueſt.

Charles II.

Hopes of the ſeveral parties at the King's arrival. Burnet.

THE face of England was intirely changed at the King's arrival, and joy, pleaſures, public and private rejoicings ſucceeded to trouble, fear, and conſternation. The people were ſo wearied with the life they led for twenty years paſt, that they believed it not poſſible to be in a worſe condition. Every one rejoiced to ſee a calm after ſo long a ſtorm, and expected to injoy a tranquillity, for many years ſought in vain. The Royaliſts and Epiſcopalians were at once raiſed to the height of their wiſhes, in beholding Charles II, on the throne of his anceſtors, and the Church of England about to reſume her former luſtre. The Preſbyterians flattered themſelves, that their late ſervices for his Majeſty would at leaſt, procure them an intire liberty of conſcience, and the free exerciſe of their religion. The Republicans, Independents, and Anabaptiſts could not, indeed, hope to be reſtored to the ſtate they had injoyed ſo many years, but expected at leaſt an intire impunity, agreeably to the Breda declaration. The regicides, that is, the late King's judges, were the only perſons who could not but expect the puniſhment they juſtly deſerved, and yet, even they deſpaired not of the King's clemency, as indeed, ſuch as caſt themſelves upon it, were not wholy diſappointed. It is not therefore ſtrange that the whole kingdom ſhould reſound with joyful tranſports, and unite in receiving with loud acclamations a King, who, according to the general expectation, was to reſtore the public tranquillity and happineſs, and place all things in their natural order.

Charles II.

Extreme prepoſſeſſion in favor of the King. Idem.

Charles II, at the time of his reſtoration, was thirty years of age, tho' little known to moſt of his ſubjects, becauſe he had long lived in foreign parts. His actions in the Weſt, during his youth, where he commanded for the King his father, had not been diſtinguiſhed by any advantageous event. His conduct in Scotland, when he was called to the crown of that kingdom, had not redounded to his honor, ſince, in his declaration publiſhed there, he ſcrupled not ſacrificing the King his father to his own private intereſts. In ſhort, the battle of Worceſter had gained him no reputation, in which ſome pretend he had been too careful of his perſon, tho' others ſpeak of his valor on that occaſion with great commendation. However this be, his defeat did not contribute to raiſe his fame as a general. Nevertheleſs, his friends, with a view to his reſtoration, had publiſhed ſuch extravagant praiſes of him, and with ſuch aſſurance, that, before his arrival in England, he paſſed there for an accompliſhed Prince, indowed with all the virtues and noble qualities of a hero. This prepoſſeſſion did more miſchief to England, than all the calumnies thrown upon the laſt King. Every one was thereby almoſt equally diſpoſed to put an intire confidence in the new King, believing that a Prince of ſuch a character could never abuſe it (1). It was hoped, that content with reſtoring the government to the ſtate it was in under Queen Elizabeth, he would avoid treading in the

(1) When the earl of Southampton came to ſee what Charles II, was like to prove, he ſaid once, in great wrath, to chancellor Hyde, "That it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not poſſeſſed them, in all his "letters, with ſuch an opinion of the King, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power, either to do himſelf "or them any miſchief." Hyde anſwered, "He thought the King had ſo true a judgment, and ſo good nature, that when "the age of pleaſure ſhould be over, and the idleneſs of his exile turned to an obligation to mind affairs, that he would have "ſhaken of theſe intaglements." Burnet, p. 89.

ſteps

CHARLES II.
KING of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE & IRELAND,
Defender of the Faith &c.

From a Picture in Bridewell Hall, London; the Original painted by Sr. Peter Lely Kt. *Geo: Vertue Sculp. 1736.*

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Charles II. An' 1660.

steps of his father and grand-father, without attempting to extend his prerogative. This hope was the more readily entertained, as it was not doubted, but the example of his father had made a ſtrong impreſſion on him. Hereafter it will appear, to what exceſs this confidence was carried, and what uſe Charles made of it to begin the ruin of the liberty and religion of the Engliſh, which his ſucceſſor James II had certainly accompliſhed, had not God, by a moſt wonderful revolution, blaſted his deſigns, when he thought himſelf moſt ſecure of ſucceſs.

Deſign to render the King abſolute.

The project of rendering the King abſolute, and to imploy equally for that purpoſe the aſſiſtance of Catholics and Proteſtants, begun by James I, vigorouſly purſued by Charles I, interrupted by twenty years troubles, was eagerly reſumed under Charles II. If this be not granted as the baſis of the events of this reign, I do not think it poſſible to account for the conduct of King Charles II, unleſs it be believed, that he acted by mere caprice, without principles, maxims, or any deſign, and which cannot be thought of a Prince, who had as much wit and ſenſe as any in Europe. But to theſe particulars it is not yet time to deſcend, eſpecially as it is uncertain whether this project was formed at the begining of his reign, or owing to ſome favorable junctures. At leaſt the conduct of Charles, immediately after his reſtoration, gives no occaſion to ſuſpect he had already thought of it.

The King's religion. Burnet, P. 73, 74.

Charles had, as I have ſaid, imbraced the Catholic religion, before his return into England. Some ſay, he abjured the Proteſtant religion to cardinal de Retz, before he left France the laſt time. Others pretend, it was in the year 1659, in his journey to Fontarabia, in order to procure his reſtoration, by the aſſiſtance of the two crowns of France and Spain. However this be, the ſecret, known only to the earl of Briſtol, and ſir Henry Bennet, afterwards earl of Arlington, was ſo well concealed, that the public was ignorant of it, till after the King's death, when his ſucceſſor, James II, divulged it. But at preſent, it is a thing of which there is

Id. p. 73.

no room to doubt. It may be affirmed, his imbracing the Catholic religion was not thro' a principle of conſcience, ſince in the whole courſe of his

Ibid.

life, he ſhewed no ſenſe of religion. The greateſt compliment a famous author thinks proper to pay

The earl of Mulgrave in his character of Charles II.

him, is, to ſay he was no Atheiſt (1). This is confirmed by the character given of him by the earl of Mulgrave, who cannot be ſuſpected of a deſign to ſlander him. His ſentiments of religion in general may be judged of, by what dr. Burnet ſays of him, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, viz. that he ſcrupled not to communicate the ſame day in two different chapels, publicly in the Proteſtant, and privately in the Popiſh. However, he loſt no opportunity, in his ſpeeches to the parliament, to boaſt of his attachment to the Proteſtant religion, and his zeal for its advancement. Such behavior, ſo unworthy of a Chriſtian, cannot but be very injurious to his memory. Accordingly, thoſe, who have moſt indeavored to palliate his failings, have not been able to deny, he was a perfect maſter of diſſimulation.

King Charles's governing maxim. Burnet, p. 94.

Beſide this, he had a maxim not much leſs dangerous, viz. that there was neither ſincerity nor chaſtity in the world out of principle; but that ſome had the one or the other out of humor or vanity; and believed no body ſerved him out of love, and therefore he was even with all the world, and loved others as little as he thought they valued him. He was extremely affable, and ſo eaſy and complaiſant, that he ſeemed to take a pleaſure in beſtowing favors, by his manner of receiving the requeſts made to him. But he forfeited at laſt the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects, who had almoſt adored him in the begining of his reign, becauſe they diſcovered how little they could depend on kind words and fair promiſes, in which to exceſs he was liberal.

Charles II. An' 1660.

His faults. Burnet. Mulgrave.

He was ſo addicted to his pleaſures, that tho' he was very capable of buſineſs, had a good judgment, quick apprehenſion, and great penetration, his miniſters could hardly prevail with him to ſuſpend his pleaſures a few hours, and attend to affairs which required ſome application. But it happened alſo, ſometimes, that when he would apply himſelf to buſineſs, he diſpatched more in one day, than his miniſters in ſeveral.

As his miſtreſſes ingaged his whole time, ſo they conſumed all his treaſures. Tho' his revenues were larger than thoſe of any of his predeceſſors, except Henry VIII, and the parliament often granted him extraordinary ſupplies, he was ever in want, becauſe he ſpent his money without meaſure or diſcretion, as he received it. This threw him upon his parliament, and, rather than break with the commons, he was obliged to promiſe what he never intended to perform.

His good qualities.

Theſe are the principal faults imputed to King Charles II. But, it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that he had many good qualities, which might have produced happy effects, had he imployed them better. His wit was lively, his conception wonderful, and his judgment exquiſite. He knew the intereſts of the ſeveral Princes of Europe, better than any of his miniſters. During his exile, he had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſic and mathematics, and more particularly to navigation, and the building of ſhips, in which he had made great progreſs. With theſe indowments, he might very eaſily have governed his dominions, in a manner glorious to himſelf, and advantageous to his ſubjects, and ſo made himſelf arbiter of Europe. And yet, his reign cannot be ſaid to have redounded much to his honor, or the peoples happineſs. The reaſon is, that becauſe of his attachment to his pleaſures, and natural remiſneſs, he delivered himſelf up to the counſels of his miniſters, and particularly of his brother the duke of York, who, during this whole reign, had but too great influence on the reſolutions of the King's council, into which he found means to introduce ſuch as he believed proper for the execution of his projects, with regard to church and ſtate.

Duke of York's character.

The duke of York was of a temper more active, violent, haughty, and revengeful. He had formed a deſign of raiſing the Royal authority to a great height, and withal of reſtoring the Catholic religion in England. He never ceaſed, thro' this whole reign, purſuing theſe projects, but more eſpecially, after he was aſſured, the King his brother could not expect any legitimate children. All the principal events of this reign, depending properly upon the humor and character of theſe two Princes, I thought it neceſſary to premiſe this deſcription of them.

Great licenciouſneſs in England. Burnet.

The King was received in London with extraordinary acclamations, and it began then to be perceived, that, under color of rejoicing for the King's reſtoration, the people were throwing themſelves into a diſſoluteneſs, which would not have been indured under the Preſbyterians and Independents; but which by the ill example of the King and court, daily increaſed during this whole reign.

(1) Burnet's words are, "He ſaid once to myſelf, he was no Atheiſt, but could not think God would make a man miſerable, "only for taking a little pleaſure out of the way." Vol. I. p. 93.

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The King forms his council.

His Majeſty's firſt care was to eſtabliſh a council, compoſed chiefly of thoſe who had ſhewn moſt zeal or affection for himſelf, or the King his father. He received, however ſome men into it, who ſeemed naturally to have no pretenſions thereto (1). This was the effect of his policy: for it appeared, in his conduct at firſt, that his principal aim was to ſuppreſs the former troubles, in which he could not better ſucceed, than by ſecuring a perfect reliance on his promiſes, publiſhed in his Breda declaration. His intention was to ſtifle, as much as poſſible, the enmities which had ſo long divided his ſubjects, and to unite them all in an obedience to the laws, and a ſincere attachment to his perſon as their true center. He labored this for ſome time with zeal, even, as I ſaid, to the receiving into his council men, who had profeſſed themſelves his greateſt enemies. Herein he imitated his grandfather Henry IV of France; but, as will hereafter be ſeen, he was not ſuffered long to purſue this courſe.

Chancellor Hyde his firſt miniſter.

Edward Hyde lord chancellor, and ſoon after earl of Clarendon, was the King's prime miniſter, in whom, with great reaſon, he had intire confidence. But, as very viſibly appears in his hiſtory of the civil wars, he was a mortal enemy of the Preſbyterians, and conſequently, little proper to preſerve the King in his reſolution of procuring, without diſtinction, tranquillity for all his ſubjects.

The parliament called a Convention.

No ſooner was the King arrived in England, than the aſſembly, which from the twenty-fifth of April had been honored with the name of parliament, was only called the Convention, the King being unwilling to own for parliament, an aſſembly which had not been ſummoned by his writs. But this change of name was of no long continuance.

June 1.

Two days after his arrival, the King went to the houſe of lords, where he ſent for the commons, and gave the royal aſſent to three acts; the firſt was, to change the convention into a parliament (2); the ſecond, to continue the monthly tax of ſeventy thouſand pounds for three months; and the third, to continue all judicial proceedings.

Acts paſſed by the Statutes 12 Car. 2.

The parliament chiefly Preſbyterians. R. Coke.

Had the directions and orders of the foregoing parliament been followed, the preſent ſhould have admited no member, who had either ſerved the laſt or preſent King. But this order having been neglected in the elections, all who had been choſen were admited without diſtinction or examination. As the ſcheme for the King's reſtoration was intirely formed when this parliament met, the Preſbyterians, who were much ſuperior in number, did not think proper to exclude the Royaliſts, with whom they had agreed to reſtore the King. Neither was it thought proper to exclude the Republicans, nor the Regicides themſelves, who were not conſiderable enough to obſtruct the agreed on project. This parliament is therefore to be looked on as an aſſembly, where the Preſbyterians had certainly a ſuperiority of voices, and it was this parliament that reſtored the King to the throne of his anceſtors, and, during their ſhort continuance, gave him very real marks of their zeal for his ſervice, and the reeſtabliſhment of peace and tranquillity in the kingdom (3).

Principal affairs of the parliament.

The parliamentary affairs, after the King's arrival conſiſted in three principal points. The firſt was an act of pardon or indemnity for whatever had paſſed ſince the begining of the troubles. This act was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity both of the perſons and deſcendents of thoſe who had been concerned in the troubles, and were liable, if the laws had been ſtrictly executed, to be called to an account. For as, from the year 1642, the King's party had been deemed rebels by thoſe who were in power; the King, coming to rule in his turn, might have declared rebels all who had been in arms either againſt him or his father. The queſtion of right concerning the war between the King and the parliament, remaining undecided, it was natural for him, who had the power in his hands, to explain the laws in his own favor. Contrariwiſe, it was to be feared, that rigor, on this occaſion, would kindle a new flame. Beſide, it was very difficult nicely to explain wherein conſiſted the rights of the King and thoſe of the ſubject, conſidering the arguments on both ſides, and the infinite cavils to which ſuch a diſcuſſion was liable. In ſhort, explications of this nature had occaſioned the troubles, which, if it was poſſible, were intended to be buried in eternal oblivion. It was thought therefore that the beſt means to quiet the minds of the ſubjects was, an act of indemnity for every thing tranſacted during the troubles.

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An act of indemnity. Phillips. Kennet's Regiſter.

The army.

The ſecond buſineſs of the parliament was, to inable the King to diſband the army. There was no reaſon for keeping on foot an army which had been the principal cauſe of the diſorders commited of late years, and which would have been ſtill capable of diſturbing the peace of the kingdom under an able leader.

The King's revenues.

The third was the ſetling his Majeſty's revenue, ſince it was abſolutely neceſſary to give him wherewithal to ſupport the government, and put him in a condition to be feared and courted. On theſe three important affairs the parliament beſtowed their firſt care, and began with the act of indemnity, as being the moſt urgent. For this purpoſe the houſe of commons ſolemnly declared, in an addreſs preſented to the King by the whole houſe, that they accepted, in the name of themſelves, and all the commons of England, the gracious pardon offered by his Majeſty in his declaration from Breda, with reference to the exempting of ſuch as ſhould be excepted in an act of pardon. The lords likewiſe preſented a petition of the like import.

The commons accept the pardon promiſed by the King. Kennet.

So do the lords.

Proclamation in favor of the late King's judges. June 6. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 175. Phillips. Heath.

Immediately after, the King publiſhed a proclamation, declaring, that all ſuch of the late King's judges as did not ſurrender themſelves within fourteen days, ſhould be abſolutely excluded from the general pardon. Tho' by the words of this proclamation, thoſe who ſurrendered themſelves could not be aſſured of their lives, it was nevertheleſs underſtood, that the King made uſe of this artifice only to have it believed, that he would not limit the power and reſolutions of the parliament on this point, and it was not doubted that the two houſes conſidered this proclamation as a fort of pardon, at leaſt for life, to thoſe who ſhould confide in it. Twenty of the late King's judges, in conſequence of this proclamation, voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves. Others withdrew out of the kingdom, and ſome were taken in attempting to eſcape.

(1) They were thirty in all. The dukes of York and Gloceſter, ſir Edward Hyde, general Monk, admiral Montague, [earl of Sandwich] the marquis of Ormond, the marquis of Dorcheſter, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Lindſey, Berkſhire, Norwich, Mancheſter, Northumberland, St. Albans, and Leiceſter; viſcount Say; the lords Wentworth, Seymour, Colepepper, and Roberts, Denzil Holles, ſir Frederick Cornwallis, ſir George Carteret, ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, colonel Howard, Arthur Anneſley, ſir Charles Berkley, ſir Edward Nicholas, and ſir William Morrice.

(2) And to prevent all doubts and ſcruples concerning this parliament, it was inacted, That the lords and commons then ſiting at Weſtminſter, were the two houſes of parliament, and ſo ſhould be declared and adjudged to be, notwithſtanding any want of the King's writs of ſummons. Statutes, 12. Car. 2. c. 1.

(3) Burnet ſays, theſe five following perſons, all Preſbyterians, had the chief hand in the reſtoration; ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, afterwards earl of Shaftſbury, ſir Arthur Anneſley, afterwards earl of Angleſey, Denzil Holles, created lord Holles of Iſield, the earl of Mancheſter, and the lord Roberts. p. 96.

While

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While the parliament proceeded in the bill of indemnity, ſome leading Republicans, who had not been the King's judges but had exerciſed civil or military imploys during the troubles, fearing to be called to an account, demanded of the King letters of pardon under the great-ſeal, in order to ſcreen themſelves from all proſecution. His Majeſty very readily granted their requeſt, ſhewing thereby that he really intended to perform his promiſe in his Breda declaration. For he was perſuaded, there was no better way to pacify the troubles, and give his ſubjects confidence, than the exact obſervance of his word.

The Republicans demand of the King particular letters of pardon.

The fifth of July, the city of London invited the King and the two Princes his brothers, the great officers of the crown, and both houſes of parliament to an entertainment, the magnificence whereof was ſuitable to the riches of the city which gave it, and the quality of the perſons invited.

The King, his brothers, &c. dine in the city. Phillips, p. 714.

Tho' the King really intended the act of indemnity ſhould be quickly diſpatched, it met with great obſtacles in the houſe of commons with regard to the clauſes which were to be inſerted. Some were for having no regard to the Breda declaration, but for making examples of all who had moſt ardently ſupported the late uſurpation. This raiſed a ſuſpicion that the King incouraged theſe men, and intended to ſuſpend the effect of his declaration by means of the parliament, till he was revenged of his enemies. This was alſo induſtriouſly diſperſed among the people in libels, tending to deſtroy all confidence in the King's promiſes, and revive the troubles by driving to deſpair thoſe who knew themſelves moſt guilty. To diſpel therefore theſe ſuſpicions, which might have produced ill effects, the King ſent a meſſage to the houſe, to preſs them to diſpatch the act of indemnity, and to make it agreeable to his declaration from Breda. This meſſage ſo quickened the debates, that a few days after, the act paſſed the houſe of commons, and was ſent up to the lords for their concurrence.

The act of indemnity meets with ſome hindrances. Ibid.

Prepared by the commons. Phillips, p. 716.

In this bill, the houſe of commons excepted for life and eſtate, but a few of the moſt notorious and active regicides. But the lords, incited by diverſe petitions of the widows, children, and relations of perſons executed by the ſentences of the courts erected during the uſurpation, were for excepting from pardon all who had been judges in thoſe courts. His Majeſty fearing new delays from this difference of ſentiments between the two houſes, came to the houſe of lords, the twenty-ſeventh of July, and in a pathetic ſpeech, indeavored to perſuade them to paſs the bill as ſent up by the commons. He repreſented to them "that he was obliged in honor "to perform what he had promiſed in his declara- "tion; that he never thought of excepting any but "the immediate murderers of his father; That "the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom intire- "ly depended upon the performance of his pro- "miſe, "which (ſays he) if I had not made, I "am perſuaded neither I nor you had now been "here:" I pray therefore let us not deceive thoſe "who brought or permited us to come together, "and earneſtly deſire you to depart from all par- "ticular animoſities and revenge, or memory of "paſt revocations, and paſs this act without other "exceptions than of thoſe who were immediately "guilty of the murder of my father."

The King's ſpeech to the lords. Ibid. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 183.

Amendments made by the lords to the bill of the commons. Phillips, p. 717.

This ſpeech, and a meſſage ſent by the King to both houſes on the ſame ſubject, determined the lords to conform to the declaration from Breda. They therefore, with two amendments, ſent the bill to the commons. The firſt concerned twenty perſons, who by the commons bill were liable to all the penalties it ſhould pleaſe the parliament to inflict, death excepted; tho' they were not the King's judges. The lords refuſed their conſent to this clauſe (1), becauſe it was contrary to the declaration from Breda. The other amendment related to the twenty judges of the late King, who voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves upon his Majeſty's proclamation of the ſixth of June: for the lords included in the pardon, both for life and eſtate, thoſe twenty, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt by their confidence in the King's clemency; whereas the commons were only for granting them life, leaving them liable to forfeiture of eſtates, impriſonment, baniſhment, or ſuch other penalties as the parliament ſhould think proper. This was the ſubject of ſeveral conferences between the two houſes, which in the end produced an unanimity of ſentiments, according to which the act was formed. In one of theſe conferences, chancellor Hyde declared, That being imployed in an embaſſy to Spain, he was expreſly charged by his Majeſty to avow, "That the hor- "rible murder of his father was not the act of the "parliament, or people of England, but of a very "wretched and little company of miſcreants in the "kingdom." This was ſo agreeable to the commons, that they ordered ſuch of the privy-council, as were members of the houſe, to thank the King for his juſt defenſe of the parliament and people of England. At length his Majeſty repairing to the houſe of lords the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, gave the royal aſſent to the act of indemnity, which contained in ſubſtance:

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Conference upon that ſubject. Ibid.

Penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould uſe any words of reproach tending to revive the memory of the late troubles, with an abſolute pardon to all who had been ingaged in them, excepting the following perſons, viz.

Act of indemnity. Statutes, 12 Car. 2. Phillips.

Forty-nine of thoſe who had been the late King's judges, with this diſtinction, that as to the twenty who had voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves, if they were condemned, their execution ſhould be ſuſpended till the King and parliament ſhould order the ſame.

Oliver Cromwell, Bradſhaw, Pride, and one and twenty others, who were dead, were made ſubject to confiſcations, and other penalties which the King and parliament ſhould ordain.

Phelps and ſir Arthur Haſlerig were put in the ſame condition.

Hutchinſon and Laſſels were declared incapable of exerciſing any office, and condemned to one years forfeiture of the revenue of their eſtates.

Moreover it was ordained, that Oliver St. John, and ſeventeen others named in this article, ſhould be excluded from any benefit by this act, if they accepted, or executed any office in England, either eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military.

All that had given ſentence of death in any of the late illegal High-courts of Juſtice, except colonel Ingoldſby and colonel Tomlinſon, were diſabled from being members in any parliament, or bearing any office in England or Wales.

Thoſe who had converted to their uſe any goods belonging to the church, were excluded from the benefit of this act.

Sir Henry Vane and Lambert were excepted from pardon, both as to life and eſtate.

The King likewiſe paſſed on this occaſion the acts following:

Other acts, Statutes.

1. An act for confirmation of judicial proceedings from the firſt of May 1642, notwithſtanding their illegality.

(1) Only they agree, That ſir Arthur Haſlerig, ſir Henry Vane, and colonel Lambert, ſhould be ſubject to pains and penalties. Phillips, p. 717.

2. An

Charles II. An' 1660.

2. An act for proviſion of monies to pay off the armies and navy.

3. An act to fix the intereſt of money at ſix per cent.

4. An act for a perpetual anniverſary thankſgiving on the twenty-ninth of May, the day of his Majeſty's nativity and reſtoration.

After his Majeſty had given aſſent to theſe five acts, he made a ſpeech to both houſes, to teſtify how much he was pleaſed with them; concluding, "I am ſo confident of your affections, that I will "not move you in any thing that immediately "relates to myſelf: and yet I muſt tell you, that "I am not richer, that is, I have not ſo much "money in my purſe, as when I came to you. "The truth is, I have lived principally ever ſince, "upon what I brought with me, which was in-"deed your money: for you ſent it to me, and I "thank you for it. The weekly expenſe of the "navy eats up all you have given me by the bill "of tonage and poundage; nor have I been able "to give my brothers one ſhilling ſince I came in-"to England, nor to keep any table in my houſe, "but what I eat at myſelf. And that which troubles "me moſt is, to ſee many of you come to me at "Whitehall, and to think you muſt go ſome "where elſe to ſeek your dinner. I do not men-"tion this to you as any thing that troubles me: "do but take care of the public, and for what is "neceſſary for the peace and quiet of the king-"dom, and take your own time for my own par-"ticular, which I am ſure you will provide for, "with as much affection and frankneſs, as I can "deſire."

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Phillips, p. 718. Kennet's Regiſter.

Preſents made by the parliament to the King's brothers.

The commons obſerving what the King ſaid concerning his brothers, made a preſent to the duke of York of ten thouſand pounds, and to the duke of Gloceſter ſeven. After this they proceeded to ſetling the King's revenue, and reſolved to raiſe it to twelve hundred thouſand pounds, which was more than any King of England had ever injoyed, Henry VIII excepted (1). But before this could be compleated, the King came to the parliament the thirteenth of September, and paſſing ſome bills that were ready, they adjourned themſelves to the ſixth of November. The acts paſſed on this occaſion were:

A vote to ſetle on the King 1200,000 l. Burnet, p. 160.

The parliament adjourned.

Diverſe acts. Kennet's Regiſter. p. 254, &c.

1. An act for the ſpeedy raiſing of a hundred thouſand pounds for a preſent ſupply by way of land-tax.

2. An act to impower and direct commiſſioners in what manner to diſband the army, and to pay off ſome part of the fleet.

3. An act for raiſing one hundred and forty thouſand pounds, at ſeventy thouſand pounds a month, to begin the firſt of November.

4. An act for regulating the Bay trade.

5. An act for incouraging and increaſing ſhipping and navigation.

6. An act for reſtoring ſome miniſters to their places, and confirming others in vacant ones.

Duke of Gloceſter dies. Sandford. Phillips, p. 730.

The ſame day died the duke of Gloceſter, the King's brother. This Prince, twenty years of age, was unexpectedly taken out of the world by the ſmall-pox. As he had many good qualities, the King his brother, who tenderly loved him, appeared more concerned for this loſs, than for any misfortune he had undergone.

During the adjournment, the King appointed commiſſioners for trial of the regicides. The number of thoſe concerned in the late King's death, as judges, officers of the court of juſtice, and others, amounted to fourſcore and one; of whom twenty-five were dead; nineteen had made their eſcapes; ſeven others, for having been leſs ingaged in the crime were thought worthy of the King's clemency, and thirty received ſentence of death: but of theſe, twenty, who had ſurrendered themſelves upon the proclamation of the ſixth of June, were pardoned as to life, but reſerved for other penalties, as impriſonment, baniſhment, and forfeiture of eſtate. So, ten only were executed, namely, Harriſon, Carew, Cook, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker, Axtel. What appeared moſt remarkable in the death of theſe men was, that not one expreſſed any ſigns of repentance, or did not think himſelf a martyr. Two only were prevailed on to pray for the King. They were almoſt all Anabaptiſts, Enthuſiaſts, Fifth-Monarchy-Men, who believed no violence unlawful to advance the kingdom of Chriſt, and all of mean birth, except Carew and Scroop.

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Trial and execution of the Regicides. October. State-Trials. Vol. II. Oct. 9-----29.

Oct. 16, 17, 19.

A few days after the adjournment of the parliament, the King publiſhed a proclamation concerning religion, containing eight articles, moſt of which preſcribed certain rules to the biſhops in the exerciſe of their ſpiritual juriſdiction. The two laſt merit a particular notice, becauſe they diſcover that the Preſbyterians were not like to continue long undiſturbed. The VIIth ran, that a certain number of divines ſhould be appointed to reviſe the liturgy, and make ſuch alterations in it as ſhould be judged neceſſary, and that ſcrupulous perſons ſhould not be puniſhed or troubled for not uſing it at preſent. The VIIIth was concerning ceremonies, to which, for the preſent, no perſon ſhould be obliged to conform. This reſtriction, for the preſent, clearly ſhews, that thoſe who adviſed the King to this proclamation, had no deſign of leaving the Preſbyterians in poſſeſſion of that liberty which had been promiſed them by the Breda declaration, and, doubtleſs, by general Monk, when they ingaged to promote the King's reſtoration.

A proclamation concerning religion. Octob. 25. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 289.

Nine of the old biſhops who were yet living, were reſtored to their ſees without any difficulty (2). Seven or eight others were newly conſecrated for other dioceſes; alſo Coſins, againſt whom ſo many complaints had been brought before the parliament in 1640, for the ſee of Durham, where he had once been prebend (3). Biſhopricks and eccleſiaſtical preferments were offered to the moſt eminent Preſbyterian-miniſters, but all refuſed except Reynolds, who imbraced the biſhoprick of Norwich (4).

The biſhops reſtored. Phillips,

I ſhall not inlarge on the embaſſies to the King from diverſe Princes of Europe, to congratulate him on his reſtoration; the States of the United-Provinces were the firſt who paid their compliments on this occaſion, and at the ſame time ſent him, drawn by the beſt maſters, ſeveral excellent pictures.

Embaſſies from diverſe ports. Ibid.

September the twenty-fifth, the Princeſs Dowager of Orange came to London to congratulate the King her brother upon his reſtoration. And from France in November arrived the Queen-mother, who brought with her the Princeſs Henrietta her daughter, and the Prince Palatine Edward,

The Princeſs Dowager of Orange arrives in England. And the Queen-mother.

(1) It was to anſwer all the ordinary expenſes of the government. Burnet, p. 160.

(2) Namely, Juxton of London, Pierce of Bath and Wells, Skinner of Oxford, Warner of Rocheſter, Roberts of Bangor, Wren of Ely, Duppa of Saliſbury, King of Chicheſter, and Frewin of Lichfield and Coventry.

(3) The author by miſtake ſays, Dean, he was Dean of Peterborough. The reſt of the new biſhops were, Lucy of St. David's, Laney of Peterborough, Stern of Carliſle, Lloyd of Landaff, Walton of Cheſter, Gauden of Exeter. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 323.

(4) Calamy, Baxter, Bates and Bowles, were offered Biſhoprick and Deaneries.

brother

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brother to Prince Rupert. It is pretended, the Queen indeavored to perſuade his Majeſty to marry Hortenſia Mancini neice to cardinal Mazarine: but her propoſal being coldly received, ſhe adviſed him to purſue the negociation already begun, of his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal. Thus much is certain, ſhe propoſed to the King the marriage of the Princeſs Henrietta, with the duke of Orleans, to which ſhe found no objection. If we credit ſome authors, ſhe had two other ends in her viſit. The firſt was to draw the King her ſon into the intereſt of France againſt Spain. The ſecond, to perſuade him to remove the chancellor, for whom ſhe had no reſpect, as he himſelf declares in his hiſtory. But the King, to pleaſe his mother, could not be prevailed on to part with ſo ſerviceable and affectionate a miniſter.

Her buſineſs at the court of England. Id. p. 730. Kennet's Regiſter. R. Coke. Echard.

The parliament meeting the ſixth of November, appointed a commitee to congratulate the Queen-mother on her return to England. Shortly after, the commons made a preſent of ten thouſand pounds to each of the two Princeſſes her daughters.

The parliament meets. Phillips. Echard.

The duke of York had, ſince his return to England, married Ann, chancellor Hyde's eldeſt daughter, to which he was in ſome meaſure compelled (1). The young lady proving with child, there were not wanting perſons to diſſuade the duke from ſo unequal a match. But the King's affection then for the chancellor, over-ruled all conſideration of the injury which the duke his brother, and the Royal family, might receive from it. He ſignified to the duke, that it would oblige him not to uſe any ſhifts, and plainly told him, "he muſt drink "as he had brewed," to which the duke ſubmited from a motive of obedience. This match may eaſily be imagined, was not in the leaſt agreeable to the Queen-mother, who hated the chancellor. Accordingly ſhe for a long time refuſed ſeeing her daughter-in-law, tho' at the preſſing inſtances of his Majeſty ſhe at laſt conſented to receive her reſpects. But during her ſtay in England, ſhe ever treated her with ſo much coldneſs, that her averſion to the marriage was very viſible.

The duke of York's firſt marriage. Burnet, p. 168. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 246. Echard.

The parliament having, in their firſt ſeſſion, diſpatched every thing relating to the act of indemnity, applied their next care to put the King in a condition of diſbanding the army. To this end, ſeveral ſums were granted him, and as the money was raiſed, regiments were broke, ſo that this work was finiſhed in a few months. Thus, the army, which had ſo long been the terror of England, was reduced to Monk's ſingle regiment. But in diſbanding this army, his Majeſty introduced a novelty, which diſpleaſed many people. He formed, for his ordinary guard, two regiments, one of horſe, and one of foot, in imitation of the practiſe in France, and other kingdoms. This was ſo much like a ſtanding army, which the Engliſh have always oppoſed, that many began then to fear, the King had ill deſigns upon the public liberty. His predeceſſors had no other guards than the gentlemen penſioners, eſtabliſhed by Henry VII.

Money granted for diſbanding the army.

The King inſtitutes guards. R. Coke. p. 105.

The diſbanding of the army being in ſuch forwardneſs, the King told the parliament, it was his intention to diſſolve them in December. Whereupon, the commons, to give his Majeſty a freſh inſtance of their zeal, confirmed and renewed their former reſolution, of granting the King an annual revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds. But the time being too ſhort to ſetle the funds on which this revenue was to be raiſed, the houſe thought it more proper to imploy what remained, in preparing the bills to be paſſed, before the diſſolution.

The vote of the 1200,000 l. to be ſetled on the King confirmed.

Little care has been taken to ſhew the reaſons inducing the King to diſſolve a parliament, which had been ſo favorable to him, and expreſſed ſuch zeal for his ſervice. It is my private opinion, that the miniſtry, and particularly the chancellor, looked with no good eye upon a parliament, which had ſo many members of that in 1640, and who, in all appearance, whatever they might pretend, had not relinquiſhed their ancient principles concerning the King's prerogative. They believed, doubtleſs, it would be very difficult to manage ſuch a parliament at their pleaſure. Beſide, very probably, the chancellor, a great enemy of the Preſbyterians, had formed the deſign of depriving them of their promiſed liberty, which would have been impoſſible, if this parliament had ſubſiſted. They believed therefore, that in the preſent favorable diſpoſition of the people to his Majeſty, their credit would be ſufficient to have a new parliament, more proper for the execution of their deſigns. This conjecture is confirmed by the tranſactions of the inſuing parliament. It muſt however be ſaid for the chancellor, that tho' he deteſted the maxims of the parliament in 1640, with reſpect to the Royal authority, yet he went not the lengths of the adverſe party, nor believed it for the intereſt of England, to have a King, whoſe will ſhould be law. This is manifeſt, from an incident at the very time I am ſpeaking of. A member of the commons, mr. Alexander Popham, who had a conſiderable influence in the houſe, offered his Majeſty, that provided he was ſupported by the court-party, he would undertake to procure an act, for ſetling on him, and his ſucceſſors, two millions a year, which would free him from any dependence on parliament, except in extraordinary caſes. The King, pleaſed with the propoſal, ſpake to the chancellor of it, as of a project advantageous to his intereſt. But he bravely anſwered, "That the beſt revenue his Majeſty could have, "was the affection of his ſubjects, and if he would "truſt to them, he would never want ſupplies in "time of need." Nor was he ſatisfied only with giving this anſwer to the King, but even took pains to undeceive the earl of Southampton, then lord treaſurer, who had approved of the project, and by very ſolid reaſons, convinced him, that the ſucceſs of it would be the kingdom's ruin. It is pretended, the chancellor's oppoſition to Popham's propoſal, was one of the chief cauſes of his diſgrace.

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The author's conjecture upon the diſſolution of this parliament.

Welwood, p. 109. Echard.

The parliament, before their diſſolution, ordered the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and Pride, to be taken out of their graves, drawn on a hurdle to Tyburn, and there hung from ten o'clock till ſun-ſet, and then buried under the gallows. At the ſame time an act of attainder paſſed, not only againſt theſe four, but againſt the nineteen judges of the late King, who were fled from juſtice, among whom was Ludlow, author of the Memoirs under his name.

The bodies of Cromwell and other rebels dug up. Phillips.

William Drake, citizen and merchant of London, about the ſame time, publiſhed a book, intitled, The Long Parliament revived; in which he indeavored to prove, that the ſaid parliament was not yet legally diſſolved. The commons brought an impeachment of high-treaſon againſt the author, but had not time to bring it to a trial.

A treaſonable libel publiſhed. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 312, 325.

At this time likewiſe ſeveral officers, who had ſerved under Cromwell, Deſborough, Morgan, Overton, and ſeveral others, were arreſted upon an uncertain report of a plot to ſecure the King's perſon, ſeize the Tower, and kill the Queen-mother; but it did not appear that this rumor had any good foundation.

A pretended plot. Id. p. 315.

(1) They were contracted at Breda, November 24, 1659. and privately married at Worceſter-houſe, September 3, 1660, in the night, by dr. Joſeph Crowther, the duke's chaplain. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 246.

At laſt, on the twenty-ninth of December, the King came to the parliament, and gave the Royal aſſent to the following acts:

Acts. Kennet's Regiſter. p. 334, &c.

1. An act for levying the arrears of the twelve months aſſeſſment.

2. An act for the farther ſupplying ſeveral defects in the act for diſbanding the army.

3. An act for ſix months aſſeſſment, at ſeventy thouſand pounds per month, to begin the firſt of January.

4. An act for the better ordering the ſelling of wines by retail, and for preventing abuſes in the mingling, corrupting, and limiting the prices of the ſame.

5. An act for erecting a poſt-office.

6. An act for an impoſt upon ale, beer, cider, and other liquors, to hold for his Majeſty's life.

7. An act for the raiſing of ſeventy thouſand pounds for his Majeſty's farther ſupply.

8. An act for the attainder of ſeveral perſons guilty of the horrid murder of Charles I.

9. An act for confirmation of leaſes and grants for colleges and hoſpitals.

10. An act to prohibit the exportation of wool, and fuller's-earth.

11. An act for prohibiting the planting of tobacco in England and Ireland.

12. An act for taking away the court of wards and liveries, together with Tenure in Capite, knights ſervice, and purveyances, and for ſetling a revenue upon his Majeſty in lieu thereof (1).

After giving the Royal aſſent to theſe acts, the King made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

Id. p. 339. Echard.

"I Will not entertain you with a long diſcourſe, the ſum of all I have to ſay to you, being to give you thanks, very hearty thanks: and I aſſure you, I find it a very difficult work to ſatisfy myſelf in my own expreſſions of thoſe thanks. Perfunctory thanks, ordinary thanks for ordinary civilities, are eaſily given; but when the heart is full as mine, it is a labor to thank you. You have taken great pains to oblige me; and therefore it cannot be eaſy for me to expreſs the ſenſe I have of it. I will inlarge no further to you upon this occaſion, than to tell you, when God brought me hither, I brought with me an extraordinary affection and eſteem for parliaments. I need not tell you how much it is improved by your carriage towards me. You have out-done all the good and obliging acts of your predeceſſors towards the crown; and therefore you cannot but believe, my heart is exceedingly inlarged with the acknowlegment. Many former parliaments have had particular denominations for what they have done: they have been ſtiled Learned and Unlearned, and ſometimes have had worſe epithets: I pray let us reſolve, that this be for ever called the Healing and the Bleſſed Parliament. As I thank you, tho' not enough, for what you have done, ſo I have not the leaſt doubt, by the bleſſing of God, but when I ſhall call the next parliament (which I ſhall do as ſoon as you can reaſonably expect or deſire) I ſhall receive your hearty thanks for what I have done, ſince I parted with you. For I deal truly with you: I ſhall not more propoſe any one rule to myſelf in my actions and counſels than this: 'What is a parliament like to think of this action, or this counſel?' And it ſhall be a want of underſtanding in me if it will not bear that teſt. I ſhall conclude with this, which I cannot ſay too often, nor you too often where you go: 'that, next to the miraculous bleſſing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate effect of that bleſſing, I do impute the good diſpoſition and ſecurity we are all in, to the happy act of indemnity and oblivion:' that is the principal corner-ſtone which ſupports this excellent building, that creates kindneſs in us to each other; and confidence is our joint and common ſecurity. You may be ſure, I will not only obſerve it religiouſly and inviolably myſelf, but alſo exact the obſervance of it from others: and if ever any perſon ſhall have the boldneſs to attempt perſuading me to the contrary, he will find ſuch an acceptation from me, as he would have, who ſhould perſuade me to burn Magna Charta, cancel all the old laws, and to erect a new government after my own invention and appetite."

This flatering ſpeech was received by the people with great applauſe, every one hoping, that a Prince of this character would have no other view, than the cauſing his ſubjects to live in peace and plenty. After the King had done ſpeaking, the chancellor made a ſpeech to both houſes, much longer than the King's, but tending to the ſame end, namely, to perſuade them, that the King being extremely tender of his people, all his actions would be directed to render them happy. He forgot not to mention the pretended conſpiracy, for the ſubverſion of the preſent government. But without entering into particulars, contented himſelf with aſſuring, that the conſpiracy was real, and Ludlow, one of the fugitive regicides, deeply concerned. This inſinuation was neceſſary for two purpoſes. The firſt was to convince the people of the neceſſity of puting the militia into the King's hands, to inable him to ſuppreſs the male-contents. The ſecond, to get a pretenſe for the breach of the King's promiſe, in his Breda declaration, by the indiſpenſable neceſſity of providing for the ſafety of the ſtate, againſt the ill-deſigns of ſectaries. This will appear more clearly hereafter. When the chancellor had ended his ſpeech, he declared the parliament diſſolved.

The chancellor's ſpeech. Kennet's Regiſter. p. 339.

The parliament diſſolved.

Thus ended this parliament, about eight months after the firſt meeting, and ſeven after his Majeſty's reſtoration. I have obſerved already, that moſt of the members were Preſbyterians, or at leaſt, that party was ſuperior in the parliament. For this reaſon, no doubt, ſome writers magnifying what this parliament did for the King, and their diſpoſition in his favor, have inſinuated, it was a ſort of miracle, that they did not at once throw up all the liberties of their country on the King's reſtoration. But this is a groundleſs exaggeration. For if all the acts of this parliament be conſidered, not one will appear to ſupport this opinion. They recalled the King, but that certainly will not be thought ſtrange. They voted a revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds for his Majeſty, but it was only a vote which was executed by the next parliament. They paſſed the act of indemnity at the King's preſſing inſtance, and which was indeed neceſſary. They granted him a ſupply to pay off the fleet and the army; but could this be avoided without indangering the public tranquillity? After all, they preſented the King with an inconſiderable ſum, for his occaſions, and his brothers and ſiſters, with thirty-ſeven thouſand pounds: but was any thing more juſt or more natural than to inable him to maintain his houſhold, till his revenues were ſetled? There is nothing therefore in the actions of this parliament which infers a diſpoſition of throwing up the nation's liberties. But it will be ſeen, that

A remark upon this parliament. Welwood, p. 109.

(1) The Royal aſſent was given to the ſixth and twelfth, December 24. See Kennet's Regiſter, p. 331.

the

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the diſpoſition, which is groundleſly ſuppoſed in this parliament, was really and truly in the next: and that after doing too much, they were forced to alter their meaſures, and uſe extraordinary methods in oppoſing the deſigns of that very King, to whom they had given almoſt unlimited power. This ſecond parliament however has not been cenſured, while the compliance of the firſt has been induſtriouſly aggravated. The reaſon of this difference is very obvious, viz. that the ſecond parliament beſt follows the views and principles of the writers who have thus remarked on the former. In ſhort, if it be conſidered, that the firſt parliament ſat only ſeven months after the King's reſtoration, and that the ſecond continued eighteen years, it will be eaſily perceived, to which of the two may moſt juſtly be aſcribed the deſign of throwing up the national liberties.

Death of the Princeſs of Orange. Sandford.

The concluſion of this year brought his Majeſty a new cauſe of affliction in the death of the Princeſs of Orange his ſiſter, who died of the ſmall pox the twenty-fourth of December, at the age of twenty nine (1). She left but one ſon, who was afterwards King of England by the name of William III.

Other deaths. * William Seymour.

This ſame year died the earl of Hertford *, lately reſtored to the title of duke of Somerſet. He has been often mentioned in the reign of Charles I. Doctor Hammond the famous divine, died a little before the King's reſtoration.

The Royal Society founded. Sprat. Kennet.

It was this year alſo that the Royal Society was erected by the King's letters patent, who beſide granted it all the neceſſary incouragement towards a diſcovery of the ſecrets of nature, and of what is moſt curious and neceſſary in Natural Philoſophy and Mechanics.

It will not be improper before we cloſe this year, briefly to mention the tranſactions of Scotland, from the time of the King's reſtoration.

Affairs of Scotland. Burnet. Lenard.

After the King left Scotland, with an army to invade England, the Engliſh intirely conquered that nation, under the command of general Monk, who ſerved the parliament. If after that the King thought of Scotland, it was only to cheriſh the diſcontents, and try, by means of his adherents, to excite a revolt. For tho' he had been recogniſed and crowned in that kingdom, he always conſidered his intereſts as directly oppoſite to thoſe of that nation, or at leaſt, of the governing party. He never loved the Scots, and his belief of their ſelling the King his father to the Engliſh parliament, greatly inflamed his prejudice againſt them, nor was it diminiſhed by his reſidence in that country. His reſtoration to the Engliſh throne rendered him doubly maſter of Scotland; firſt, becauſe he was its natural King, and had even been crowned there; ſecondly, becauſe Scotland had been conquered by the Engliſh. Nothing would have been eaſier than to leave Scotland in dependence upon England, there not being any probability, that the Scots would ever be able to recover their liberty. It even ſeems, the King was not averſe to this opinion, ſince he left Scotland to be governed by the Engliſh, more than two months after his reſtoration. But he at length reſolved on reſtoring that kingdom to its ancient form of government. For this purpoſe, Monk wrote in his Majeſty's name to the Engliſh commiſſioners who had been imployed as judges there, to diſcontinue their functions the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt; and at the ſame time proclamation was made, for the convening of the commitee of eſtates, till a parliament ſhould be called. The King named the great officers of the kingdom, and took care to chuſe for theſe poſts, and for his council, ſuch as were believed moſt firmly devoted to him. The earl of Glencairn was made lord chancellor; the earl of Crawford, lord-treaſurer; the earl of Caſſilis, juſtice-general; the earl of Lauderdale, firſt ſecretary of ſtate, and general Midleton, the King's commiſſioner. Theſe men, as well as thoſe who compoſed the council, had been always ſtrongly attached to the King's intereſt. Thus the Scots, freed from the yoke laid on them by Cromwell, were exactly in their former ſtate, as before the troubles in 1637, that is, under the government of a King and miniſters of the very ſame principles with Charles I, and the miniſters of that time. But there was this diſadvantageous difference, that they were no longer able to make themſelves feared, being intirely ſubdued. They were ſoon made ſenſible of what they were to expect. Some of their miniſters aſſembling for the drawing up a Remonſtrance concerning their grievances, were ſent to priſon by the commitee of eſtates, without any examination of the nature, motive, or language of the remonſtrance, as if the bare deſign of preſenting it had been criminal. Moreover a proclamation was publiſhed againſt all unlawful aſſemblies and ſeditious writings, on ſuppoſition, that the aſſembly of the miniſters and their petition were of that nature. This might have ſatisfied the Preſbyterians, who were the body of the Scotiſh nation, what was preparing for them, and that they had no remedy but ſubmiſſion and patience.

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Burnet. p. 110.

They had ſtill another very convincing proof. The marquis of Argyle repairing to London to pay his duty to the King (2), was arreſted, ſent to the Tower, and afterwards to Scotland, to be tried on an impeachment of high-treaſon (3). The King's declaration from Breda, had not mentioned Scotland. So, the Scots were expoſed to the reſentment and vengeance of their adverſaries. Among theſe, chancellor Hyde was one of the moſt violent, as he has plainly diſcovered in his hiſtory of the civil wars, and unhappily for the Scots, he was prime miniſter in England, and had the chief direction of the King's affairs. Some of the Engliſh council indeed were of opinion, it would be very advantageous to the King, to ſuffer the Scots to injoy the benefit of this Breda declaration. But the contrary advice prevailed, whether from the King's and his counſellor's animoſity, or from a deſire of thoſe who had faithfully ſerved his Majeſty in his troubles, of injoying the eſtates of the convicted.

Id. p. 105. Heath.

Burnet. p. 113.

This reſolution being taken, the King ſummoned a parliament in Scotland, to meet the twelfth of December, and publiſhed a proclamation, declaring, that he left it intirely to this parliament, to examine the conduct of his ſubjects of Scotland; and that after his honor was vindicated, and his prerogative eſtabliſhed, he would grant a pardon which would witneſs how much he deſired the happineſs of his people. What method he took to procure this happineſs to the Scots will appear.

Affairs of Ireland. Cox.

As for Ireland, the King commited the government of it to ſir Maurice Euſtace, chancellor, and the earls of Orrery and Montrath, in quality of lords-juſtices, till a lord-lieutenant ſhould be nominated.

Inſurrections of the Anabaptiſts under Venner. Phillips, p. 734. Heath. Burnet. p. 160.

The year 1661 was uſhered in by an extraordinary event. This was an inſurrection of ſome

Ibid.

(1) She was buried December 29, in Henry VIIth's Chapel. Heath, p. 470.

(2) He writ by his ſon to the King, aſking leave to come and wait on him. The King gave an anſwer that ſeemed to incourage it, but did not bind him to any thing. Burnet, p. 106.

(3) Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was done at the inſtigation of the earl of Midleton and his party, "For the marquis of Argyle's craft made them afraid of him; and his eſtate made them deſire to divide it among them." p. 106.

Fifth-

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Fifth-Monarchy-Men, who believed themſelves bound in conſcience to uſe their utmoſt indeavors to advance the kingdom of Chriſt on earth. As I have ſpoken elſewhere of theſe men, and as their principles are ſufficiently known by their tragedies acted at Munſter, and ſeveral other places, it will be needleſs to give a more particular account of their tenets (1). The ſixth of January, as the King was attending the Queen-mother and his ſiſter the Princeſs to Dover, in their return to France, about fifty of theſe men, under the conduct of one Thomas Venner, aſſembled in the evening in St. Paul's church-yard, and killed a man who upon demand, had anſwered, "For God and the King." This giving an alarm to the city, ſome trained-bands were ſent againſt them, whom theſe men quickly routed, and then marched thro' ſeveral ſtreets, and at laſt retired to Cane-wood (2), from whence a party of horſe and foot, ſent by general Monk, diſlodged them, and took ſome priſoners. But this prevented not the reſt from returning to the city, where they fought furiouſly, till they were obliged to take ſanctuary in a houſe. They there defended themſelves like men fearleſs of death, or rather, as ſecure from all danger, under the protection of Jeſus Chriſt. Here it was, that Venner, being wounded, and twenty of his men killed, with as many of the aſſailants, was taken with the reſt of his followers. A few days after, they were all tried, condemned, and executed, without any confeſſion of guilt, perſiſting in their extravagances to the laſt. Two young men only ſhewed ſome ſigns of penitence.

January 17. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 361.

The court takes occaſion from this inſurrection to forbid conventicles. January 10. Id. p. 357.

Tho' this attempt could not juſtly be conſidered as the conſequence of a deſign formed by a whole party, and tho' the Anabaptiſts had been all guilty, there was no reaſon to blame the other Sects, yet the court urged this inſurrection to confirm the rumors of a conſpiracy againſt the government. His Majeſty took occaſion to publiſh a proclamation, forbiding all meetings and conventicles, under pretenſe of religion, and commanding the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to be tendered to all perſons diſaffected to the government, and in caſe of refuſal, they were to be proſecuted on the ſtatute of the ſeventh of James I.

A remark upon this ſubject.

Doubtleſs it will be thought ſtrange, that by reaſon of the extravagance of ſome Anabaptiſts, all the other ſects ſhould be included in the prohibition of all meetings on account of religion, contrary to the expreſs terms of the Breda declaration. But it will be immediately ſeen, that the ruin of the Preſbyterian party was now reſolved, and that pretenſes were ſeeking to execute this reſolution, particularly ſuch as might create a belief, that what was done, tended only to ſecure the King's perſon and government. The end propoſed was to inſinuate that religion was no way concerned, but only the ſtate, and thereby obviate the objection which would naturally have been drawn from the Breda declaration, wherein the King ſolemly promiſed, that no perſon ſhould be moleſted for his religion. To ſucceed the better in this project, an admirable expedient was deviſed. This was to range, under the ſame denomination, all the ſects differing from the church of England, in order to impute to the whole body, conſiſting of theſe ſectaries, what could have been charged but to one, had they been diſtinguiſhed. This denomination was, that of Diſſenters, or Non-conformiſts; under which were comprehended, as well the Preſbyterians, as the Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, and other ſects. Thus, by this affected confuſion, all the Non-conformiſts were charged with the faults of one of the ſects compriſed under that name; and, as if they had made but one body, puniſhed without diſtinction, on pretenſe of keeping them in awe, and preventing them from diſturbing the ſtate. The Catholics, the Independents, the Anabaptiſts, were Non-conformiſts. Precautions therefore were to be taken againſt the Non-conformiſts, and conſequently againſt the Preſbyterians, becauſe their enemies were pleaſed to comprehend them under the ſame general appellation. Undeniable proofs of what I advance, will hereafter appear. The truth is, the Preſbyterians only were directly aimed at, whoſe ruin was determined, notwithſtanding the declaration from Breda. For indeed it is not likely, that a King, who had privately imbraced the Romiſh religion, would turn proſecutor of the Catholics: and the Independents and Anabaptiſts made then ſo inconſiderable a figure, that the King's miniſters had but little reaſon to fear them. But tho' there had been cauſe to ſuſpect them, why were they not diſtinguiſhed from the Preſbyterians, who had given no room for ſuch ſuſpicions? All this was only to ſave, in ſome meaſure, the King's honor, at a time when his promiſes, contained in his declaration from Breda, were openly evaded. This name of Non-conformiſts, is therefore to be conſidered as a very ambiguous term, which indeed ſignifies men who do not conform to the church of England, but not in the ſenſe which was given it, viz. of a body of men inſeparably united, compoſed of all the Diſſenters, and acting with the ſame views, and for the ſame intereſt.

The name of Non-conformiſts applied indifferently to all ſectaries.

Charles II. An' 1660.

Conference at the Savoy between the biſhops and Preſbyterian miniſters. Account of that Conference. London 1661. Collier. Baxter.

Some of the Preſbyterian miniſters obſerving, they were induſtriouſly confounded with ſects among whom they had no relation, petitioned the King for a conference between them and the biſhops, in order to examine wherein conſiſted their differences, and the objections they had to the Book of Common-prayer. The King granted their requeſt, and immediately named twelve biſhops, as principals, and nine other clergymen as aſſiſtants; and on the Preſbyteryan ſide, twelve miniſters as principals, and nine others as aſſiſtants, to confer together at the biſhop of London's houſe, who then lodged in the Savoy (3). The commiſſion ran: "That "the commiſſioners appointed ſhould act for four "months, from the twenty-fifth of March, and "particularly were ordered to adviſe upon and re-"view the Book of Common-prayer;——to take "into their ſerious and grave conſiderations, the "ſeveral directions and rules, forms of prayer, "and things in the ſaid Book of Common prayer "contained; and to adviſe and conſult upon and "about the ſame, and the ſeveral objections and "exceptions which ſhall now be raiſed againſt the "ſame; and (if occaſion be) to make ſuch reaſon-"able and neceſſary alterations, corrections, and "amendments, as ſhall be agreed upon to be need-"ful and expedient, for giving ſatisfaction to "tender conſciences, and the reſtoring and conti-"nuance of peace and unity in the churches under "his Majeſty's government and protection——And "to certify to his Majeſty in writing, under their "ſeveral hands, the matters and things whereupon "they ſhall ſo determine, to be by his Majeſty ap-"proved, &c." Thus the King gave a power to

(1) They thought, it not enough to believe that Chriſt was to reign on earth, and to put the ſaints in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, but that the ſaints were to take the kingdom themſelves, Some of them ſeemed perſuaded, that Chriſt would come down and head them. Burnet, p. 160, 161.

(2) Betwixt High-gate and Hampſted.

(3) Rapin by miſtake, has put the number of the principals of each ſide for that of the aſſiſtants, and the contrary.

theſe

CHARLES II. AN' 1660. these twenty one miniſters, which they had not deſired, viz. to decide, as well for themſelves as their brethren, who were more than two thouſand, and for the whole body of the Preſbyterians, what was neceſſary to be altered in the Liturgy, without impowering them previouſly to ſetle their demands, in order to an union with the church of England.

AN' 1661. It was eaſy to foreſee from the very begining of this conference that it would be fruitleſs. For tho' the miniſters had already acquainted the King and the chancellor that they could decide nothing, ſince they were not authoriſed by their brethren, the biſhop of London* immediately told them, that as themſelves had requeſted this conference, they were to produce all their exceptions to the Liturgy in writing at once, together with the additional forms and alterations deſired. The miniſters anſwered, as they had before done to the King and the chancellor, that they could decide nothing, without having firſt conſulted their abſent brethren, and from them received a commiſſion in form. This intimated a deſire, that they might be permited to meet in ſynod, and debate together on theſe matters: but ſuch requeſt was never intended to be granted. They were therefore urged, only to declare their own ſenſe, when it was ſeen, that they could not be brought to act as deputies of a body, by which indeed they were not commiſſioned. To this it was anſwered, that they were willing to give their particular ſentiments in writing, provided, the biſhops, at the ſame time, would bring in their utmoſt conceſſions, that when both were compared, a judgment might be made of the ſucceſs. But the biſhops abſolutely rejected this propoſal. At laſt, the miniſters conſented to produce at once all their exceptions, reſerving to themſelves, however, a power to make additions according to the anſwers they ſhould receive, and their offer was accepted. Whereupon, the exceptions were drawn up, and an anſwer given in by the biſhops, who accepted a reply, and at length ſome ſlight alterations in the Liturgy were agreed on. But, beſide that the miniſters conſidered theſe alterations as inſufficient, there was an invincible obſtacle to an agreement, which was, that the miniſters not being commiſſioned, whatever they ſaid, could be eſteemed no other than their private opinion.

* Sheldon.

I ſhall not enter farther into this conference, becauſe, to underſtand it, requires a competent knowledge of the Engliſh Liturgy, and the manner in which Divine Service is celebrated, which cannot be ſuppoſed with regard to the generality of foreigners, for whom this hiſtory is deſigned (1). I ſhall content myſelf therefore with ſome general remarks, to aſſiſt the reader to apprehend wherein conſiſted the differences between the church of England and the Preſbyterians, and the conduct of both ſides.

Obſervations upon the differences between the Churchmen and Preſbyterians.

In the whole reign of King James, and the fifteen firſt years of Charles I, the Preſbyterians were oppreſſed, or, at leaſt, may be ſaid, not to be treated by the church of England as Chriſtian charity ſeemed to require. From the begining of the parliament of the third of November 1640, the church of England was perſecuted in her turn, and Epiſcopacy itſelf at laſt intirely aboliſhed. When the Independents became maſters of the parliament and army, the Epiſcopalians ſtill continued under oppreſſion, and tho' the Preſbyterian church-government was outwardly preſerved, there was nevertheleſs an intire liberty for all Proteſtant ſects, which the Preſbyterians conſidered as a violent perſecution. This ſtate continued till the begining of the year 1660, when Monk, forming the deſign of the King's reſtoration, believed it could not be effected without a reſtitution of that very Preſbyterian parliament which had aboliſhed Epiſcopacy. This expedient was crowned with ſucceſs: and by the united indeavors of the Preſbyterians and Epiſcopalians, the King was at laſt replaced on the throne. The reſtoration of his Majeſty produced that of the church of England, which was at once in almoſt the ſame ſtate ſhe had been before the year 1640. However, there was this difference, that, during the troubles, the number of the Preſbyterians was exceedingly increaſed, and thereby were grown much more formidable than under the reign of King James, and the firſt fifteen years of Charles I. It was therefore the intereſt of the church of England, either to ruin intirely the Preſbyterian party, which could ſtill raiſe freſh troubles in the church and ſtate, or by ſome ſmall conceſſions, ingage them to unite with the national church. And for this laſt end, the conference now mentioned ſeemed intended.

CHARLES II. AN' 1661.

But religious conferences ſedom meet with a happy ſucceſs; firſt, becauſe the two parties muſt be equally animated with ſuch a ſpirit of peace and charity, rarely to be found, among men; and, if I may venture to ſay it, ſtill more rarely among churchmen. Secondly, becauſe in theſe conferences, one of the parties is uſually ſuperior, and in poſſeſſion of power, and therefore not very willing to quit that advantage, to be reduced to an equality. So, no ſucceſs can be expected, unleſs one of the parties will yield every thing to the other. This recalls to my mind a ſaying of a French Catholic, a man of wit, to a miniſter after the concluſion of the religious war in France: "If (ſaid he) you had "come to a compoſition with us while the ſword "was in your hand, we might have made you "ſome conceſſions; but now that you are con-"quered, we would not yield you ſo much as the "chriſtening of bells." The caſe was much the ſame in England, at the time I am ſpeaking of. We have ſeen the conceſſions of Charles I, in the Newport treaty, with regard to Epiſcopacy, which, if it was not intirely given up by him, was however reduced to a very low ebb. But after the reſtoration of Charles II, the uſe of the ſurplice was of too great conſequence to religion, to be relinquiſhed. Thirdly, the animoſity between the two parties, generally retards the ſucceſs of ſuch conferences. The one cannot bear to receive laws from the other, nor think of revoking what has been once advanced. Fourthly, inſtead of thinking ſeriouſly on peace, both parties ſeek only to ſurpriſe one another. Laſtly, it too often happens, that theſe conferences are granted by the prevailing to the oppreſſed party, only to have it ſaid, that peace was offered, but rejected by the oppoſite ſide. There is room to believe, that in this conference all theſe circumſtances met, and therefore its ſucceſs is not to be wondered at; for, in ſhort, it broke off without any effect, and, as too commonly happens, each party threw the blame on the other.* Mr. Baxter, in his relation of it, ſays, that the biſhops were abſolutely againſt all conceſſions. But in another relation it is ſaid, the Preſbyterians were ſo obſtinately attached to their opinions, that they would not recede from a ſingle point, and that at laſt, upon the biſhop of Durham's propoſal, being required to declare in writing what they thought ſinful in the Liturgy, they put into the liſt all the articles which hindered their joining with the church of England, without one exception. They thereby ſhewed, that they conſidered all the forms and practiſes of the church of England as ſinful, even to the uſe of the ſurplice, and conſequently a refuſal of any accommodation, unleſs their opinions were intirely con-

(1) See the Account of this conference, London 1661.

formed to. Theſe are the mutual accuſations of the two parties, on which I am far from deciding any thing as to the truth of the facts. All I can ſay, without wronging either party, is, that the Preſbyterians ought to have receded from ſeveral points, which are manifeſtly indifferent; that the biſhops ſhould not have ſcrupled to give up the ſame. But people were then very far from being inclined to charity and condeſcenſion.

The King crowned. Phillips. Kennet's Regiſter.

During this conference at the Savoy, the King was magnificently crowned the twenty-third of April, being St. George's day.

A new parliament, and how compoſed.

The parliament, which had been ſummoned for the eighth of May, met on the day appointed. The repreſentatives, for the moſt part, were elected agreeably to the wiſhes, and doubtleſs by the influence of the court. The major part were High-church-men, that is, violent enemies of the Preſbyterians; great aſſerters of the minuteſt ceremonies of the church; and moſt devoted to the King and Royal prerogative. They literally followed the principles of Laud archbiſhop of Canterbury, which had cauſed the troubles in the late reign. In ſhort, this parliament may be ſaid to be compoſed by chancellor Hyde, prime miniſter, and on the twentieth of April created earl of Clarendon. Let it alſo be remarked, that this parliament was called the Pensionary Parliament, becauſe it was afterwards diſcovered, that many of the members received penſions from the court. It is true, many will not allow that it was ſo at firſt, but pretend, that by the length of time, and changes upon death, the new members ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted. I cannot however help obſerving, that, at the very begining, this parliament did things in favor of the King, which no other had ever done; and that it was ſome time before they retracted their extravagant maxims concerning the Royal prerogative. This ſhews, the parliament was early bribed, notwithſtanding the inſinuations of ſome to the contrary. It may however be conceived how acceptable this parliament was to his Majeſty, ſince it continued almoſt eighteen years, on which account it was more juſtly called the Long Parliament than that of 1640.

As religion, whether Popiſh or Preſbyterian, and the Royal prerogative, are concerned in almoſt all the tranſactions of this reign, it is abſolutely neceſſary to inform the reader of ſome things concerning the hiſtorians; otherwiſe, they will be extremely imbaraſſed, when they read of tranſactions in ſome authors, quite contrary to what they find in others. My deſign is, therefore, by a few remarks on this ſubject; firſt, to prevent their being inſenſibly, and for want of examination, biaſſed by the opinions or prejudices of hiſtorians. Secondly, to incline; and thirdly, to aſſiſt them, in ſome meaſure, to make this examination.

Remark upon the hiſtorians of Charles II.

There are three ſorts of authors who have writ the hiſtory of this reign. The firſt are thoſe, who profeſs to be High-church with regard to religion; and with reſpect to the government, aſcribe to the King an almoſt unlimited power, provided the King be of their party. Theſe are, in a word, what are called the High-fliers, or rigid Tories. They are good Proteſtants, but, however, much leſs the Papiſts enemies than the Preſbyterians. For they will ſcarcely allow the latter to be Chriſtians, becauſe they have no biſhops. Now, according to their principles, no valid ordination can be had without biſhops, and conſequently no valid adminiſtration of the ſacraments; whence it follows, that Preſbyterians baptized by miniſters unordained by biſhops, are not truly baptized.

There is another ſet of writers of this reign, who, being Proteſtants, imbrace not the extravagant principles of the former, either concerning the church or government. Theſe are thoſe who are called Whigs, among whom there is a mixture of Churchmen and Preſbyterians.

Laſtly, there are Popiſh hiſtorians, whoſe tenets and principles are ſufficiently known.

Each of theſe authors have wrote the hiſtory of this reign according to his principles; for this reaſon what is praiſed and approved by one hiſtorian, is blamed and cenſured by another. For inſtance, as to this ſecond parliament, ſome openly inſinuate, that the firſt years tranſactions, whether for extending the Royal power, or oppreſſing the Preſbyterians, were agreeable to reaſon, juſtice, and the good of the kingdom; but what was done after the breach with the King, was only the effect of cabal and corruption. Others on the contrary maintain, that this parliament's zeal, whether for the King or againſt the Preſbyterians, was an extravagant zeal which threw them upon meaſures very detrimental to the kingdom, and unavoidably ingaged them to favor the ill deſigns of the court; but perceiving at laſt the ill uſe made of this diſpoſition, they eſpouſed the true intereſts of the nation, in oppoſing his Majeſty's deſigns.

The Popiſh hiſtorians are of the ſame principles with the High-flying Tories concerning the government. But, as King Charles's deſign of introducing Popery into England is very unwillingly owned by the Tories, the Papiſts on the contrary make it a glorious deſign, as being very juſt and religious.

A man who reads the ſeveral hiſtories of this reign muſt therefore prepare himſelf to meet theſe contrarieties, and to chuſe that ſcheme which appears moſt coherent and beſt ſupported. For this end, it will be proper to adhere only to plain facts, without regarding the frequent inſinuations of hiſtorians, moſt of whom ſuppoſe without ceremony their own ſcheme, even in the facts they relate. I own this is difficult: but I ſuppoſe the reader's ſearch is after truth, which he will never attain, if he implicitly follows, without examination, the firſt hiſtorian who falls in his way. Wherefore, I thought it proper to inform him before hand of what he is to expect, and withal to leave him at liberty to examine my ſcheme as well as that of others. But to return to the parliament.

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 434.

The King going to the houſe the eighth of May, made a ſpeech, in which, after ſome expreſſions of his great affection for his people, he recommended two bills, which he had prepared to confirm the act of indemnity. He repeated the ſame words he had ſaid to the laſt parliament: adding, that they might be as ſevere as they pleaſed againſt new offenders, but he ſhould not think him a wiſe man or his friend, who ſhould perſuade him to infringe the act of oblivion, or to conſent to a breach of a promiſe ſo ſolemnly made when he was abroad. Laſtly, he communicated to them his intended marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, which, with the approbation of his whole council, had been reſolved.

He acquaints them with his marriage.

The chancellor's ſpeech, Id. p. 435, &c.

The earl of Clarendon, lord-chancellor, afterwards inlarged on the particulars mentioned by the King in his ſpeech, but chiefly upon two points untouched by his Majeſty. The firſt related to the ſeditious ſermons of certain preachers, which tended to renew the old troubles, and whoſe licenſe it was neceſſary to curb. The ſecond point on which he inſiſted, was the late inſurrection, which he agravated in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions, intimating, that by intercepted letters it might be concluded, the combination reached very far, and if the vigilance of the lord-mayor had not prevented it, the city had been in danger of being reduced to aſhes. He did not name the authors of the ſeditious ſermons, becauſe his deſign was not to accuſe this or that perſon, or any particular ſect, but only to obtain a general order againſt the preachers who were not of the church of England. As to the pretended conſpiracy diſcovered by a multitude

Remark on it.

CHARLES II. AN' 1661.

multitude of intercepted letters, as he aſſerted, it does not appear that any one was proſecuted in conſequence of theſe letters, or that others, beſide Venner and his companions, were proved to be concerned in it. It is therefore apparent, this ſpeech tended only to incenſe the parliament againſt the Sectaries or Non-conformiſts in general, under color of providing for the ſafety of the King and the ſtate, in ſuppoſition, that it was only from them any danger could be feared. This will hereafter appear to be more than a mere conjecture.

Kennet's Regiſter, p. 442.

Sir Edward Turner, the duke of York's attorney-general, being choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, on the recommendation of the court, both houſes unanimouſly voted their thanks to the King for the gracious communication of his reſolution to marry, and went in a body to congratulate him. Then the houſe of commons ordered all their members to receive the ſacrament according to the preſcribed liturgy within a certain time, upon pain of being expelled the houſe.

The commons ordered to receive the ſacrament in the church of England. Id. p. 446.

The two houſes jointly ordered, the twentieth of May, that the writing called the Solemn League and Covenant ſhould be burned by the common hangman; which was performed with great rejoicing. Three days after, the following acts were alſo ordered to be conſumed. The act for erecting a High-court of Juſtice for trying and judging Charles Stuart, &c. The act for ſubſcribing the ingagement againſt a King and houſe of peers: the act for declaring the people of England to be a commonwealth, &c. The act for renouncing the title of Charles Stuart, and another for the ſecurity of the Protector's perſon.

Several acts burned by the common hangman. Id. p. 450. Phillips. May 29.

The zeal of the two houſes breeding in the Republicans a fear, that the act of indemnity, paſſed in the late parliament, would not be ſufficient for their ſecurity, if it was not confirmed by the preſent, addreſſed the King for this confirmation. Upon their petition, the King wrote to both houſes the ſecond of June, earneſtly recommending to them to paſs the bill he had prepared. He even told them plainly, however neceſſary the bills might be, which were ready for the Royal aſſent, he had no mind to paſs them till the act of indemnity was likewiſe preſented to him. This letter having produced the deſired effect, his Majeſty came to the parliament the eighth of July, and paſſed the following acts:

Kennet, p. 478.

Acts. Statute b. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 491.

An act to confirm the act of indemnity paſſed in the late parliament.

An act to impower the King to receive from his ſubjects a free and voluntary contribution for his preſent occaſions.

After this the King made a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, reminding them of his declaration from Breda, and of that ſigned by his adherents when his reſtoration began to be talked of, in which they promiſed to renounce all memory of former unkindneſſes, and vowed all imaginable good will to each other. "Therefore, continues he, let it be "in no man's power to charge me or you with "breach of our word or promiſe."

Order concerning ſome Regicides. Id. p. 490. Heath, p. 501. * On Jan. 30.

Theſe two acts being diſpatched, the parliament proceeded with vigor in finiſhing the other bills which were before them, and in particular, one for the confiſcation of the eſtates of twenty-one Regicides deceaſed, and to puniſh three, who were ſpared as to life, but liable to other penalties. Theſe were the lord Monſon, ſir Henry Mildmay and Robert Wallop. It was ordered, that they ſhould be drawn upon ſledges with ropes about their necks to the gallows at Tyburn, and from thence conveyed to the Tower, there to remain priſoners during their lives.

The King, on the thirtieth of July went to the houſe, and gave the Royal aſſent to ſeveral acts. CHARLES II. AN' 1661.

Other acts. Statute b.

1. An act for the ſafety and preſervation of the King's perſon and government; which had three remarkable clauſes.

The firſt, that if any perſon ſhould compaſs, imagine or intend the King's death, deſtruction, or bodily harm, to impriſon or reſtrain his Royal perſon, or depoſe him, or ſhould levy war againſt him within or without his realm, or ſtir up any foreign power to invade him; or ſhould declare or expreſs ſuch his wicked intention, by printing, writing, preaching, or malicious and adviſed ſpeaking, he ſhould, being thereof legally convicted, be adjudged a traitor.

The ſecond, that if any man ſhould maliciouſly or adviſedly publiſh or affirm his Majeſty to be an Heretic or a Papiſt, or that he indeavored to introduce Popery; or ſhould ſtir up the people to hatred or diſlike of his Royal perſon and government: that every ſuch perſon ſhould be made incapable of any office or imployment either in church or ſtate.

The third, that if any man ſhould maliciouſly and adviſedly affirm, that the parliament, begun in Weſtminſter the third of November 1640, is yet in being, or that any covenant or ingagement ſince that time impoſed on the people, doth oblige them to indeavor a change of the government either in church or ſtate, or that either, or both houſes of parliament have a legiſlative power without his Majeſty, that then every ſuch offender, being legally convicted thereof, ſhould incur the penalties of a Præmunire mentioned in the ſtatute of the ſixteenth of Richard II.

The other acts now paſſed were:

An act to repeal the law made in the ſeventeenth year of Charles I, for the excluſion of biſhops from the houſe of peers.

An act to prevent tumults and diſorders commited under pretenſe of preparing or preſenting petitions to the King or parliament.

An act to declare the ſole right of the militia to be in the King.

An act to impower his Majeſty to diſpoſe of the land-forces.

An act for the regulation and government of his Majeſty's navy and forces by ſea.

An act to impoſe certain pains and penalties upon perſons and eſtates of thoſe who had a hand in the horrible murder of the late King.

An act for the collection of the great arrear of the duty of exciſe.

An act for providing neceſſary carriages for the King in all his progreſſes and removals.

The parliament adjourned.

After theſe acts had received the Royal aſſent, his Majeſty thanked the two houſes for them, and particularly for that which reſtored the biſhops to their ſeats in parliament, and alſo that concerning the militia. This done, he gave them leave to adjourn to the twentieth of November.

A convocation. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 480. &c. Collier.

When the King called this parliament, he had no intention to aſſemble the clergy, he believing, the Savoy conference was equivalent to a convocation. But dr. Heylin, in a letter to a miniſter of ſtate, ſhewed, that this conference ought not to hinder the King from aſſembling the clergy. He alleged, among other reaſons, that the clergy could not be bound by the acts of the Savoy aſſembly. This was preciſely what the Preſbyterian miniſters, appointed by the King, had alleged, to ſhew they had no power to act for their brethren. This convocation did nothing conſiderable, except granting the King a benevolence by virtue of that act above-mentioned (1).

(1) In this ſeſſion, the Papiſts petitioned the parliament for the repeal of the penal laws againſt them, and for toleration of their religion. See Kennet's Regiſter, p. 472, &c.

During

Affairs of Scotland. Burnet. Collier. Echard.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the parliament of Scotland proceeded with no leſs vigor. Being aſſembled in January, they began firſt with abrogating and annulling the ſolemn league and covenant of the two kingdoms; and commanded that none of his Majeſty's ſubjects preſume, on pretenſe of any authority whatſoever, to require a renewing or ſwearing to the ſaid league and covenant, without his Majeſty's ſpecial warrant and approbation.

Kennet, p. 427.

They next declared the power of the militia to be in the King alone, and the act of the ſixteenth of January 1647, by which the late King was delivered to the Engliſh, to be infamous, diſloyal, and contrary to all laws divine and humane.

Epiſcopacy therereceived. May 8. Burnet, p. 139. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 441.

Epiſcopacy was reſtored in Scotland, and for that purpoſe, four Preſbyterian miniſters, Sharp, Hamilton, Barwell and Leighton came to London, where, after being ordained deacons and prieſts, they were conſecrated biſhops by his lordſhip of Wincheſter. All four renounced their firſt ordination as invalid, and before their departure, obtained from the King a declaration of his pleaſure to reſtore in Scotland the government of the church by archbiſhops and biſhops, as it was in the year 1637. Upon this declaration, the privy-council of Scotland ſtrictly diſcharged all eccleſiaſtical meetings at ſynods and preſbyteries, &c. till they ſhould be authorized by the archbiſhops and biſhops. An act was alſo paſſed in the Scotiſh parliament to prohibit all meetings and conventicles in private houſes for religious worſhip. By another act the right of patronage was revived. And laſtly, by another, it was ordained, that all perſons in any public office, ſhould ſign a ſolemn declaration againſt the national covenant in 1638, and the ſolemn league and covenant in 1643, in which they declared it unlawful to ſubjects upon pretenſe of reformation, or any other pretenſe whatſoever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or take up arms againſt the King, or thoſe by him commiſſioned.

The marquis of Argyle beheaded at Edinburgh. State Trials, Vol. II. p. 430. Burnet. May 11.

The marquis of Argyle having been ſent priſoner to Edinburgh, was there tried, condemned and beheaded the tweny-ſeventh of May. Many believed, that revenge, and the avarice of ſome perſons (1) who hoped for the confiſcation of his eſtates, were more powerful motives for his ſentence, than juſtice. A few days before his death, the remains of the unfortunate marquis of Montroſe were ſolemnly intered, and the head of the marquis of Argyle was ſet up in the ſame place.

June 7, Heath.

In England the bodies of ſir Charles Lucas and ſir George Liſle, who were ſhot at Colcheſter in 1648, were likewiſe honorably intered.

Complaints of the Royaliſts. Burnet, p. 165. Echard.

During the receſs of the Engliſh parliament, the Cavaliers or Royaliſts made great complaints of the King's ingratitude, for ſuffering them to periſh with hunger, while, by the act of indemnity, he procured his enemies the ſecure injoyment of immenſe riches, acquired by illegal means. The city ſwarmed with libels on this ſubject. One, among the reſt, writ by L'eſtrange, told the King bold truths with great freedom. But his Majeſty paſſed them by unregarded, believing, the leaſt he could do for the loyal ſufferers, was to let them complain, ſince it was neither in his inclination (2) nor power to reward them.

Rumors of a conſpiracy. Heath.

To ſtop theſe complaints, the city was filled with rumors of projects and plots againſt the King's perſon and government (3). But many believed this only an artifice to inſenſe the parliament againſt the Non-conformiſts in general, and the Preſbyterians in particular, and furniſh a pretenſe to proceed againſt them. The Preſbyterians were always confounded with the other ſects, under the denomination of Non-conformiſts, who were charged with ill intentions againſt the government, tho' thitherto the Preſbyterians had given no cauſe of ſuſpicion, at leaſt nothing was proved. The moſt plauſible thing urged, was, that the Independents, Anabaptiſts, and other Republicans, ſeeing the Preſbyterians no better treated than themſelves, formed great projects, in hopes of being joined by the Preſbyterians at a proper juncture. Thus much is certain, the project of the act of uniformity, which will be mentioned hereafter, was now formed, and the rumors, true or falſe, of plots carried on by the Non-conformiſts, might be very uſeful to palliate the breach of the Breda declaration, under color of providing for the ſafety of the ſtate. For the Preſbyterians could not be attacked on account of religion, without a moſt manifeſt violation of the King's promiſe.

Algier expedition proves abortive. July. Heath, p. 500. Kennet's Regiſter.

The earl of Sandwich, vice-admiral, being ſent with a fleet to Liſbon, to bring home the new Queen, appeared before Algier to make a treaty with the Corſairs, or by force reduce them to reaſon. But he found them ſo well prepared, that he was obliged to return to Liſbon without doing any thing.

The parliament meets.

On the twentieth of November the parliament aſſembling, his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, without any neceſſity, they being only adjourned. He gave for reaſon, that it was to have the pleaſure to ſee the biſhops reſtored to their places in parliament. He then deſired the commons,

The King's ſpeech to them.

" To think ſeriouſly upon ſetling his revenue, and
" providing for the expenſes of his navy; adding,
" that he aſked nothing for himſelf, but as his
" intereſt was united with that of his people." He told them, " That he was willing they ſhould make a
" full inſpection into his diſburſements and receipts,
" but would not have them believe any looſe diſ-
" courſes, of giving away eighty thouſand pounds
" in a morning. That he had much more reaſon to
" be ſorry, that he had not wherewith to reward
" thoſe who had ever faithfully ſerved the King his
" father and himſelf, than aſhamed of any bounty
" he had exerciſed towards any man." After this, he told the two houſes, " That he was ſorry to
" find, the general temper and affections of the
" nation were not ſo well compoſed, as might have
" been expected, after ſuch ſignal bleſſings from
" God Almighty upon all, and after ſo great in-
" dulgence and condeſcenſions from him towards
" all intereſts. That there was ſtill many wicked
" inſtruments, who labored night and day to diſturb
" the public peace, and make all people jealous of
" each other. That it was worthy of their care
" and vigilance, to provide proper remedies for the
" diſeaſes of that kind; and if they found new
" diſeaſes, they muſt ſtudy new remedies. That
" the difficulties which concerned religion were too
" hard for him, and therefore he recommended
" them to their care and deliberation, who could
" beſt provide for them."

Remarks upon this ſpeech.

When his Majeſty publiſhed his Breda declaration, and expreſſed ſo much zeal for paſſing an act of indemnity, agreeably to it, he did not think it out of his power to give a poſitive promiſe, that no

(1) Particularly the earl of Midletoun. See Burnet, p. 124. The marquis was condemned, as guilty of high-treaſon, upon ſome letters formerly writ by him to Monk, wherein he expreſſed a great zeal for the Republican cauſe. Theſe Monk baſely ſent down to the marquis's judges. Id. p. 125.

(2) This word Inclination is ſurely too ſevere in our author, ſince it loads his Majeſty with the blackeſt of crimes, ingratitude: It is readily granted he had not Power but that does not prove he had no Inclination.

(3) Of which the authors were, Praiſe-God Barebone, colonel Salmon, major Wildman, alderman Ireton, &c. Heath. p. 500.

perſon

Charles II. An' 1661.

perſon ſhould be moleſted on account of religion. But, in all appearance, ſince the elections of members for this new parliament had been made, according to the wiſh of the miniſtry, in favor of High-church, it was ſuggeſted to the King, that the beſt expedient to obtain whatever he deſired, was to ſacrifice the Non-conformiſts to the parliament. It is not very ſtrange, that a Prince of his character, who had ſecretly imbraced the Roman Catholic religion, or, to ſpeak more properly, had no religion at all, ſhould not think it a point of honor to ſupport the Preſbyterians, at the hazard of loſing the affection of his parliament. He viſibly begins therefore to uſe evaſions, in the concluſion of this ſpeech; and by talking in general of perſons, laboring to trouble the peace of the kingdom, furniſhes his parliament with a pretenſe of treating the Non-conformiſts with rigor, as diſturbers of the public tranquillity. As to religion, he leaves the care of it to the parliament, as of a thing too difficult for him. By this he intirely departs from his Breda declaration, and the act of indemnity, which till now he had ſo much inſiſted on.

The Preſbyterians perſecuted.

This ſpeech was a ſignal to the perſecution which, ſoon after, broke out againſt the Non-conformiſts, and particularly the Preſbyterians, for they alone were properly pointed out. We ſhall ſee preſently, that upon rumors of conſpiracies forming againſt the ſtate by the Non-conformiſts, without diſtinction of any ſect, acts were grounded, which manifeſtly deſtroyed the Breda declaration, as well as that publiſhed by the Royaliſts, when the King's reſtoration was in hand.

I ſhall briefly ſtate the argument uſed to ſupport this perſecution. True it is, the King generouſly pardoned the offenſes commited before this declaration: but he did not promiſe to pardon ſuch as ſhould be afterwards commited. Now, ſince the King had been reſtored, the Non-conformiſts were ploting to diſturb the government. It is therefore neceſſary to take all poſſible precautions, to diſable them from puting their deſigns in execution. In anſwer to this argument, it is needleſs to urge the ſlender foundation of theſe pretended plots, for which no man was ever puniſhed, or even proſecuted (1). It is enough to remark, that it ſuppoſes, what is intirely falſe, that the Non-conformiſts made but one body, becauſe their enemies had been pleaſed to give them all one common appellation. And yet, upon this ſuppoſition ſo notoriouſly falſe, it was thought lawful, to deprive all the ſects, and particularly the Preſbyterians, of the benefit of the Breda declaration, only becauſe their enemies were pleaſed to confound them with the Independents and Enthuſiaſts, under the ſame title of Non-conformiſts. I do not think it neceſſary to dwell any longer on demonſtrating the weakneſs of this argument. But it was ſufficiently valid, for thoſe who had the power in their hands.

Petition of the parliament. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 563.

To prepare the way for the deſigned alteration, ſolely founded upon rumors of an imaginary conſpiracy, the parliament thought proper to ſupport theſe rumors, by a petition to the King for a proclamation, to order all officers and diſbanded ſoldiers to depart twenty miles from London. It was natural to infer from thence, that there were grounds for fear, which was indeed the deſign of this proclamation.

A ſupply granted to the King. Ibid.

The ſame day, the commons voted the King a ſupply of twelve hundred thouſand pounds for his preſent occaſions, that is, to be diſpoſed of as he pleaſed. This was the firſt fruits of his condeſcenſion, with regard to the Breda declaration.

Then, the parliament reſumed the affair of the twenty regicides, who had voluntarily rendered themſelves upon the proclamation of the ſixth of June, and had yet lain under ſentence of death. It was aſked of them, what they had to ſay, why judgment ſhould not be executed upon them? They alleged the King's proclamation, on which they had relied, believing it was his intention to pardon them. This did not prevent a bill from being brought in for their execution, which was read twice, and then dropped, probably, on the King's powerful ſollicitation in favor of the convicted, who could not have been executed without great prejudice to his honor and faith.

Charles II. An' 1661.

Some regicides called before the parliament. Nov. 25. Id. p. 563, 567. Heath. p. 502.

As I ſaid, the rumors of plots were abſolutely neceſſary to ſerve for foundation to what was intended to be done. The earl of Clarendon mentioned theſe plots at the cloſe of the late parliament, and his Majeſty did the ſame at the opening of this. To ſtrike a greater blow, the earl of Clarendon poſitively affirmed, at a conference between the two houſes, that there was a real conſpiracy to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, and which had been contriving ever ſince March. He named ſeveral perſons ingaged, and gave an exact deſcription of the manner how it was to be executed. He ſaid, tho' the deſign ſeemed diſconcerted as to the city of London, where the officers and diſbanded ſoldiers had been invited to repair the eleventh of the inſtant December, it was ſtill purſued in the country. The lords upon this information, named a commitee of twelve of their houſe, to whom they deſired the commons to add a proportionable number of their members, to examine this horrid deſign, that the execution of it might be prevented, and the kingdom's peace ſecured.

The chancellor ſupports the rumor of the plot. Kennet's Regiſter. p. 582.

Doubtleſs it muſt appear ſtrange to all, who are not biaſſed by paſſion or party, that a plot, of which the court ſo well knew all the circumſtances; the parties ingaged; the day of its deſigned execution in London; the indeavors ſtill uſed to promote it in the country, and concerning which a multitude of letters had been intercepted, that this plot, which was examined by a numerous commitee of both houſes, ſhould not be attended with the death of any of the complices, nor even with the proſecution of one ſingle perſon. It was, however, upon this ſole foundation, that the corporation act, of which I am going to ſpeak, and all the proceedings againſt the Non-conformiſts, were builded.

A remark upon this ſubject.

His Majeſty on the twentieth of December came to the houſe, and paſſed the two following acts. Ibid. Acts. Statute b.

An act granting the King twelve hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, for his preſent occaſions, to be levied by a monthly tax of ſeventy thouſand pounds, for eighteen months.

An act for regulating corporations.

This act, which was called the Corporation-act, ran, That in order to perpetuate the ſucceſſion in corporations, in the hands of perſons well affected to the government, it was ordained, that every mayor, alderman, and common-council-man, or any other officer in a corporation, ſhould be obliged, beſide the common oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, and a particular declaration, againſt the ſolemn league and covenant, to take an oath, declaring, "That it was not lawful, upon any pre- "tenſe whatſoever, to take arms againſt the King; "and that he did abhor that traiterous poſition, of "taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, "or againſt thoſe commiſſioned by him."

Oath injoined by the corporation act.

If the oath had imported, that it was not lawful, on any pretenſe, to take arms againſt the eſta-

A remark.

(1) One John James, a ſmall-coal-man, was hanged and quartered for it, on November the twenty-ſeventh, or rather for being ingaged in Venner's buſineſs, for he was one of his accomplices. Heath, p. 502.

liſhed government, there had been nothing in it extraordinary. But in this oath, the King was ſuppoſed to be ſole maſter of the government, which is manifeſtly falſe, ſince he can neither make nor repeal a law without the concurrence of parliament, and conſequently, the ſovereign authority does not reſide in him alone. This ſuppoſition was exactly like that of the parliament of 1640, that the ſupreme authority reſided in the people, or their repreſentatives in parliament, the abſurdity of which was expoſed by Charles I, in almoſt every one of his papers. They are both equally falſe, and to ſhew that the people of England do not think them true, we need only obſerve the abſurd conſequences they have produced, and which, by the Engliſh, have been conſtantly rejected. By the maxim of the parliament of 1640, they believed, they had a right to aboliſh Monarchy, and change the eſtabliſhed religion. By the maxim contained in this oath, James II believed he had a right to introduce a new religion, and eſtabliſh an abſolute power. But the Engliſh nation thought themſelves bound by neither the one nor the other of theſe extravagant maxims. Charles II was reſtored, notwithſtanding the deciſion of the parliament of 1640; and James II was dethroned, notwithſtanding the deciſion of this parliament, which had ordered the oath we are ſpeaking of, tho' the act was aſſented to by the King. In England it is impoſſible to mark out the degree of obedience due from the people to the King, or the parliament, when they are diſunited. The reaſon is evident, becauſe the eſſence of the government conſiſts in their union. It is in the King and parliament united together, that the abſolute power, neceſſary to all governments, is lodged. Wherefore, to ſay, that "upon any pretenſe or reaſon what-"ſoever," it is not lawful to reſiſt the King or the parliament, is, properly throwing up the liberties of the nation to the mercy of the one or the other. The High-churchmen, of which this parliament was principally compoſed, had then extraordinary ideas of the Royal authority. And I know not whether they have yet intirely loſt them. But it is certain, many of them at laſt opened their eyes, and ſaw the dangerous conſequences of their maxims, and even this parliament did not think fit to admit them all, as will hereafter appear.

When theſe acts were paſſed, the parliament was adjourned to the tenth of January.

Death of the Queen of Bohemia.

Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I, Electreſs Palatine and Queen of Bohemia, died at London the thirteenth of February (1).

Report of the conſpiracy made by the chancellor. Parker. Kennet's Regiſter.

The parliament meeting the tenth of January, the firſt thing the lords did, was to receive the report of the commitee, appointed to examine the conſpiracy, ſuppoſed to have been forming now almoſt a year, but which had yet produced no effect. The earl of Clarendon, who made the report, ſays, that two perſons, viz. Wildman and Salmon were particularly ingaged, and that a liſt of one hundred and forty officers of the late army had been found with the latter; and it was farther diſcovered, that the conſpirators were to have had a meeting at London the tenth of December, and deſigned to have ſecured Shrewſbury, Coventry, and Briſtol, by the cloſe of January: that where they moſt were prevalent, they were to begin with horrible aſſaſſinations, which moved one of them to ſay, that the fugitive judges of the late King were entertained in France, Holland, and Germany, and held a ſtrict correſpodence with the Engliſh conſpirators, and were incouraged by foreign Princes: that they had bought a large quantity of arms, and boaſted, if they could once ſet foot in England, they ſhould not want means to carry on their work. That this had been diſcovered by one of the complices, and confirmed by ſuch intelligence from abroad, as never failed: that many met at Huntington, and rode about the town in the night, to the great terror of his Majeſty's good ſubjects: that it might be wondered, ſome propoſals were not made to remedy the impending evil, but the King, having confered with the duke of Albemarle, had ordered two troops of horſe to Shrewſbury, and as many to Coventry, who, in their way, had diſperſed a great knot of thieves, and taken twenty: That a rumor was ſpread, that the appointing of this commitee was only a plot of the court to govern by an army, but the commitee was very ſenſible of the reality of the danger, and hoped the two houſes would be ſo too: that ſince their enemies were united for their deſtruction, they ſhould alſo unite for their own preſervation.

A remark upon this ſubject.

When it ſhall be conſidered, that after a ſtrict examination of this conſpiracy by a numerous commitee of both houſes, the whole amounted only to a liſt found on a man of one hundred and forty officers, without any other circumſtance; and concerning one of the complices not named; to ſecret intelligence that never failed; to a company of men aſſembled about Huntington, in the night, for ſome unknown reaſon; that not one of theſe pretended conſpirators, who ſurely muſt have been known by the perſon who made diſcovery of the whole plot, was either puniſhed or proſecuted for this ſuppoſed crime: that in ſhort the noiſe of this conſpiracy ceaſed directly after the Uniformity-act had paſſed: when theſe things, I ſay, are conſidered, who can help thinking it a mere invention, to give ſome color to this act. The government durſt not attack the Preſbyterians directly on account of their religion. The declaration from Breda was too expreſs on that head. But they were to be charged with new crimes, in order to be deprived of the benefit of that declaration. They were not even accuſed of attempting to diſturb the ſtate, ſince the King's reſtoration; but the Non-conformiſts in general were accuſed in order to puniſh the Preſbyterians, as if they made but one body with Independents, Anabaptiſts, Enthuſiaſts, becauſe to all theſe ſects was given the common appellation of Non-conformiſts.

Burnet, p. 184.

The King's ſpeech to the commons. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 638.

The King ſent for the commons the firſt of March to Whitehall, and reproached them, tho' very civilly, with having done nothing towards the ſetling of his revenues. He artfully inſinuated, that the late troubles had principally been owing to the wants and neceſſities of the crown, thereby intimating, that this had obliged his father to ſtretch the Royal prerogatives. He added, that there was ſtill in the kingdom a Republican party, who promiſed themſelves a ſecond revolution, and therefore the only way to diſappoint their hopes, was to inable the crown to ſupport itſelf, and ſecure them. He continued his ſpeech in this manner:

"———Gentlemen, I hear you are very zealous "for the church, and very ſollicitous, and even "jealous, that there is not expedition enough uſed "in that affair. I thank you for it, ſince I pre-"ſume it proceeds from a good root of piety and "devotion: but I muſt tell you, I have the worſt

(1) She came from the Hague to London, May 17, 1661, and died February 13, 1661-2, aged ſixty-ſix years.———She was intered in Weſtminſter abbey in the ſame vault with Prince Henry her brother. She had eight ſons, and five daughters, of whom the youngeſt then ſurviving was the Princeſs Sophia, who was, in 1701, declared heir to the crown of Great-Britain.---March 9, died the famous cardinal Mazarine. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 393. And November 29, died Brian Walton biſhop of Cheſter, the compiler of the Polyglott-Bible. This year alſo died ſir Arthur Haſlerigge, in the Tower.

"luck

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" luck in the world, if after all the reproaches of " being a Papiſt while I was abroad, I am ſuſpected " of being a Preſbyterian now I am come home. " I know you will not take it unkindly, if I tell " you that I am as zealous for the church of Eng- " land, as any of you can be, and am enough ac- " quainted with the enemies of it on all ſides; that " I am as much in love with the Book of Common- " prayer as you can wiſh, and have prejudice " enough to thoſe who do not love it, who, I hope " in time will be better informed, and change " their minds; and you may be confident I do as " much deſire to ſee an uniformity ſetled as any " amongſt you. I pray truſt me in that affair: " I promiſe you to haſten the diſpatch of it with all " convenient ſpeed; you may rely upon me in it. " I have tranſmited the Book of Common-prayer, " with thoſe alterations and additions which have " been preſented to me by the convocation, to " the houſe of peers, with my approbation, that " the act of uniformity may relate to it (1). So " that I perſume it will be ſhortly diſpatched there: " and when we have done all we can, the well " ſetling of that affair will require great prudence " and diſcretion, and the abſenſe of all paſſion and " precipitation."——

The King's deſign in this part of his ſpeech, was to obtain, that when the act of uniformity ſhould be paſſed, the execution of it might be left intirely to him, in order to have it in his power to diſpenſe with whom he pleaſed. This he afterwards diſcovered in words more clear and preciſe, tho' the parliament would not grant his deſire.

An' 1662. Act againſt the Quakers. Statute-b. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 675. May 2.

The commons being returned to their houſe prepared ſeveral bills, and among the reſt one againſt the Quakers, for refuſing the oaths. Not that they believed themſelves freed by this refuſal from the obligations impoſed by theſe oaths, but becauſe they conſidered all oaths as unlawful. This act, and another for the repairing of the ſtreets and high-ways in and about London, were paſſed by commiſſion.

Id. p. 687, &c.

At length, on the ſeventeenth of May, the King coming to the parliament, gave his aſſent to ſeveral acts, of which I ſhall only mention the moſt important.

Other acts. Statute-b.

An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and the adminiſtration of the Sacrament.

An act for the better regulation and ordering of the ſtanding forces of the nation.

An act for laying a perpetual and annual tax of two ſhillings on every chimney-hearth in each houſe, alms-houſes excepted.

An act to impower his Majeſty to levy, for the next inſuing three years, a tax of ſeventy thouſand pounds per month, if neceſſity ſhall ſo require.

Moreover, the commons ordered ſixty thouſand pounds over and above the ſum of twelve hundred thouſand pounds, granted by a former act, to be diſtributed among the poor Cavaliers, who had been ſufferers in the late troubles.

After the paſſing of theſe acts, the parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth of February.

Among theſe acts three are particularly remarkable.

Act of uniformity. Ibid. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 676, &c.

Every miniſter was obliged by the act of uniformity, on pain of loſing all his eccleſiaſtical preferments, to conform to the worſhip of the church of England, according to the new Book of Common-prayer, before the feaſt of St. Bartholomew next, from whence it was called the Bartholomew-act. Every miniſter was alſo obliged to ſign the following declaration: " I do here declare my unfeigned " aſſent and conſent to all and every thing con- " tained and preſcribed in and by the Book in- " titled the Book of Common-prayer, &c." Beſide this, every perſon was obliged to ſign a declaration contained in the militia-act, in which declaration he was not only to promiſe to conform to the Liturgy of the church of England, but likewiſe to renounce the ſolemn league and covenant, declaring it to be an unlawful oath, and impoſed upon the ſubjects of this realm againſt the known laws and liberties of the kingdom.

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The penalties annexed to this act were many, particularly,——" No perſon ſhould be capable of any " benefice, or preſume to conſecrate and adminiſter " the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, be- " fore he be ordained prieſt by Epiſcopal ordina- " tion, upon pain to forfeit for every offenſe the " ſum of one hundred pounds."

Remarks upon the act.

I ſhall make but three obſervations upon this act; the firſt ſhall be in the very words of the declaration from Breda: " And becauſe the paſſion and un- " charitableneſs of the times have produced ſeveral " opinions in religion, by which men are ingaged " in parties and animoſities againſt each other, " which, when they ſhall hereafter unite in a free- " dom of converſation, will be compoſed or bet- " ter underſtood; we do declare a liberty to tender " conſciences, and that no man ſhall be diſquieted " or called in queſtion for differences of opinion " in matters of religion, which do not diſturb the " the peace of the kingdom; and that we ſhall be " as ready to conſent to ſuch an act of parliament, " as upon mature deliberation ſhall be offered to us " for the full granting that indulgence."

If this clauſe be compared with the act of uniformity, it will eaſily be ſeen, what care the King's own miniſters, who were the real authors or promoters of this act, had of his honor, and what regard he himſelf payed to his promiſe. Nevertheleſs, ſome did then and do ſtill conſider this act as the great ſupport and bulwark of the church of England, and extol the authors as deſerving the everlaſting praiſes and bleſſings of the church; while others, perhaps, no leſs ſincerely attached to that church, looked upon it as her great reproach.

My ſecond remark is, that thus were the Preſbyterians requited for their dependence on the promiſe made by the King's party, in the aſſurance of which they had ſo chearfully labored for his reſtoration, according to the directions received from his friends.

My third obſervation is, that by an artifice the moſt groſs, not only conſpiracies were invented which had no reality, but which, tho' they had been true, could not have been imputed to the Preſbyterians, who were not to anſwer for the crimes of the other ſects.

Perhaps it may be imagined, that being a Preſbyterian, I ſpeak out of intereſt and paſſion. But I proteſt, I have always had, and ſtill have, a profound reſpect and extreme veneration for the

(1) There were added ſome new collects, as the " Prayer for all conditions of men," and the " general thankſgiving," and the " Prayer for the high court of parliament," and a new office was made for " Baptiſm of ſuch as were of riper years," and two more, one for the thirtieth of January, the other for the twenty-ninth of May. In the collect for the parliament, the King was ſtiled, " our moſt religious King," an epithet that gave great offenſe, and occaſioned much indecent raillery. Some new holy-days were added alſo, as St. Barnabas, and the converſion of St. Paul, and more leſſons were taken in out of the Apocrypha, particularly the ſtory of Bell and the Dragon. Burnet, p. 183. See Kennet's Regiſter, p. 585, and Nicholls.

church

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church of England, to which I always conformed during my reſidence there, and am ready to do it again, were I to return. But this does not oblige me to conſider all her members as free from failings, paſſions and prejudices; eſpecially on the preſent occaſion, wherein, as an hiſtorian, truth requires of me to ſhew clearly ſo material a point of hiſtory, as this treachery uſed to the Preſbyterians. For it was at their ruin the uniformity act was principally levelled (1).

Militia act.

The act concerning the militia, intitled, "An "act for the better regulating and ordering the "ſtanding forces of the nation," contained, among others, the following clauſe:

"Foraſmuch as within all his Majeſty's realms "and dominions, the ſole and ſupreme power, "government, command and diſpoſition of the "militia, and of all forces by ſea and land, and of "all forts and places of ſtrength, is, and by the laws "of England ever was, the undoubted right of "his Majeſty, and his Royal predeceſſors, Kings "and Queens of England; and that both or either "of the houſes of parliament, cannot, nor ought, "to pretend to the ſame; nor can, nor lawfully "may raiſe, or levy any war offenſive or defenſive "againſt his Majeſty, his heirs or lawful ſucceſ-"ſors, &c."

An oath injoined.

By this act it was ordained, that all lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, officers and ſoldiers, ſhould take the following oath: "——I do declare, "and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pre-"tenſe whatſoever to take arms againſt the King; "and that I do abhor that traiterous poſition, that "arms may be taken by his authority againſt his "perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned "by him, in purſuance of ſuch military commiſ-"ſions."

When the words in the latter part of the oath, viz. "commiſſioned by him," came to be debated

Echard.

in the houſe of commons, a great lawyer (2) moved, that the word "lawfully" might be added to make all clear. But the attorney-general ſir Heneage Finch anſwered, "That it was not neceſſary; for "the very word commiſſion imported it; ſince if "it was not lawfully iſſued out to lawful perſons, "and for lawful reaſons, it was no commiſſion." And the whole houſe aſſented to this interpretation. The ſame difficulty offered in the houſe of lords (3), was removed in the ſame manner (4). But in ſuppoſing that by commiſſioned could be only meaned lawfully commiſſioned, where would the damage have been of adding the word lawfully, in order to take away all obſcurity, if the parliament had intended to put any reſtriction upon the Royal power?

Suppoſe now the King inveſted with ſuch a power, had attempted to abrogate all the old, and ſubſtitute new laws, at his pleaſure; to aboliſh the uſe of parliaments, and force his ſubjects to imbrace the Popiſh religion; which way could they have maintained their liberties and religion, ſince there would be no ſupreme court to call the King to an account, and ſince by this oath it would be high-treaſon to take arms againſt him upon any pretenſe whatſoever? Theſe are the uſual effects of ſtate factions. Each party, when ſuperior, thinks only of doing the contrary of what the other has done, without conſidering the conſequences, and generally both run into extremes. The parliament of 1640, incenſed againſt Charles I, for attempting to ſtretch his prerogative, are not content to reduce him within due bounds, but aſſume alſo privileges inconſiſtent with the conſtitution, and proceed at laſt intirely to deſtroy Monarchy. The parliament of 1661, not ſatisfied with reſtoring the King to his juſt rights, inveſt him with an unlimited power, and render him as abſolute as any Monarch in the univerſe.

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Chimney act.

The annual tax of two ſhillings upon every fire-hearth, not only to this King for life, but to his ſucceſſors for ever, ſhewed, that this parliament acted not upon a bare motive of zeal and affection for the reigning King, but alſo ſeemed to have an intention of puting the Kings of England in a condition to ſupport themſelves without parliaments, by aſcribing to them ſo great a power. And indeed, this ſingle tax amounted to about two hundred and fifty ſix thouſand pounds a year, which, together with tonage and poundage, exciſe, and other duties, made the revenue of his Majeſty double to any of his predeceſſors; ſo fearful was this parliament of not ſufficiently ſhewing their zeal for Monarchial government, which had been, many years, ſo unworthily handled.

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The ſeſſion of parliament being ended, the court was wholly imployed in preparing for the reception of the new Queen, who was daily expected. She left Liſbon the fifteenth of April, and arrived at Portſmouth the fourteenth of May, where the King received her (5). A report was ſpread, that the marriage was ſolemnized by Sheldon, biſhop of London, tho' others, who believe themſelves better informed, ſay, the Queen refuſed to be married by any but a Catholic prieſt; that the King conſented to it, and therefore very few perſons were preſent at the ſolemnity (6). This marriage had been propoſed by D. Franciſco de Mello, the Portugueſe embaſſador, to general Monk (7), at the time when he was laboring the King's reſtoration. The embaſſador's aim, was to procure Portugal a powerful aſſiſtance from England, ſince by the Pyrenean treaty, the King his maſter had from France no farther expectations. To prevail with Monk, and by his means, with the King, he ingaged, that the King of Portugal ſhould give with the Princeſs his ſiſter, three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, the town of Tangier upon the coaſt of Africa, and the Iſle of Bombay in the Eaſt-Indies. Monk, pleaſed with theſe offers, propoſed this match to the King immediately after his arrival (8). His Majeſty approved the project, and accordingly it was concluded in the year

The Queen's arrival; Kennet's Regiſter, p. 660, 686.

and marriage. May 21. p. 696. Id. p. 394. Burnet. Heath.

(1) Burnet obſerves, that the favorers of Popery, among whom he reckons the King, thought a toleration was the only method for ſeting it a going all over the nation. And nothing could make a toleration for Popery paſs, but the having great bodies of men put out of the church, and under ſevere laws which ſhould force them to move for a toleration, and make it reaſonable to grant it them, p. 179.

(2) Sir John Vaughan. He offered many inſtances of the law-book to ſhew, "That it was lawful in many caſes to take "up arms againſt thoſe who were commiſſioned by the King." Echard.

(3) By the earl of Southampton.

(4) By the earl of Angleſey.

(5) Rapin had commited ſeveral miſtakes in this paragraph, particularly concerning the dates, which are rectified from the journal of Edward earl of Sandwich, vice-admiral. See Kennet's Regiſter, p. 660, 686.

(6) Burnet ſays, when Sheldon came to perform the ceremony, ſhe would not ſay the words of matrimony, nor bear the ſight of the biſhop. The King ſaid the words haſtily, and the biſhop pronounced them married perſons. But the duke of York told Burnet, they were married by the lord Aubigny, according to the Roman ritual, the duke being one of the witneſſes, p. 174.——Queen Catherine was born November 14, 1638. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 696.

(7) The firſt propoſal of it was made to Monk by a Jew, who managed the concerns of Portugal. Burnet, p. 166.

(8) D'Ablancourt ſays, count Schomberg firſt propoſed it to the King. Mem. p. 37.

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Burnet. Echard.

1661 (1). Some pretend chancellor Hyde ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the marriage on an information, that the Princeſs of Portugal, by ſome natural infirmity, was incapable of bearing children, but that the King took this for an artifice of the court of Spain to prevent a marriage, which could not but prove diſadvantageous to their great deſigns on Portugal. Others ſay, the chancellor was the chief author of this match. Before the conſummation of the marriage, the King, in a treaty with Portugal, ingaged to aſſiſt that kingdom againſt Spain (2), and in the nineteenth article, obliged himſelf never to reſtore Dunkirk to that crown.

D'Ablancourt. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 471.

When this marriage was conſummated, the Queen-mother arrived in England (3), with deſign, as it ſeemed, to ſpend the reſt of her days. The King aſſigned Somerſet-houſe for her reſidence, and allowed her ſufficiency to keep a ſplendid and magnificent court. But ſhe did not, it ſeems, find in England, the ſatisfaction ſhe expected, for after three years ſhe returned to France.

Arrival of the Queen-mother. July 28. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 733. Heath.

The moſt remarkable tranſaction at the Engliſh court, in the remaining part of this year, was the ſale of Dunkirk. The King looked upon this place as his property, ſince it was ſurrendered to Cromwell by France, in conſideration of the ſuccors ſhe had received in the war with Spain. Whether this reaſon was ſolid or not, it is certain, the King believed he had power to diſpoſe of the town as he pleaſed. The two years large ſupplies granted him by parliament were all conſumed, and his coffers empty, tho' his extraordinary occaſions had been only the diſbanding of the army, and payment of the arrears due to the navy. Whatever were his Majeſty's motives to part with this important place, he reſolved to ſell it to the French, by whom it was gladly purchaſed. The negociation for this ſale began in July 1662, and ended in October following. The King's firſt demand was twelve millions of Livres, and count d'Eſtrades, who managed this affair for Lewis XIV, offered but fifteen hundred thouſand. This great difference between the ſum demanded and offered, was the ſole ſubject of the negociation. Each however feigned, to be unwilling to recede, tho' both were equally impatient, the one to ſell, and the other to purchaſe, and both knew each other's intention. Charles told count d'Eſtrades by his chancellor, that four ways were propoſed for the diſpoſal of Dunkirk. The firſt was, to ſurrender it to the Spaniards, who offered what price the King ſhould be pleaſed to demand. The ſecond was, to treat with the Dutch, who offered immenſe ſums. The third was, to put it into the parliament's hands, who would keep it, without diminution to the King's pretenſions as Sovereign. The fourth, which he thought moſt juſt and ſuitable to his intereſts, was to ſell it to the King of France. There was alſo a fifth way propoſed by the earl of Sandwich, which was to demoliſh and fill up its harbor, and ſo render it intirely uſeleſs.

The ſale of Dunkirk. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 723, 733, 802. D'Eſtrades's letters.

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The King of France anſwered, He much doubted the offer of the Spaniards, who had not yet been able to pay his Queen's portion, tho' on that payment depended the validity of her renunciation: that it would be more advantageous to the King of England, to make a free gift of the place to the Spaniards, than to receive for it twenty millions from the Dutch, which, moſt certainly, they would not give. And, as to delivering it to the parliament, the King knew better than he how dangerous it was to increaſe the parliament's authority.

In ſhort, Charles came to ſeven millions of Livres, and the count d'Eſtrades offered him two, and then two and a half, and at laſt three. But the King his maſter had given him power to offer four, at the very time that Charles conſented, that the ſale ſhould be fixed at five millions. The King of France was obliged to come up to his price, when he found nothing would be abated, and that he run the riſk of being diſappointed, if he ſtood out any longer. There was alſo ſome difficulty about the time of payment; the King of England would have all the money at once upon delivery of the place, and the King of France offered to pay it at ſeveral times. At laſt it was ſetled, that one half ſhould be paid down, and the other in two years, at two ſeveral payments.

Dr. Burnet, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, p. 173. ſays, that Charles laviſhed away the money received for Dunkirk, among his miſtreſs's creatures (4). Others aſſure, that with one part he diſcharged his ſiſter the ducheſs of Orleans's dowry, and with the other aſſiſted Portugal. R. Coke.

The reaſons alleged by the chancellor to the count d'Eſtrades, to ſhew the King was under a neceſſity to ſell Dunkirk, were, that his coffers being empty, he could only by that means be inabled to aſſiſt Portugal. But in England, this reaſon was not to be urged, becauſe all knew what vaſt ſums the King had received from the parliament. To ſcreen therefore the diſhonor of this ſale, it was pretended, that the gariſon and repairs of the fortifications coſt the King immenſe ſums to no purpoſe; that "the ſea was ſo tempeſtuous, and the grounds ſo "rowling upon every ſtorm, that their would ne- "ver remain a certain ſteerage to that port (5)." Echard, Vol. III. p. 84.

On this occaſion ſeveral pamphlets were publiſhed, tending to ſhew the injury done to the nation in the ſale of Dunkirk to France, and others to palliate, or to demonſtrate the neceſſity of its diſpoſal.

But the greateſt diſpute concerning this ſubject was upon two queſtions, Whether the propoſal came from France or England? And whether the earl of Clarendon, as he was generally accuſed, was the author and promoter of this ſale, or, as ſome pretend, proteſted he would not be concerned? I find

(1) The Spaniſh embaſſador oppoſed this marriage to the utmoſt of his power. He propoſed to the King a Proteſtant Princeſs namely, either the Princeſs of Denmark, or of Saxony, or of Orange. But, as biſhop Burnet obſerves, King Charles pretended a contempt to the Germans, and of the northern crowns. France had no ſiſter. Spain had only two Infanta's; the eldeſt whereof was married to the King of France, and the ſecond was to go to Vienna. So the houſe of Portugal only remained to furniſh the King a Wife.——— France ſtrenuouſly promoted this marriage, and to ſucceed the better, offered the earl of Clarendon a penſion of ten thouſand pounds a year; but the earl rejected that offer with great indignation. Fanſhaw's Letters, p. 67. Burnet, p. 166, 167.

(2) Namely, to ſend into Portugal three thouſand foot, one thouſand horſe, and eight frigates, to cruiſe upon their coaſts. D'Ablancourt's Mem. p. 37.

(3) With Henry Jermyn, earl of St. Albans, and others.

(4) Tho' the King promiſed, that he would lay up all the money in the Tower, and that it ſhould not be touched, but upon extraordinary occaſions. Burnet, p. 172.——— The miſtreſs here mentioned was Barbara Villers, the King's firſt miſtreſs, afterwards created ducheſs of Cleveland. See Burnet, p. 94.

(5) Theſe were the words of the earl of Sandwich, according to Echard. Burnet ſays, count Schomberg, who was lately come into England, adviſed, in oppoſition to all this, that the King ſhould keep it, for conſidering the naval power of England, it could not be taken, and that the holding it would keep both France and Spain in a dependence upon the King. But he was ſingular in that opinion. Clarendon ſaid, he knew nothing of thoſe matters, but appealed to Monk's judgment, who was for ſelling it, p. 173.

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mr. Echard, in his Hiſtory of England, and dr. Burnet, in that of his own Times, intirely clear the earl of Clarendon. It is however a fact, as certain as a fact of this nature can be, that the earl of Clarendon propoſed, negociated the ſale, and concluded it. To prove this truth, I need only quote the letters of count d'Eſtrades, who was commiſſioned to manage this affair, and conſequently knew more of it than any other. It muſt be ſaid, however, in excuſe of mr. Echard and dr. Burnet, that when they wrote this part of their hiſtories, count d'Eſtrades's letters, concerning the Dunkirk negociation, were not publiſhed, and that they knew no more of this affair, than what they had received from the earl of Clarendon's friends.

Count d'Eſtrades, being embaſſador at London the begining of the year 1662, had ſecretly agreed with his Majeſty, that the French King ſhould ſupply him with a certain ſum of money, to inable him to aſſiſt Portugal. But this was to be kept very ſecret, becauſe of the Pyrenean treaty, by which Lewis had ſolemnly ingaged to give no aſſiſtance to Portugal, either directly or indirectly. This ſecret, however, took air, and occaſioned a letter from Lewis to count d'Eſtrades, dated the fourth of March, in which are theſe words: "——— You may tell "the King of England, that what is known here "of the money of Havre, came from Fox him-"ſelf, who has not been very careful to keep the "ſecret. This was partly the cauſe of all the ſenſe-"leſs noiſe made in Paris, which doubtleſs muſt "have reached London, that I am treating for "Dunkirk with the ſaid King for a ſum of money, "in order to exchange it with the King of Spain, "for Cambray, or Aire, and St. Omer. You "know better than any man, whether I had ever "ſuch a thought."

It is not unlikely, that this was an inſinuation which begot in Charles the thought of ſelling Dunkirk to France; but the ſale was not mentioned till ſome months after. Count d'Eſtrades being returned to France in April this year, was appointed embaſſador extraordinary to Holland. But as he was on his journey, he received a letter from the King of England, of the ſeventeenth of July, deſiring him to come to London, where he wiſhed to communicate to him an affair propoſed by the chancellor. Count d'Eſtrades, with his maſter's leave, went to London, and there received from him a letter, in which he told him, "——— You may "gueſs with what impatience I expect the arrival "of your packet, which is to inform me of the "reaſon of the King of Great Britain's deſiring to "ſpeak with you, and obliging you to defer your "journey to Holland, &c."

As all the other letters, till October, ſhew, that count d'Eſtrades was imployed only in this negociation during his ſtay at London, there is no reaſon to doubt, that the firſt propoſition for Dunkirk's ſale, came from England.

As to the part the earl of Clarendon acted in this affair, clearly appears in a letter of the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, written by count d'Eſtrades to the King his maſter, wherein he gives an account of a conference he had with the earl of Clarendon. Theſe are his words: "The chancellor added, that the "thought of this treaty came from him, and did "not conceal, that the neceſſity of the Engliſh "affairs had inſpired him with it. That the "King, the duke of York, and himſelf, were "alone of this opinion, and that Monk, the lord-"treaſurer, and the earl of Sandwich were ſtill to "be managed, whom he could not hope to gain, "but by the great ſums which would accrue to the "King: that having already propoſed it to them "from the urgent occaſions of the ſtate, they had "offered an expedient to preſerve the place "for the King, and eaſe him of this expenſe.——

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"I muſt not forget to tell your Majeſty, that the "chancellor hinted to me, that the King had pre-"cautions to obſerve with the Queen his mother "on this affair: that therefore the King had told "the Queen, that his ſending for me into Eng-"land, was to deſire my application to your Ma-"jeſty, for a ſum of money to be lent him in his "preſſing neceſſities, and that he had ordered the "chancellor to confer with me upon it. The chan-"cellor added, that the King and he were "agreed, that the King ſhould complain much "of my non-compliance, with regard to this "loan, and that the chancellor particularly ſhould "tell the Queen, by way of ſecret, that I was a "ſtrange man, and he very much miſtaken, if by "what I had ſaid to him, I did not intend to de-"mand for ſecurity of this loan, ſome cautionary "town, as England had formerly done by France "and Holland, in a like caſe: but that he had "pretended not to underſtand me, as being a de-"mand to which he would never adviſe his maſ-"ter to conſent. All this diſguiſe is uſed to pre-"pare the Queen to believe, that ſhe knew ſome-"thing of the treaty, if it ſhould come to a con-"cluſion, and that neceſſity was the motive to it. I "am likewiſe to complain of the chancellor, as of a "man who blindly deſires to procure advantages "for his maſter, without regarding the intereſt of "your Majeſty. The whole proceeding confirms "me in the opinion, that they have a mind to a "treaty, and that they are reaſonable in every "thing but the price."

In another letter of the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, count d'Eſtrades wrote to the King, that the chancellor told him,——"That when it ſhould be "known for how ſmall a ſum this treaty was to be "made, the King could not avoid reproach, and "that, at the leaſt, he (the chancellor) would be "liable to public cenſure, which might indanger "his life. That therefore it was his opinion to "make a preſent of it to your Majeſty, and leave "the reward to your generoſity: but as he was not "maſter, and was highly concerned to take care "of himſelf in ſo nice an affair, he was obliged "to conceal his ſentiments, and pretend to adhere "to thoſe of others, that he might not be taken "for the principal author of the treaty.——He far-"ther inlarged upon the importance of this place, "and the advantages which your Majeſty might "receive from it, if you ſhould ever deſign to "make conqueſts upon Flanders, &c."

Theſe letters demonſtrate, that the earl of Clarendon, ſon of the chancellor, was ill-informed, when he told dr. Burnet that his father kept himſelf intirely out of that affair. It may however be ſaid, p. 173. in the chancellor's juſtification, that poſſibly the thought of ſelling Dunkirk came firſt from King Charles; that perhaps the chancellor indeavored to diſſuade him from it, and not ſucceeding, had a mind to give him a proof of his obedience, in taking this negociation upon himſelf, in order to manage it to the King's advantage. For dr. Burnet, in his character of this miniſter, obſerves, that tho' a reſolution was taken contrary to his ſentiment, he executed it with the ſame zeal, as if propoſed by himſelf. But this is only a bare poſſibility, which every one will regard as he ſees beſt.

Three regicides executed. Echard. Ludlow. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 662.

While the King and his firſt miniſter were imployed in this negociation, three of the late King's judges, who had found means to eſcape out of the kingdom, were publicly executed at Tyburn. They had, after wandering thro' Low and High-Germany, ſetled for ſome time at Hanaw under borrowed names, and returned in the ſpring to Delft in Holland, having appointed their wives to meet them

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them there, in order to learn the ſtate of affairs in England, and what hopes were left for them; but ſir George Downing, the King's reſident at the Hague, and formerly of their party, having intercepted their letters, obtained the conſent of the States to ſeize and put them on board an Engliſh veſſel, which brought them to England, where they were executed. The names of theſe three Regicides were Corbet, Okey, and Berkſtead.

Proceedings againſt Vane and Lambert. June 2. State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 231.

This execution was followed with the trial and condemnation of ſir Henry Vane and general Lambert, who had been particularly excepted in the act of indemnity, tho' they were not among the King's judges, becauſe they were conſidered as the chief authors of the troubles. Vane had been confined, ſoon after the King's arrival, on a bare ſuſpicion of framing ſome plot againſt the ſtate. But tho' he was excepted in the act, he had, by means of his friends, found ſo much favor from the ſame houſe of commons, who had excepted him, that they petitioned the King, jointly with the peers, that he might not ſuffer death, which was granted. He was therefore kept in priſon without being tried, till the time I am ſpeaking of. But this ſecond parliament being compoſed of men of a different character from the firſt, the commons addreſſed the King to bring him as well as Lambert to their trials. In vain did he allege in his defenſe the petition of the firſt parliament, and many other reaſons; he was ſentenced to die as a traitor. Lambert was alſo tried and condemned, but was reprieved at the bar, juſt as ſentence was about being pronounced. He was confined in the iſle of Guernſey, where he lived a priſoner thirty-ſix years (1). Sir Henry Vane met not with the ſame favor from the King. This, it is pretended, was owing to his inſolent behavior at his trial. But many believed him a ſacrifice to the manes of the earl of Strafford, to whoſe death he had greatly contributed. His indiſcretion and inſolence, as well at his trial as his execution, have been extremely aggravated. But it is eaſy to ſee it was only to ſave the King's honor, who having poſitively promiſed a pardon to all except the King's judges, could not avoid granting a pardon to Vane, without violating his promiſe, and eſpecially after ſparing his life at the requeſt of the late parliament (2). It was much apprehended he would inſiſt upon this point in his laſt ſpeech, therefore drummers were placed under the ſcaffold, who, as ſoon as he began to ſpeak, upon a ſign given, drowned his voice. All the favor he could obtain from the King, was to be beheaded. Great care was taken after his death to publiſh the King's inclination to pardon him, if he had not been provoked by his inſolence. But this is a thing very difficult to prove.

Lambert pardoned.

Vane executed. June 14. Burnet. Heath. Echard.

Burnet. p. 164.

The Preſbyterian miniſters quit their livings rather than ſubmit to the act of uniformity. Kennet's Regiſter. p. 747, &c. Baxter's Life. Burnet.

St. Bartholomew's day being come (3), on which the act of uniformity was to take place, two thouſand Preſbyterian miniſters choſe rather to quit their livings, than ſubmit to the conditions therein contained. It was expected, that a diviſion would have happened among them, and that a great number would have choſe rather to conform to the church of England, than be reduced to beggary. It was not therefore without great ſurpriſe, that they were all ſeen to ſtand out, not ſo much as one ſuffered himſelf to be tempted (4). As this is a conſiderable event of this reign, it will not be improper to inquire into the cauſes of this rigor againſt the Preſbyterians: I ſay the Preſbyterians, becauſe it was not the other ſects that the church of England moſt dreaded.

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A remark upon it.

1. It cannot be denied, that the High-church-men, who prevailed in parliament, acted in a ſpirit of revenge. But this revenge ſhould not appear very ſtrange, conſidering the perſecution, and at laſt, the intire deſtruction, brought upon the Epiſcopal church by the Preſbyterians, if honor had not been wounded, nor any promiſe made to the party. The church of England was the national church, which had flouriſhed from the reformation, to the time of the war between Charles I and the parliament, when the Preſbyterians intirely ſubverted it. It was therefore but juſt to reſtore it to its former condition. But it was injuſtice to violate the promiſe made to the Preſbyterians, eſpecially as they had greatly contributed to the King's reſtoration, and withal, to that of the very church which perſecuted them, after being re-eſtabliſhed by their aſſiſtance.

2. But revenge was not the ſole cauſe of the preſent rigor exerciſed againſt them. The deſire of ſelf-preſervation was no leſs concerned. Experience of what had paſſed, taught the church of England, that if the Preſbyterians ſhould ever find an opportunity like that which they once had, they would not fail to improve it. They were always irreconcileable enemies, tho' in the preſent juncture they were unable to do any hurt, and obliged to ſue for mercy. It was therefore undoubtedly, the intereſt of the church of England, to uſe all poſſible precautions to hinder the increaſe of a party already too powerful, and which, probably, would never ceaſe contending for the ſuperiority.

3. We have ſeen what were the notions of this parliament, and of High-church, concerning the Royal prerogative, and to what height it was carried. The Preſbyterians, as well as the other ſects, were known to follow quite contrary maxims, and if they were not intirely Republicans, at leaſt, they indeavored to reduce the Royal power within very narrow bounds, as appeared in the reſolutions and conduct of the parliament of 1640. But while the church of England had no ſuſpicion of the King's religion, and believed him a zealous member, it was her intereſt to ſupport and extend the prerogative, and conſequently to diſable the Preſbyterians from proſecuting their maxims.

4. The church of England's intereſt required, that ſhe ſhould improve ſo favorable an opportunity, which perhaps might never return. It was ſeen, how greedy the King was of money, to throw it away with the greateſt profuſion, and that he could not be without the aſſiſtance of his parliament, and the church had the good fortune to have a parliament conſiſting of her moſt zealous members; and diſpoſed to ſacrifice to the King a little of the nation's

(1) He is ſaid to live and die a Papiſt. See Kennet's Regiſter.

(2) His friends perſuaded him to make ſome ſubmiſſion to the King, in order ſo ſave his life; but he ſaid, "If the King "did not think himſelf more concerned for his honor and word, than he did for his life, he was very willing they ſhould "take it. Nay, I declare (ſaid he) that I value my life leſs in a good cauſe, than the King can do his promiſe." State Trials, Vol. II. p. 455.

(3) The Preſbyterians remembered, what a St. Bartholomew's had been held at Paris ninety years before, which was the day of that maſſacre, and did not ſtick to compare the one with the other. Burnet, p. 185.——There was a great debate in council a little before St. Bartholomew's day, whether the act of uniformity ſhould be punctually executed or not. Some moved to have the execution of it delayed till the next ſeſſion of parliament. Others were for executing it in the main, that is, to let ſome eminent men preach in their churches, till they ſhould die, and to put curates to read the Common-prayer. The earl of Manchester laid all theſe things before the King with much zeal. Sheldon, on the other hand, preſſed the execution of the law. Id. p. 192.

(4) Burnet inſinuates, that their leaders took great pains to have them all ſtick together, infuſing it into them, that if great numbers ſtood out, it would ſhew their ſtrength, and produce new laws in their favor.——So it was thought, that many went out in the crowd to keep their friends company, p. 192.

treaſure,

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treaſure, provided the King would, in his turn, make them a ſacrifice of the Preſbyterians. Tho' he was not ſuſpected to be a Papiſt, it could not be thought, he would, from a pure principle of honor and honeſty, quarrel with a parliament ſo favorable to him, for the ſake of the Preſbyterians, whom he neither did, nor had reaſon to love. There was nothing therefore but what might be expected from his complaiſance, provided care was taken to ſupply him with money. Such a juncture was not to be neglected.

5. But there was another ſtill more powerful cauſe of the parliament's ſeverity againſt the Preſbyterians. This was the intereſt of the Papiſts, who had ever a great influence during this reign. Some made an open profeſſion of their religion, and yet were looked upon with a very favorable eye by the court. Others, after the King's example, pretended to be good Proteſtants, and zealous members of the church of England, in order to be more ſerviceable to their party. The firſt uſed their utmoſt indeavors to incite the parliament to treat the Preſbyterians ſeverely, in order to deſtroy a party which had ſo openly declared againſt the Royal prerogative. The others concealing themſelves under a falſe zeal for the Proteſtant religion, labored with the ſame ardor, to excite the enmity of the heads of the church of England, and of thoſe whom they knew to be moſt warm, againſt men, who would not ſpare them, if they ever ſhould have it in their power to ruin them, as they had manifeſtly ſhewn. But while they were thus zealouſly laboring to bring things to extremities, they were alſo indeavoring, on the other hand, by their emiſſaries, to incourage the Preſbyterians, and exhort them to the cloſeſt union, by inſinuating it to be the moſt effectual means to defeat the meaſures of their enemies. They were told, their number was ſo great, that, in all likelihood, it would deter the parliament from attempting the ruin of ſo many at once, for fear of exciting new troubles. Whereas, if their party ſhould divide, they would be inſenſibly and irrecoverably loſt. In ſhort, to induce them the more eaſily not to deſpair, they were told, the King, provoked with the ill treatment they received, notwithſtanding his promiſe to them, would protect them openly if they would remain united; but a diviſion would put it out of his power to do them any ſervice. It is certain, the court was in this diſpoſition, not from any pity to the Preſbyterians, or regard to the King's honor, but from the hopes that the union among the Non-conformiſts would procure them more favorable conditions, of which the Papiſts might make an advantage. But when I ſay the court, I do not pretend to include the earl of Clarendon, tho' prime miniſter. This juſtice muſt be done him, to ſay, that not only he did not contribute to the deſigns of the King and the Papiſts, but was the man who broke their meaſures, by ſecret intrigues, well knowing what was concealed under this feigned moderation of the King to the Preſbyterians. However, the King, the duke of York, and the other leading Papiſts, believed it neceſſary, to puſh the Preſbyterians, and then incourage them to hold together, that the danger ariſing from their union might prevail with the parliament to grant to all the Non-conformiſts in general, a toleration which ſhould extend to the Papiſts. This is not a bare conjecture. All the King's proceedings demonſtrate this was the project he had formed.

Burnet, p. 124. Kennet.

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I have already mentioned the corporation act, made to prevent diſaffected perſons from being admited into offices. For the better executing this act, the parliament appointed commiſſioners, who were imployed all this year in viſiting corporations, and inſpecting the conduct of the members. A very extenſive power was given to theſe commiſſioners, with abſolute authority to turn out of the corporations, all members who were in the leaſt ſuſpected. For the deſign of this act was to diveſt of all credit, every perſon not intirely devoted to the King and the church of England. This power was exerciſed with all imaginable rigor: ſo that the corporations had not one member left, who was not of the ſame principles with the houſe of commons. Moreover, the walls of Gloceſter, Coventry, Northampton, Leiceſter and Taunton were, by order of theſe commiſſioners, demoliſhed, becauſe theſe towns had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their fidelity to the parliament.

Rigorous execution of the corporation act. Heath, p. 512.

About the end of the year a conſpiracy was diſcovered, formed by the Fifth-Monarchy-men, and upon the informations of ſome of the complices, ſix were executed. Nevertheleſs, many believed, this was only an artifice to excuſe the ſeverity practiſed againſt the Non-conformiſts. The ground of this ſuſpicion was, that in a plot formed to ſeize and kill the King, the duke of York, and general Monk, and to ſeize the Tower, and caſtle of Windſor, only ſix conſpirators were diſcovered, namely, George Phillips a ſerjeant of foot, Thomas Tonge a diſtiller, Francis Stubbs a cheeſemonger, James Hind a gunner, John Sellers a compaſs-maker, and Nathaniel Gibbs a felt-maker. Few could believe that ſuch men ſhould ever think of ſucceeding in a deſign of that nature. It is true, that to render this conſpiracy more probable, it was ſaid, the old colonels were to aſſemble their diſbanded forces, and Ludlow, then in Switzerland, to come and head them. But tho' ſuch an undertaking required perſons of ſome diſtinction, yet only theſe ſix wretches who were executed (1), could be diſcovered. At leaſt, if the conſpiracy was real, the plotters had yet made no great progreſs (2).

A plot. Ibid. Echard. Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 113. State-Trials. Vol. II. p. 474.

Six conſpirators executed, Dec. 22.

To finiſh the moſt remarkable tranſactions of this year, I ſhall briefly add, that after the earl of Sandwich left Liſbon, to conduct the Queen into England, vice-admiral Lawſon, ſailed with a ſquadron to Algier, and forced thoſe people to a peace with England. As the King was in poſſeſſion of Tangier, they doubtleſs believed it would not be advantageous to have him for their enemy. Shortly after, the King declared Tangier a free port, and inveſted it with great privileges.

Peace with Algier. October 5. Collect. of Treaties, Vol. III. p. 264, 267.

The King had already diſcovered, how agreeable it would be to him to have the management of the uniformity act, but the parliament had returned no anſwer to his deſire. Before this act, the Preſbyterians had behaved in a manner which gave no juſt cauſe of complaint againſt them, and the King had made them a poſitive promiſe, either that he would never conſent to the act, or procure them a particular exemption; but he performed neither: his aim having been only to keep them united, by giving them hopes of his protection. After the act was paſſed, he ſtill continued feeding their expectations; and hence it was, that they addreſſed the King and council, for a diſpenſatiom from the penalties annexed to the uniformity bill. This petition would doubtleſs have been rejected, if his Majeſty had not ſignified to the council the obligation

The King's conduct to the Preſbyterians.

(1) Only Phillips, Tonge, Gibbs, and Stubbs, were executed. John Sellers was afterwards made the King's Hydrographer, and publiſhed ſeveral maps, charts &c. See Heath, p. 513.

(2) However, as Ludlow obſerves, this ſerved the court for a pretenſe to ſeize five or ſix hundred perſons; to diſarm all thoſe they ſuſpected; to make thoſe they had taken give bonds not to take up arms againſt the King; and to increaſe their ſtanding guards. Vol. III. p. 114.

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he was under to grant their requeſt. Some time after he publiſhed a declaration, dated the twenty-ſixth of December, but it did not appear till the begining of January 1662-3. In this declaration, after an aſſurance of his firm adherence to the act of uniformity, he ſaid however, that for the ſake of others, he was willing to diſpenſe with ſome matters in it (1). Upon this declaration, mr. Calamy, a Preſbyterian miniſter, being in the church * of which he had the cure before the execution of the act, and finding the miniſter, who was expected, did not come, aſcended the pulpit and preached, for which he was commited to Newgate by the lord-mayor of London. But in a few days he was diſcharged by the King's expreſs order.

A declaration in their favor. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 848. Dec. 28. Heath, p. 514. * Of Aldermanbury.

His Majeſty, as we have ſeen, intended to gain ſome advantages for the Preſbyterians, in order to procure the ſame for the Papiſts. This was his ſcheme, and as it was directly contrary to the earl of Clarendon's principles, mortal enemy of the Preſbyterians, and no friend of the Papiſts, it is not ſurpriſing, it ſhould be formed without this miniſter's privity, whoſe credit, for that reaſon, began now to decline. Nay, the King had plainly ſhewn, he had not the ſame affection for him, by obliging his intimate friend ſecretary Nicholas, worn out with age, to reſign his poſt to the chancellor's profeſſed enemy, ſir Henry Bennet, afterwards earl of Arlington. This ſufficiently diſcovered, that his intereſt with the King was ſenſibly diminiſhed. On the contrary, tho' the King affected great zeal for the Proteſtant religion, the choice of Bennet to be ſecretary of ſtate, ſhewed his inclination for the Roman Catholic, as Bennet was ſtrongly ſuſpected of being a Papiſt in his heart, and known for their Protector. It is ſaid, he and the earl of Briſtol had induced the King to change his religion at Fontarabia, and that Bennet durſt not return to England, till after the death of the lord Culpeper, who had threatened him to diſcover it to the parliament. Be this as it will, Bennet being Clarendon's enemy, this laſt could not but eſteem his adverſary's advancement to the poſt of his intimate friend, as a prelude to his own diſgrace.

The earl of Clarendon begins to ſink in his credit.

The earl of Arlington made ſecretary of ſtate. October 2. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 788, 789.

Clarendon. Echard. Vol. III. p. 95.

The King's deſign in favoring the Preſbyterians.

The King's declaration in favor of the Preſbyterians, was a farther indication of the chancellor's fall. This declaration had been reſolved and prepared, without his knowlege, at Somerſet-houſe, where the Queen-mother reſided, and probably by a Catholic junto, or by ſecret favorers of that religion. Thoſe who knew Clarendon's principles, readily judged, he had no hand in it. They had reaſon to be afterwards confirmed in their opinion, when every one evidently ſaw, the King, in his pretended compaſſion for the Preſbyterians, deſigned only to procure a toleration for the Catholics. The chancellor, however, kept his poſt for ſome years, tho' his credit was greatly diminiſhed.

Phillips.

The parliament meeting the eighteenth of February, the King made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he confined himſelf to one ſingle point, namely, his declaration concerning the uniformity act. His words were theſe:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes in favor of his declaration. Echard.

" ——— To cure the diſtempers, and compoſe " the different minds among us, I ſet forth my de- " claration of the twenty-ſixth of December, in " which you may ſee, I am willing to ſet bounds " to the hopes of ſome, and to the fears of others; " of which, when you ſhall have examined well " the grounds, I doubt not but I ſhall have your " concurrence therein. The truth is, I am, in my " nature, an enemy to all ſeverity for religion and " conſcience, how miſtaken ſoever it be, when it " extends to capital and ſanguinary puniſhments, " which I am told were begun in Popiſh times: " therefore, when I ſay this, I hope I ſhall not " need to warn any here, not to infer from thence, " I mean to favor Popery. I muſt confeſs to you, " there are many of that profeſſion who having " ſerved my father and myſelf very well, may " fairly hope for ſome part of that indulgence I " would willingly afford to others who diſſent " from us: but let me explain myſelf, leſt ſome " miſtake me herein, as I hear they did in my " declaration: I am far from meaning by this, a " toleration or qualifying them thereby to hold " any offices or places of the government; nay, " further, I deſire ſome laws to be made to hinder " the growth and progreſs of their doctrines. I " hope you have all ſo good an opinion of my " zeal for the Proteſtant religion, as I need not " tell you, I will not yield to any therein, not to " the biſhops themſelves, nor in my liking the uni- " formity of it, as it is now eſtabliſhed; which " being the ſtandard of our religion, muſt be kept " pure and uncorrupted, free from all other mix- " tures: and yet, if the Diſſenters will demean " themſelves peaceably and modeſtly under the " government, I could heartily wiſh, I had ſuch a " power of indulgence, to uſe upon occaſions, as " might not needleſly force them out of the king- " dom, or ſtaying here, give them cauſe to con- " ſpire againſt the peace of it.

" My lords and gentlemen, It would look like " flattery in me to tell you, to what degree I am " confident of your wiſdom and affection in all " things, that relate to the greatneſs and proſperity " of the kingdom. If you conſider well what is " beſt for us all, I dare ſay we ſhall not diſagree,—

CHARLES II. AN' 1662.

The commons are alarmed. Ibid.

This ſpeech, with the declaration of the twenty-ſixth of December, alarmed the houſe of commons. It may almoſt be affirmed, that whatever the commons had done in favor of the King, was only to procure his aſſent to the act of uniformity, and yet they ſaw him not only diſpenſe with this act, but even deſire a power to diſpenſe with it, that is, to ſet it aſide when he pleaſed: that this was not only in favor of the Preſbyterians, who had a better claim to indulgence than the other ſects, but moreover, in favor of all the Non-conformiſts. Nay, it was eaſy to perceive, from what he ſaid concerning the Catholics, that his intention was, in caſe his deſires were complied with, to prevent their being diſtinguiſhed from the Proteſtant ſects. This juſtice ought to be done to the High-church party, that tho' their enemies frequently brand them for Papiſts, on account of their extreme attachment to certain forms and ceremonies, yet are they as far removed from the eſſence of Popery, as the other Epiſcopalians, and even the Preſbyterians themſelves: this they have demonſtrated on ſeveral very remarkable occaſions.

The houſe of commons, which, as I ſaid, was chiefly compoſed of High church men, found in the King's demand, two articles equally oppoſite to their principles, namely, indulgence for the Preſbyterians, and indulgence for the Catholics. Wherefore they reſolved to preſent an addreſs to the King, wherein, after the neceſſary compliments, they proceeded in the manner following:

(1) His words are, "——As for what concerns the penalties upon thoſe who (living peaceably) do not conform thro' ſcruple " and tenderneſs of miſguided conſcience, but modeſtly, and without ſcandal, perform their devotions in their own way, we ſhall " make it our ſpecial care, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline their wiſdom at this next approaching ſeſſions, " to concur with us in making ſome ſuch act for that purpoſe, as may inable us to exerciſe with a more univerſal ſatisfaction, that " power of diſpenſing, which we conceive to be inherent in us."

Charles II. An° 1662.

Addreſs of the commons about the King's declaration. Feb. 27. Phillips. Kennet. Echard.

"——It is with extreme unwillingneſs and reluctancy of heart, that we are brought to differ from any thing which your Majeſty has thought fit to propoſe: and tho' we do no way doubt, but that the unreaſonable diſtempers of ſome men's ſpirits, and the many mutinies and conſpiracies which were carried on during the late intervals of parliament, did reaſonably incline your Majeſty to indeavor, by your declaration, to give ſome allay to thoſe ill humors, till the parliament aſſembled; and the hopes of indulgence, if the parliament ſhould conſent to it; eſpecially ſeeing the pretenders to this indulgence, did ſeem to make ſome titles to it, by virtue of your Majeſty's declaration from Breda. Nevertheleſs, we your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, who are now returned to ſerve in parliament from thoſe ſeveral parts and places of your kingdom for which we were choſen, do humbly offer to your Majeſty's great wiſdom, that it is in no ſort adviſeable, that there be any indulgence to ſuch perſons who preſume to diſſent from the act of uniformity, and the religion eſtabliſhed: for theſe reaſons we have conſidered the nature of your Majeſty's declaration from Breda, and are humbly of opinion, that your Majeſty ought not to be preſſed with it any further; 1. Becauſe it is not a promiſe in itſelf, but only a gracious declaration of your Majeſty's intentions, to do what in you lay, and what a parliament ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to do; and no ſuch advice was ever given or thought fit to be offered, nor could it be otherwiſe underſtood, becauſe there were laws of uniformity then in being, which could not be diſpenſed with but by act of parliament. 2. They who do pretend a right to that ſuppoſed promiſe, put the right into the hands of their repreſentatives, whom they choſe to ſerve for them in this parliament, who have paſſed, and your Majeſty conſented to the act of uniformity. If any ſhall preſume to ſay, that a right to the benefit of this declaration doth ſtill remain after this act paſſed, 3. It tends to diſſolve the very bonds of government, and to ſuppoſe a diſability in your Majeſty and the houſes of parliament, to make a law contrary to any part of your Majeſty's declaration, tho' both houſes ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to it.

"We have alſo conſidered the nature of the indulgence propoſed, with reference to thoſe conſequences which muſt neceſſarily attend it. 1. It will eſtabliſh ſchiſm by a law, and make the whole government of the church precarious, and the cenſures of it of no moment or conſideration at all. 2. It will no way become the gravity or wiſdom of a parliament, to paſs a law at one ſeſſion for uniformity, and at the next ſeſſion (the reaſons of uniformity continuing ſtill the ſame) to paſs another law to fruſtrate or weaken the execution of it. 3. It will expoſe your Majeſty to the reſtleſs importunity of every ſect or opinion, and of every ſingle perſon alſo, who ſhall preſume to diſſent from the church of England. 4. It will be a cauſe of increaſing ſects and ſectaries, whoſe numbers will weaken the true Proteſtant profeſſion ſo far, that it will at leaſt be difficult for it to defend itſelf againſt them: and which is further conſiderable, thoſe numbers, which by being troubleſome to the government, find they can arrive to an indulgence, will, as their numbers increaſe, be yet more troubleſome, that ſo at length they may arrive to a general toleration, which your Majeſty hath deeclared againſt, and in time ſome prevalent ſect will at laſt contend for an eſtabliſhment; which, for ought can be foreſeen, may end in Popery. 5. It is a thing altogether without precedent, and it will take away all means of convicting recuſants, and be inconſiſtent with the method and proceedings of the laws of England. Laſtly, it is humbly conceived, that the indulgence propoſed will be ſo far from tending to the peace of the kingdom, that it is rather likely to occaſion great diſturbance. And on the contrary, that the aſſerting of the laws and the religion eſtabliſhed, according to the act of uniformity, is the moſt probable means to produce a ſetled peace and obedience throughout your kingdom; becauſe the variety of profeſſions in religion, when openly indulged, doth directly diſtinguiſh men into parties, and withal gives them opportunity to count their numbers; which, conſidering the animoſities that out of a religious pride will be kept on foot by the ſeveral factions, doth tend directly and inevitably to open diſturbance. Nor can your Majeſty have any ſecurity, that the doctrine or the worſhip of the ſeveral factions, which are all governed by a ſeveral rule, ſhall be conſiſtent with the peace of your kingdom. And if any perſon ſhall preſume to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, we do in all humility declare, That we will for ever, and on all occaſions, be ready with our utmoſt indeavors and aſſiſtance to adhere to, and ſerve your Majeſty, according to our bounden duty and allegiance."

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This addreſs, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of the reaſons alleged in it, produced the effect the commons expected, which was, to let the King know, it would be in vain to indeavor obtaining from the parliament a power to diſpenſe with the uniformity act. He anſwered in writing, about three weeks after, that he was unwilling to reply to their reaſons, tho' he found he had been miſunderſtood, but renewed his thanks for their declaration to aſſiſt him againſt any perſon that ſhould preſume to diſturb the peace of the kingdom.

The King's anſwer. March 16. Echard.

An° 1663.

As in his Majeſty's ſpeech and declaration, there were two articles which gave an alarm to the parliament, the one relating to the Non-conformiſts in general, the other concerning the Papiſts in particular, the commons, after acting againſt the former, reſolved alſo to proceed againſt the latter. To this purpoſe, they obtained the concurrence of the lords, for an addreſs to be jointly preſented to the King, wherein both houſes ſaid, "That his Majeſty's lenity towards the Papiſts, had drawn into the kingdom a great number of Romiſh prieſts and and Jeſuits: they were therefore humble ſuitors to him, to iſſue out a proclamation to command all Jeſuits, and all Engliſh, Iriſh, and Scotiſh Popiſh prieſts, and all ſuch other prieſts as have taken orders from the ſee of Rome, or by authority thereof (except ſuch foreign Jeſuits or prieſts, as by contract of marriage are to attend the perſons of either of the Queen's, or by the law of nations to attend foreign ambaſſadors) to depart this kingdom by a day, under pain of having the penalties of the law inflicted upon them." The King anſwered in writing: "That he was not a little troubled, that his lenity and condeſcenſion towards many of the Popiſh perſuaſion (which were but natural effects of his generoſity and good nature, after having lived ſo many years in the dominions of Roman Catholic Princes; and out of a juſt memory of what many of them have done and ſuffered in the ſervice of his father and himſelf) had been made ſo ill uſe of, and ſo ill deſerved, that the reſort of Jeſuits and prieſts into this kingdom, had been thereby increaſed, with which his Majeſty was and is highly offended. But that he would iſſue out a proclamation as he was deſired,

The King addreſſed by the two houſes. April 1. Ibid.

His anſwer. Echard.

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"desired, and take care it should be more effectual "than any proclamation of that kind had ever "been. He declared farther to both houses, and "all his loving subjects, That as his affection and "zeal for the Protestant religion, and the church "of England, had not been concealed or un-taken "notice of in the world, so he was not, nor ever "would be, so sollicitous for the setling his own "revenue, or providing for the peace and tran-"quillity of the kingdom, as for the advancement "and improvement of the religion established, and "for the using and applying all proper and ef-"fectual remedies to hinder the growth of Popery, "both which he in truth looked upon the best ex-"pedients to establish the peace and prosperity of "all his kingdoms."

A proclama- against Romish priests. April 9. Ibid. Kennet's Hist.

Accordingly the proclamation was published, but no better observed than all those published for the same purpose, since the begining of the reign of James I. As it was not then known the King was a Catholic, his assurances of zeal for the Protestant faith were taken for so many truths, which removed all suspicion of his having the least design to restore that religion in England. As we are now better informed, we are better able to judge of his intentions.

The King demands a supply; June 12. Echard.

This affair being terminated, the commons proceeded next to examine the state of the King's ordinary revenue, and to think of means to raise it according to their promise, to twelve hundred thousand pounds (1). But as this affair required a long discussion, the King, who designed an immediate prorogation of the parliament, thought proper to make an attempt for a speedy and extraordinary supply from the commons, till his revenues should be setled. For this purpose he sent for them to the banqueting-house, and in a speech, the most flattering, pathetic, and affectionate, he had ever yet made, demanded a present supply of money, without which he assured them it was impossible to struggle with the difficulties under which he labored. He offered to shew, that the twelve hundred thousand pounds formerly granted him, had been, to the last penny, disposed of for the public service. But he well knew there was no danger in the offer, tho' it was not easy to imagine to what public use this money had been applied.

has it granted.

However that be, the commons, moved with the King's great affection for his people, and his ardent zeal for the Protestant religion, granted him four intire subdies, and the clergy in convocation, following their example, gave him the same.

The chancellor's credit declines. Echard.

Mean time, the earl of Clarendon's credit daily declined, not that his affection for the King was lessened, but, probably, because the King, entering into new projects advantageous neither to the state nor religion, did not believe this minister a proper instrument to assist him in the execution thereof. If the chancellor's enemies had met with incouragement from the King, he would have been already disgraced; but his services, affection, and fidelity, as well during the King's exile, as since his restoration, could not be easily forgot. Wherefore he was continued, not only in his post, but even in some degree of favor, which made the Papists fear, he would at last recover his credit, and break all their measures. This probably ingaged the earl of Bristol, a professed Papist, to indeavor the chancellor's utter destruction, by impeaching him before the lords of high-treason, believing doubtless, the King would not be displeased to see him fall by this means, without his having any hand in it.

Burnet, p. 196, 197.

But if it was easy to accuse the chancellor, it was difficult to draw an impeachment so plausible and coherent as to make him appear criminal. The articles exhibited against him by the earl of Bristol, were to this effect:

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Articles of accusation against him. July 10. State-trials, Vol. II. p. 550. Kennet.

1. That he had indeavored to alleniate the hearts of his Majesty's subjects, by artfully insinuating to his creatures and dependents, That his Majesty was inclined to Popery, and designed to alter the established religion.

2. He had said to several persons of his Majesty's privy-council, "That his Majesty was dangerously "corrupted in his religion, and inclined to "Popery: that persons of that religion had such "access, and such credit with him, that unless "there were a careful eye had unto it, the Protes-"tant religion would be overthrown in this king-"dom."

3. Upon his Majesty's admiting sir Henry Bennet to be secretary of state, in the place of sir Edward Nicholas, he said, "That his Majesty had "given ten thousand pounds to remove a zealous "Protestant, that he might bring into that place "of high trust a concealed Papist.

4. In pursuance of the same traiterous design, several friends and dependents of his have said aloud, "That were it not for my lord chan-"cellor's standing in the gap, Popery would be "introduced into this kingdom.".

5. That he had persuaded the King contrary to his reason, to allow his name to be used to the Pope and several cardinals, in the sollicitation of a cardinal's cap for the lord Aubigney, great almoner to the Queen: in order to effect which, he had imployed mr. Richard Bealing, a known Papist; and had likewise applied himself to several Popish priests and jesuits for the same purpose, promising great favor to the priests here, in case it should be effected.

6. That he had likewise promised to several Papists, he would do his indeavor, and said, "He "hoped to compass the taking away all penal "laws against them;" to the end they might presume and grow vain upon his patronage, and by their publishing their hopes of a toleration, increase the scandal indeavored by him to be raised throughout the kingdom.

7. That being intrusted with the treaty betwixt his Majesty, and his royal consort the Queen, he concluded it upon articles scandalous and dangerous to the Protestant religion: moreover he brought the King and Queen together, without any setled agreement about the performance of marriage-rites: whereby the Queen refusing to be married by a Protestant priest, in case of her being with child, either the succession should be made uncertain for want of due rites of matrimony, or else his Majesty be exposed to a suspicion of his being married in his own dominions by a Romish priest.

8. That having indeavored to alienate the affections of the King's subjects upon the score of religion, he made use of all malicious scandals and jealousies to raise to himself a popular applause of being "The zealous upholder of the Protestant "Religion."

9. That he further indeavored to alienate the affections of the King's subjects, by venting in his own discourse, and those of his emissaries, opprobrious scandals against his Majesty's person, and course of life, such as are not fit to be mentioned, unless necessity should require it.

(1) The particular branches of the revenues were, the customs, the excise, the crown-lands, the hearth-money, the post-office, the first-fruits and tenths, the coinage, the alienation-office, with other lesser matters, which in all amounted to eleven hundred thousand pounds, or thereabouts. Echard, Vol. III. p. 102.

10. That

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10. That he indeavored to alienate the affection of the duke of York, from his Majeſty, by ſuggeſting to him, "That his Majeſty intended to "legitimate the duke of Monmouth."

11. That he had perſuaded the King, againſt the advice of the lord-general, to withdraw the Engliſh garriſons out of Scotland, and demoliſh all the forts built there, at ſo vaſt a charge to this kingdom; and all without expecting the advice of the parliament of England.

12. That he indeavored to alienate his Majeſty's affections and eſteem for his preſent parliament, by telling him, "That there was never ſo "weak and inconſiderable an houſe of lords, nor ne-"ver ſo weak and heady an houſe of commons; "and particularly, That it was better to ſell Dun-"kirk, than to be at their mercy for want of "money."

13. That, contrary to a known law made laſt ſeſſions, by which money was given and applied for the maintaining of Dunkirk, he adviſed and effected the ſale of the ſame to the French King.

14. That he had, contrary to law, inriched himſelf and his creatures by the ſale of offices.

15. That he had converted to his own uſe vaſt ſums of public money raiſed in Ireland by way of ſubſidy, private and public benevolences, and otherwiſe given and intended to defray the charge of the government in that kingdom.

16. That having arrogated to himſelf a ſupreme direction of all his Majeſty's affairs, he had prevailed to have his Majeſty's cuſtoms farmed at a lower rate than others offered, and that by perſons, with ſome of whom he went a ſhare, and other parts of money reſulting from his Majeſty's revenues.

Rejected by the lords. Kennet. Echard.

Without entering into the particulars of this charge, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, it was unanimouſly rejected, as improbable, and even contradictory (1). For beſide, as the earl of Clarendon was known to be no leſs prejudiced againſt the Papiſts than the Preſbyterians, it could not but appear ſtrange, that an open and declared Papiſt, as the earl of Briſtol was, ſhould accuſe the chancellor of favoring the Romiſh religion, and, on the other hand, of inſinuating, that the King was a Papiſt, in order to alienate the affection of his ſubjects. But what appears ſtill more extraordinary in this impeachment, is, that the inſinuations the chancellor was accuſed of, concerning the King, were true in themſelves, and that the earl of Briſtol pretended to repreſent them as ſlanders.

The revenue of the poſt ſetled on the duke of York. Ibid.

In this ſeſſion, the parliament granted the duke of York the poſt-office revenues (2), and wine-licenſes. Theſe revenues, which afterwards conſiderably increaſed, inabled the duke of York to keep a ſeparate court, and live independent of his brother.

The parliament prorogued. Kennet.

On the twenty-ſeventh of July, the King gave his aſſent to the ſubſidy-act and ſome others, after which he prorogued the parliament to the ſixteenth of March the following year 1663-4.

The King makes a progreſs. Auguſt. Phillips. Echard.

Soon after, the King and Queen made a progreſs into the Weſt, where they were received with great pomp and magnificence, particularly at Oxford. This was only a journey of pleaſure, and after five or ſix weeks ſpent in it, they returned to London in October.

A plot of the Republicans and Independents.

While the King was on his progreſs, a conſpiracy was diſcovered, carried on by the old Republicans and Independents, to reſtore the commonwealth. It is pretended, they were to ſeize ſeveral towns, particularly in the North, where they fancied themſelves ſtrongeſt, and then raiſe a general inſurrection. But being diſcovered by one of the complices, many were apprehended, and twenty-one convicted, and executed the January following. It was aſſured, that Ludlow and Lambert were to head theſe rebels, tho' the firſt never ſtired out of Switzerland, whither he had fled for refuge. As for Lambert, beſide that he never left the Iſle of Guernſey where he was confined, if any proofs had appeared againſt him, he would doubtleſs not have been ſpared. It is true, Ludlow in his Memoirs, ſeems to own, there was, this year, ſome project ſet on foot by the Republicans in England.

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Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 118, &c. Phillips. Echard.

Vol. III. P. 518.

This year died dr. Juxon archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was ſucceeded by Gilbert Sheldon biſhop of London (3).

Dr. Juxon dies. June 4, 1663.

The parliament meeting the ſixteenth of March, his Majeſty, in a ſpeech to both houſes, demanded a repeal of the triennial act made in 1641. To come to this demand, he inlarged on the late conſpiracy, which he ſaid was ſtill on foot, and that there were men, who, on pretenſe that this parliament was at an end by ſome clauſe in the triennial bill, fancied they might aſſemble themſelves, and chuſe new members. He deſired the two houſes not to leav an act in being, which paſſed in a time very neglectful of the dignity of the crown, or the ſecurity of the people. Laſtly, he told them, he loved parliaments: that never King was ſo much beholden to them as himſelf, nor did he believe the crown could ever be happy without frequent parliaments: but he would never ſuffer a parliament to aſſemble by the means preſcribed by that bill. He then told them, that the four ſubſidies granted the laſt ſeſſion, had fallen very ſhort of what he expected, or they intended: that the revenues of the exciſe, and tonage and poundage were greatly diminiſhed by the frauds of brewers and merchants, and the tax upon chimnies declined, the laſt half year having brought in leſs than the former. He therefore prayed them to let him have the collecting of this tax by his own officers.

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Kennet. Echard.

An' 1664. The act for triennial parliaments revoked.

The commons returning to their own houſe, proceeded immediately upon a bill to repeal the triennial act, and making another in its room, viz. That the ſiting of parliament ſhould not be diſcontinued above three years at moſt. This bill being ready, and paſſed by the lords, the King came to their houſe the fifth of April, and gave it the Royal aſſent.

Cauſe of the Dutch war. Phillips. Echard. R. Coke.

His Majeſty had ſometime ſince reſolved on a war with Holland: but it is difficult to know the true motive of this reſolution: for the cauſes alleged were only general, except the taking of two ſhips in the Eaſt-Indies, valued at the moſt but at eight or ten thouſand pounds ſterling. If ſome Engiſh hiſtorians are to be credited, the King had no thoughts of this war: the Dutch were aggreſſors, and being incouraged by promiſes of great aſſiſtance from France, fought a quarrel with England. They alſo pretend, it was ſolely at the preſſing inſtances of the parliament, that the King was drawn into it, to revenge the wrongs and damages done by the Dutch to the Engliſh in India, Africa, and elſewhere. But as theſe hiſtorians deſcend not to particulars, but keep to generals, the reader would be very ill informed, if he adhered only to what

(1) Upon their being rejected, the earl of Briſtol ſaid, "Thoſe articles were not intended by him as a charge, but as an in-"formation. Echard, Vol. III. p. 107. ——— As ſoon as he had delivered them, he, it ſeems, either repented of it, or at leaſt was prevailed to abſcond. Burnet, p. 197.

(2) Which then brought in twenty-one thouſand pounds a year. Hiſt. of Taxes, p. 307.

(3) This year alſo died, Jerome Weſton, earl of Portland, and judge Jenkyns, who had been queſtioned and impriſoned by the long parliament.

they

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they ſay. I ſhall therefore relate here what I meet with in others, who more fully explain this matter.

Baſnage.

The twenty-ſeventh of April 1662, the States-general of the United-Provinces made a treaty with the French King, by which both parties ingaged to aſſiſt each other, in caſe of any attack upon either in Europe.

Sept. 24.

The ſame year they made a like treaty of league and alliance with the King of England. This related to another made in 1659, between England and the States before the King's reſtoration, and ſeemed to be renewed only to remove the defect of that of 1659, made on the part of England by an unlawful authority. However,

Echard. D'Eſtrades.

it happened, in the interval between the two treaties, that the Dutch had ſunk or taken two Engliſh ſhips in the Indies, called the Bonadventure and the Good-Hope, which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the two powers (1). The Engliſh pretended, theſe two ſhips were attacked without any juſt cauſe, and the Hollanders maintained the contrary. In the treaty of 1662, the affair of theſe two ſhips was again brought on the carpet; but as their value was inconſiderable, it was not thought proper to delay a treaty advantageous to both nations. It was agreed therefore, that the Engliſh ſhould be allowed to proſecute the proceſs commenced on account of theſe ſhips, and the States to depoſite fourſcore thouſand florins by way of ſecurity to pay the full value in caſe the affair was given againſt them. Some time after, another diſpute aroſe on the ſame ſubject, and this was, the King pretended, that the States-general were judges of this proceſs; to which the States replied, that it belonged to the cognizance of the admiralty of Amſterdam, who only had a right to decide it. The affair remained in this ſtate till April this year 1664, when the commons, after an inquiry into the obſtructions of the trade of the nation, voted, and obtained the concurrence of the lords to their vote, "That the wrongs, diſhonors, and indignities done to his Majeſty by the ſubjects of the United Provinces in India, Africa, and elſewhere; and the damages done by them to the Engliſh merchants, are the greateſt obſtructions of the trade of England. That the ſame be ſpeedily preſented to his Majeſty, and he be moved to take ſome effectual courſe for redreſs of theſe injuries, and all other of the like nature, and for prevention of the like for the future. And in proſecution thereof, they will with their lives and fortunes aſſiſt his Majeſty, againſt all oppoſitions whatſoever." In purſuance of this reſolution, the two houſes preſented, the ſame day, an addreſs to the King, to which, on the morrow, they received this anſwer in writing: "That he was pleaſed with their zeal for the advancement of trade, and the removal of all obſtructions which might hinder the ſame; being convinced, that nothing would more contribute to the honor of the nation, and the proſperity of his people. That he would examine the particular complaints which had been repreſented to his parliament, and order his miniſter in Holland to demand ſpeedy reparation, and in caſe of a denial, he relied on their promiſe and declaration to ſtand by him."

Vote of the parliament againſt the Dutch. Echard. Kennet. Phillips.

The parliament addreſſes the King.

His anſwer. April 27, 28. Echard.

It is eaſy to perceive, that no particulars were ſpecified either in the addreſs or the anſwer, and that hitherto all was confined to generals. It will afterwards appear, that the Engliſh always kept to the ſame expreſſions, till the negociation of peace, when they were obliged to declare wherein conſiſted the injuries they complained of, the principal of which was found to be the loſs of two ſhips before mentioned. It is now time to ſhew, that when theſe grievances were exhibited to the parliament, the King had before reſolved on war, and that theſe were only complaints deſigned to furniſh a pretenſe, and ingage the parliament to grant him the neceſſary ſupplies to ſupport it.

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The States had, ſince the treaty of 1662, great cauſe of complaint againſt the Algerines, notwithſtanding the peace concluded with them in 1661. England was no leſs concerned than the States in the depredations commited by the Algerines upon all ſorts of ſhips, and therefore their High Mightineſſes deſired the King of England to join a ſquadron of his ſhips with a fleet they were equiping, to oblige the Algerines to a more exact obſervation of the peace. His Majeſty anſwered, he had rather act ſeparately.

After this anſwer, the States ſent Ruyten into the Mediterranean, with a ſquadron of twelve ſhips, and the King ſent thither twenty ſail under the command of Lawſon. Theſe two fleets departed in May this year, and about the ſame time the duke of York, as governor of the Royal African company, ſent vice-admiral Holms to Cape Verde, with a ſquadron of fourteen men of war, to take all poſſible advantage againſt the Dutch Eaſt-India company. Lawſon meeting Ruyter in the Mediterranean, was ſaluted by the Dutch admiral, but returned not the compliment, tho' contrary to what had been ſtipulated in the treaty of 1662. It is not neceſſary to take notice here of the little ſucceſs Lawſon and Ruyter had againſt the Algerines. What Holms did at Cape Verde is much more important.

Baſnage. Kennet. Burchett. R. Coke.

In the months of Auguſt and September, Holms made himſelf maſter of fort St. Andrew, and moſt other places belonging to the Dutch in the neighborhood of Cape Verde, and, after taking the fort built on the Cape itſelf, he gave it the name of York. He erected a fort in the mouth of the river Gambia, and then ſailing for Guinea, ſeized all the forts the Dutch had on the coaſt, except fort Achin and fort St. George de Mina. After this, he returned to England. Now, if it be conſidered, that Holms ſailed from England in May, or June at lateſt; that ſome time was required to equip this fleet; and that the parliament's addreſs was preſented to the King but the twenty-ſeventh of April, it will be eaſily perceived, that the war was reſolved in England before any complaints of depredations commited by the Dutch were repreſented to the parliament, and that theſe complaints were only pretenſes for the war. It muſt be obſerved, there is not one Engliſh hiſtorian but what ſpeaks of the hoſtilities commited by Holms at Cape Verde and Guinea, long before any declaration of war (2).

Baſnage. D'Eſtrades.

R. Coke, Vol. II. P. 31.

But what evidently ſhews the King, ſince his reſtoration, had ever intended this war, is, his conduct while the treaty between France and the States was negociating at Paris: for to retard it he did his utmoſt. The principal condition of this treaty conſiſted,

D'Eſtrades.

(1) De Wit told count D'Eſtrades, That the difference between the two nations aroſe on account of Downing's intereſt only, who had bought the pretended rights of the merchants, concerned in thoſe two ſhips, for a trifle; that to this end he inflamed the King of England's council, raiſing imaginary grievances and injuries received at ſea by the Engliſh, which they never ſuffered. D'Eſtrades's Letters of June 5, 1664.

(2) King Charles II, the next year after his reſtoration, viz. 1661, ſent ſir Robert Holms with a ſquadron of men of war, and ſome ſoldiers to America, with which he reduced New-York, and all that which the Dutch had taken from the Engliſh in Long-Iſland. And from thence, ſir Robert Holms ſailed to Africa, and took Cape Verde, and ſome other places, where the Dutch had factories. Coke's detection, &c. Vol. II. p. 135.——Echard ſays, only the Dutch embaſſador complained of of ſome hoſtile attempts of captain Holms on the coaſt of Guinea. Vol. III. p. 121,

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fisted, in a reciprocal guaranty of what the two parties poſſeſſed, or ſhould afterwards lawfully acquire. In this general clauſe, the States comprehended the article of the fiſhery, as an eſſential point, and the King of France made no objection to it. But Charles oppoſed it, and indeavored to hinder the French King from agreeing to that article. Lewis, in complaiſance to Charles ſought expedients to oblige him, by confining himſelf to a general guaranty, which ſhould include all without exception. But the States refuſed concluding the treaty, unleſs the article of the fiſhery was expreſly inſerted in the guaranty. Charles finding, the King of France would at laſt conſent, ordered count d'Eſtrades, the French embaſſador at London, to be told, that he had reſolved to oblige the ſhips of all nations without exception, to ſtrike to the Engliſh flag. But perceiving, the King of France, inſtead of being intimidated by this menace, anſwered it in a high ſtrain, Charles let him know, he would deſiſt from this pretenſion as to the French, provided Lewis would deſiſt from the guarantee of the fiſhery in favor of the Dutch. But Lewis, being ſenſible, the Dutch would never recede from that particular clauſe, agreed to it at laſt, and the treaty was concluded.

It appears hence, that Charles was then ſeeking a quarrel with the Dutch, on the fiſhery article. But finding France had expreſly ingaged to be guarantee of it, he himſelf concluded, that very year, a treaty of alliance with Holland, in expectation of ſome more favorable occaſion to begin a war.

This deſign was no longer poſtponed, than to the begining of this year 1664, when a fleet was preparing in England to act at Cape Verde and in Guinea, under the command of Holms. Soon after, ſome Engliſh merchants complained to the parliament of the horrible depredations of the Dutch. But it was never known wherein conſiſted the injuries received by the Engliſh. This extraordinary proceeding is a clear evidence, the court was in good underſtanding with thoſe who complained to the parliament. For, naturally, and according to the uſual practiſe in ſuch caſes, they ſhould firſt have brought their complaints to the King, who ſhould have applied to the States for redreſs, and, in caſe of refuſal, demanded the aſſiſtance of his parliament. But here the order was inverted. The parliament was firſt addreſſed to, who prayed the King to demand immediate reparation, and offered their aſſiſtance to carry on a war againſt Holland, before it was known, whether thoſe compliants had any foundation, or whether the States were inclinable to repair the damages pretended. All this demonſtrates, the war was reſolved before the parliament was informed of its cauſe and ground. For it was May before the King, by his embaſſador Downing (1), demanded of their High Mightineſſes reparation for theſe pretended injuries.

What I have here related, is farther confirmed by the ſpeaker's ſpeech to the King, at the prorogation of the parliament, wherein he ſaid, the houſe, on examination of the reaſons of the decay of trade, found, that the Dutch, within a few years, had injured his ſubjects, to the value of ſeven or eight hundred thouſand pounds, tho' Downing had not yet preſented his memorial to the States, nor conſequently received any anſwer.

Acts. Echard. Statute-b.

The ſeventeenth of May, the King coming to the parliament, the ſpeaker preſented the bills which were ready, and among the reſt, one for impowering the King to levy the chimney-money by his own officers, as he had deſired. The great vexations, complaints and murmurs, occaſioned afterwards by this bill, obliged King William III to drop this tax, tho' as it was levied in the reigns of Charles II and James II, it amounted to above two hundred and fifty ſix thouſand pounds a year. After the ſpeaker had mentioned this bill he told the King:

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The ſpeaker's ſpeech to the King. Echard, Vol. III. p. 118.

"——While we were intent upon theſe weighty affairs, we were often interrupted by petitions, and letters, and motions, repreſenting the unſetled condition of ſome counties, by reaſon of Fanatics, Sectaries, and Non-conformiſts: They differ in their ſhapes and ſpecies, and accordingly are more or leſs dangerous, but in this they all agree, they are no friends to the eſtabliſhed government either in church or ſtate, and if the old rule be true, 'Qui Eccleſiæ contradicit non eſt pacificus,' we have great reaſon to prevent their growth, and to puniſh their practiſe. To this purpoſe, we have prepared a bill againſt their frequenting of conventicles, the ſeed-plots and nurſeries of their opinions, under pretenſe of religious worſhip. The firſt offenſe is made puniſhable with five pounds, or three months impriſonment, and ten pounds for a peer: the ſecond offenſe with ten pounds, or ſix months impriſonment, and twenty pounds for a peer: But the third offenſe, after a trial by a jury, and the trial of a peer by his peers, the party convicted ſhall be tranſported to ſome foreign plantation, unleſs he lays down an hundred pounds. 'Immedicabile vulnus enſe reſcindendum ne pars ſincera trahatur."——

A reflection upon this act.

All the other ſects were not ſo numerous as the Preſbyterians. Since the King's reſtoration, they had never been accuſed of an inſurrection againſt the government, or of entering into the plots of the Anabaptiſts and Republicans; and yet, by this act they were liable to the ſame penalties as the other ſects; and, on pretenſe that their religious meetings were nurſeries of their opinions againſt the government in church and ſtate, they deſerved to be tranſported to America, if they had the boldneſs to aſſemble three times. By this extreme rigor, it ſeems it was not ſo much deſigned to puniſh their pretended tranſgreſſions, as to drive them to deſpair, that they might indeed render themſelves guilty.

Prorogation of the parliament. Echard.

Theſe acts having received the Royal aſſent, the King prorogued the parliament to Auguſt, ſignifying withal, that it ſhould not meet till November, unleſs a certain affair obliged him to aſſemble it ſooner.

The King demands reparation of damages. Baſnage. Echard, Vol. III. p. 121. Phillips.

The Dutch war was the affair, which the King had reſolved. For this purpoſe, Downing preſented to the States a memorial, drawn in very high terms, wherein he demanded, on the part of the King, reparation for the injuries done to the Engliſh, which, by his calculation, amounted to ſeven or eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. After the moſt diligent ſearch, I have not been able to diſcover the particular articles of theſe damages, except the two ſhips before mentioned, and another concerning the iſle of Poleron, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Wherefore in imitation of the Engliſh hiſtorians, I am forced to leave the reader in the dark, with regard to the particulars of the injuries on which this war was founded.

An embaſſador ſent from the States.

His Majeſty was bent on a war at any rate, while the States uſed all poſſible indeavors to avoid it.

(1) Biſhop Burnet gives Downing this character: "He was a crafty fawning man, who was ready to turn to every ſide that "was uppermoſt, and to betray thoſe, who by their former friendſhip and ſervices, thought they might depend on him. He "had been Cromwell's embaſſador in Holland, where he had offered perſonal affronts, both to the King and the duke. But "he had, by Monk's recommendation, found means to get into favor." p. 198.——Count D'Eſtrades ſays, he was a pitiful, ſeditious fellow. Letter of January 24, 1664.

Nevertheleſs,

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Nevertheleſs, not judging it proper to treat with Downing, who behaved to them with great arrogance, they ſaid, in anſwer to his memorial, that they would ſend an embaſſador to King Charles. Accordingly they diſpatched Van Goch, who had his firſt audience of the King the twenty-fifth of June. As he was ſpeaking, at this audience, of the trade of Africa and the Weſt-Indies, his Majeſty interrupted him, and ſaid, It was not to be ſuffered, that the Dutch Weſt-India company ſhould pretend, by means of three or four ſhips, and a few forts on the coaſt of Guinea, to exclude other nations from that commerce. The embaſſador anſwered, the obſtacles concerning that affair were terminated by the laſt treaty, and it ought to be examined, whether the Dutch had acted contrary to it. Afterwards, the States being informed of the hoſtilities commited by Holms at Cape Verde, and in Guinea, their embaſſador complained to the King, who anſwered, he had not the leaſt knowledge thereof. Some days after, Van Goch preſented a large memorial on that ſubject, with a freſh complaint, that the King had forbid the importation of Dutch commodities into England. His Majeſty gave the ſame anſwer, as before, to the firſt article of this memorial, that he had no knowledge of what was acting by Holms; and to the ſecond, that the prohibition of commodities, was on the account of the plague then reigning in Holland. It afterwards appeared, that the King pretended, the affair of Cape Verde and Guinea did not concern him, but was a private difference between the Engliſh and Dutch companies, and therefore it had not been neceſſary to inform him of it. But it will ſcarcely be conceived, that the duke of York, as governor of the Royal African company, ſhould ſend a ſquadron of twenty-one men of war to Guinea without the King's approbation.

D'Eſtrades. Kennet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 121.

p. 122.

D'Eſtrades.

Preparations for war.

While Downing at the Hague and Van Goch at London, fruitleſly preſented memorials on memorials, the King was diligently equiping his fleet. As he wanted money, he borrowed one hundred thouſand pounds of the city of London, who willingly advanced him that ſum, in belief, that he intended only the good of the Engliſh trade, by the deſtruction of that of Holland. The States, on the other hand, prepared for their defenſe, but not with the ſame vigor as their enemies were preparing to attack them. Their deſign was to gain time, in hopes, their fleets of merchant-men would return before the declaration of war; and the King's intention was to intercept thoſe fleets before the publiſhing of any declaration.

The city of London lends the King money. Echard, Vol. III. p. 121. Kennet.

The Engliſh intercept the Dutch merchant-men returning from Bourdeaux before the war was declared.

The King diſcovered his deſign in a manner not to be miſtaken. For ſending his ſhips to ſea, under command of the duke of York, as high-admiral (1), this fleet met in November, with the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, homeward bound, laden with wine and brandy, and took one hundred and thirty ſhips, which were brought into England, and condemned for lawful prizes, tho' no war had yet been declared. It is needleſs to reflect on the King's conduct, or on the judgment of the Engliſh admiralty. Every unprejudiced perſon will readily believe, that the law of nations was never more unjuſtly or more manifeſtly violated. In vain do ſome hiſtorians indeavor to palliate this action with two reaſons, which diſcover by their weakneſs, how much they themſelves were perſuaded of the reality of this injuſtice. The firſt is, that about the ſame time, Ruyter diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of their factories at Cape Verde, and on the coaſt of Guinea. But, firſt, they take no notice, that theſe factories were mere uſurpations of the Engliſh, who had the ſame year diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch of them. Secondly, Ruyter did not recover the forts at Cape Verde, and on the coaſt of Guinea, till the following year 1665. For it muſt be conſidered, that Holms commited his hoſtilities at Cape Verde, in the months of Auguſt and September, and afterwards ſailed to the coaſt of Guinea, where he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral forts. This news muſt therefore be brought to Holland; the States muſt ſend to Ruyter in the Mediterranean to repaſs the Streights and ſail to Cape Verde; and laſtly Ruyter muſt execute his orders, and the news of his expedition be carried to England. Now if all this cannot be effected within the ſpace of ſix weeks, how is it poſſible to juſtify the taking of the Bourdeaux fleet in November, on account of Ruyter's expedition to Cape Verde and Guinea, three months after? The ſecond reaſon is, that this war was not the project of the King, but the voice of the people and parliament; as if, even on this ſuppoſition, the people and parliament were leſs obliged than the King to obſerve the law of nations. But this was not the only error of its kind commited by Charles II, thro' a thirſt after money.

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A reflection upon this procedure. Baſnage. Echard, Vol. III. p. 122. Kennet.

Mean while, the King of France apprehending he ſhould at laſt be involved in this war by aſſiſting the States, purſuant to the treaty of 1662, believed it incumbent on him to uſe ſome indeavors to prevent it, and to that purpoſe offered his mediation to the two parties. The States willingly accepted it, but it was rejected by Charles, who ſaid, he would not enter into any negociation till he had received intire ſatisfaction on his demands. He had now ſent ſir Richard Fanſhaw to Spain, and the lord Holles to France, to indeavor to ingage theſe two crowns in a war with the Dutch. But he ſucceeded neither at Paris nor Madrid. Nevertheleſs he perſiſted in his reſolution of making war, tho' he had no other reaſon to allege for it than the pretended depredations commited by the Dutch upon the Engliſh, the particulars of which have never appearedt to this day.

Charles refuſes the French King's mediation. D'Eſtrades. Echard, Vol. III. p. 122.

p. 119, 120; Phillips.

Conjecture upon the grounds of this war. Burnet.

If it be conſidered, with what animoſity this war was undertaken and purſued, not only by the King, the duke of York, and the miniſtry, but even by the parliament, one can hardly forbear thinking, that they who excited this animoſity, had ſome more ſecret view than that of ſupporting trade. But hitherto, conjectures have only been offered on this ſubject. To the duke of York's ambition ſome ſay, this war ought to be aſcribed, who was impatient to diſtinguiſh himſelf, by commanding, as lord high-admiral, the King his brother's fleet. Others believe, the King finding his coffers empty, notwithſtanding all the money given him by parliament, and that raiſed by the ſale of Dunkirk, ingaged by his intrigues the parliament to propoſe this war to him, to have a pretenſe of demanding extraordinary ſupplies, which ſhould not be all expended in the war. There are others who believe, the King, the parliament, the city of London, found this war abſolutely neceſſary to humble the maritime power of the Dutch, who aimed to ingroſs the whole commerce of Europe, as they had already done that of the Indies: that tho' the cauſes of the war were never fully made known, every one underſtood, it was a war occaſioned by the jealouſy of trade. Laſtly, there are thoſe who ſuſpect, that the project to introduce Popery into England being now formed, the execution of it was only ſuſpended till the Dutch were rendered unable to ſuccor the Engliſh Proteſtants, ſince it was only from them that they could receive any aid. I ſhall not pretend

Echard.

Burnet.

(1) This fleet conſiſted of ſixteen men of war. Kennet's Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 271.

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to determine what were the ſecret motives of this war, which was certainly undertaken on very ſlight grounds, as will hereafter more fully appear (1).

The King's ſpeech to the parliament for money. Echard.

The parliament meeting the twenty-fourth of November, after two prorogations, the King made a ſpeech to both houſes on the preſent affair, viz. the war with the States-general. He ſaid, that upon the ſtock of his own credit he had ſet out a fleet, not inferior to any England had ever ſeen, and which had coſt him eight hundred thouſand pounds. All this tended to demand of the commons a proportionable ſupply. He then added,

"———I know not whether it will be worth "my pains to indeavor to remove a vile jealouſy "which ſome ill men ſcatter abroad, and which I "am ſure will never ſink into the breaſt of any "man who is worthy to ſit upon your benches; "'That when you have given me a noble and pro"portionable ſupply for the ſupport of the war, I "may be induced by ſome evil counſellors (for "they will be thought to think very reſpectfully "of my own perſon) to make a ſudden peace, and "get all that money for my own private occaſions.' "I am ſure you all think it an unworthy jealouſy, "and not to deſerve an anſwer. I would not be "thought to have ſo brutiſh an inclination to love "war for war's ſake. God knows, I deſire no "bleſſing in the world ſo much, as that I may live "to ſee a firm peace between all Chriſtian Princes "and States. But let me tell you, and you "may be confident of it, that when I am com"pelled to enter into a war, for the protection, "honor, and benefit of my ſubjects, I will, God "willing, not make a peace, but upon the obtain"ing and ſecuring thoſe ends for which the war "is entered into: and when that can be done, no "good man will be ſorry for the determination of "it.———"

Hereafter it will be ſeen, how his Majeſty diſcharged his promiſe in this ſpeech. After he had done, he farther declared to them, That he intended the lord-chancellor ſhould have made "A Narra"tive concerning the treaty and manner of pro"ceeding with the Dutch;" but the chancellor being laid up with the gout (2), he had ordered the narrative to be put in writing, which was delivered to both houſes.

The parliament thanks the city of London. Echard.

It will be eaſily imagined, this narrative only contained what ſhould inflame the parliament. But the hiſtorians have not related the contents, perhaps for want of knowing them. Be this as it will, Charles found the parliament ſo well diſpoſed in his favor, that the two houſes, by ſix lords and twelve commoners, ſent their thanks to the city of London for their loan to the King. A few days after, the commons voted his Majeſty a ſupply of two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, towards the maintenance of a war ſo neceſſary to the ſtate; and in leſs then three weeks, ways and means were found for raiſing that ſum in three years; after which both houſes adjourned to the twelfth of January.

Votes a large ſupply to the King, and adjourns. Echard. Kennet.

A declaration concerning letters of mart againſt the Dutch. Echard.

Immediately after, the King publiſhed a declaration, by which General Repriſals were granted againſt the ſhips, goods, and ſubjects of the States-general, and the court of admiralty ordered to condemn them as prizes according to the courſe of admiralty, and law of nations. This declaration was founded upon grievous damages and inſults done to the Engliſh, but without ſpecifying one article.

CHARLES II. AN' 1664.

The Engliſh take a great many Dutch veſſels. Kennet. Baſnage.

When the Bourdeaux fleet had been ſeized and condemned, the Engliſh took all the Dutch ſhips they met, tho' the war was not yet proclaimed. But it was much worſe ſince the declaration for General Repriſals had been publiſhed.

As ſoon as the States were informed of the hoſtilities commited by Holms at Cape Verde and in Guinea, they ſent an expreſs to Ruyter, ordering him to repaſs the Streights, and ſail towards theſe coaſts, to recover what the Dutch Weſt-India company had loſt. Ruyter executed this order with great vigor, and retook moſt of the forts ſeized by the Engliſh. He took likewiſe ſeveral of their ſhips. This news reached London the begining of February, and furniſhed the King with a new pretenſe for the declaration of war, which in a few days was publiſhed.

Ruyter recovers the places taken from the Dutch at Cape Verde and Guinea.

The money bill is paſſed. Echard. Kennet.

The parliament meeting the twelfth of January, the houſe of commons proceeded immediately to the money-bill, as the moſt preſſing affair. This bill being ready, the King came to the houſe to give his aſſent, after which, war was formally declared againſt the States-general. This declaration was founded upon the numberleſs injuries and unſpeakable damages, the Engliſh had ſuffered from the Dutch, without being able to obtain the leaſt ſatisfaction. His Majeſty added, that the ſhips belonging to the Dutch were not detained by him, till he found that Ruyter was ordered not only to abandon the conſortſhip againſt the Algerines, to which he had been invited by the States, but alſo to uſe all acts of depredation againſt his ſubjects in Africa. He therefore declared to all the world, that the Dutch were the aggreſſors, and ought in juſtice to be ſo regarded by all men.

A remark upon this declaration.

What appears very aſtoniſhing in this declaration is, that the King did not even take care to preſerve appearances, as if his ſubjects and all Europe had been void of common ſenſe, or it was not known that the fleet from Bourdeaux had been intercepted in November, before Ruyter had reached Guinea. He pretended, that all the world muſt be ignorant, becauſe he himſelf feigned not to know, that Holms had begun hoſtilities at Cape Verde and in Guinea in Auguſt and September. In fine, he would have all the world believe on his bare word, that the Engliſh had ſuffered grievous damages, without his vouchſafing to ſpecify one ſingle injury. This declaration was approved of by twenty-two privy-counſellors only, the earls of Southampton and Clarendon having been either unable, or unwilling to be preſent at this reſolution. It was dated the twenty-ſecond of February, but was not publiſhed till the ſecond of March.

Kennet, p. 272. Echard.

The parliament prorogued.

Charles having notice that ſome bills were ready for the Royal aſſent, came to the houſe the ſecond of March, and after paſſing the bills, which were of no great importance, he prorogued the parliament

(1) Burnet ſays, he was very poſitively aſſured by ſtateſmen on both ſides, that the French ſet this war on in a very artificial manner; for while they incouraged us to inſiſt on ſome extravagant demands, they at the ſame time preſſed the Dutch not to yield to them; and as they put them in hopes, that if a rupture ſhould follow, they would aſſiſt them according to their alliance, ſo they aſſured us, that they would do us no hurt.———There was no viſible cauſe of war——France and Popery were the true ſprings of theſe counſels. It was the intereſt of the King of France, that the States ſhould be in no condition to make a vigorous reſiſtance, when he ſhould be ready, either to invade them, or fall into Flanders.———The French did thus ſet on the war between the Engliſh and Dutch, hoping that our fleets ſhould mutually weaken one another ſo much, that the naval force of France, which was increaſing very conſiderably, ſhould be near an equality to them, when they ſhould be ſhattered by a war. The States were likewiſe the greateſt ſtrength of the Proteſtant intereſt, and were therefore to be humbled. p. 198, 199.

(2) It is very probable, as Echard obſerves, that his diſtemper was more political then real; for he was utterly againſt this war, as was alſo the earl of Southampton. Vol. III. p. 125.

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ment to the twenty-first of June. Afterwards, he continued the prorogation to the first of August, and then to the ninth of October.

The clergy give up their right of taxing themselves. Burnet. Echard.

In this session the clergy voluntarily gave up their right of taxing themselves in convocation, and from this time have been taxed in common with the people in parliament. This has made convocations less necessary to the King, and consequently less considerable in themselves (1).

AN' 1665. Echard. Kennet.

The war being declared, the duke of York, about the end of March, repaired to the fleet which he was to command, consisting of one hundred and seven men of war, and fourteen fire-ships. But as the fleet was not yet ready, he could not sail till May.

The King of France's conduct with regard to the war between England and Holland. D'Estrades.

Some time since, the States, perceiving a war unavoidable, pressed the King of France to declare against England, pursuant to the treaty of 1662, but had not yet prevailed. Charles on his side sollicited him to abandon the States, and allured him with very tempting advantages. So, Lewis was not a little imbarassed. He was desirous to keep fair with the King of England, whom, he foresaw, he might want; and, on the other hand, if he abandoned the States, there was danger of their being overcome, and of Pensionary De Wit losing all his credit. This could not happen, without a change of the government; the re-establishment of the young Prince of Orange, and the King of England's being in effect master in Holland. It was thro' the sole influence of the Pensionary that their High Mightinesses were attached to the interests of France, and consequently his fall could not but be extremely prejudicial to that nation. The course therefore which Lewis took on this occasion, was to gain time, one while by caviling at the terms of the treaty of 1662, another while, by giving hopes to the States of his declaring against England, and lastly, by a splendid embassy to London, with the duke of Vernuil at the head of it, to mediate a peace between England and Holland. In order to know his inclination, let us hear what he says himself in a letter to count d'Estrades his embassador at the Hague, dated the nineteenth of December 1664.

His leter to to the count d'Estrades.

——— "However, I own, I am a little "imbarassed, considering, if I literally execute "the treaty of 1662, I shall very much prejudice "my principal interest, and this, in favor of a na- "tion, which not only will never be serviceable to "me, but which I shall find opposite in the only "case where I should want them, and then, the "assistance I shall have given them, will turn "against me. Beside this, I lose England, which "is upon the point of concluding a strict alliance "with Spain, in case I reject her offers, and these "offers, for I may trust you with the secret, are "a carte blanche in every thing I can desire for "the Netherlands, without one inch of land "expected for England. Beside the King of "England himself suggests to me, how to avoid "with honor assisting the Dutch. He pretends, "they are the aggressors: that he has a right to "the forts, they have seized in Guinea: that "they first armed: that they have made a "national quarrel for a private dispute between "two companies, which they should have been "suffered to decide: that they commited the first "act of violence in ill-treating one of his ships "laden with masts from Sweden: that, however, "I am only ingaged for what passes in Europe: "that it is visible all the differences, except that of "Guinea, are easy to be adjusted. That it is not "reasonable, their capricious obstinacy to main- "tain a country for which I am not ingaged, "should kindle a war in these parts, because as I am "not obliged for the principal, I cannot be so for "the accessions and dependencies. I omit how I "was served by the States at Munster, &c. What "I now write must be a secret."

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I cannot forbear making some remarks on this letter.

Reflections upon this letter.

First it shews, the French King did not excite the war between England and Holland, as most of the English historians pretend.

Secondly, if Charles had really intended the welfare of his kingdom in undertaking this war, he would not have offered the King of France a carte blanche for the Netherlands, in order to accomplish the destruction of Holland. This was a thing directly contrary to the interests of England, and very different from the satisfaction demanded for the injuries his subjects might have received from the Dutch.

Thirdly, in what Charles alleged to Lewis, there appears no proof, that the Dutch were the aggressors, nor any thing of the pretended damages of eight hundred thousand pounds: but that the chief point in dispute was the propriety of some forts on the coast of Guinea, which, according to him, was an affair between the two companies, and that the rest was easy to be adjusted.

Fourthly, Charles supposes the States to have made it a national quarrel, by sending Ruyter to Guinea; but that he had not concerned himself with this affair, because Lawson had been sent with twenty-one sail, in the name of the duke of York, and the Royal African company.

Lastly, the States had no reason to expect much assistance from France, unless the chance of war should render it necessary for them, or the King of France find some considerable advantage in espousing their cause.

It was therefore to gain time that the embassy was sent to London, because Lewis pretended, that as long as there was any hope of an accommodation, he was not obliged to declare against England. Now while his embassadors were at London, he could say, that the hope of a reconciliation was not intirely desperate. He so artfully managed, that he kept them there till the end of the year 1665, declared not against England till January 1666, and his declaration was of little service to the States.

The duke of York sails with the English fleet. Kennet. Echard.

In May the duke of York sailed with the English fleet, and, before the Dutch could be ready, alarmed the coasts of Holland. He continued a fortnight near the Texel, to prevent the fleet of Holland from joining that of Zealand, in which he could not fail of success. In the interim, he took several Dutch homeward bound ships, who had not been informed of the war. However, as the war was not made only to hinder this junction, the duke at last sailed away with design to meet Ruyter, who

(1) It being found by experience, that their whole subsidies were inconsiderable, and yet unequally heavy on the clergy, it was resolved on hereafter to tax the church benefices as temporal estates were taxed; which proved indeed a lighter burden, but was not so honorable as when it was given by themselves. Yet interest prevailing above the point of honor, they acquiesced in it. So the convocation being no more necessary to the crown, occasioned less regard being had to them afterwards. They were often discontinued and prorogued; and when they met, it was only for form. Burnet, p. 197. ——— The custom of the clergy's taxing themselves was broken during the late troubles. For then the clergy, either out of voluntary compliance, affectation of popularity, or because they wanted proxies to represent their body, had their benefices taxed with the laity. This the court found, after the restoration, to be an easier thing, than to have two bodies of men to please. And therefore intended to deprive the clergy of that right, if they had not voluntarily relinquished it.

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was returning to Holland by order of the States. But finding his proviſions were conſumed upon an uncertain expectation, he retired with his fleet to Harwich, contenting himſelf with ſending ſome frigates to cruiſe in the channel, and bring him intelligence of the enemy (1).

The fleet of the States. Baſnage. Kennet. Echard.

Put under the command of Obdam.

During his ſtay there, the Holland and Zealand ſquadrons joined and formed a fleet of one hundred and twenty one men of war, beſide fire-ſhips, under the command of Obdam de Waſſenaer. He had under him Cortenaer vice admiral of the Maeſe, Evertzen vice admiral of Zealand, and Cornelius Tromp ſon of the famous Martin Tromp. The rear-admirals and captains were very far from anſwering to their ſuperiors in capacity, more care having been taken to fill theſe poſts with the relations and friends of thoſe, whom the Penſionary wanted to preſerve his credit, than with experienced officers. So, except fifteen or ſixteen captains, the reſt were unexperienced. This is a misfortune to which Republics are more liable than Monarchies. Tho' De Wit managed the affairs as he pleaſed, he had for enemies all the party of the houſe of Orange, who were ſpies upon his conduct, and miſrepreſented all his proceedings, in order to ruin him. The Penſionary was inſenſible of it, and therefore believed, the only way to ſecure himſelf, and preſerve his authority, was to hazard a ſea ingagement. Succeſs would diſarm the malice of his adverſaries, and the loſs of a battle would of courſe oblige the French to execute the treaty of 1662, and ſilence the complaints and murmurs of the Orange party, who induſtriouſly publiſhed, that Lewis only amuſed the States. Agreeably to this reſolution, which the Penſionary cauſed the States to approve, an order was ſent to Obdam, to go in queſt of the enemy. He obeyed, and came in ſight of them the firſt of June, not far from Harwich. But the wind being ſoutherly, and the next morning ſouth-weſt, he retired to the mouth of the Maeſe. He acquainted the States by an expreſs, with the reaſon of his retreat, and that he did not think proper to attack the Engliſh while they had the advantage of the wind. But he received ſtill more poſitive orders to fight let the wind be as it would, on peril of anſwering it with his head. After ſo expreſs an order, there being no way to recede, he weighed anchor at break of day, and within an hour diſcovered the Engiſh fleet divided into three ſquadrons. The firſt under the red flag, was commanded by the duke of York, aſſiſted by Penn and Lawſon. The ſecond being the white ſquadron, was conducted by Prince Rupert, aſſiſted by Minnes and Sampſon. The third which was the blue ſquadron, was commanded by the earl of Sandwich, who had with him Cuttings and ſir George Aſcough.

Who receives orders to fight. Baſnage.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 133.

Sea fight gained by the Engliſh. Death of Obdam. Baſnage. Echard. Kennet. J. Phillips.

To deſcribe this ingagement, fought the third of June, I own myſelf unqualified. I ſhall therefore only ſay, the Dutch fleet was overthrown, chiefly by the ill conduct of ſeveral captains who were wanting in their duty; by the death of Obdam, who with his ſhip, and all his men were blown up; by the loſs of Cortenaer who was killed upon the deck after hoiſting the admiral-flag, and by many other cauſes which are ſcarce intelligible but to thoſe who are verſed in ſea-affairs. The Dutch loſt nineteen ſhips burned and ſunk, with about ſix thouſand men (2). On the Engliſh ſide, the loſs was only four ſhips, and about fifteen hundred men, among whom were Charles Berkley earl of Falmouth; admiral Sampſon; James Ley earl of Marlborough, and vice-admiral Lawſon, who died ſhortly after of his wounds (3). The remains of the Dutch fleet retired to the Maeſe or the Texel, and were purſued all the next day being Sunday, tho', according to ſome, the duke of York did not diſcover the ſame ardor in this purſuit, he had done in the battle. See what doctor Burnet biſhop of Saliſbury ſays of it in his poſthumous hiſtory of his own times.

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That famous hiſtorian ſays, "After the fight, a council of war was called to concert the method of action when they ſhould come up with them. In that council, Penn, who commanded under the duke, happened to ſay, that they muſt prepare for hotter work in the next ingagement. He knew well the courage of the Dutch was never ſo high as when they were deſperate. The earl of Montague, who was then a volunteer, and one of the duke's court, ſaid to me, it was very viſible that made an impreſſion: and all the duke's domeſtics ſaid he had got honor enough: why ſhould he venture a ſecond time? The ducheſs had alſo given a ſtrict charge to all the duke's ſervants to do all they could to hinder him to ingage too far. When matters were ſetled they went to ſleep; and the duke ordered a call to be given him when they ſhould get up to the Dutch fleet. It is not known what paſſed between the duke and Brounker, who was of his bed-chamber, and was then in waiting; but he came to Penn as from the duke, and ſaid, the duke ordered the ſail to be ſlackened. Penn was ſtruck with the order, but did not go to argue the matter with the duke himſelf, as he ought to have done, but obeyed it. When the duke had ſlept, he upon his waking went out upon the quarter-deck, and ſeemed amazed to ſee ſails ſlackened, and that thereby all hope of overtaking the Dutch was loſt. He queſtioned Penn upon it. Penn put it upon Brounker, who ſaid nothing. The duke denied he had given any ſuch order. But he neither puniſhed Brounker for carrying it, nor Penn for obeying it. He indeed put Brounker out of his ſervice, and it was ſaid, that he durſt do no more, becauſe he was ſo much in the King's favor and in the miſtreſs's. Penn was more in his favor after that than ever before, which he continued to his ſon after him, tho' a Quaker. And it was thought, that all that favor was to oblige him to keep the ſecret. Lord Montague did believe, that the duke was ſtruck, ſeeing the earl of Falmouth the King's favorite, and two other perſons of quality killed very near him, and that he had no mind to ingage again, and that Penn was privately with him. If Brounker was ſo much in fault as he ſeemed to be, it was thought the duke, in the paſſion that this muſt have raiſed in him, would have proceeded to greater extremities, and not have acted with ſo much phlegm."

Burnet, p. 218.

The duke of York ſeeing it was fruitleſs to continue his purſuit, retired to the coaſts of England, and repaired to Whitehall to receive the acclama-

Echard, Vol. III. p. 135.

(1) By the duke's retiring from the coaſt of Holland, the enemy took the advantage of intercepting the Engliſh Hambugh fleet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 134.

(2) Our hiſtorians ſay, That we loſt but one ſhip; and that the Engliſh took eighteen Dutch men of war, and ſunk and fired about fourteen more. They alſo took two thouſand ſixty-three priſoners, whereof ſixteen were captains. See Burchett, p. 398. Echard, Vol. III. p. 134.

(3) And likewiſe the lord Muſkerry, and mr. Boyle, the earl of Burlington's ſecond ſon, theſe two, with the lord Falmouth, were killed with the ſame cannon-ball, juſt by the duke of York, and ſo near him, that he was ſprinkled with their blood and brains. The earl of Portland was likewiſe killed. Burchett, p. 398.

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tions of the court and city of London. His Majeſty appointed a day of thankſgiving throughout the kingdom for this victory, and ſeveral medals were ſtruck in honor of the victorious duke of York, who was now in a very agreeable ſituation (1). For beſide that he was lord high-admiral, governor of the Cinque-ports, and of Portſmouth, and had the benefit of the poſt-office, and the wine licenſes, all which inabled him to keep a ſplendid court, he had ſtill a much more conſiderable advantage. He began to be conſidered as heir to the crown, Charles his brother having no legitimate children. This attached many to his intereſt, and particularly the Papiſts, who knew his religion, tho' he yet concealed it as well as the King.

Medals ſtruck in honor of the duke of York. Evelyn's Numiſm.

The Queen-mother returns to France. Echard.

Shortly after, the Queen-mother reſolving to paſs the reſidue of her days in France, the King and the duke of York attended her to the Nore, and there took their laſt leave of her. It is very likely ſhe was not pleaſed with having ſo ſmall a ſhare in public affairs, having been uſed otherwiſe in the reign of the King her huſband.

The Engliſh fleet put under the command of the earl of Sandwich. July. Echard. Burchett. * Edward Montague. and that of the Dutch under Ruyter.

How glorious ſoever this firſt ſea-fight of the duke of York might be, the King and council did not think it proper he ſhould venture his perſon in a ſecond ingagement. Therefore the command of the fleet was given to * the earl of Sandwich (2), who uſed his utmoſt indeavors to prepare it for the ſea as ſoon as poſſible, in order to prevent that of the States, which was repairing with the utmoſt expedition. Beſide, the States, having appointed Ruyter to ſucceed Obdam, ordered him to return immediately with his ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeventeen men of war. The diligence uſed by the States to repair their fleet, was not ſo much to be revenged of the Engliſh, as to ſecure their merchantmen homeward bound from Smyrna and the Eaſt-Indies. The Engliſh, on their ſide were leſs eager to fight than to ſeize the riches which thoſe fleets were bringing to Holland.

Several Dutch ſhips retire to Berghen in Norway. Burnet. p. 222. Arlington's Letters. Echard, Vol. III. p. 137. Burchett.

In the mean time it happened, that the Dutch-Smyrna-fleet, and ſeveral Eaſt-India ſhips not daring to enter the channel, retired to the port of Berghen in Norway, waiting for Ruyter to convoy them to Holland. In this interval, the King of Denmark, diſcourſing one day with ſir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy, made great complaints of the Dutch, who, he ſaid, had drawn the Swediſh war on him, that he might be forced to have recourſe to them for ſupplies of money and ſhips, and deliver to them the cuſtoms of Norway and the Sound for their ſecurity. Upon this the envoy told him, he had now a good opportunity of being revenged, by the ſeizure of their ſhips at Berghen, worth many millions. But the King anſwering, he wanted ſtrength to execute ſuch a deſign, the envoy told him, he doubted not but the King his maſter would lend him his ſhips, provided he was aſſured of equally partaking of the ſpoil; to which the King of Denmark conſented. The King of England was pleaſed with Talbot's project, and ſent orders to the earl of Sandwich to ſail immediately and ſeize the Dutch ſhips at Berghen. The admiral readily obeyed, tho' he had received no intimation of the agreement between the two Kings.

The Kings of England and Denmark attempt to ſeize them.

To effect this deſign, it was abſolutely neceſſary to inform the vice-roy of Norway, and the governor of Berghen of it, that they might favor it, in feigning to protect the Dutch ſhips, the King of Denmark being unwilling to appear openly. Nor was it leſs neceſſary to inform the earl of Sandwich of it, to prepare him againſt the noiſe and complaint of the governor of Berghen, on account of the attempt and violence of the Engliſh. But ſeveral accidents ruined this affair. The governor of Berghen, who was to receive orders from the vice-roy of Norway, was not ſoon enough informed. On the other hand, Talbot's expreſs, ſent from Copenhagen to the Engliſh fleet, was taken by the Dutch. In fine, the earl of Sandwich hearing Ruyter was ſhortly expected, and being deſirous to perform the deed before his arrival, detached the ſquadron commanded by ſir Thomas Tyddeman, who attacked the Dutch with great reſolution. But they had now time to put themſelves in a poſture of defenſe. On the other hand, the governor of Berghen, who had not yet received any particular directions how to behave, ſeeing this open hoſtility, and obſerving that the Engliſh ſhot damaged the town, fired upon them from the citadel. In a word, this ſquadron was almoſt intirely ruined, and obliged to return to the fleet. The next day, the fourth of Auguſt, orders came to the governor of Berghen, but it was then too late. It appeared, the King was not well ſatisfied with the earl of Sandwich's conduct, ſince, inſtead of continuing him in the command of the fleet, he ſent him embaſſador to the court of Spain.

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But are diſappointed.

Aug. 3. The project miſcarries.

In the interim, Ruyter arriving in Holland with many Engliſh prizes, took the oath to the States as vice-admiral-general, after which he took the command of the fleet, conſiſting of ninety-three ſail well equiped. But tho' he bore the title of admiral, three commiſſioners attended him, namely, De Wit the Penſionary, Huygens, and Borrel, who had properly the command. The grand deſign of theſe commiſſioners was to meet the India fleet, which was to ſail round Ireland to avoid entering the channel. But the wind was ſo contrary, that the fleet would not have got ſoon enough out of the Texel, if the Penſionary, who underſtood ſea affairs very well, had not by ſounding it himſelf all over very diligently, found more ways to get out by different winds, than was thought formerly practicable (3). So the fleet at laſt, ſailed out, and appeared before Berghen, where the commiſſioners gave their orders for convoying the merchant-men which were in that port. But a violent ſtorm riſing ſo diſperſed them, that twenty fell into the hands of the Engliſh (4). This ſtorm obliged Ruyter and the commiſſioners to return to Holland, with their fleet very much damaged.

Ruyter arrives in Holland.

Puts to ſea: Baſnage. Echard. Kennet.

Burnet, p. 221.

Brings ſhips from Berghen.

In the mean time a dreadful plague raged in London, where it firſt appeared about the middle of May. It is ſaid, that in leſs than a year, it ſwept away, in that ſingle city, above a hundred thouſand perſons (5). The King at firſt retired to Hampton-court, but afterwards, to be farther from London, reſided at Saliſbury.

A great plague in London. Skinner. Baynard. Kennet.

It appears, that this year, the Republicans had

(1) One of theſe medals had on one ſide the duke's effigy in buſt, clad in a Roman mantle, with theſe words round it, Jacobus Dux Ebor. & Alban. Domin. Magn. Admiralius Angliae, &c. The reverſe repreſented the admiral and whole fleet in an ingagement, with theſe words, Nec Minor in Terris. Jun. iii. mdclxv. Another had on one ſide, the duke in buſt, ſhort hair, &c. with this inſcription, Jacobus Dux Ebor. & Alban. Frater Augustissimi Caroli II. Regis. The reverſe, a trophy, and the ſhips ingaged, with theſe words, Genus Antiquum. See Evelyn's Numiſmata.

(2) Sir George Aſcough was vice-admiral under him, and ſir Thomas Tyddeman rear-admiral. Of the white, ſir William Penn was admiral, ſir William Berkley vice-admiral, and ſir Joſeph Jordan rear-admiral. And the blue flag was carried by ſir Thomas Allen, whoſe flag-officers were, ſir Chriſtopher Minnes, and ſir John Harman. Burchett, p. 398.

(3) It is ſaid he got the ſhips out, by faſtening empty caſks under water to the ſides of the ſhips, which helped to buoy them up.

(4) Together with twelve men of war, and two Eaſt-India ſhips. Echard, Vol. III. p. 141.

(5) There died of it ſixty eight thouſand five hundred and ninety ſix perſons. Strype's Contin. of Stow's Survey, B. I. p. 226.

projected

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projected an insurrection, and were even incouraged by emissaries from the States-general, who would have been glad to imploy the King in domestic troubles. But this was a bare project, which served only to furnish the enemies of the Non-conformists with an opportunity to magnify the danger with which the kingdom was threatened from the enemies of the church in general, and to include, in that number, the Presbyterians, tho' they were not concerned in the Republican projects.

Designs of the Republicans. Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 166, &c. Burnet, p. 226. Made a handle to injure the Presbyterians.

It was not only against England that the States-general had to defend themselves. Charles had raised them another enemy, by whom they were no less imbarassed. This was the famous Bernard Van Ghalen, bishop of Munster, who, upon very slight pretenses, entered the province of Overyssel at the head of an army in English pay. He made himself master of a great many places, and then attempted to surprize Groningen, but was repulsed. At length, before the end of the campain, the King of France, and the duke of Lunenburgh, having sent a powerful assistance to the States, the bishop was forced to relinquish his great designs, and think of a peace, especially as the money promised by the King of England was not paid regularly.

The bishop of Munster falls upon the Dutch. Temple's Lett. J. Phillips.

The parliament meets at Oxford.

The parliament, which had been prorogued to the ninth of October, met accordingly, but at Oxford, on account of the plague which still raged in London, whereas it did not much infest other parts of the kingdom. The King told them, in a speech to both houses, the supply of two millions five hundred thousand pounds granted him for carrying on the war, was already expended. He insisted particularly on the great sums paid to the bishop of Munster, for making a diversion in the bowels of his enemies country, tho' it appears in sir William Temple's letters, that these sums were never well paid.

The King's speech. Kennet. Echard.

Another by the chancellor.

After the King had done speaking, the chancellor, by his order, inlarged upon the same subject, signifying to the commons, that they could not dispense with puting the King in a condition to prosecute a war so glorious and necessary. Then, he spoke of the design formed by the Republicans, for the subversion of the government. But, in agravating with great warmth and eloquence the efforts and designs of these men, he took particular care not to distinguish them from the other sects of Non-conformists. It was a constant artifice, as I have observed, to apply to the Presbyterians, under the general name of Non-conformists, all the actions and extravagancies of the Independents, Anabaptists, and Republicans in general.

Money granted the King. Echard.

In some few days, the commons voted the King a new supply of twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds to continue the war; also one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to the duke of York, for great service he had done to the nation.

The five mile act. Statute b. Burnet, p. 224. R. Coke.

After this, was brought into the house a bill, which passed without any difficulty, namely, "That "no Non-conformist teacher under what denomina- "tion soever shall dwell, or come, unless upon the "road, within five miles of any corporation, or "any other place where they had been ministers, "or had preached after the act of oblivion, unless "they first took the following oath: I do swear "that it is not lawful upon any pretense whatso- "ever to take arms against the King; and that I "do abhor the traiterous position of taking arms "by his authority against his person, or against "those that are commissioned by him, in pursu- "ance of such commissions; and that I will not "at any time indeavor any alteration of govern- "ment either in church or state (1)."

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The reason alleged in the act to justify this severity was, that the ministers had setled themselves in the corporations, sometimes three or four in a place, and took opportunities to instil into the minds of the subjects, their poisonous principles of schism and rebellion, to the great danger of the church and kingdom.

Reasons urged against it. Burnet. Echard.

This bill met with great opposition in the house of lords, even from the earl of Southampton lord treasurer, tho' an intimate friend of the earl of Clarendon, and a principal author of the persecution against the Non-conformists (2). Indeed the oath required to be taken by the Non-conforming ministers supposed a thing which was not generally allowed, viz. that every good subject and good christian, was obliged in conscience to believe what was contained in this oath, otherwise it was absurd to impose it on the ministers. For there is a great difference between injoining a certain practise, and obliging part of the subjects to swear that they believe it founded in religion and conscience, while the rest are left free, either to believe or not believe it. Accordingly, the commons, foreseeing the force of so pressing an objection, prepared a bill to oblige all the subjects to take the same oath. This bill was thrown out, tho' only by two or three voices. At last, notwithstanding these difficulties, the act, called the Five-mile act, passed the house of lords, and the King gave it the Royal assent the thirty-first of October, as well as to the money-bill and some others, after which he prorogued the parliament to the twentieth of February 1665-6.

It passes.

The parliament prorogued. Echard.

Reasons alleged to justify the five mile act. Id. p. 150.

Several writers have indeavored to justify the rigor of the five mile act, and what they have said amounts to this.——That this rigor was occasioned more by the seditious behavior of the Non-conformists, than by the exercise of their religion. In which assertion the ambiguity of the word Non-conformist is still retained, as if all the sects included under that denomination formed but one and the same body, united by the same common doctrines and interests, which is notoriously false. The Presbyterians alone were considerably more numerous than all the other Non-conformists together, and had doctrines and interests really separate from those of the other sects. They could not be, nor were they, accused of being ingaged in the conspiracies, real or pretended, of the Independents and Anabaptists since the King's restoration, who had even positively promised, they should not be molested for their religion, after the great service they had done him. And yet, because their enemies had artfully included them in the general denomination of Non-conformists, they were to partake of the punishment due to the other sects, who were called by the same name, tho' they had with them no sort of union. Wherefore the reader may judge, whether this severity did not partly arise from their religion. In short, by the sole ambiguity of the word Non-conformist the objections and just complaints of the Presbyterians, are pretended to be combated.

Extreme rigor shewn to the Presbyterians in Scotland. J. Phillips. Echard.

The council of Scotland, this same year, shewed no less animosity against the Presbyterians; on pretense of some insolence commited by Alexander Smith, a private minister, a proclamation was published, the twenty-fourth of December, ordering that all the silenced Presbyterian ministers should, within forty days, remove themselves and their families from the places where they had been ministers,

(1) The penalty was forty pounds, and six months imprisonment, unless they took the said oath before their commitment.
(2) As also from the lords Wharton, Ashley, &c. Echard, Vol. III. p. 149.

and

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and not reſide within twenty miles of the ſame, or within ſix miles of Edinburgh, or any cathedral church, nor within three miles of any Royal borough, nor ſhould be more than two together in the ſame pariſh, on pain of incuring the penalties of the law againſt Movers of Sedition. I own, I ſee no other difference between ſentencing men to death, and puting them out of a capacity to live, unleſs that the latter puniſhment offers thoſe who inflict it a more exquiſite vengeance. But this rigor will appear the more extreme, if it be conſidered that the Preſbyterians made properly the body of the Scotiſh nation (1).

France declares war againſt England. D'Eſtrades. Temple. Echard, Vol. III. p. 156. Jan. 19.

In the begining of the year 1666, his Majeſty's affairs were in an ill ſituation. The French King, preſſed by the repeated inſtances of the States-general, recalled his embaſſadors, and publiſhed, the nineteenth of January, a declaration of war againſt England. This was not owing to his belief that the affairs of the States were deſperate (for the ſequel ſhews they could defend themſelves without his aſſiſtance) but becauſe the Penſionary, who was intirely attached to the intereſt of France, could no longer ſupport himſelf without this declaration, which, as will hereafter appear, was not very prejudicial to England.

The King of Denmark joins with the States. Ibid. Baſnage.

On the other hand, the States found means to ſecure the King of Denmark, by the promiſe of paying him yearly, as long as the war with England ſhould continue, fifteen hundred thouſand florins, three hundred thouſand of which were to be paid by the King of France. For this he ingaged to maintain a fleet of thirty men of war for the ſervice of the allies.

The biſhop of Munſter makes a peace with the States.

The States alſo raiſed ſo many enemies to the biſhop of Munſter, that he was obliged to make peace and diſband his forces. This peace was concluded at Cleve, and ſigned the eighteenth of April.

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In 1666, the naval war was renewed, with all theſe diſadvantages to England. If the King of France had acted with the ſincerity the States thought they had probable reaſon to expect, the Engliſh fleet would not have ventured to appear with unequal force againſt the united fleets of France and Holland. But Lewis XIV, as I have ſaid, only declared war againſt England to ſave De Wit, who was juſt ſinking, as appears in ſeveral letters of count d'Eſtrades. The Penſionary being ſecure by this declaration, it was not difficult for the King of France to find pretenſes for retarding the aſſiſtance he had promiſed the States. Tho' his declaration was publiſhed the nineteenth of January, the fleet, which he promiſed ſhould join that of the States, was in the Mediterranean, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, who, by accidents, real or pretended, arrived not at Belle-Iſle till the end of September.

The King of France not forward to ſuccor the States. Baſnage. D'Eſtrades.

The King of Denmark, on the other hand, without a junction of his fleet with that of the States, contented himſelf with guarding his own coaſts. So, this year, as the laſt, the war by ſea was carried on only between England and the States.

War proclaimed againſt France.

The King returning to London the firſt of February, proclaimed war againſt France, on the tenth.

The Queen miſcarries.

A few days before, the Queen miſcarried, which intirely deſtroyed the common report, that ſhe was incapable of having children.

Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle command the Engliſh fleet. Echard. Skinner. Burchett. Kennet.

The command of the Engliſh fleet was given to Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle (2). On the twenty-third of April they repaired to it, but were not ready to ſail till the end of May. It conſiſted of ſeventy-eight ſhips of the line, beſide frigates and fireſhips. In all likelihood, his Majeſty was till then ignorant of the French King's ſecret intentions; but he knew the duke of Beaufort had orders to repair to Belle-Iſle with his fleet, ſaid to conſiſt of thirty-ſix ſail, to join the Dutch in the channel. Wherefore, he ſent expreſs orders to Prince Rupert to ſail with twenty great ſhips, and join ten more at Plymouth, in order to go in queſt of the duke of Beaufort, which he immediately obeyed. It cannot well be denied, that this order was ſent with too much precipitation, and without due conſideration. For beſide that the Engliſh fleet could without danger have waited for the French, which could not with ſafety have ventured to paſs ſo narrow a ſea as the channel, while the Engliſh ſhould be in their ſtation, the French fleet was yet in the Mediterranean, when the order was ſent to Prince Rupert, and that of Holland upon the point of ſailing out of their ports. His Majeſty had afterwards reaſon to ſee how unſeaſonably this order was given.

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Prince Rupert raſhly ordered to find and fight the French fleet. Echard. Baſnage.

A ſea ingagement. La Neuville, Hiſt. de Hollande. Baſnage. Echard.

The States fleet, commanded by Ruyter, put to ſea with ſeventy-one ſhips of the line, twelve frigates, thirteen fire-ſhips, and eight yatchs, and anchored between Newport and Dunkirk. Ruyter had under his particular conduct the ſquadron of the Maeſe: that of North Holland and Frieſland was commanded by Evertzen, and that of Zealand by Tromp. The Engliſh having a fair wind, ſailed to attack the enemy, who, on their ſide, cut their cables to be the ſooner ready to receive them. Tromp's ſhip was ſo diſabled at the firſt, that he was obliged to leave it for another. The ſame thing happened to Ruyter, who was coming to his aſſiſtance, and the powder of a Dutch ſhip taking fire, ſhe blew up into the air. Ruyter ſunk an Engliſh ſhip of fifty guns, then another of ſeventy, and afterwards three others of the firſt rate. In ſhort, this firſt day the advantage was wholly on the ſide of the Dutch, except that they loſt vice-admiral Evertzen, who was killed by a cannon-ball.

This conflict, interrupted by the night, was renewed early next morning, but, after laſting ſome hours, was diſcontinued till noon by reaſon of a calm. After that, the wind riſing, both fleets renewed the ingagement with equal bravery. Tromp being once more obliged to change his ſhip, found himſelf ſo ingaged in the Engliſh fleet, that he would have been infallibly taken or ſunk, if Ruyter, by prodigious efforts, had not brought him off. This ſecond day, the Engliſh had ſtill the diſadvantage, having loſt eight of their largeſt ſhips either ſunk or burned, and ſix taken, with ſir George Aſcough admiral of the white. The duke of Albemarle would have taken the advantage of the night to retire, but was purſued too cloſely to execute his deſign. So that he was obliged to fight all the next day, as he retired toward his own ſhore. About evening he diſcovered Prince Rupert's ſquadron coming to his aſſiſtance. Whereupon the two Engliſh admirals attacked their enemies again the next morning. But this fourth day proved as unſucceſsful to them as the three former. Four of their beſt ſhips were loſt, and they obliged to retreat with precipitation. A miſt happily conveyed them from Ruyter's purſuit. In theſe four days the Engliſh loſt twenty-three great ſhips, beſide ſeveral others of leſs note, ſix thouſand men, and two thouſand ſix hundred priſoners. Among the ſlain were ſir William Berkley, vice-admiral of the white ſquadron, and ſir Chriſtopher Minnes. The Dutch loſt ſix ſhips, two thouſand eight hundred ſoldiers, and fourſcore ſailors, beſide the admirals Evertzen, Vander Hulſt, and Stockhover, with

Burnet, p. 229.

Diſadvantage of the Engliſh. La Neuville. Baſnage. Echard.

(1) This year died Montague Bertie, earl of Lindſey, and ſir Kenelm Digby.
(2) Sir George Aſcough was admiral of the white, and ſir Thomas Allen of the blue. Echard, Vol. III. p. 159.

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ſome other officers. Tho' the victory was ſo evidently on the ſide of the Dutch, bonefires and rejoicings were made at London, as if the Engliſh had been conquerors (1).

Another ingagement. Baſnage. Echard.

The two fleets ſoon put to ſea again, and as they were in queſt of each other, they met the twenty-fourth of July, and maintained a furious battle, where the victory was obſtinately diſputed. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of above a hundred ſail; and the Dutch of eighty-eight ſhips of the line, beſide nineteen fireſhips. While Ruyter and young Evertzen ingaged the red and white ſquadrons, Tromp after a long diſpute routed the blue, commanded by ſir Jeremy Smith. But Tromp by an unpardonable error, inſtead of remaining with the fleet, amuſed himſelf with purſuing the flying ſhips of the enemy. On the other hand, young Evertzen, who commanded one of the Dutch ſquadrons, was killed with a canon-ball, and his ſquadron intirely defeated. But the Engliſh admiral who fought againſt him, was not guilty of the ſame error as Tromp. Inſtead of purſuing the flying enemy, he joined the red ſquadron, commanded by Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, and theſe two ſquadrons attacked Ruyter, who nevertheleſs, by means of the night, diſingaged himſelf. But the next day, he was obliged to ſuſtain the fight alone againſt theſe two ſquadrons, there being no news of Tromp. He never in his whole life ſhewed ſo much bravery and capacity as in the ſecond ingagement. He ſuſtained with his ſingle ſquadron, the brunt of two Engliſh ſquadrons, and at laſt retreated with ſuch wonderful conduct, that he gained more honor by it than he would have done by a victory. The Engliſh leaving the chace in ſight of Fluſhing, went after Tromp, who, tho' he was met off Harwich, recovered the Texel without any loſs. Ruyter at his return, loudly complained of Tromp's conduct, and, to ſatisfy him, the States put Tromp under an arreſt, diſmiſſed him from his poſt, and put Van Ghent in his place (2).

Diſadvantage of the Dutch.

Ruyter's brave retreat.

Tromp turned out of his poſt. Baſnage.

The French fleet arrives at Rochelle.

About the time of theſe ingagements between the Engliſh and Dutch, the duke of Beaufort arrived with his fleet at Rochelle, where he ſtaid to take in freſh water, which he greatly wanted.

The Engliſh make a deſcent upon Holland with great damage to the Dutch. Baſnage. Skinner. Echard. Kennet, p. 282.

The Dutch fleet being diſperſed in the laſt ingagement, part retiring to Fluſhing, and part to the Texel, the duke of Albemarle finding himſelf maſter of the ſea, detached twenty men of war to brave the coaſts of Holland. Holms coming to the iſle of Vlye, burned a hundred merchant ſhips, and two men of war deſigned for convoys. Then he advanced to the iſle of Schelling, and making a deſcent, burned many houſes in the little town of Brandaris. His deſign was to improve a treaſon carrying on in this iſle by one Hemſkirk, for which Buat a French gentleman, who ſecretly correſponded with the Engliſh, was beheaded at the Hague. But Holms not finding things ready as he expected, returned to the fleet.

The Engliſh fleet before the iſle of Wight.

After this expedition, the Engliſh fleet ſailed into the channel, and anchored at St. Hellens; the iſle of Wight being the moſt proper ſtation for hindering the junction of the French and Dutch fleets. Ruyter on his ſide poſted himſelf in St. John's bay, near Boulogne, where he was ſeized by a diſtemper, which was for ſome time believed mortal. This obliged the States to recall their fleet, of which they gave the French King notice.

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The Dutch fleet recalled on account of Ruyter's illneſs.

Mean while, the duke of Beaufort, ignorant of the retreat of the Dutch fleet, left Bell-iſle, where he arrived about the twentieth of September, and entering the channel, ſafely ſailed by the iſle of Wight, without being attacked, and got into Dieppe. He ſtaid there a whole day without hearing any news of Ruyter. At laſt, being informed, that the Dutch fleet was retired, he once more ſailed by the iſle of Wight, without meeting any oppoſition, and got into the ports of Bretagne. It is very ſurpriſing, that the Engliſh who lay at the iſle of Wight to prevent the junction of the two enemies fleets, ſhould ſuffer that of France to paſs and repaſs without moleſtation (3). This may give occaſion to ſuſpect, there was ſome intelligence between France and England. But as I can not trace it, I ſhall not inſiſt upon it. However it plainly appears, the King of France, after having amuſed the Dutch a whole year on diverſe pretenſes, did not really declare againſt England till the nineteenth of January 1665-6, and ſtill amuſed them all this year, with the hopes of the arrival of the duke of Beaufort, who entered the channel but in September, when the ſea-campain was over. If to this be added, Lewis's unwillingneſs to ſuccor the States, as appears in his letter to d'Eſtrades, there will be no cauſe to wonder at the little advantage received by the Dutch from the junction of France.

The duke of Beaufort paſſes and repaſſes the iſle of Wight, without being attacked by the Engliſh. Baſnage.

Management of Lewis XIV. Baſnage. D'Eſtrades.

The States intended this year to aſſiſt the malecontents in England and Scotland, in order to give the Engliſh arms a diverſion at home. This deſign was even communicated to the French King. But he found ſo many objections to it, that it was ſuffered to fall unexecuted. Probably, the States had ſome correſpondents among the Republicans, who being partly diſcovered, a great noiſe was made, and, according to cuſtom, all the Non-conformiſts were charged with the plot.

Project to excite troubles in England. Ludlow. Echard. Is dropped.

The terrible fire which this year laid waſte ſo great a part of the city of London, gave freſh occaſion to the enemies of the Republicans, to charge them with being the authors thereof. This was only becauſe the fire happened to break out the third of September (4), a day eſteemed fortunate by the Republicans, on account of the victories of Dunbar and Worceſter, obtained by Oliver Cromwell, when general of the armies of the commonwealth of England. To repreſent without any aggravation, the ravages made by this fire in London, I need only inſert the inſcription on one of the ſides of the column, erected on the place where the fire broke out. This column at London, is called the Monument, and is viſited by all ſtrangers, but they only who underſtand the Engliſh language, can read its inſcription (5).

London burned. Strype's Addit. to Stow. Vol. I. Kennet. Echard.

Inſcription upon the monument.

" In the year of Chriſt 1666, the ſecond day of " September, at the diſtance of 202 foot (the height " of this column) a terrible fire broke out about " midnight, which, driven on by a high wind, not " only waſted the adjacent parts, but alſo very " remote places, with incredible noiſe and fury.

(1) De Wit was on board the Dutch fleet, who was ſaid to have invented chain-ſhot on this occaſion, which did incredible damage to the rigging of the Engliſh, and was a great means of the Dutch geting the advantage. And it is thought, if Prince Rupert had not come up when he did, the Engliſh fleet was ſo unrigged, that they would have been all taken ſunk, or burnt. And yet a day of thankſgiving was appointed. Burnet, p. 229. Echard ſays, the Engliſh had but nine men of war taken or burnt; and the Dutch loſt above fifteen ſhips, twenty-one captains, and above five thouſand common ſea-men. Vol. III. p. 161.

(2) According to Echard, there were about twenty Dutch ſhip ſunk or burned in this ingagement; four thouſand ſea-men killed, and near three thouſand wounded. Vol. III. p. 162.

(3) Three or four of the French ſhips fell among a ſquadron commanded by ſir Thomas Allen, who took one of them. Ibid. p. 163.

(4) This fire broke out the ſecond of September.

(5) All the inſcriptions, except that round the pedeſtal, are in Latin.

" It

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"It conſumed eighty-nine churches, the city gates, "Guild-hall, many public Structures, Hoſpitals, "Schools, Libraries, a vaſt number of ſtately edi- "fices, thirteen thouſand two hundred dwelling "houſes, four hundred ſtreets. Of the ſix and twenty "wards it utterly deſtroyed fifteen, and left eight "others ſhattered and half burnt. The ruins of "the city were four hundred thirty ſix acres, from "the Tower by the Thames-ſide, to the Temple- "church, and from the North-eaſt gate, along the "city wall to Holborn-bridge. To the eſtates and "fortunes of the citizens, it was mercileſs, but to "their lives very favorable, that it might in all "things reſemble the laſt conflagration of the "world. The deſtruction was ſudden, for in a "ſmall ſpace of time the ſame city was ſeen moſt "flouriſhing, and reduced to nothing. Three days "after, when this fatal fire had baffled all human "counſels and indeavors in the opinion of all, it "ſtopped, as it were, by a command from heaven, "and was on every ſide extinguiſhed."

Conjectures upon the authors of the fire. Echard. R. Coke.

Men failed not to give a ſcope to their imagination, and to form conjectures upon the cauſes and authors of this devaſtation. The pious and religious aſcribed it to the juſt vengeance of heaven, on a city, where vice and immorality reigned ſo openly and ſhamefully, and which had not been enough humbled by the raging peſtilence of the foregoing year. Some again, as I have ſaid, aſcribed this misfortune to the malice of the Republicans; others to the Papiſts. And there were ſome ſo bold, as even to ſuſpect the King and the duke of York. But tho' ſeveral ſuſpected perſons were impriſoned, it was not poſſible to diſcover, or prove, that the baker's houſe, where this dreadful calamity firſt broke out, was fired on purpoſe. However a French Hugenot (1), native of Roan, and a lunatic, confeſſing himſelf guilty of this fact, was condemned and executed. But it appeared afterwards, on the oath of the maſter of the ſhip who brought him from France, that tho' he was landed at the time, he did not arrive in London till two days after the fire began. It is pretended likewiſe, that a Dutch boy, ten years of age, confeſſed that his father, and himſelf, had thrown fire-balls into the baker's houſe thro' a window that ſtood open. But beſide the objection which may be made to this teſtimony from the boy's age, there muſt have been ſome circumſtance in his narrative, not agreeable to the fact, ſince it was not thought proper to make a farther inquiry. Perhaps this was only a groundleſs report.

But what gives moſt cauſe to believe this fire did not happen caſually, is the teſtimony of dr. Lloyd, afterwards biſhop of Worceſter. That prelate told dr. Burnet, "——That one Grant a Papiſt had "ſome time before applied himſelf to Lloyd, who "had great credit with the counteſs of Clarendon "(who had a large eſtate in the new river that is "brought from Ware to London) and ſaid, he "could raiſe that eſtate conſiderably, if ſhe would "make him a truſtee for her. His ſchemes were "probable, and he was made one of the board that "governed that matter; and by that he had a "right to come as oft as he pleaſed to view their "works at Iſlington. He went thither the Satur- "day before the fire broke out, and called for the "key of the place where the heads of the pipes "were, and turned all the cocks that were then "open, and ſtoped the water, and went away, "and carried the keys with him. So when the fire "broke out next morning, they opened the pipes "in the ſtreets to find water, but there was none. "And ſome hours were loſt in ſending to Iſling- "ton, where the door was to be broke open and "the cocks turned, and it was long before the water "got to London. Grant indeed denied that he "he had turned the cocks. But the officer of the "works affirmed, that he had, according to order, "ſet them all running, and that no perſon had got "the keys from him beſide Grant; who confeſſed, "he had carried away the keys, but pretended he "did it without deſign."

Extract from Burnet's hiſtory relating to this fire. p. 231.

CHARLES II. AN' 1666.

This is dr. Burnet's account, and agrees in the main with Echard in his hiſtory of England. However, an anonymous author, who has wrote againſt doctor Burnet's hiſtory, accuſes him directly of falſehood, and aſſerts that Grant was not one of the board till after the fire. But it is difficult to find what credit is to be given to the teſtimony of this anonymous writer, whereas one can hardly help believing this illuſtrious prelate, when he ſays, he had it from dr. Lloyd, that Grant was made one of this board before the fire, and that it was by his means. However, this great fire was generally imputed to the Papiſts, and the more, becauſe ſeveral other things afterwards corroborated to confirm this ſuſpicion.

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Echard.

The parliament meeting the twenty-firſt of September, the King in a ſpeech to both houſes, told them, the money granted him was not ſufficient to carry on the war, conſidering his two powerful enemies. He boaſted of the great ſucceſs with which God had been pleaſed to bleſs his arms, ſuppoſing his fleet to have been ever victorious. Immediately after, the commons liberally voted the King a ſupply of eighteen hundred thouſand pounds. Thus in the ſpace of two years, this war coſt the people of England five millions, five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; that is above ſixty millions of Dutch florins, and above ſeventy two millions of French livres, allowing thirteen Livres-Tournois to one pound ſterling.

A large ſupply voted the King.

The parliament addreſſes the King againſt Papiſts. Echard. Vol. III. p. 169.

In the interim, the two houſes begining to diſcover that his Majeſty was not the zealous Proteſtant he affected to appear; that the Papiſts had great influence in his council, and that their religion made a viſible progreſs, preſented to him an addreſs for executing the laws againſt Popiſh prieſt and Jeſuits, who were laboring to pervert his ſubjects. The King, according to the method of his father, grandfather and his own, immediately publiſhed a proclamation for baniſhing Prieſts and Jeſuits, on pain of being puniſhed according to law, if found in the kingdom after the tenth of December. So baniſhment was the worſt that could happen to them, even ſuppoſing the King's order ſhould have been executed. But the more rigorous the proclamations were, the execution of them was more favorable. This evidently appears in their being ſo often repeated. However to give a more convincing proof of the court's diſpoſition in this reſpect, I ſhall here produce a paſſage in a letter to the earl of Sandwich, embaſſador at Madrid, from ſecretary Bennet, lately created earl of Arlington, a reputed Papiſt, tho' he profeſſed the Proteſtant religion. In this letter he told the embaſſador, "Your "excellency knows ſufficiently the ſprings upon "which the animoſity to the Roman-Catholics "riſes, and how hard it is for his Majeſty to for- "bear declaring againſt them, when the complaint "ariſes from both houſes of parliament, and accord- "ingly you can yourſelf frame your anſwer to the "Queen of Spain."

Proclamation againſt Jeſuits, &c. Nov. 10. Ibid. Kennet.

An inſurrection in Scotland. Echard.

The rigor exerciſed on the Preſbyterians in Scotland cauſed ſome of the moſt impatient, to the number of fifteen hundred, to riſe in arms and form a regular body, with officers to head them in proportion. Probably, they hoped to be joined by their brethren ſhould they gain any advantage. But in the firſt action with

Is quelled.

(1) Robert Hubert. Biſhop Burnet, and ſome others ſay, that he was a French Papiſt, p. 230.

the

the King's forces, they were diſperſed with the loſs of three hundred men, and one hundred priſoners, who were moſt of them executed. It was not forgot to ſay that they held intelligence with the Engliſh Preſbyterians, and if they had gained the victory, the like inſurrection would have appeared in England. But it may eaſily be judged, that the Engliſh Preſbyterians would not have been ſpared, if they could have been proved guilty, conſidering how the government ſtood affected towards them. Inconſiderable as this inſurrection was, the Engliſh hiſtorians have been pleaſed to repreſent it as very important, in ſaying, the nation was ſuddenly alarmed with an inſurrection of the Preſbyterians in Scotland, with whom it was not doubted thoſe of England held a ſtrict correſpondence. Theſe authors not being willing to miſs the firſt opportunity to include the Engliſh Preſbyterians in theſe conſpiracies are to be forgiven, tho' it be only on the authority of a "It "is believed."

Made uſe of to brand the Engliſh Preſbyterians.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 170.

The King was impatient for the diſpatch of the money-bill, of which the commons took no farther notice. He therefore thought it neceſſary to quicken them by a meſſage. He likewiſe told them, he could not permit any adjournment at Chriſtmas, except for the principal holidays. But this meſſage, it ſeems, produced no great effect. The commons were then examining complaints againſt the lord Mordaunt governor of Windſor caſtle, who was accuſed of ſome arbitrary and tyrannical actions. But neither this affair nor the money-bill could be finiſhed before the end of December.

Meſſage ſent from the King to the commons to haſten the money-bill. Dec. 15. Echard.

The ſecond of January the parliament met after a ſhort adjournment, and immediately the commons accuſed the lord Mordaunt, at the bar of the lords houſe, and then preferred articles of high crimes and miſdemeanors againſt him. But they were diſpleaſed, that the accuſed was ſuffered to be within the bar of the houſe, while his accuſation was reading. This occaſioned a conteſt between the two houſes. There was alſo another difference between them, concerning the commiſſioners appointed by the commons to levy a poll-tax, and to take the public accounts on oath. This was the ſubject of ſeveral fruitleſs conferences (1).

Lord Mordaunt accuſed. Echard, Vol. III. p. 173.

On the eighth of January, the King came to the parliament, and gave the Royal aſſent to the poll-bill, complaining of the nomination of commiſſioners, as a mark of their diſtruſt of him (2).

Poll-tax.

The miſ-underſtanding between the two houſes ſtill continuing, his Majeſty came to the parliament the eighth of February, and after paſſing ſeveral acts, he aſſured them, the money granted ſhould be laid out for the ends it was given. Then he prorogued the parliament to the tenth of October. The acts paſſed were; an act to continue for eleven months, the monthly aſſeſſment of ſeventy thouſand pounds, which, with the poll-tax, was conceived ſufficient to make good the eighteen hundred thouſand pounds, granted to the King. The other acts concerned chiefly the new buildings in London, which were finiſhed ſooner than could be expected, and after a manner more beautiful and regular than before the fire (3).

The parliament prorogued. Money act. Statute-b.

An act for rebuilding London.

It is now time to ſpeak of a treaty between England and Holland, which was, tho' very ſecretly, negociating at the time the parliament granted eighteen hundred thouſand pounds for carrying on the war. In November 1665, before the King of France had declared againſt England, the States, for a foundation of peace, had offered the King one of theſe two conditions; either that each of the parties ſhould reſtore what had been taken, or both keep what they were poſſeſſed of. This was a ſure way to obviate all difficulties which might occur in the negociation. Beſide, the laſt of theſe conditions was very advantageous to England, by reaſon of the great number of ſhips taken from the Dutch before the war was even proclaimed. This offer was renewed at Paris about the middle of the year 1666, in a conference there between mr. de Lyonne, lord Holles the Engliſh embaſſador, and mr. Van Beuninghen envoy from the States. Probably, Charles expected greater advantages from the continuance of the war, ſince he returned no anſwer to this offer. He only complained of its obſcurity, without ſignifying wherein it conſiſted. Nevertheleſs, he received this advantage from it, that he knew how the States were diſpoſed, and what he could depend on: ſo that it was in his power to make peace whenever he ſhould think convenient. The ſeventeenth of September, the ſame year, the States repeated the ſame offer in a letter to his Majeſty. But as this was when the parliament was about to aſſemble, and when the King expected a large ſupply for carrying on the war, he did not think fit to imbrace it. He contented himſelf with ſignifying to their High Mightineſſes, in a letter of the fourth of October, his diſſatisfaction of their proceedings, and at the calumnies they had raiſed againſt him, in accuſing him of being the aggreſſor, and rejecting all propoſals for peace. Then he largely juſtified himſelf upon what had been alleged by the States againſt him. But the moſt important part of this letter was the King's poſitive aſſurance that he had accepted the mediation of Sweden. A place therefore to treat was to be agreed on. The choice of this place afforded Charles a pretenſe to defer the negociation ſome months. He was at firſt for having a peace managed at London, to which the States would readily have conſented, if the Kings of France and Denmark had believed it conſiſtent with their honor. Upon the repreſentation made by the States, concerning the refuſal of the two Kings their allies, his Majeſty anſwered, that he had no affair to negociate with France, and complain'd of the King of Denmark for making war againſt him without any reaſon. He was ſo offended with that King, that he made no ſcruple to tell the States, it was at the inſtigation of Denmark that he ſent his fleet to Berghen, and agreed with him to divide the ſpoil. At length, the States left the nomination of the place to him, provided it was approved by their allies. Charles accepted the offer, but inſiſted that the States ſhould firſt write to him to teſtify that they would willingly have ſent their plenipotentiaries to London, if the two Kings their allies would have given their conſent. This letter was wrote, as he deſired, the thirteenth of January 1666-7, and the King in his anſwer of the twentieth, named the Hague for the place of conference. He knew the Penſionary would not accept it, on account of the cabals which the Engliſh embaſſadors might make againſt him in favor of the young Prince of Orange. Accordingly De Wit privately cauſed the French King to reject the propoſal.

Steps taken by the States towards a peace. Baſnage. D'Eſtrades. Echard.

(1) Rapin has expreſſed this affair very confuſedly, and therefore it is ſomewhat altered in the tranſlation.

(2) He gave his aſſent at the ſame time to a bill for burying in woollen. See Statute 18 Car. II.

(3) To this end a bill was now paſſed, for laying twelve-pence upon every chaldron, and twelve-pence upon every ton of coals, that ſhould be brought into the port of London for ten years, the better to inable the lord-mayor and aldermen to recompenſe thoſe perſons, whoſe grounds ſhould be taken from them, in order to inlarge the ſtreets, &c. ——— And about this time was ſet up an office for inſuring of houſes from fire, which was principally contrived by dr. Barbon, one of the firſt and moſt conſiderable rebuilders of the city. Echard, Vol. III. p. 177.

All

CHARLES II. AN' 1666.

All the King's proceedings clearly ſhew, he was deſirous of peace, and that it was in his power to have concluded it before the end of the year 1666. But by too much haſte he would have been deprived of the eighteen hundred thouſand pounds granted for the maintenance of the war. This was the true cauſe of the difficulties raiſed concerning the place of congreſs, in order to gain time till the money-bill ſhould paſs. After he had given his aſſent to the laſt bill for the continuation of the monthly aſſeſſment of ſeventy thouſand pounds, all difficulties began to vaniſh. Seven or eight days after, the earl of St. Albans was ſent to Paris to notify to the French King, that Charles conſented things ſhould remain in the ſtate to which the chance of war had reduced them. He added however one condition, viz. that France ſhould reſtore to him the iſle of St. Chriſtophers, and three other ſmall iſlands in America, ſeized by that crown the laſt year. But this was a thing proper to be diſcuſſed at a congreſs, whereas the choice of the alternative made the eſſence of the treaty with States. So, it may be ſaid, from this time the peace was in a manner concluded; there being nothing wanted but the formality of a treaty.

R. Coke.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 180.

Mean time, the King of France, to ſerve De Wit, in preventing the King of England from inſiſting upon his nomination of the Hague for the place of conference, thought of an expedient in which he ſucceeded. This was to name Dover for the place of congreſs. And when it was objected to, he added Breda, Bois-le-duc, and Maſtreicht, leaving to the King of England the choice of one of theſe four towns. At laſt Charles having no longer intereſt to delay the peace, wrote to the States the eighteenth of March, that he was willing to ſend his plenipotentiaries to Breda.

AN' 1667. Peace treated of at Breda. D'Eſtrades. Echard. Baſnage.

The difficulty concerning the place of congreſs being removed, the next thing was to appoint embaſſadors, and diſpatch the paſſ-ports; and it was agreed the conferences ſhould begin the tenth of May. But the Engliſh plenipotentiaries arrived not at Breda till the twentieth. Theſe were the lord Holles and mr. Henry Coventry (1). From France came count d'Eſtrades, and mr. Courtin; from Denmark, meſſ. Klingenberg and Caniſius, and from the States-General, meſſ. Beverninch, Hubert, and Yongſtal. The mediators from the King of Sweden were, meſſ. Fleming and Coet. But the laſt dying at Breda, during the conferences, count de Dhona, the Swediſh embaſſador to the States, took his place.

The conferences prolonged by a miſunderſtanding. Baſnage.

At the firſt opening of the congreſs, a very obvious miſtake was diſcovered, but which, in all appearance, had been connived at by the two parties for fear of obſtructing the treaty. In their letter to the King of England the ſeventeenth of September, the States had made two propoſals for peace, the ſecond of which was that each ſhould keep what he had taken, before or during the war. This was what the States had ever adhered to, without any variation. But the King in a letter to the States, the twenty-fourth of April 1667, ſaid,—— "We take this opportunity to declare to you, "that we accept the choice propoſed to us, that "is, that each party ſhall keep whatſoever he has "taken during this war, which being granted, "we ſhall order our embaſſadors to proceed in "the preſent treaty, upon the foundation of that "made between us in the year 1662."

It is evident, that in the ſecond condition propoſed by the States, was included whatever had been acquired by either party, not only during, but before the war, and that in the King's lette rwas compriſed only what had been taken during the war. Now his Majeſty pretended, according to the terms of his acceptation, the States ſhould make him ſatisfaction for the two ſhips, the Good Hope and the Bon Adventure, taken, or ſunk before the treaty of 1662. He likewiſe inſiſted, that as the States were obliged by the ſame treaty to reſtore to him the iſle of Poleron in the Eaſt-Indies, and as that iſle was ſtill in their poſſeſſion, it ſhould be delivered to him. Theſe two articles were the principal ſubject of debate in the conference of Breda, and retarded the concluſion of the treaty, to the great damage of the Engliſh, as will hereafter appear. The States kept to the terms of their offer, and Charles to thoſe of his acceptation.

CHARLES II. AN' 1667.

A difficulty relating to the iſle of Poleron. Echard, Vol. III. p. 181. Baſnage.

I have already mentioned the two ſhips taken by the Dutch in the interval between the two treaties of 1659 and 1662. As for the iſle of Poleron, their High Mightineſſes pretended, they had reſtored it in form, and produced a receipt from the Engliſh officer, to whom it was delivered. But before this ſurrender, they had intirely depopulated it, cut down all the clove-trees, and in ſhort, had ſeized it again ſince the begining of this war. But the King pretended, there were eſſential defects in the form of the reſtitution, and that the States were obliged to reſtore it by the terms of the treaty 1662. Were this iſle in the hands of the Engliſh, it would be of great importance to them, by reaſon within about four or five years it might be new ſtocked with clove-trees, and ſo prove very prejudicial to the Dutch, who are maſters of the whole ſpice-trade.

Both parties intractable.

To decide theſe two articles, from which both parties made it a point of honor not to recede, couriers were ſent ſeveral times to London and the Hague, and thoſe from London brought only ſtricter orders to the embaſſadors to inſiſt upon the two ſhips, and the iſle of Poleron. But at length the King yielded the laſt, ſo that the whole negociation was reduced to the ſatisfaction demanded for the two ſhips. It is not very ſurprizing, that his Majeſty ſhould inſiſt on this article. He had began the war under the ſpecious pretenſe of procuring reparation for all the damages done to his ſubjects, which he computed at ſeven or eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. To inable him to obtain this reparation by force of arms, the parliament had furniſhed him with five hundred and fifty-five thouſand pounds. Moreover he had taken ſixſcore ſhips, before the war was declared, and above fourſcore ſince. In all probability he had not applied the product of theſe captures to the benefit of his ſubjects, who, according to his calculation, had loſt ſeven or eight hundred thouſand pounds, and for which the war was undertaken. He could not therefore well diſpenſe with procuring the merchants, who had loſt theſe two ſhips, the ſatisfaction demanded by them, without giving occaſion to believe, this war had been undertaken for imaginary pretenſions. For the demands concerning theſe ſhips were properly the only things that were ſpecified. All the reſt conſiſted in generals, the diſcuſſion whereof was unneceſſary, by reaſon of the choice propoſed by their High Mightineſſes. It was not that they feared a diſcuſſion, ſince they had offered it in the firſt of their two conditions. But it was the King's intereſt to avoid it, and accept the ſecond. If he had imbraced it, in the ſame terms as offered by the States, all the grounds of this war, ſo expenſive to England, would have remained in obſcurity. He could not therefore in honor but inſiſt on the only article, which could be conſidered as the juſt cauſe of the war, tho' it did not amount to ten thouſand pounds ſterling. Mean time, as by the offer of the States,

The King recedes from his demand of Poleron.

(1) Of the King's bed-chamber.

Charles II. An' 1667.

he ſaw, he could make peace when he pleaſed, he thought it a needleſs expenſe to put to ſea a powerful fleet, as he had done the two preceding years, and that it was better to ſave the moſt part of the money granted for the continuance of the war. To this end, relying on the certainty of a peace, he laid up his great ſhips, and kept only a ſquadron of twenty ſail, while the Hollanders continued their preparations as uſual, in their uncertainty of the King's intention concerning peace.

Sends no fleet out.

In the interim, the States ſeeing what difficulties the King formed upon an article of ſo little conſequence, believed, or pretended to believe, he had no inclination to peace. They therefore reſolved, either to force him to relinquiſh his pretenſions, or at leaſt to continue the war this ſummer with advantage, becauſe they knew, that his Majeſty would have no great fleet at ſea.

The Dutch come into the mouth of the Thames. Baſnage. Echard, Vol. III. p. 182. Kennet. R. Coke.

Agreeable to this reſolution, Ruyter ſailed out of the Texel with fifty ſhips, and came the eighth of June to the mouth of the Thames, from whence he detached vice-admiral Van Ghent, with ſeventeen of his lighteſt ſhips, and ſome fire-ſhips.

Burn ſeveral ſhips.

The tenth of June, Van Ghent ſailed up the Medway, made himſelf maſter of the fort of Sheerneſs, and, after burning a magazine full of ſtores, to the value of forty thouſand pounds, blew up the fortifications. This action alarmed the city of London; ſo to prevent greater miſchiefs, ſeveral ſhips were ſunk, and a large chain put croſs the narroweſt part of the river Medway. But by the means of an eaſterly wind, and a ſtrong tide, the Dutch ſhips broke thro' the chain, and ſailed between the ſunk veſſels. They immediately burned three large ſhips, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth, all taken from them in the preſent war, and carried away with them the hull of the Royal Charles, beſide burning and damaging

Sail up as far as Chatham.

ſeveral others. After this, they advanced as far as Upnore caſtle, and burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. The Engliſh fearing the Dutch fleet would ſail up to London bridge, ſunk * ſhips at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall, and platforms furniſhed with artillery to defend them, were raiſed in ſeveral places. The conſternation was very great, and the complaints were no leſs ſo. It was openly ſaid, the King out of avarice had kept the money ſo generouſly given him to continue the war, and left his ſhips and ſubjects expoſed to the inſults of the enemy, tho' he had exclaimed againſt the injuſtice done him, in believing him capable of ſuch an action. The

* Thirteen

The King is very much mortified.

King was under an inexpreſſible concern, as well for fear of greater damage from the Dutch fleet, as for the mortification this affair gave him, and the ſhame of having nothing to ſay to the murmurs of his people. Beſide he could but reflect on himſelf for being the cauſe of this inſult, by inſiſting too long upon an affair of ten thouſand pounds, and thereby retarding the concluſion of the peace (1).

Other exploits of Ruyter. Baſnage. Echard, Vol. III. p. 187.

After this exploit, Ruyter ſailed to Portſmouth, deſigning to burn the ſhips in that harbor; but finding them ſecured, he ſailed to the weſt, and took ſome ſhips in Torbay. He then ſailed eaſtward, beat the Engliſh before Harwich, and chaced a ſquadron * commanded by ſir Edward Spragg, who was obliged to retire into the Thames. In ſhort he kept the coaſts of England in a continual alarm all July, till he received the news of the concluſion of a peace.

* Of nineteen men of war.

The peace concluded at Breda. Id. p. 187.

The face of affairs were ſo changed by this event, that the Engliſh embaſſadors at Breda grew more pliant, and were eaſily perſuaded to yield the article of the two ſhips. It was however with the reſervation of the King's approbation, before the ſigning of the treaty. To this end, Coventry, after all the articles were ſetled, paſſed into England the ſecond of July, and returned the eighth with his Majeſty's approbation, and the twenty-firſt the treaty of peace was ſigned. It was divided however into three ſeparate treaties, by reaſon of ſome inconveniencies which would otherwiſe have followed. But by a writing ſigned by all the plenipotentiaries, it was declared, that the three treaties ſhould be eſteemed but one and the ſame.

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Collect. of Treat. Vol. I. p. 127.

The moſt important articles of the treaty between England and France, were,

Articles of the peace with France. Collect. of Treat. Vol. I. p. 127.

VII. The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall reſtore to the King of Great-Britain, that part of the iſle of St. Chriſtophers, which the French have taken from the Engliſh, ſince the declaration of war.

X. The King of Great-Britain ſhall reſtore to the moſt Chriſtian King, the country of Arcadia, in North America, ſome time in poſſeſſion of the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King.

XI. The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall reſtore to the King of Great-Britain, the iſles of Antegoa and Montſerrat, if they are ſtill in his poſſeſſion, and in general, all the territories, iſles, towns, and fortreſſes, which may have been conquered by his arms, and which belonged to the King of England before the begining of the war with the States-general, and reciprocally the King of Great-Britain ſhall reſtore the territories, iſles, towns, &c.

XVII. This article contained a regulation of all the captures, which might be made ſince the concluſion of the peace.

XVIII. In caſe of a war, it is ſtipulated that ſix months notice ſhall be given to the merchants to withdraw their effects.

Principal articles of the treaty between Great-Britain and the States-General.

Article III. Both ſides ſhall forget and forgive all offenſes, damages, and loſſes, which either have ſuffered during this war, or at any time before, or under any pretenſe, as if they had never happened. ——Each party ſhall hold for time to come in full right of ſovereignty, propriety and poſſeſſion, all ſuch countries, iſles, towns, forts, places and colonies, as, whether during this war, or before, have been taken and kept from the other by force of arms, and in what other manner ſoever, and that as they poſſeſſed and injoyed them the tenth day of May laſt.

IV. All ſhips, goods and moveables, which at any time have come into the power of either party, ſhall remain in the preſent poſſeſſors thereof, without any compenſation or reſtitution for the ſame.

V. All actions, demands, and pretenſions whatſoever for the ſame ſhall remain void, obliterated, and diſannulled, &c.

XV. The ſaid Lord the King, and the ſaid Lords the States, ſhall not receive into their dominions any ſuch perſons as ſhall be declared fugitive rebels, of the one or the other.

XIX. All ſhips and veſſels of the United-Provinces, as well men of war as merchant-ſhips, and others, which ſhall meet in the Britanick ſeas any ſhips of war belonging to the King of Great-Britain, ſhall ſtrike the flag, and lower the ſail as it has formerly been practiſed.

XXXII. If the former differences ſhall be renewed, and turned into an open war, the ſhips,

(1) Kennet infers from a letter of the earl of Arlington, that the Dutch were ſet on by the French to burn our fleet. Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 287.

merchandize,

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merchandize, and all moveable effects of both parties, which ſhall be found in the ſea-ports and dominions of the adverſe party, ſhall be by no means confiſcated or damaged; but there ſhall be granted to the ſubjects of both parties the term of ſix whole months, during which time they may tranſport the ſaid effects where they pleaſe.

XXXVI. For the greater aſſurance that the preſent treaty ſhall be obſerved with good faith on the part of the States-General, they ingage themſelves by theſe preſents, that thoſe perſons who ſhall be choſen by the ſaid States-General, or the particular provinces, into the offices of captain-general, ſtadtholder, field-marſhal, admiral, ſhall ſwear that they will obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved religiouſly this treaty.

By a ſeparate article it was agreed, That if any of the murderers of Charles I, ſhould be found in the dominions of the States-General, they ſhould be delivered to the King, &c.

Reflections upon this peace.

If it be now conſidered, what benefit England received from a war undertaken upon ſuch ſlight grounds, with ſuch animoſity, it will not be eaſy to diſcover a ſingle advantage that was not really contained in the treaty of the fourth of September 1662. But on the other hand, it will be found, that this war coſt five millions five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, beſide the loſs of the ſhips of war, whether in ſea ingagements, or in the affair of Chatham (1). And yet Charles had aſſured the parliament, in one of his ſpeeches, that he would never lay down his arms, till he had procured his ſubjects a reaſonable ſatisfaction for their loſſes, which on his computation, amounted to ſeven or eight hundred thouſand pounds. And if theſe loſſes are ſuppoſed real, this peace was ſo much the more diſhonorable to the King and the Engliſh nation. But, on the contrary, it is eaſy to perceive, that the King and duke of York reaped by it conſiderable advantages: the King, by the large ſupplies of money which were granted him, but not expended in the war, at leaſt, the eighteen hundred thouſand pounds given in January and February this year, and by the ſale of above two hundred ſhips taken from the Dutch: the duke of York, by his claims upon theſe captures as lord high-admiral, and by the preſent of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds made him by the parliament. Such was the concluſion of this great armament, which was to humble the pride of the Dutch, and render them for ever incapable to ſupport their trade and diſpute the empire of the ſeas with England. The peace was proclaimed at London, and at the Hague, the twenty-fourth of Auguſt.

Echard.

The King of France invades the Netherlands. Kennet, p. 292. Baſnage. R. Coke.

The French King, as hath been ſhewn, gave no very real aſſiſtance to his allies, ſince his fleet never joined that of the States, not even this laſt year, when the Engliſh were in no condition to oppoſe the junction. He had then other deſigns, which were diſcovered in June, by an invaſion of the Netherlands, on account of his Queen's pretenſions to Brabant, after the death of Philip IV, her father. In the whole courſe of the war between the King of England and the States-General, he clearly ſhewed his intention to make Charles his friend, in which he afterwards ſucceeded but too well. He would never have declared againſt him, notwithſtanding his ſtrict ingagement with the States in the treaty of 1662, had he not believed ſuch a declaration abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport De Wit, who otherwiſe was in great danger of ruin. He earneſtly wiſhed to ſee the end of this war, in which he had very unwillingly ingaged. This appeared chiefly in the conferences at Breda, where his two plenipotentiaries performed properly the office of mediators, tho' thoſe of Sweden had the name. Accordingly he was greatly ſuſpected in Holland of a ſecret correſpondence with England.

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Complaints againſt the court. Burnet. Echard. R. Coke.

Complaints and murmurs againſt King Charles and his miniſters ſucceeded the animoſity with which the Dutch war was begun. When the advantages obtained by the peace were compared with the expenſe of the war, they were found ſo diſproportionable, that men could not help ſuſpecting, it had been raiſed by motives repugnant to the Engliſh intereſt. The people had been told, it was undertaken to procure the merchants ſatisfaction for the damages received from the Dutch: to revenge the indignities the nation had ſuffered: and to incapacitate the United Provinces ever to rival England again, but nothing of all this had been effected. The merchants had received no ſatisfaction even for the two ſhips, the Good-Hope and the Bon-Adventure, tho' that article was the moſt ſpecified. Inſtead of revenging the affronts offered the nation, England had received a real and moſt mortifying indignity in the affair of Chatham. Laſtly, after the peace of Breda, the United-Provinces were in a more flouriſhing condition than before the war, and they looked on this peace as a triumph. On the other hand, few could digeſt Charles preſſing the parliament for money to carry on the war, and that, after receiving eighteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, he ſhould be ſo intent upon peace, as not to put himſelf in a condition to obtain reaſonable terms. This was a ſubject very apt to raiſe a ſuſpicion of the ſincerity of his intentions for the good of his people. In fine, it was more and more diſcovered that the Papiſts had great influence at court, and that the proclamations publiſhed againſt them, at the deſire of the parliament, were far from being rigoroſly executed. The earl of Arlington, almoſt open protector of the Papiſts, was made ſecretary of ſtate, and in great favor, while the credit of the earl of Clarendon, their enemy, daily declined. This began to produce diſtruſts not advantageous to the King. Beſide, his diſſolute life did not help to preſerve the high opinion conceived of him in the beginning of his reign. His court was a ſcene of debauchery, where his miſtreſſes ruled abſolutely, and nothing was done but thro' their means. They conſumed his vaſt revenues, with almoſt all the money granted by parliament, ſo that in the midſt of riches, he was always in want, and forced to ſeek new pretenſes to draw money from his parliament, to ſupply his private extravagancies.

Suſpicions againſt the King.

The diſorders of his court. Burnet.

The chancellor's diſgrace. Echard, Vol. III. p. 190, 191. Kennet. Burnet.

The King being acquainted with theſe ſuſpicions and complaints, reſolved to appeaſe them by ſacrificing the earl of Clarendon, who had hitherto acted as prime-miniſter. He knew, the people were always exceſſively pleaſed with ſacrifices of miniſters, who have injoyed the greateſt credit, and on whom generally are thrown all the miſcarriages. But this was only a pretenſe uſed by his Majeſty to be delivered of a miniſter, whom he no longer loved, and whoſe preſenſe and counſels were become inſupportable to him. The chancellor's regular life; his averſion to debauchery and libertiniſm; his grave and ſevere manners; his neglect of the King's favorites and miſtreſſes; and laſtly, his

(1) The Dutch were alſo, on their part, put to very great charges. For ſir William Temple affirms, That in the year 1665, there were raiſed in the provinces forty millions of Guilders, twenty-two of which in the province of Holland. And upon the biſhop of Munſter's invading them at the ſame time by land, they had, in the year 1666, above threeſcore thouſand land men in pay, and a fleet of above an hundred men of war at ſea. Obſervat. upon the United Provinces, p 71.

principles

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principles and maxims concerning religion and the ſtate, ill agreed with the diſorderly life of the court, and ſtill leſs with the projects formed in favor of the Papiſts, under color of eaſing the Preſbyterians. For this reaſon, and for his rough and always too haughty behavior, he had rendered himſelf odious to the courtiers, who never ceaſed doing him ill offices, eſpecially when they ſaw him in the decline of favor. He had often taken the liberty of reproving the King for his diſorderly life, and at firſt theſe reproofs were well received. But when the King had once abandoned himſelf to his pleaſures, he could no longer bear the preſenſe of a man, whoſe advice he had formerly received with a ſort of ſubmiſſion. The duke of Buckingham, and ſome others, perceiving this diſpoſition in his Majeſty, neglected nothing to cheriſh it. As often as they ſaw the chancellor coming, they would ſay to the King, Here comes your ſchool-maſter! At other times they mimicked him before his Majeſty, in order to make him ridiculous. The duke of Buckingham uſed to walk in a ſtately manner, with a pair of bellows before him for the purſe, while colonel Titus carried a fire-ſhovel on his ſhoulder for the mace. The King ſuffered theſe buffooneries, and thereby diſcovered his diſguſt to his miniſter. But as theſe are only trifles, and as the King's diſlike turned at laſt into real hatred, it is proper to relate the more ſerious cauſes which have been offered in vindication of his reſentment.

Cauſes of his fall. Echard, Vol. III. p. 191. Burnet, p. 248, &c.

1. It is pretended, the King deſigning to be divorced from his Queen on ſeveral weak pretenſes, could never obtain the chancellor's approbation.

2. His Majeſty intended, after his divorce, to marry mrs. Stuart his relation, for whom he had great veneration. The earl of Clarendon, to prevent this, perſuaded the young duke of Richmond to eſpouſe her, by repreſenting, how ſerviceable it would be to gain him the King's favor. The duke, following this advice, made his addreſſes to the lady, who, knowing nothing of his Majeſty's deſign, believed ſhe ought not to refuſe ſo good an offer, and the marriage was immediately concluded. The King thus diſappointed, baniſhed the duke, with his new ducheſs, from the court, and never forgave the chancellor.

Welwood, p. 109.

3. Another, and, as was generally thought, the moſt apparent cauſe of the King's reſentment againſt the earl, was his oppoſing Popham's project of ſetling an annual revenue of two millions of pounds ſterling upon the King, which was ſeconded by the earl of Southampton.

4. The moſt probable cauſe of the chancellor's ruin was, that the Papiſts, whoſe counſels and projects were liſtened to, and approved by the Sovereign, omited nothing to deſtroy him, knowing, that under his miniſtry they could never hope the accompliſhment of their deſigns.

Burnet, p. 249. Kennet's Regiſter, p. 804.

5. A ſtately houſe built by him near St. James's Park (1), and in the very year of the plague did him great injury in the minds of the people. It is pretended, it coſt him fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, tho' he at firſt deſigned to lay out but fifteen or ſixteen thouſand. People gave it the name of Dunkirk-houſe, becauſe it was ſuppoſed that his advice for the ſale of that place had furniſhed him with the means of raiſing this edifice. He commited another error, in purchaſing for this houſe the ſtones deſigned for repairing St. Paul's.

However this be, the King, under color of giving ſome ſatisfaction to his people in ſacrificing this miniſter, deprived him of his office of high-chancellor, and made ſir Orlando Bridgeman lord-keeper of the great-ſeal.

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Has the great ſeal taken from him. Echard, Vol. III. p. 190.

The earl of Southampton's death. Id. p. 192. Burnet.

The earl of Southampton lord treaſurer, dying three months before the chancellor's diſgrace, his Majeſty was at once deprived of two great and faithful miniſters, whoſe loſs was never repaired, at leaſt, with regard to their morals, their religion, and affection for their country. A little before Southampton's death, ſome perſon in council ſpeaking with ſome warmth againſt the chancellor, he ſaid—"The earl of Clarendon is a true Pro-"teſtant, and an honeſt Engliſhman, and while "he is in place we are ſecure of our laws, liber-"ties, and religion: but whenever he ſhall be re-"moved, England will feel the ill effects of it." In this he proved a true prophet.

After the earl of Southampton's death, the King put the treaſury into commiſſion. Among the commiſſioners was ſir Thomas Clifford, a known Papiſt (2), on whom afterwards fell his Majeſty's choice for lord treaſurer.

The lord-keeper's ſpeech to both houſes. Echard. Kennet.

The parliament meeting the tenth of October, the King ſpoke but little, and left it to the lord-keeper, to acquaint both houſes with his intentions. His ſpeech ran chiefly upon a ſort of excuſe for the King's having, contrary to cuſtom, after a prorogation to October, ordered the parliament by proclamation to meet the twenty-fifth of July, and then, by another proclamation deferred the new ſeſſion to the time firſt appointed. He communicated to them the concluſion of the peace, and deſired them to ſetle the balance of trade with Scotland. He ſaid, the King having named commiſſioners to ſtate the public accounts, and examine to what uſes the money granted by parliament had been applied, and this commiſſion not having ſucceeded as he expected, he left them to follow their own method, and examine them as ſtrictly as they pleaſed. He added, that ſome malicious perſons had diſperſed falſe reports againſt the government, with deſign to create a diſaffection in his ſubjects: but that his Majeſty promiſed himſelf from their affection, they would, on the contrary, indeavor to preſerve a good underſtanding between him and his people. That if any juſt grievances have happened, his Majeſty was ready to redreſs them, and did not doubt they would imprint upon the hearts of his ſubjects that known truth——"That "there is no diſtinct intereſt between the King and "his people, but the good of one is the good of "both."

The addreſs of both houſes to the King. Octob. 15. Kennet. Echard.

Some days after the two houſes preſented an addreſs to the King to thank him for ſeveral things: 1. That he had diſbanded the late raiſed forces. 2. That he had diſmiſſed the Papiſts from out of his guards, and other military imployments. 3. That he had revoked the Canary patent. 4. And more eſpecially, That he had diſplaced the late lord chancellor, and removed him from the exerciſe of public truſt and imployment in affairs of ſtate. His Majeſty anſwered to this laſt article, "That he "would never imploy the earl of Clarendon again "in any public affairs whatſoever."

This ſufficiently diſcovered the King had no intention to protect the earl of Clarendon, therefore the houſe was incouraged thereby to ſeek reaſons or pretenſes to impeach him of treaſon. But it is too little to ſay, his Majeſty would not protect him.

(1) It ſtood at the upper end of St. James's ſtreet, where Albemarle ſtreet, and the ſtreets adjoining now are. It was built in his abſenſe, in 1665, chiefly at the charge of the Vintners company, who deſigning to monopolize his favor, made it more large and magnificent than ever he intended. So that when he came to ſee it, he ſaid with a ſigh. "This houſe will one day "be my ruin." Echard, Vol. III. p. 192.

(2) The reſt of the commiſſioners were, the duke of Albemarle, the lord Aſhley Cooper, ſir William Coventry, and ſir John Duncomb. Sir Thomas Clifford was then comptroller of the houſhold. Ibid.

It

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It is certain, he himſelf was his adverſary, and actuated the commons againſt him. This he clearly ſhewed, by reprimanding ſir Stephen Fox, who was of his houſhold, and member of the houſe of commons, for having voted in favor of the ſaid earl. To which ſir Stephen replied, "That he knew the "earl to be an honeſt man, and was ſure could "never be guilty of the crimes laid to his charge." At laſt, the commons proceeding with great warmth, ordered an accuſation to be drawn and preſented to the houſe, the ſubſtance whereof is as follows:

Echard, Vol. III. p. 198.

Articles againſt the earl of Clarendon. Nov. 6. State-Trials. Vol. II. p. 556, 557. Echard. Kennet.

"I. That the earl of Clarendon hath deſigned a "ſtanding army to be raiſed, and to govern the "kingdom thereby; and adviſed the King to diſ-"ſolve this preſent parliament, and to lay aſide all "thoughts of parliaments for the future; to go-"vern by a military power, and to maintain the "ſame by free quarter and contribution.

"II. That he hath, in the hearing of the King's "ſubjects, falſely and ſeditiouſly ſaid, 'That the "King was in his heart a Papiſt, or Popiſhly af-"fected,' or words to that effect.

"III. That he hath received great ſums of "money for the procuring of the canary-"patent, and other illegal patents; and granted "illegal injunctions to ſtop proceedings at law "againſt them, and other illegal patents formerly "granted.

"IV. That he hath adviſed and procured diverſe "of his Majeſty's ſubjects to be impriſoned againſt "law, in remote iſlands, gariſons, and other places, "thereby to prevent them from the benefit of the "law, and to produce precedents for the impri-"ſoning any other of his Majeſty's ſubjects in like "manner.

"V. That he procured his Majeſty's cuſtoms to "be farmed at under rates, knowing the ſame; "and great pretended debts to be paid by his Ma-"jeſty, to the payment of which his Majeſty was "not ſtrictly bound, and afterwards received great "ſums of money for procuring the ſame.

"VI. That he received great ſums of money "from the company of Vintners, or ſome of them "or their agents, for enhancing the prices of wines, "and for freeing them from the payment of legal "penalties, which they had incurred.

"VII. That he had in a ſhort time gained to "himſelf a greater eſtate than can be imagined to "be gained lawfully in ſo ſhort a ſpace: and, con-"trary to his oath, he hath procured ſeveral grants "under the ſeal, from his Majeſty to himſelf and "relations, of ſeveral of his Majeſty's lands, here-"ditaments and leaſes, to the diſprofit of his Ma-"jeſty.

"VIII. That he hath introduced an arbitrary "government in his Majeſty's foreign plantations, "and hath cauſed ſuch as complained thereof before "his Majeſty and council, to be long impriſoned "for ſo doing.

"IX. That he did reject and fruſtrate a propo-"ſal and undertaking approved by his Majeſty, for "the preſervation of Nevis and St. Chriſtophers, "and reducing the French plantations to his Ma-"jeſty's obedience, after the commiſſions were "drawn for that purpoſe; which was the occaſion "of our great loſſes and damages in thoſe parts.

"X. That he held correſpondence with Crom-"well and his accomplices, when he was in parts "beyond the ſeas, attending his Majeſty, and "thereby adhered to the King's enemies.

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"XI. That he adviſed and effected the ſale of "Dunkirk to the French King, being part of his "Majeſty's dominions; together with the ammu-"nition, artillery, and all ſorts of ſtores there, and "for no greater value than the ſaid ammunition, "artillery, and the ſtores were worth.

"XII. That the ſaid earl did unduly cauſe his "Majeſty's letters-patent, under the great-ſeal of "England, to one dr. Crowther, to be altered, "and the inrollment thereof to be unduly razed.

"XIII. That he hath in an arbitrary way exa-"mined and brought into queſtion diverſe of his "Majeſty's ſubjects concerning their lands, tene-"ments, goods, chattels and properties, deter-"mined thereof at the council-table, and ſtoped "proceedings at law by order of the council-table, "and threatened ſome that pleaded the ſtatute of "the ſeventeenth of Car. I.

"XIV. That he hath cauſed Quo Warrantos "to be iſſued out againſt moſt of the corporations of "England, immediately after their charters were "confirmed by act of parliament, to the intent he "might require great ſums of money of them for "renewing their charters; which, when they com-"plied withal, he cauſed the ſaid Quo War-"rantos to be diſcharged, and proſecutions therein "to ceaſe.

"XV. That he procured the bills of ſetle-"ment for Ireland, and received great ſums of "money for the ſame, in a moſt corrupt and un-"lawful manner.

"XVI. That he hath deluded and betrayed his "Majeſty, and the nation, in all foreign treaties "and negociations relating to the late war, and be-"trayed and diſcovered his Majeſty's ſecret coun-"ſels to his enemies.

"XVII. That he was the principal author of "that fatal counſel of dividing the fleet about June "1666 (1)."

Echard, Vol. III. p. 198.

The commons on the twelfth of November, on the foundation of theſe articles, impeached the earl of high-treaſon at the bar of the lords houſe, and deſired that he might be ſent to the Tower. But the lords did not think proper to commit him upon an accuſation of treaſon in general, without any particular charge.

This raiſed a warm diſpute between the two houſes, which ſeveral conferences could not allay. At laſt, the commons came to this reſolution. "That the lords not having complied with the "deſire of the commons, in commiting the earl "of Clarendon, and ſequeſtring him from parlia-"ment upon the impeachment from that houſe, "was an obſtruction of the public juſtice of "the kingdom, and a precedent of evil and "dangerous conſequence." At the ſame time, they appointed a commitee to draw up a declara-tion to vindicate their proceedings.

Id. p. 200.

But the earl of Clarendon ſeeing himſelf expoſed to the commons rage, and knowing the King and the whole court were againſt him, thought it adviſeable to withdraw into France, and leave the following apology behind him, addreſſed to the lords (2).

(1) The impeachment was carried up by Edward Seymour, eſq; who was alſo the firſt man that charged him in the houſe of commons, with many great and heinous crimes. The reſt of the chief ſpeakers againſt him, were, ſir Thomas Littleton, ſerjeant Maynard, ſir John Holland, ſir Thomas Oſborn, ſir Robert Howard, mr. Garraway, lord St. John, ſir Charles Wheeler, mr. Hampden, Marvel, Prynn, ſecretary Morice, Waller, and ſir John Vaughan. &c. Thoſe that ſpoke in his favor, were, ſir Heneage Finch, ſir Francis Goodrick, mr. Coventry, ſir Edward Thurland, ſir John Brampſton, ſir John Talbot, ſir John Stow, ſir Thomas Clifford, ſir Stephen Fox, and the earl's ſon, Laurence Hyde. Echard, Vol. III. p. 195.——The baron d'Iſola, the Spaniſh embaſſador at the court of England, was the author of the earl's diſgrace. See Baſnage Ann. Vol. I. p. 810.

(2) As Rapin, by abridging this apology, has rendered it very obſcure, the tranſlator has thought fit to inſert it, as it is to be found in the proceedings againſt him. See State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 574.

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State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 574. Kennet, p. 290.

" I am very unfortunate to find myſelf to ſuffer " ſo much, under two very diſadvantageous re- " flections, which are in no degree applicable to " me.

" The firſt, from the greatneſs of my eſtate and " fortune, collected and made in ſo few years, " which if it be proportionable to what is re- " ported, may very reaſonably cauſe my integrity " to be ſuſpected.

" The ſecond, that I have been the ſole mana- " ger, and chief miniſter in all the tranſactions of " ſtate, ſince the King's return into England, to " Auguſt laſt, and therefore, that all miſcarriages " and misfortunes ought to be imputed to me and " my counſels.

" Concerning my eſtate, your lordſhips will not " believe, that after malice and envy hath been ſo " inquiſitive and ſo ſharp-ſighted, I will offer any " thing to your lordſhips, but what is exactly " true; and I do aſſure your lordſhips in the firſt " place, that (excepting from the King's bounty) " I have never received nor taken one penny but " what was generally underſtood to be the juſt law- " ful perquiſites of my office, by the conſtant prac- " tiſe of the beſt-times, which I did in my own " judgment conceive to be that of my lord Coven- " try, and of my lord Elleſmere; the practiſe of " which I conſtantly obſerved, altho' the office in " both their times was lawfully worth double to " what it was to me, and I believe now is.

" That all the courteſies and favors which I " have been able to obtain from the King for other " perſons in church or ſtate, or in Weſtminſter- " hall, have never been worth to me five pounds; " ſo that your lordſhips may be confident, I am as " innocent from corruption as from any diſloyal " thought, which after near thirty years ſervice of " the crown, in ſome difficulties and diſtreſſes, I did " never expect would be objected to me in my age.

" And I do aſſure your lordſhips, and ſhall " make it very manifeſt, that the ſeveral ſums of " money, and ſome parcels of land, which his Ma- " jeſty hath bountifully beſtowed upon me ſince " his return into England, are worth more than all " I have amounts unto; ſo far I am from advancing " my eſtate by indirect means. And tho' this " bounty of his hath very far exceeded my merit, " or my expectation, yet ſome others have been as " fortunate at leaſt in the ſame bounty, who had as " ſmall pretenſes to it, and have no great reaſon to " envy my condition.

" Concerning the other imputation of the credit " and power of being chiefeſt miniſter, and ſo cauſing " all to be done that I had a mind to; I have no " more to ſay, than that I had the good fortune to " ſerve a maſter of a very great judgment and un- " derſtanding, and be always joined with perſons of " great ability and experience, without whoſe ad- " vice and concurrence, never any thing hath been " done.

" Before his Majeſty's coming into England he " was conſtantly attended by the then marquis of " Ormond, the late lord Culpeper, and mr. ſecre- " tary Nicholas, who were equally truſted with my- " ſelf, and without whoſe joint advice and con- " currence, when they were all preſent (as ſome " of them always were) I never gave any counſel. " As ſoon as it pleaſed God to bring his Majeſty " into England, he eſtabliſhed his privy council, " and ſhortly out of them he choſe a number of " honorable perſons of great reputation (who for " the moſt part are ſtill alive) as a commitee for " foreign affairs, and conſideration of ſuch things " as in the nature of them required much ſecreſy; " and with theſe perſons he vouchſafed to join me: " and I am confident this commitee never tranſ- " acted any thing of moment (his Majeſty being " always preſent) without preſenting the ſame firſt " to the council-board; and I muſt appeal to them " concerning my carriage, and whether we were " not all of one mind, in matters of importance.

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" For more than two years I never knew any " differences in the council, or that there were any " complaints in the kingdom, which I wholly " impute to his Majeſty's great wiſdom, and the " intire concurrence of his counſellors, without the " vanity of aſſuming any thing to myſelf; and " therefore I hope I ſhall not be ſingly charged " with any thing that hath ſince fallen out amiſs. " But from the time mr. ſecretary Nicholas was " removed from his place, there were great alte- " rations; and whoſoever knew any thing of the " court and council, know well how much my " credit hath ſince that time been diminiſhed, " tho' his Majeſty graciouſly vouchſafed ſtill to " hear my advice in moſt of his affairs: nor hath " there been, from that time to this, above one " or two perſons brought to the council, or pre- " ferred to any conſiderable office in the court, " who have been of my intimate acquaintance, or " ſuſpected to have any kindneſs for me; and moſt " of them moſt notoriouſly known to have been " very long my enemies, and of different judg- " ment and principles from me in church and " ſtate, and have taken all opportunities to leſſen " my credit with the King, and with all other " perſons, by miſ-repreſenting and miſ-reporting " all that I ſaid or did, and perſuading men I " have done them ſome prejudice with his Ma- " jeſty, or croſt them in ſome of their pretenſions. " Tho' his Majeſty's goodneſs and juſtice was ſuch " that it made little impreſſion upon him.

" In my humble opinion, the great misfortunes " of the kingdom have proceeded from the war, " to which it is notoriouſly known that I was " always moſt averſe, and may without vanity ſay, " I did not only foreſee, but declare the miſchiefs " we ſhould run into, by entering into a war, be- " fore any alliances made with the neighboring " Princes. And that it may not be imputed to his " Majeſty's want of care, or the negligence of his " counſellors, that no ſuch alliances were entered " into, I muſt take the boldneſs to ſay, his Ma- " jeſty left nothing unattempted in order thereunto; " and knowing very well, that France reſolved to " begin a war upon Spain, as ſoon as his Catholic " Majeſty ſhould depart this world, which being " much ſooner expected by them, they had in the " two winters before been at great charges in pro- " viding plentiful magazines of all proviſions upon " the frontiers, that they might be ready for the " war, his Majeſty uſed all poſſible means to pre- " pare and diſpoſe the Spaniard with that appre- " henſion, offering his friendſhip to that degree, " as might be for the benefit and ſecurity of both " crowns.

" But Spain flattering itſelf, that France would " not break with them, at leaſt, that they would " not give them any cauſe by adminiſtring matter " of jealouſy to them, never made any real ap- " proach towards a friendſhip with his Majeſty, " but, both by their embaſſadors here, and to his " Majeſty's embaſſador at Madrid, always per- " ſiſted as preliminaries, upon the giving up of " Dunkirk, Tangier, and Jamaica.

" Tho' France had an embaſſador here, to " whom a project of a treaty was offered, and the " lord Holles, his Majeſty's embaſſador at Paris, " uſed all indeavors to purſue and proſecute the " ſaid treaty, yet it was quickly diſcerned, that " the principal deſign of France, was to draw " his Majeſty into ſuch a nearer alliance as might " advance their deſign; without which, they had " no mind to enter into the treaty propoſed.

" And

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" And this was the ſtate of affairs when the war " was entered into with the Dutch, from which " time, neither crown much conſidered the making " any alliance with England.

" As I did from my ſoul abhor the entering " into this war, ſo I preſumed never to give any " advice or counſel for the way of managing it, " but by oppoſing many propoſitions, which " ſeemed to the late lord treaſurer and myſelf to " be unreaſonable, as the payment of the ſea-men " by tickets, and many other particulars which " added to the expenſe.

" My enemies took all occaſions to inveigh " againſt me, and making their friendſhip with " others out of the council, of more licentious " principles, and who knew well enough how much " I diſliked and complained of the liberty they " took to themſelves of reviling all councils and " counſellors, and turning all things ſerious and " ſacred into ridicule. They took all ways ima- " ginable to render me ungreatful to all ſorts of " men (whom I ſhall be compelled to name in " my defenſe) perſuading thoſe that miſcarried in " any of their deſigns, that it was the chancellor's " doing; whereof I never knew any thing. How- " ever, they could not withdraw the King's favor " from me, who was ſtill pleaſed to uſe my ſervice " with others, nor was there ever any thing done " but with the joint advice of at leaſt the major " part of thoſe who were conſulted with. And as " his Majeſty commanded my ſervice in the late " treaties, ſo I never gave the leaſt advice in " private, nor wrote one letter to any one perſon in " either of theſe negociations, but upon the advice " of the council, and alſo after it was read in " council, or at leaſt by the King himſelf, and " ſome others; and if I prepared any inſtructions " or memorials, it was by the King's command, " and the requeſt of the ſecretaries who deſired my " aſſiſtance; nor was it any wiſh of my own, that " any embaſſador ſhould give me any account of " the tranſactions, but to the ſecretaries, whom I " was always ready to adviſe; nor am I conſcious " to myſelf of ever having given advice that hath " proved miſchievous or inconvenient to his Ma- " jeſty; and I have been ſo far from being the " ſole manager of affairs, that I have not, in the " whole laſt year, been above twice with his Ma- " jeſty in any room alone, and very ſeldom in the " two or three years preceeding.

" And ſince the parliament at Oxford, it hath " been very viſible, that my credit hath been very " little, and that very few things have been " hearkened to, which have been propoſed by me, " but contradicted, 'eo nomine,' becauſe pro- " poſed by me.

" I moſt humbly beſeech your lordſhips to re- " member the office and truſt I had for ſeven " years, in which, in diſcharge of my duty, I " was obliged to ſtop and obſtruct many mens pre- " tenſes, and refuſed to ſet the ſeal to many pardons " and other grants, which would have been profit- " able to thoſe who procured them, and many " whereof, upon my repreſentation to his Ma- " jeſty, were for ever ſtopt, which naturally has " raiſed many enemies to me: and my frequent " concurring, upon the deſires of the late lord " treaſurer (with whom I had the honor to have " a long and vaſt friendſhip to his death) in re- " preſenting ſeveral exceſſes and exorbitances, the " yearly iſſue ſo far exceeding the revenues, pro- " voked many perſons concerned, of great power " and credit, to do me all the ill offices they could. " And yet I may faithfully ſay, that I never med- " dled with any part of the revenue or the admi- " niſtration of it, but when I was deſired by the " late lord treaſurer to give him my aſſiſtance and " advice, having had the honor formerly to ſerve " the crown as chancellor of the exchequer, which " was for the moſt part in his Majeſty's preſenſe. " Nor have I ever been in the leaſt degree con- " cerned, in point of profit, in leting any part of " his Majeſty's revenue; nor had ever treated or " debated it, but in his Majeſty's preſenſe, in " which my opinion concurred always with the " major part of the counſellors who were preſent.

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" All which, upon examination, will be made " manifeſt to your lordſhips, how much ſoever " my integrity is blaſted by the malice of thoſe, " who, I am confident, do not believe themſelves. " Nor have I in my life, upon all the treaties, or " otherwiſe, received the value of one ſhilling from " all the Kings or Princes in the world (except the " books of the Louvre-print ſent me by the chan- " cellor of France, by that King's direction) but " from my own maſter, to whoſe intire ſervice, " and the good and welfare of my country, no " man's heart was ever more devoted.

" This being my preſent condition, I do moſt " humbly beſeech your lordſhips to entertain a fa- " vorable opinion of me, and to believe me to be " innocent from thoſe foul aſperſions, until the con- " trary ſhall be proved; which I am ſure can " never be by any man worthy to be believed: " and ſince the diſtempers of the times, and the " difference between the two houſes in the preſent " debate, with the power and malice of my ene- " mies, who gave out that I ſhould prevail with " his Majeſty to prorogue or diſſolve this parlia- " ment in diſpleaſure, and threaten to expoſe me to " the rage and fury of the people, may make me to " be looked upon as the cauſe which obſtructs the " King's ſervice, and unity and peace of the king- " dom.

" I moſt humbly beſeech your lordſhips, that I " may not forfeit your lordſhips favor and protec- " tion, by withdrawing myſelf from ſo powerful a " perſecution, in hope that I may be able, by ſuch " withdrawing, hereafter to appear and make my " defenſe, when his Majeſty's juſtice (to which I " ſhall always ſubmit) may not be obſtructed or " controled, by the power and malice of thoſe who " have ſworn my deſtruction."

It is communicated to the commons. Echard, Vol. III. p. 204. Kennet.

The lords having received this apology the third of December, deſired a conference with the commons, to communicate it to them. The duke of Buckingham, who was to deliver it, ſaid, " The " lords have commanded me to deliver you this " ſcandalous and ſeditious paper, ſent from the earl " of Clarendon: they bid me to preſent it to you, " and deſire you in convenient time to ſend it to " them again, for it has a ſtile which they are in " love with, and therefore deſire to keep it."

Is publicly burnt.

The reading of this apology threw the commons into a flame. Some of the earl's enemies (1) took occaſion to make the moſt virulent ſpeeches againſt him; and at laſt, the houſe voted his apology ſcandalous and malicious, and a reproach to the juſtice of the nation, and ordered it to be burned by the common hangman.

Ibid.

The thirteenth of December, the lords ſent to the commons a bill for the baniſhment of the earl of Clarendon, which met with great oppoſition in that houſe. Some of the members even propoſed a bill of attainder againſt him. The houſe at laſt voted, " That the King ſhould be prayed to iſſue out his " proclamation for ſummoning the ſaid earl to ap- " pear by a day, and to apprehend him in order

(1) Particularly ſir John Vaughan and ſir Robert Howard. Echard, Vol. III. p. 204.

" to

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" to his trial, and that the lords be ſent to for " their concurrence in this vote." But the lords refuſed their concurrence, becauſe this vote was contrary to their bill.

A bill is paſſed for the earl's baniſhment. Burnet, p. 256. Kennet. Echard.

At length, on the eighteenth of December, the bill ſent by the lords paſſed the houſe of commons, and his Majeſty willingly gave his aſſent. The truth is, it was the King who had imployed the duke of York, to prevail with the earl of Clarendon to withdraw; whether the earl's friends by their ſollicitations had ſoftned the King, or he was not deſirous of having the articles of impeachment diſcuſſed, which might have diſcovered thoſe things he had rather conceal.

Reflections upon his diſgrace.

Thus was the earl of Clarendon ſacrificed to the malice of his enemies. But they were ſuch enemies, that it may be ſaid, their perſecution did him more honor, than the crimes, which for the moſt part were groundleſs, could do him injury. Theſe enemies were, firſt, the King himſelf, who on this occaſion forgot all the ſervices this faithful miniſter had done his father and himſelf, at a time when his affection and fidelity could not be ſuſpected, ſince there was no appearance of his being ever rewarded. What is more ſtrange, the King came to hate him, merely becauſe he ſerved him too well, and, in a juſt concern for his glory, did what lay in his power to prevent his falling into contempt, and ingaging in projects which could not but render him unfortunate. His other adverſaries were the King's miſtreſſes and favorites, perſons of profligate lives, of no religion, or of one contrary to that of the eſtabliſhment, who hated him only becauſe they thought him too honeſt, or believed him incapable of being brought over to aſſiſt their deſigns. For it is generally allowed, that not one ſingle article of his accuſation, except that of the ſale of Dunkirk, could be proved.

If the Preſbyterians had procured the lord Clarendon's fall, there had been nothing ſtrange in it, as he was their profeſſed enemy. For it may be affirmed, that from him came all their misfortunes, ſince the begining of this reign. But the Preſbyterians had then no credit, no acceſs, either to court or parliament. What is moſt ſurprizing in this miniſter's diſgrace, is the animoſity wherewith he was purſued by the ſame houſe of commons, which he himſelf had, if I may ſo ſay, compoſed of men of the moſt extravagant principles, with reſpect to religion and government. Herein he found himſelf miſtaken in his politics: for, theſe ſame principles, with regard to the Royal power, ſo firmly attached the houſe to the King, that they made no ſcruple to abandon the earl of Clarendon, tho' head of the party, when once his Majeſty expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt him. This is not the only inſtance of the ableſt politicians laboring their own ruin, by ſeemingly the beſt contrived projects.

Remarks upon his hiſtory of the rebellion.

Among the great ſervices Charles I and Charles II had received from the earl of Clarendon, his excellent Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, ought to be remembered; which was not publiſhed till after his death. In this hiſtory are undeniable proofs of the author's ſincerity and affection for Charles I. Nay, very likely, it was wrote with no other deſign than to juſtify the conduct of that unfortunate Prince, and place it in the moſt favorable light. If any thing can injure this hiſtory, it is, that the views of the author are too undiſguiſed. This gives impartial readers occaſion to conjecture, it was not wrote ſo much for the inſtruction of the public in the truth of facts, as to prepoſſeſs them, by various artifices, and numberleſs inſinuations, in favor of a ſyſtem, which all readers, verſed in the hiſtory and government of England, will not doubtleſs admit. Another charge againſt this author is, the contempt and animoſity which he every where ſhews againſt the Preſbyterians, and the Scots, even in places where it ſeems foreign to his purpoſe. But this came from his heart. His immoderate paſſion againſt Preſbyterianiſm, was this great man's foible. He gloried in his hatred of thoſe principles, and perhaps contributed more than any other, to that exceſs of warmth which ſtill ſubſiſts among the followers of his maxims and principles.

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His great fortune.

From a private gentleman and a lawyer, the earl of Clarendon roſe to the higheſt degree of fortune, that a man of his rank could aſpire to. For, by his merit, and his inviolable attachment to Charles I and Charles II, he was raiſed to the dignity of earl, of lord high-chancellor, and of prime miniſter of ſtate. But what gives a farther luſtre to his glory is, that from the marriage of his daughter with the duke of York, ſprung two Princeſſes ſucceſſively Queens of England. He ſpent the reſt of his days in baniſhment, amidſt Proteſtant Preſbyterians and Papiſts, whoſe declared enemy he had been, during the time of his favor, but who failed not to pay him all the reſpects due to his merit, and the dignities with which he had been honored in his own country. He died at Roan the latter end of December 1674, aged ſixty-ſeven.

The parliament adjourns.

The day after the act for the earl of Clarendon's baniſhment paſſed in the houſe of commons, the King gave his aſſent to it by commiſſion. He then ſent a meſſage to the commons, by ſecretary Morrice, to wiſh them to adjourn to the ſixth of February. In the reign of James I, there was a difference between the King and the commons, concerning the right of adjournment. The commons pretended, that tho' the King had power to diſſolve or prorogue a parliament, he could not adjourn it, and that adjournment intirely belonged to each houſe. But the lords refuſing their concurrence, the commons were obliged to drop their pretenſion. From that time James I, and Charles I, always ſuppoſed this right as undeniable, and yet the point had never been in form decided. It therefore ſeems, that Charles II, by deſiring the parliament to adjourn, was willing to ſhew ſome regard to the pretenſion of the commons, or at leaſt to avoid all occaſion of diſpute. But this condeſcenſion was not of long duration; for it will hereafter appear, that he frequently adjourned the parliament by his own authority, without any diſlike expreſſed by the commons. Now the difference between an adjournment and a prorogation conſiſts in this, that a prorogation puts an end to the ſeſſion, and annuls all affairs which have been propoſed or debated in parliament without being finiſhed; ſo that they cannot ſerve for ground to the reſolutions of a new ſeſſion, unleſs they are propoſed afreſh. But an adjournment only ſuſpends them till the parliament re-aſſembles. For this reaſon, when the commons have voted the King a ſupply, the parliament is ſeldom or never prorogued, but only adjourned when ſome ſhort receſs is neceſſary, that at their meeting again, they may proceed upon the vote till it be paſſed into an act.

A remark upon it. Kennet. Echard.

A proclamation againſt Papiſts. Echard, Vol. III. p. 206.

Before the parliament met in October, the King publiſhed a proclamation, for the rigorous execution of the laws againſt thoſe who repaired to hear maſs at the chapels of embaſſadors. He ſtill perſiſted in his diſſimulation with regard to religion, and in his deſign to perſuade his ſubjects, that he was a good Proteſtant. It was properly for this that theſe proclamations were intended; but the Non-performance of them had a quite contrary effect. For it could not be thought neceſſary to repeat them ſo frequently, if the King had been pleaſed with ſeeing them executed rigorouſly.

This

CHARLES II. AN' 1667.

This ſame month of October, the King rode in great ſtate into the city, and laid the firſt ſtone of the foundation of the Royal-Exchange. This building was finiſhed in a very ſhort time.

The Royal Exchange built. Octob. 23. Ibid. Strype.

This year, death, as I have ſaid, took out of the world Thomas Wriotheſley earl of Southampton lord-treaſurer. The other leſs remarkable deaths were thoſe of dr. Matthew Wren biſhop of Ely (great enemy of the Preſbyterians, who out of revenge for his ſeverity to them before the civil wars, kept him priſoner in the Tower from the year 1642 till the reſtoration, when he was reſtored to his biſhoprick of Ely, where he died aged eighty-one years) and of the famous poet Abraham Cowley, little known to ſtrangers, but very much and deſervedly eſteemed by the Engliſh.

Death of biſhop Wren. Echard.

And Mr. Cowley.

After the earl of Clarendon's removal the King and his miniſters, of whom the earl of Arlington and ſir Orlando Bridgeman were the principal, believed it abſolutely neceſſary to give the people ſome ſatisfaction, by demonſtrating the court's attention to the welfare of the nation. The French King, by his invaſion of Flanders, had ſo clearly ſhown, he did not intend to ſtand to his Queen's renunciation of all the members of the Spaniſh Monarchy, that he could not poſſibly be miſtaken. Beſide, his power was daily increaſing, whereas that of Spain was viſibly declining. It was therefore the intereſt of Europe in general, and of England in particular, to take early and effectual meaſures, to ſet bounds to this formidable power, which might produce great changes, if care was not taken to ſtop its progreſs. Nothing was more popular than ſuch a deſign, and nothing more capable to re-ingratiate the King with his ſubjects. Therefore, the firſt of January 1667-8, a reſolution was taken, to enter into a ſtrict union with the States-general of the United Provinces, to prevent the King of France's intire reduction of Flanders, and the reſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands. The court likewiſe reſolved, to indeavor ingaging the King of Sweden into the ſame meaſures, and ſo form a triple aliance capable to intimidate Lewis XIV, and to oblige him to act with greater precaution.

The King reſolves to give ſome ſatisfaction to the people.

To put this project in execution, ſir William Temple was ordered to the Hague, with the character of envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary. I ſhall not deſcend to the particulars of this negociation, which are related in ſir William Temple's writings, publiſhed in a French verſion. I ſhall only obſerve, that by the addreſs of this envoy, the treaty of alliance between the King and the States was concluded in five days, and what is more, ſigned by the States-General, without communicating it to the particular provinces, which had never before been practiſed. Moreover, the count de Dhona, embaſſador of Sweden, ingaged for his maſter, that he ſhould enter into this treaty, if a place was left for him as a principal. Afterwards, this court ſigned a like treaty in the name of the King of Sweden, with the King of England and the States-General, it being agreed, that this treaty ſhould be conſidered as part of the former when ratified. Theſe treaties were firſt ſent into England, and ratified by Charles, and, ſhortly after, the King of Sweden's ratification was likewiſe received. Thus was concluded, in a very ſhort time, a triple league, the moſt important that had been long ſince made in Europe, and which was to check the power, as well as vaſt deſigns of France.

A triple alliance concluded between England, Holland, and Sweden. Temple's Let. fol. p. 45, &c.

For the underſtanding this treaty, of which I ſhall preſently give the ſubſtance, it muſt be obſerved, that Lewis XIV, after his laſt campain, during which he had ſeized many ſtrong places in the Spaniſh Netherlands (1), had, at the preſſing inſtances of their High Mightineſſes, conſented to a treaty with Spain, till the end of March 1668. Moreover, he had left to the Queen-Regent of Spain, the choice of either yielding to him the places conquered by him in the laſt campain, or elſe the duchy of Luxemburgh, or, inſtead of it, Franche-Compté, Cambray and Cambreſis, Douay, Aire, St. Omer, Bergue, Furnes, and Linck, for which he promiſed to ſurrender all the reſt of his conqueſts. Theſe offers, as it appears, were founded upon the ſuppoſition, that the French Queen's renunciation, in the treaty of her marriage, was of no force. Tho' the thing had been decided only by the King of France himſelf, the States-General, ſeeing no poſſibility of compelling him to deſiſt from his pretenſions, had approved of this alternative, and poſitively ingaged to join their forces with thoſe of France, to oblige Spain to imbrace one or other of theſe offers. They could not therefore recede, after ſuch an ingagement: for which reaſon, they reſolved to make three different treaties with England, which however were to take place, as containing but one and the ſame treaty.

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Three treaties upon different caſes.

Explication of this treaty. Echard, p. 188.

The firſt contained a defenſive alliance between England and the States-General, againſt all who ſhould attack either of the parties, with a ſpecification of the ſuccors to be mutually given in caſe of ſuch an attack. This alliance to be perpetual.

First treaty. Temple's Letters, p. 69, &c. Collect. of Treat. Vol. I. p. 136.

By the ſecond, the King of England and the States were obliged to uſe their joint indeavors to diſpoſe the King of France to make peace in the Netherlands, upon one of the propoſed conditions; and likewiſe the King of Spain to make choice of one of the two before the end of May. But in caſe any difficulty aroſe from the Spaniard, they ingaged to uſe their indeavors to induce the King of France to ſtop all farther progreſs of his arms in Flanders, and leave it wholly to the allies, to procure the ends propoſed in this league.

Second treaty.

The third contained, 1. That if in procuring peace between France and Spain, any difficulties ſhould ariſe concerning the renunciation, care ſhould be taken ſo to ſetle the articles of peace, as to create no prejudice to the rights of either. But if one ſide only ſhould reject this expedient, then the allies ſhould proceed againſt the refuſer, in the manner agreed in the ſecond treaty. 2. That the allies ſhould uſe their indeavors to eſtabliſh peace between Spain and Portugal. And tho' they did not pretend to hinder the King of France from aſſiſting Portugal, they would however prevent, as far as lay in their power, his aſſiſting that nation by making war in the Netherlands. 3. But, in caſe the King of France rejecting the conditions contained in the ſecond treaty, ſhould make farther progreſs in Flanders, then the allies ſhould join with Spain, and make war upon the King of France, till they ſhould oblige him to comply with the terms of the Pyrenean treaty. 4. That all theſe articles ſhould be ratified within four weeks (2).

Third treaty.

This alliance which, as I ſaid, was ſigned by the King of Sweden as a principal, and was called the triple league, received the applauſes of all Europe, except France. Indeed, the tendency of it was not only to ſave the Netherlands, purſuant to the true intereſts of England and the States-General, but alſo to prevent a fatal war, which muſt have thrown all Europe into a flame. It is perhaps the only ſtep taken by Charles, thro' the whole courſe of his reign, really tending to the advantage of

(1) Charleroy, Oudenard, Tournay, Douay, Courtrich, Liſle, &c. Kennet, p. 293.
(2) This triple alliance was ſigned January 23. Temple's Lett. p. 59.

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England. It will hereafter appear, that, probably, he had no other intention than to dazzle the public, and amuſe the world, by a proceeding ſo much to his honor. But in ill ſupporting what he had ſo happily began, he manifeſtly ſhewed, that he erred not thro' ignorance, or want of knowing the intereſt of his kingdom, and thoſe of all Europe.

A peace between Spain and Portugal. Collect. of Treat. Vol. I. p. 146.

Shortly after, ſir William Temple concluded a treaty of commerce with the States-General, and about the ſame time the treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal was happily finiſhed, under the guarantee of the King of England.

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Echard.

During theſe tranſactions, the parliament met the tenth of February. The King in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that he had made a league defenſive with the States of the United Provinces, and another for an efficacious mediation of peace between France and Spain, into which the King of Sweden had, by his embaſſador, offered to enter as a principal, He added, that the poſture of his neighbors, and the conſequence of the new alliance, obliging him to ſet out a fleet to ſea, he ſhould want a ſpeedy ſupply; that beſide, it was neceſſary to build ſome large ſhips, and fortify the ports. He concluded with deſiring them to think ſeriouſly of ſome courſe, to beget a better harmony and compoſure in the minds of his ſubjects in matters of religion.

Miſmanagements examined into by the commons. Echard, Vol. III. p. 221.

The news of the triple alliance was joyfully received by the commons; but before they proceeded to the conſideration of the King's ſpeech, they reſolved to inquire into the miſmanagements during the late war. To this end, they appointed a commitee, who diſcovered many miſdemeanors in the conduct of ſeveral perſons, "as in the affair of "Berghen in Norway; in the plundering the Eaſt-"India ſhips while the Dutch paſſed by; in the not "ſeting out a ſufficient fleet laſt year; in the ſe-"paration of thoſe that were out, ſo that they be-"came uſeleſs; in the want of proviſion and am-"munition in the fleet, and in the forts; in pay-"ment of the ſeamen by tickets; in the want of "intelligence and dividing the fleets in the ſecond "year of the war; in the buſineſs of Chatham, &c." The commons accuſed Brounker, that, after the firſt battle, he had carried falſe orders from the duke of York, while that Prince was repoſing himſelf, which had prevented the intire deſtruction of the enemy's fleet, and expelling him the houſe, ordered him to be impeached. As to the affair of Chatham, they accuſed commiſſioner Pett for having neglected his duty. Sir William Penn was accuſed of having imbezzled great quantities of rich goods taken in a Dutch prize (1).

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To put an end to theſe examinations, the King was doubly concerned, ſince moſt of the miſcarriages reflected on him, tho' only ſome particular officers were directly accuſed; and beſide, the houſe waſted the time, which, according to him, would have been better imployed in conſidering the ſupplies he had demanded. He therefore preſſed the commons, by three ſeveral meſſages, to haſten the money-bill, telling them in his laſt, that he intended to prorogue the parliament the fourth of May. But, being informed, the houſe was not pleaſed with his meſſage, becauſe a prorogation would have defeated all their proceedings againſt delinquents, he let them know, the twenty-fourth of April, that he intended only an adjournment for three months; and withal deſired, that

The King preſſes the money-bill. Echard.

the money-bill might be ready againſt the fourth of May.

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Beſide the ſupply, the houſe of commons was imployed in another affair, with which they were greatly affected. They began to diſcover the King's ſecret intentions, and believed, that under color of eaſing the Preſbyterians, his deſign was to obtain a general indulgence for all the Non-conformiſts, including Papiſts under that general appellation. An inſinuation in his ſpeech confirmed this ſuſpicion. Wherefore, to ſtop the progreſs of a deſign ſo contrary to their principles, with regard both to Popery and Preſbyterianiſm, they preſented an addreſs to the King, praying him "That he "would iſſue out his proclamation for inforcing "the laws againſt conventicles; and that care "might be taken for the preſervation of the peace "againſt all unlawful aſſemblies of Papiſts and "Non-conformiſts." —— The King, according to his uſual cuſtom, failed not to publiſh a proclamation, declaring, "That upon information, that "diverſe perſons abuſing the clemency uſed to the "Diſſenters ('even whilſt it was under conſidera-"tion to find out a way for the better union of his "Proteſtant ſubjects') had of late openly held un-"lawful aſſemblies and conventicles, he would by "no means permit ſuch notorious contempts of "himſelf and his laws, to go unpuniſhed, &c." He ſuppoſed, the parliament was upon this union, becauſe he had recommended it to them. But the commons were far from thinking of the affair, unleſs by this union the King meaned an intire conformity with the church of England, which was not his intention.

Is addreſſed by both houſes to put the laws in execution againſt Papiſts and Non-conformiſts. Echard.

He puts out a proclamation.

A great diſpute aroſe at this time between the two houſes, occaſioned by mr. Skinner a merchant of London, who believing to have juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the Eaſt-India company, brought the matter by petition originally into the houſe of lords. The peers, after an examination, relieved him in five thouſand pounds coſts. On the other hand, the company having petitioned the commons, Skinner was taken into cuſtody, for applying originally to the lords, in a common plea, which was not agreeable to law. The petition preſented to the commons by the Eaſt-India company was voted ſcandalous by the lords, and ſeveral conferences between the two houſes, were not capable of deciding this difference. At laſt, the commons voted "That whoever ſhould be aiding or aſ-"ſiſting in puting in execution the order or ſen-"tence of the houſe of lords, in the caſe of Tho-"mas Skinner againſt the Eaſt-India company, "ſhould be deemed a betrayer of the rights and "liberties of the commons of England, and an in-"fringer of the privilges of the houſe."

A difference between the two houſes. Echard.

The eighth of May, the day this vote paſſed in the houſe of commons, his Majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and paſſing the bill for raiſing three hundred and ten thouſand pounds by an impoſition on wines and other liquors, and ſome other acts, he adjourned the parliament to the eleventh of Auguſt. He adjourned it again a ſecond * time, and at laſt prorogued it to the nineteenth of October 1669 (2).

The King paſſes ſome bills, and then adjourns, and afterwards prorogues the parliament.

* To the firſt of March.

I have already mentioned the affairs between France and Spain, and the alternative offered by the French King. The marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo, or rather the court of Spain, not being in haſte to make a choice, Lewis XIV, in February, invaded Franche Comté (3), and in leſs than a fortnight

Lewis XIV makes himſelf maſter of Franche Comté. Baſnage. Echard.

(1) Whereby the King was defrauded of above one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds. Echard, Vol. III. p. 223.
(2) In the begining of May, the Queen miſcarried a ſecond time. Idem. p. 226.
(3) Which then belonged to the King of Spain. Idem. p. 226.

ſubdued

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subdued the whole province. This conqueſt however did not make him riſe in his demands, but was ſtill willing to ſtand to the offer of the two conditions he had propoſed. But the Spaniſh court delayed, as much as poſſible, declaring upon the offered alternative, deſigning to ingage England and the States in a war againſt France. Mean while, as the treaty of the triple league was directly contrary to the deſign of Spain (the three allies having only ingaged to take arms in caſe the King of France refuſed to ſtand to his propoſal) it was not poſſible for the court of Spain to accompliſh its ends. At length, after many ſhufflings, the marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo declared, he accepted the firſt condition, by which France was to keep what had been conquered the laſt campain. This choice greatly ſurſpriſed the States, who had relied on the Spaniards accepting rather the ſecond condition, which appeared leſs advantageous to them. But the policy of the Spaniſh court was to throw England and the States into an indiſpenſible neceſſity of making war againſt France, if that Monarch ſhould offer to purſue his conqueſt in the Netherlands.

The court of Spain accepts one of the alternatives. Temple's Lett.

Peace concluded at Aix la Chapelle. Temple. Collect. of Treaties, Vol. I. p. 156. Arlington's Lett.

This choice being made, the peace was no longer difficult. The town of Aix la Chapelle was agreed on for the place of treaty, and the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain, of England, Sweden and the States, repairing thither, it was concluded and ſigned the ſecond of May, after a fortnight's negociation. The treaty contained in ſubſtance, That the King of France ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Douay, Fort-de-la-Scarpe, Tournay, Oudenarde, Liſle, Armentieres, Courtray, Berghes, Furnes, with all their dependencies. The King of France, on his ſide, reſtored Franche-Comté to the crown of Spain. The allied States were guarantees of this peace, and all other Princes and States were allowed to be ſo, if they pleaſed (1).

The Dutch challenge the honor of it, Baſnage.

Tho' the treaty of Aix la Chapelle had conſiderably increaſed the power of France, the States-general of the United Provinces believed it a great advantage, to have ſtoped the progreſs of the French arms. They aſcribed to themſelves the whole glory, tho' indeed the triple league would never have been thought of by them, had it not been firſt propoſed by the King of England. To immortalize their glory, they ſtruck a medal, on one ſide of which was ſeen Holland leaning againſt a trophy, and on the reverſe, an inſcription to this effect: "That they had ſecured the laws; reformed "religion; aſſiſted, defended and reconciled Kings; "reſtored freedom to the ocean; procured by "their arms a glorious peace, and eſtabliſhed the "tranquillity of all Europe." On the other hand, Joſhuah van Beuninghen, who had been imployed in negociating this peace, ſtruck a medal, and compared himſelf to Joſhuah ſtoping the courſe of the ſun. As the French King had taken the ſun for his device, the meaning of this medal could not be miſtaken. But the States immediately ſuppreſſed it. As for the firſt, and ſome others, which diſcovered too great preſumption, they were not broke till two years after. But Lewis XIV afterwards made them repent this inſult.

and ſtrike a medal. Hiſt. Metall. Baſnage. Vol. II. p. 28, 29. La Neuville als. Baillet.

Reaſonswhich ſhow Charles only amuſed the public. Temple's Lett.

When I ſaid, that Charles, in all appearance, propoſed the triple league only to amuſe the public, and appeaſe in ſome meaſure the diſcontents of the people which began to appear, I founded this conjecture, firſt, on ſir William Temple's ſuſpicion, that the King would not long continue in this reſolution. This ſuſpicion appears in ſeveral of his letters. But as they were written to the earl of Arlington, ſecretary of ſtate, he contented himſelf with inſinuating his belief, without daring to ſpeak too openly. Secondly, in a letter of the King of France to d'Eſtrades, it has been ſeen, how little Charles concerned himſelf for the preſervation of the Netherlands, ſince, believing, that Lewis directed his views that way, he offered to let him make that conqueſt unmoleſted, without reſerving an inch of land to himſelf, provided Lewis would abandon the States-general. Thirdly, the ſale of Dunkirk to France ſhewed, that Lewis's conqueſts in Flanders would give but little jealouſy to Charles. Fourthly, at the very time that all Europe was diſſolved in joy for the concluſion of the triple league, ſir Thomas Clifford, the King's favorite, ſaid openly, ——— "Well, for all this noiſe, we muſt "yet have another war with the Dutch before it "be long." Fifthly, France herſelf did not diſcover much uneaſineſs at this triple alliance. She not only inſiſted upon all her pretenſions, but even mr. de Lionne, ſecretary of ſtate, writing to d'Eſtrades on occaſion of this triple alliance, has theſe words, ——— "If the Dutch enter into alli-"ances contrary to the intereſts of his Majeſty, we "ſhall not be ſo much troubled at it as they ima-"gine: I know what I ſay, and upon what "foundation I ſpeak it." If to this be added, King Charles's ſtrange conduct afterwards, in making a league with France againſt Holland, it cannot but be ſuſpected, that there was at that time a ſecret correſpondence between France and England. Sixthly, events are commonly the beſt interpreters of mens actions. And it will ſoon appear, that Charles made but little account of his ingagements, entered into by the triple alliance; but it is not time yet to ſpeak of theſe things.

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Temple. Echard, Vol. III. p. 230.

The face of the Engliſh court was intirely changed after the earl of Clarendon's removal. The King, more at eaſe by the abſenſe of a troubleſome miniſter, whoſe very preſenſe was a reproof to his conduct, gave himſelf up to his pleaſures, without any reſerve or diſcretion. The duke of Buckingham, who had no religion, and gloried in his debaucheries, and Wilmot earl of Rocheſter, the greateſt wit and the moſt ſatirical and licentious poet of his age, were his principal favorites. With theſe two men, and his miſtreſſes, the King ſpent almoſt his whole time, and it was with difficulty that his miniſters could find an opportunity to ſpeak to him of his affairs. Pleaſures and debauches were the ſole entertainments of the court, and vice appeared there bare-faced. In a word, England had never ſeen a more diſorderly court, and, unhappily, their example had but too much influence on the reſt of the people. His Majeſty was prodigal to exceſs. Beſide his ſtanding revenues, which, as we have ſeen, amounted to twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, he had conſumed the eighteen hundred thouſand pounds given him the laſt year by the parliament, in uſes for which that money was not intended. This year, he had aſked a ſupply of the parliament, pretending a neceſſity to build ſome new ſhips of war, and to put a great fleet to ſea, in maintenance of his ingagements by the triple-alliance. The parliament had granted him three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, but the act not paſſing till two days after the ſigning of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, not a ſingle ſhip was builded, and the

The King lives in great diſorder. Burnet. Echard.

Is very profuſe.

(1) From this time, England had the beſt opportunity of holding the balance of Europe, which if it had immoveably obſerved, and with reaſonable vigor, it might have ſaved ſpending thoſe millions of treaſure, and oceans of blood, that have ſince happened. Echard——Whatever the Spaniſh loſt by the French ravages, the Engliſh gained a very great private benefit by it: for one Brewer, ſaid to be of Engliſh parents, with about fifty Walloons, who wrought and died fine woollen cloth, thereupon came into England; and by them the Engliſh were in a few years inſtructed to make and die fine woollen cloths, cheaper by forty per cent. than they could before. R. Coke, Vol. II. p. 161.

neceſſity

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neceſſity of puting a fleet to ſea, vaniſhed at once. Notwithſtanding this, he was always in want, and his revenues perpetually anticipated.

Great progreſs of the Papiſts.

But there was a ſtill greater misfortune to England, viz. that only Papiſts, or men of no religion, had any credit at court. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Rocheſter, and the King's miſtreſſes, gave themſelves not the leaſt trouble to ſtop the progreſs of Popery. The earl of Arlington, ſecretary of ſtate, was, like the King, a diſguiſed, and Clifford a declared Papiſt. The duke of York was not only a Catholic, but alſo very zealous for his religion. Being conſidered as preſumptive heir to the crown, great court was made to him, and with the more application, as his revenues being large, and his management frugal, he had wherewithal to gain courtiers. It may be judged, that his zeal had not ſuffered him to advance Proteſtants to places of truſt, when he could introduce perſons of his own perſuaſion. He had ſo powerful a party at court, and ſo many creatures about the King's perſon, that he was in a manner abſolute there, and directed the reſolutions of the council. Laſtly, if the King had any religion, he was moſt inclined to Popery. He found beſide, a conſiderable advantage in careſſing the Papiſts, whom he eſteemed his firm friends, whereas he could not but dread the Proteſtants zeal, in caſe they ſhould diſcover he had abjured their religion.

Deſign to make the King abſolute.

It is not difficult to conceive, after this view of the ſtate of the Engliſh court, that thoſe who had moſt credit and acceſs to the King, could hardly intend the benefit of the nation. Every one of his moſt intimate counſellors would have been glad to ſee the King abſolute, that he might, at command, have the whole riches of England to laviſh upon them. Charles himſelf was ſo uneaſy to be continually forced to deviſe freſh pretenſes demanding money of his parliament, that he could have wiſhed to be delivered from that trouble, and to have free liberty to take what he wanted without aſking. But on the contrary, he found himſelf obliged to proceed circumſpectly, the example of his father not permiting him to ingage in the ſame courſe, before he had taken greater precautions. This was the reaſon, that for ſome years the court-projects were executed gradually, and with great diſſimulation, notwithſtanding the warm temper of the duke of York, and the eagerneſs of the Roman Catholics; for it may be affirmed, that the King alone oppoſed their career, whether out of fear or prudence.

The King viſits diverſe places. Sends a fleet into the Mediterranean. Embaſſies. Kennet. p. 294, 295. Echard. J. Phillips.

The King this ſummer diverted himſelf with making ſeveral progreſſes into the country, to view the ports and the navy. He ſent a ſquadron into the Mediterranean, commanded by ſir Thomas Allen, who obliged the Algerines to a peace very advantageous to England.

During the remainder of this year, nothing more of any importance paſſed, except ſome embaſſies, which the ſequel requires ſhould be mentioned. Sir William Godolphin was ſent to the court of Spain; mr. Ralph Montague was firſt envoy, and ſoon after embaſſador to France; the earl of Carliſle went embaſſador to Stockholm (1), and ſir William Temple embaſſador extraordinary to the States-General. On the other hand, monſieur Colbert was ſent from France to reſide as embaſſador at the Engliſh court.

Advancements at court. Sept. 19, 29.

There were alſo ſome changes at court: among others, ſir Thomas Clifford was made treaſurer of the houſhold; the duke of Monmouth, the King's natural ſon, was made captain of the life-guard of horſe; ſir John Trevor, lately returned from France, where he had been envoy, was ſworn one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, on the reſignation of ſir William Morrice, to whom was given ten thouſand pounds ſterling. Charles II. An' 1668.

This year died Algernoon Piercy, earl of Northumberland, who was ſucceeded by his ſon (2); the famous poets Davenant and Denham; and the great ſoldier ſir William Waller, ſo often mentioned in the hiſtory of the civil wars. He had been impriſoned by the Independent parliament, and confined till the King's reſtoration, when he was ſet at liberty, being conſidered on account of his ſufferings as a ſort of Royaliſt. Deaths. Echard.

An' 1669. The King changes his meaſures with regard to the triple-alliance Temple's Lett. p. 179.

Tho' the year 1669 produced no remarkable events, it was however fatal to Europe, ſince it was, probably, this year that meaſures began to be taken for the ſtrict union of France with England. At leaſt, it appears in ſir William Temple's letters, that mr. Puffendorf, who had this year been imployed as envoy from Sweden to the court of France, calling at the Hague in his return, ſaid to ſir William Temple (3), that a miniſter at the French court had aſſured him, that the triple-alliance would not ſubſiſt, and that the Engliſh court had already changed their meaſures. The ſame mr. Puffendorf ſaw a letter in marſhal Turenne's hands at Paris, from monſieur Colbert the French embaſſador in London, wherein that embaſſador, ſpeaking of the Engliſh court, has theſe words: ——— "I have "at aſt made them ſenſible of the whole extent of "his Majeſty's liberality." So it is ſcarce to be doubted, that Colbert's embaſſy to London was deſigned to gain or corrupt the Engliſh court, and that he had ſucceeded. It is the time only that is queſtioned, ſince the thing itſelf manifeſtly appeared in the ſequel. Is gained by France.

The Prince of Tuſcany arrives in England. March 22. Kennet. Echard.

The cloſe of March, Coſmo de Medicis, Prince of Tuſcany, arrived in England, where he was received with all the reſpect due to his birth and particular merit. As his deſign was only to ſee England, after he had viſited Spain and France, he was ſhewn, by order of the King, whatever was curious, and particularly the two univerſities.

Prince George of Denmark.

Shortly after his departure, Prince George of Denmark came alſo to pay the King a viſit, but made then no long ſtay in England.

July. Theatre at Oxford opened. Kennet.

The ninth of July the large and magnificent theatre at Oxford, builded at the expenſe of dr. Sheldon archbiſhop of Canterbury, was opened. He was chancellor of the univerſity, and ſhortly after reſigned that honor to the duke of Ormond. The duke was ſtill lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but was ſoon after removed, and ſucceeded by the lord Roberts, who did not inherit the duke's principles.

The King's ſcheme for religion.

In all likelihood, the King had now formed a ſort of ſcheme with regard to religion. This was to incorporate the Preſbyterians with the Church of England, and procure a toleration for all the other Non-conformiſts. In this he might have a double view. Firſt, to gain the Preſbyterians, who were very numerous in the kingdom, and perhaps make uſe of them, thus united with the church of England, to check the fury of the Epiſcopalians, who were not leſs enemies to the Papiſts than to the Preſbyterians. If his Majeſty had not been a Papiſt, which was then little known, it would be difficult to underſtand this policy, ſince, ſuppoſing him a zealous member of the church of England, what occaſion had he to guard againſt her? But being a Catholic, the advantages of theſe precautions are very viſible. His ſecond aim, univerſally

(1) With ſir Samuel Moreland as envoy.
(2) Who died within two years, and with him was extinct the ancient and famous family of the Piercy's.
(3) He ſaid ſo to De Wit, who told ſir William Temple of it. See Temple's Lett. p. 179.

allowed,

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allowed, and afterwards manifeſtly diſcovered, was, by procuring an indulgence for all Non-conformiſts without diſtinction, to obtain alſo the ſame favor for the Papiſts. In purſuance of this project, the King and his miniſters affected to expreſs great kindneſs for the Preſbyterians, and this kindneſs incouraged them to appear more openly, and hold their aſſemblies with leſs caution and ſecreſy. In ſhort, ſir Orlando Bridgeman lord-keeper, whether privy to the King's ſecret intentions, or led by motives of mildneſs and humanity, acquainted two of the moſt eminent Preſbyterian miniſters (1), that he deſired a conference with them. They waited on him accordly, and he freely told them, he deſigned to make them ſome propoſals for a comprehenſion for the Preſbyterians, and a toleration for the Independents and the reſt. Upon this occaſion, theſe two Preſbyterian miniſters had ſeveral conferences with two Epiſcopal doctors (2), one of whom was chaplain to the lord-keeper. When it is conſidered, that in the Savoy conference, at the begining of this reign, the two parties could not agree in any one point, and that in the preſent conference an agreement was immediately made, it can hardly be diſputed, but the two Epiſcopal divines came fully prepared to facilitate the accommodation. However this be, the point they moſt differed about, was re-ordination, and it was agreed, That all Preſbyterian miniſters, who had been already ordained, ſhould be admited into the miniſtry of the church of England with this form of words, "Take thou legal authority to preach the word of God, and adminiſter the holy ſacraments in any congregation in England, where thou ſhalt be lawfully appointed thereunto." This was not properly a new ordination, but only a power to exerciſe their miniſtry in the church of England. It was alſo agreed, that ceremonies ſhould be left indiffetent, ſo that they might be uſed or not, according as every one ſhould think meet; and that the liturgy ſhould be altered: moreover, that thoſe who could not be comprehended ſhould be indulged: and for ſecurity to the government, the names of the teachers, and all the members of the congregations ſhould be regiſtered. Agreeably to this ſcheme, the lord chief juſtice Hale undertook to draw up a bill for the inſuing parliament, and the lord-keeper promiſed to ſupport it with all his power. It is eaſy to perceive, this project, however neceſſary to the King's deſigns, was yet directly contrary to the principles of the parliament, who were averſe to all condeſcenſion. Accordingly it came to nothing.

The Preſbyterians careſſed.

A project of comprehenſion, in order to which, the lord-keeper procures a conference between ſome Church and Preſbyterian miniſters. Kennet, p. 259. Echard. Burnet.

The church miniſters make large conceſſions.

Mean while, whether the ſecret of what paſſed in the conferences was not well kept, or the Non-conformitſs, incouraged by the court, aſſumed too much liberty, the archbiſhop of Canterbury reſolved to uſe his utmoſt indeavors to break their meaſures. To this end, he wrote to all his ſuffragan biſhops a circular letter, requiring them to take a very particular account of all Non-conformiſts in their dioceſes. When he was provided with the neceſſary informations, he went to the King, and obtained from him a proclamation to inforce the laws againſt conventicles, and particularly the act for reſtraining Non-conformiſts from inhabiting in corporations. This proclamation was executed like thoſe againſt the Papiſts. For, about two months after, the King cauſed the Non-conforming miniſters to be told, that he inclined to favor them, and if they would addreſs him for his clemency and the liberty they injoyed under him, it would be accepted.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury tries to break the meaſures for a comprehenſion. June 8. Kennet, p. 301. Echard.

Whereupon ſuch an addreſs was prepared, and preſented to the King at the earl of Arlington's lodgings, who received it graciouſly, and returned a favorable anſwer (3).

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A petition of the Non-conformiſts favorably received by the King.

The parliament met the nineteenth of October, according to the prorogation. The King in a ſhort ſpeech demanded money for the diſcharge of his debts, and briefly propoſed the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. Then the lord-keeper inlarged on theſe points. But the commons, inſtead of taking his Majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration, proceeded on other affairs. The public accounts were examined (4), with the uſes to which the King had applied the money given him by the parliament, and ſir George Carteret, who had the keeping of ſome of the books being found very culpable, was expelled the houſe. Then they addreſſed the King to thank him for his proclamation againſt conventicles, praying him to continue the ſame care to ſuppreſs them for the future.

The commons examine the public accounts. Echard, p. 238, 240.

But, not contented with this, they appointed a commitee to inquire into the Non-conformiſts behavior. This commitee reported, "That there "were diverſe conventicles and other ſeditious "meetings near the parliament, where great num"bers of diſaffected perſons frequently met, which "was not only an affront to the government, but "alſo of imminent danger to both houſes, and the "peace of the kingdom." It ſeems, the houſe cared not to ſhow ſo much reſentment againſt the Preſbyterians, ſolely on the account of religion, and therefore took great care to intereſt the ſtate, in order to create a belief, that thoſe people were guilty of ſedition: for they were always included under the general denomination of Non-conformiſts, ſo that it was believed they ought to be reſponſible for the conduct of the other ſects, with whom however they had no communication. On the report of the commitee, the houſe declared, that they would firmly adhere to the King in the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed government of the church and ſtate, againſt all enemies whatſoever. When it is conſidered, that the ſtate had never injoyed a more perfect tranquillity than at preſent, it can hardly be queſtioned, that this declaration of the commons was owing to the forementioned ſcheme, which doubtleſs was come to their knowledge, and of which they were reſolved to prevent the execution, by indirectly declaring how much they were againſt it.

Proceedings againſt the Non-conformiſts.

Vote of the commons.

At length the commons voted the King a ſupply of four hundred thouſand pounds. But, before they conſidered of the means to raiſe this ſum, they revived the debate concerning Skinner and the Eaſt-India company, and came to ſeveral reſolutions, which the lords looked upon as ſo many violations of their privileges in point of judicature. The difference between the two houſes daily increaſing, his Majeſty ſaw it would be very difficult to reconcile them, and that the commons would not proceed upon the money-bill till this affair was adjuſted; and as he had no room to expect an agreement, he prorogued the parliament the eleventh of December, to the fourteenth of February following.

The commons vote the King a ſupply.

The difference of the two houſes renewed. Echard, p. 241.

The parliament prorogued.

The parliament of Scotland met the ſame day with that of England. But before I ſpeak of the tranſactions of this parliament, it will not be improper briefly to ſhew the character of the duke of Lauderdale, the King's high commiſſioner. This lord made ſo great a figure in this reign, both in England and Scotland, that his character cannot be thought foreign to our hiſtory.

Affairs of Scotland. Kennet, p. 298, &c.

(1) Dr. Manton, and dr. Baxter.
(2) Dr. Wilkins, and dr. Burton the Keeper's chaplain.
(3) His anſwer was, "That he would do his utmoſt to get them comprehended within the public eſtabliſhment."
(4) And, after all the moſt ſhameful items that could be put into an account, there was none offered for about eight hundred thouſand pounds. Burnet, p. 268.

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Character of Lauderdale. Burnet.

John Maitland, earl (afterwards duke) of Lauderdale, was, during the troubles in Scotland, a rigid Preſbyterian, a zealous covenanter, and a diſtinguiſhed enemy of the Royal authority. But he turned to the King's intereſt in 1647, when duke Hamilton invaded England, for the ſervice of Charles I. From that time, he was looked upon in Scotland as an enemy of his country. But, after the arrival of Charles II in Scotland, and the compoſure of the differences between the Scots, he followed the King into England, was taken at the battle of Worceſter, and confined in ſeveral priſons till the reſtoration. During his impriſonment he had great impreſſions of religion in his mind. But, after the King had received him into his favor and council, he ſo intirely wore them out, that ſcarce any trace of them was left. Whether he knew the ſecret ſentiments of his Majeſty and duke of York, with regard to religion and the government, or only ſuſpected them, he imagined, the beſt way to preſerve his favor, was to enter into all the King's ſuppoſed views, and indeavor to render him abſolute in both kingdoms. On the King's reſtoration, it was debated in council, whether Epiſcopacy ſhould be reſtored in Scotland. The earl of Lauderdale ſtrenouſly oppoſed it, for an extraordinary reaſon, viz. "That if the King pleaſed the "Scots, he would be ſure of them in order to the "executing of any deſign he might afterwards be "ingaged in." This advice, tho' it was not followed, was acceptable to the King, and riveted the duke in his eſteem. The reſolution to reſtore Epiſcopacy having been executed, no man appeared more ardent againſt the Preſbyterians, nor had they a more violent perſecutor. I ſhall doubtleſs have occaſion to ſay more of him hereafter, but this ſuffices to give ſome idea of his character.

The Scots parliament inlarges the King's ſupremacy, and approves by an act the raiſing of the militia.

It was thro' his means and intrigues that the parliament, held this year in Scotland, paſſed an act which raiſed the King's ſupremacy to a greater height than ever. The ſame parliament approved the raiſing of the militia, and it was inacted, that it ſhould be kept up, and be ready to march into any of the King's dominions, for any cauſe in which his Majeſty's authority, power or greatneſs, ſhould be concerned; and that orders ſhould be tranſmited to them from the council, without any mention of orders from the King. It was not at firſt known, what could be the intent of an act which ſeemed to take the militia out of the King's hands, and put it into the power of the council. But it afterwards appeared, that this was Lauderdale's contrivance; for by this means, if the King ſhould have occaſion to call in the Scotiſh army, it would not be abſolutely neceſſary to ſend any orders himſelf, but that the council, upon a ſecret intimation, might do it without order; and then, if the deſign ſhould miſcarry, it would lie on the council, whom the King might diſown, and therefore none about him be liable for it. This ſhews, that projects were then forming to render his Majeſty deſpotic in England.

The intention of this act. Burnet, p. 284, 285.

Deaths of the Queen-mother, the duke of Albemarle, and mr. Prinne. Echard. Skinner.

The tenth of Auguſt this year, the King's mother died in France, in the ſixtieth year of her age. The famous duke of Albemarle died likewiſe the third of January, and was ſucceeded in his eſtate and honor by Chriſtopher his only ſon. To theſe deaths may be added that of the famous Prynne, the indefatigable author of more than two hundred treatiſes, moſt of them of little eſteem (1).

The King's ſpeech to his parliament. Echard.

The parliament meeting the fourteenth of February, the King told the two houſes, "That "when they laſt met, he aſked them a ſupply, and "now aſked it again with great inſtance: the un- "eaſineſs and ſtraitneſs of his affairs could not "continue without very ill effects to the whole "kingdom. He let them know, that having fully "informed himſelf of the expenſes of the laſt war, "he could aſſure them, that no part of the moneys "they had given him, had been diverted to other "uſes. But on the contrary, a very great ſum had "been raiſed out of his ſtanding revenue and cre- "dit, and a very great debt contracted, and all "for the war. Laſtly, he recommended to them, "not to ſuffer any occaſion of difference between "themſelves to be revived."—— CHARLES II. AN' 1669.

Then the lord-keeper made a ſpeech, which I think neceſſary to inſert at length, to ſhew the King's confidence in this parliament, which had already granted him ſuch large ſums. Echard, Vol. III. p. 248.

My Lords, and you Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons.

"AT your laſt meeting, his Majeſty did ac- "quaint you with the great occaſions he had "for a ſupply, and that he had forborn to aſk it "ſooner, more in conſideration of giving ſome time "for the eaſe of the people, after the burden of the "war, than that the condition of his affairs could "ſo long have wanted: and his Majeſty hath commanded me now to ſpeak more fully and plainly "upon this ſubject. His Majeſty hath not only by "his miniſters, but in his own Royal perſon, examined the accompts, touching the expenſes of "the laſt war, and hath thought himſelf concerned "to let you know, that all the ſupplies which you "gave him for the war, have been by him applied to the war, and no part of them to any other "uſes: nay, ſo far from it, that if the preparations "towards the war ſhall be taken to be for the uſe of "the war, as they muſt be, a great part of his own "revenue, to many hundred thouſands of pounds, "hath been imployed alſo, and ſwallowed up in "the charge of the war, and what did neceſſarily "relate to it. To which may be added the great "debts contracted by his Majeſty in the war, and "the great charges in the repairs of the hulls of his "ſhips, and puting his navy into ſuch a condition "as it was before. Beſide, his Majeſty thinks it "ought to be conſidered, that when the charges of "the war were at the higheſt, the inevitable effects "of it, and thoſe other calamities, which it pleaſed "God at that time to bring upon us, did make ſo "great a diminution of his revenues, that, beſide "all other accidents and diſadvantages, the loſs that "he ſuſtained in three branches of his revenue, in "his cuſtoms, exciſe, and hearth-money, by reaſon "of the war, the plague, and the fire, did amount "to little leſs than to ſix hundred thouſand pounds. "Thus you ſee, that though your ſupplies have "been great, yet the charges occaſioned by the "war, and the calamities which accompanied it, "have been greater: and that the debt which is left "upon his Majeſty, and which he complains of, "hath been contracted by the war, and not by the "diverſion of the monies deſigned for it.

"His Majeſty hath commanded me to ſay one "thing more to you upon this ſubject, That he did "not enter into the war upon any private inclination "or appetite of his own. The firſt ſtep he made "towards it, did ariſe from your advice, and the "promiſes of your aſſiſtance: but if the charges and "accidents of the war have outgone all your ſup- "plies, and left him under the burden of this debt,

(1) Let it be remembered of him, that he was a conſiderable inſtrument in the reſtoration, was received into favor, had the records of the Tower commited to him, which he put into good order, and died a member of the preſent parliament, being one of the repreſentatives for the city of Bath.

"he

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" he thinks, that as well the juſtice to your promiſe, " as the duty and loyalty you have always ſhewed " him, will oblige you to relieve him from it: and " the rather, when you ſhall ſeriouſly conſider, " how uneaſy this burden muſt be to him, and what " ill conſequences the continuance under it muſt " draw upon all his affairs; in which particular " you, and every perſon you repreſent in this na- " tion, will be concerned as well as himſelf. His " Majeſty doth therefore command me in his name, " to deſire you once more, and to conjure you, by " that conſtant duty and loyalty which you have " always expreſſed to him, and by all the con- " cernment you have for the ſupport of the honor " and ſafety of his government, to provide ſuch a " ſupply for him at this time, as may bear propor- " tion to the preſſing occaſions that he hath, and " to the ſtate of his affairs at home and abroad; " and ſo ſpeedily and ſo effectually, as may anſwer " the ends for which he hath deſired it. His Ma- " jeſty hath farther commanded me, to put you in " mind of what was at your laſt meeting propoſed to " you concerning an union between the two king- " doms, and to let you know, that the parliament " of Scotland, hath ſince declared to his Majeſty, " 'That ſuch commiſſioners as his Majeſty ſhall " name, ſhall be authoriſed on their part, to treat " with commiſſioners for this kingdom upon the " grounds and conditions of the union.' His Ma- " jeſty therefore thought fit now again to recom- " mend it to you, to take that matter effectually in- " to your conſideration."

A large ſupply granted to the King.

It would have been barbarous not to be moved with the King's wants, after having ſo gloriouſly maintained a war againſt Holland, for which the parliament had granted him but five millions five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, ſince the peace. Wherefore the commons, as an effectual mark of their affection, and of their reliance on the truth of the keeper's ſpeech, voted the King a ſupply capable to deliver him from his heavy burden. To this end, they prepared two bills, one " to lay a duty upon all wines and vinegar im- " ported into the kingdom, from the twenty-fourth " of June 1670, to the twenty-fourth of June " 1678," the other, " for the advancing the ſale " of his Majeſty's fee-farm rents, and other rents." The firſt is computed at five hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling; the other, is believed to have raiſed more than double that ſum, ſo that he could depend upon ſeventeen hundred thouſand pounds. Thus for this glorious war with Holland, his Majeſty received ſeven millions ſeven hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling, which amount to eighty-two millions five hundred and ſixty thouſand Dutch florins. And yet, there are Engliſh writers who ſeem to triumph, that this war coſt the States forty millions.

Statute-b. Echard, Vol. III. p. 250, 251.

R. Coke, Vol. II. p. 162.

The King reconciles the two houſes. Echard, Vol. III. p. 249.

The difference between the two houſes being revived this ſeſſion, the King, fearing the conſequences, ſummoned them to Whitehall, and propoſed an expedient to end it; viz. by razing all entries and records, votes and reſolutions concerning Skinner's affair, to which they conſented, and thereby the quarrel was appeaſed, and ſo the diſpute was terminated.

Addreſſes againſt Nonconformiſts and Papiſts.

This agreement produced an addreſs, preſented jointly to the King by both houſes the eleventh of March, to pray him to give order for the ſuppreſſion of conventicles in and near London and Weſtminſter, and to put the laws in execution againſt Popiſh recuſants. His Majeſty anſwered, that effectual courſe ſhould be taken in both caſes.

The eleventh of April, the King came to the houſe of peers, and paſſed twelve bills, among which were the two money bills, and a third for the ſuppreſſion of ſeditious conventicles. The ſubſtance of this act was, that, " If any perſon upwards of " ſixteen, ſhould be preſent at any aſſembly, con- " venticle, or meeting, under color or pretenſe of " any exerciſe of religion, in any other manner, " than according to the Liturgy and practiſe of the " church of England, where there were five perſons, " or more, beſide thoſe of the houſehold, in ſuch " caſes the offenders were to pay five ſhillings for " the firſt offenſe, and ten for the ſecond. And " the preachers and teachers in any ſuch meetings, " were to forfeit twenty pounds for the firſt, and " forty for the ſecond offenſe. And laſtly, thoſe " who ſuffered any ſuch conventicles in their houſes, " barns, yards, &c. were likewiſe to forfeit twenty " pounds (1)." Moſt of the Engliſh hiſtorians, attached to the church of England, indeavor to excuſe the ſeverity of this act, by ſaying, it was made more on political, than religious accounts. But this is always by means of the general name of Non-conformiſts, under which the Preſbyterians were compriſed, tho', ſince the King's reſtoration, they had never been concerned in any inſurrection or ill-deſign againſt the government.

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Diverſe acts. Statute-b. One againſt conventicles. Echard, p. 251.

p. 251.

After paſſing theſe acts, the King adjourned the parliament to the twenty-fourth of October.

Parliament adjourned.

It appears hitherto, that the King had reaſon to be pleaſed with a parliament, which beſide a ſtanding revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, had granted him ſolely for the war with Holland, above ſeven millions and a half, without reckoning many other extraordinary ſums given before the war. This parliament, ſuppoſing the King a zealous member of the Proteſtant church of England, deſired but two things, which, on that ſuppoſition he might readily grant. The one was, to come into their views and meaſures for the deſtruction of the Preſbyterians; the other to diſable the Papiſts from giving any jealouſy to the Proteſtants. On the other hand, the parliament might juſtly ſuppoſe, that after having carried the Royal prerogative ſo high, the King had reaſon to be pleaſed, and would indeavor to preſerve a happy union with a parliament ſo devoted to him. It is certain, if his Majeſty had intirely complied with the parliament in theſe two articles, and confined his prerogative within the extenſive bounds the parliament ſeemed to preſcribe to it, he might have ſpent his days with more happineſs, tranquility and plenty, than any of his predeceſſors. But the parliaments ſuppoſition being falſe, it is not ſurpriſing, that the King would not enter into their meaſures. Inſtead of being zealous for the Proteſtant religion, his intention was to overturn it. Inſtead of deſtroying the Preſbyterians, his deſign was to grant them an indulgence, in order to have a pretenſe to procure the ſame for the Papiſts. Inſtead of being content with the power aſcribed him by the parliament, he thought it unworthy a King to found the extent of his authority upon acts of parliament only. Beſide, it was a pain to him to be forced to demand money, and to uſe for that purpoſe pretenſes notoriouſly falſe, tho' the parliament ſeemed to be ſatisfied with them. It would have been more agreeable to him to ſay, " It is my will and pleaſure," than to be obliged to uſe humble intreaties to the commons. This his favorites were continually repreſenting to him, and to this the example of what he had himſelf ſeen practiſed in neighboring ſtates ſtrongly prompted him. He was therefore impatient to free himſelf from this yoke of the parliament,

The King's deſigns.

(1) This act was ſeverely executed in London, and put things in ſuch diſorder, that many of the trading men began to talk of removing with their flocks over to Holland. But the King put a ſtop to farther ſeverities. Burnet, p. 270.

and

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and the more, as by augmenting his power, he ſhould be better able to give the Papiſts umbrage, and introduce their religion, which was his own as well as his brother's. But if father Orleans the Jeſuit is to be credited, theſe were not the motives which induced Charles to take other reſolutions.

Extract from father Orleans's hiſtory.

"It was ſolely the indignation of his miniſters to "ſee a Republican ſpirit creeping into the parliament, and ingaging them in ſo many proceedings againſt the Royal authority. Among other "things, the triple alliance into which the Republican-cabal had forced the King, contrary "to his inclination, appeared to the miniſters an "audacious uſurpation upon the Royal prerogative, "the conſequences of which were to be prevented. "Full of theſe reſentments, they perſuaded the "King to render himſelf abſolute, in purſuance of "the rights of his crown, and the laws of the kingdom; to confine the parliament within the "bounds preſcribed by immemorial cuſtom, and "not to ſuffer a mixture of a Republic with a Monarchy, introduced by violence and incroachments, for fear this mixture ſhould in time produce a monſtrous Anarchy, and expoſe England "to a horrible couſuſion, like that from whence ſhe "was ſo lately delivered."

I ſhall make no remark on the little foundation this writer had to aſcribe a Republican ſpirit to this parliament, nor on the King's being forced into the triple alliance by the pretended Republican cabal; nor laſtly on the maxims he eſtabliſhes with reſpect to the conſtitution of the Engliſh government; becauſe every unbiaſſed reader, is, I ſuppoſe, able to ſee clearly the weakneſs of this reaſoning. But, ſince father Orleans ſays himſelf that he was informed by James II, of the particulars of his own and his brother's reign, I believe this hiſtorian's word may be taken, that at the time I am ſpeaking of, Charles had reſolved to render himſelf abſolute. This is a truth which muſt ever be remembered, if we deſire to underſtand all the events of this reign.

He aims to be abſolute.

The King eſtabliſhes a council, which is called the Cabal. Echard, Vol. III. P. 251.

This reſolution being taken, the King eaſily perceived, that the execution of it required an artful and cautious conduct, and ſuch ſecret and imperceptible methods, as would not too plainly diſcover his intentions. For he could not ſuppoſe, that becauſe he deſired to be abſolute, the people of England would immediately give up their liberties and privileges. It was therefore neceſſary, to lead them to it inſenſibly and by degrees, and to that end he wanted a ſecret council compoſed of few perſons, in whom he might intirely confide, and whoſe intereſt it was to accompliſh this deſign. The ordinary council, conſiſting of twenty-one perſons, was not proper to manage this affair; for, beſide that ſome counſellors had a right to their places, as for inſtance the archbiſhop of Canterbury, it was very difficult to ingage ſo many perſons of the firſt rank in ſuch a project. To effect therefore this undertaking with the more caution, the King eſtabliſhed a cabinet-council of five perſons only, viz.

Clifford,
Arlington,
Buckingham,
Aſhley,
Lauderdale.

As the initial letters of theſe five names compoſe the word CABAL, this ſecret council was from thence called the Cabal. But before I proceed to the reſolutions taken by this council, it will be neceſſary to give a brief character of its members.

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Sir Thomas Clifford, according to father Orleans, only wanted a place, where ſound reaſon and virtue were more frequent than at this time in England, to appear ſuperior to the others. He was a declared and known Papiſt, ſo that he took no pains to diſguiſe his religion. It was he who, after the triple alliance was concluded, ſaid, "notwithſtanding "all this noiſe, we muſt yet have another war with "Holland." As the event juſtified his prediction, very probably, the ſcheme I have juſt mentioned, was then formed, and he in the ſecret.

Characters of the counſellors. Clifford. Temple. R. Coke.

Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, ſecretary of ſtate, paſſed for a man of the leaſt genius of the five, but this was well ſupplied by his great experience, and knowledge in foreign affairs. It is pretended, that being one of the King's retinue in his journey to Fontarabia in the year 1659, he was the principal inſtrument to induce him to change his religion. However that be, he was truly a Catholic, tho', with the King, he outwardly profeſſed the Proteſtant religion (1). This is now univerſally agreed.

Earl of Arlington. Burnet, p. 99.

The duke of Buckingham *, the King's favorite, had a very lively wit. He might have made a great miniſter of ſtate, had not his ſtrong paſſion for pleaſures, and all ſorts of debauches, diverted him from buſineſs. But nothing could tempt him to quit a diſſolute life, to which he had been uſed from his youth. He gloried in having no religion, and was reckoned an Atheiſt. Such a favorite was no great honor to the King (2).

Duke of Buckingham. * George Villiers.

Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, two years after created earl of Shaftſbury, was one of the greateſt genius's England had produced for many years. This is the teſtimony equally given him by friends and enemies. Father Orleans gives the following character of him, "He was the moſt capable of the "five to manage any important undertaking, and "was the ſoul of this I am now ſpeaking of. He "had a vaſt genius, was penetrating, bold, and "equally ſteady, both on the right and the wrong "ſide; a conſtant friend, but an implacable ene"my, and the more dangerous, as being void of "all religion and conſcience, it was the eaſier for "him to plot, becauſe he was not deterred by the "number or enormity of any crimes, when he "judged them neceſſary to preſerve himſelf, or de"ſtroy thoſe who had incurred his hatred." I ſhall obſerve here, that this character of the earl of Shaftſbury is not founded on what he had done before his admiſſion into the cabinet-council, but on what he did afterwards. For, leaving the King's party for that of the people and parliament, the Royaliſts aſcribe to his intrigues alone, all the troubles which afterwards happened. Mr. Lock ſpeaks otherwiſe of him. It is true, he ſays nothing advantageous of him in reſpect of religion. But however this be, in allowing the character given by father Orleans, it is eaſy to ſee, what ſort of men the King thought he wanted for the execution of his deſigns (3).

Earl of Shaftſbury. Mem. of Shaftſbury.

The

(1) In the whole courſe of his miniſtry, he ſeemed to have made it a maxim, that the King ought to ſhew no favor to Popery, but that all his affairs would be ſpoiled if ever he turned that way; which made the Papiſts become his mortal enemies. Burnet, p. 99.

(2) Burnet ſays farther of him, That he had the art of turning perſons and things into ridicule beyond any man of his age: he poſſeſſed the King when abroad with very ill principles, both as to religion and morality, and with a very mean opinion of his father King Charles I, whoſe ſtiffneſs was with him a frequent ſubject of raillery. p. 52.

(3) Burnet ſays of him, That as to religion he was a Deiſt at beſt: he had a wonderful faculty in ſpeaking to a popular aſſembly, and a particular talent to make others truſt to his judgment. He had the art of governing parties, and make himſelf head of them. He was good at oppoſing and runing things down, but had not the like force in building

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Duke of Lauderdale.

The duke of Lauderdale was the moſt proper of the five to ſerve the King in this matter. To deſcribe a lord, who had ſo great a ſhare in the affairs of England and Scotland in this reign, I ſhall inſert here, the character given of him by father Orleans, mr. Echard, and dr. Burnet biſhop of Saliſbury.

The firſt contents himſelf with ſaying, that the duke of Lauderdale, ſecretary of ſtate in Scotland, was a very ſubtle man, and a refined politician.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 244.

Mr. Echard ſays of the duke, "The inlarging of "the King's power and grandeur in Scotland, was "much owing to the management of the preſent "commiſſioner Lauderdale, who had formerly "been as much for depreſſing, as he was now for "exalting the prerogative. From the time of his "commiſſion, the Scots are ſaid to calculate the "date of all the inſuing inconveniences in this, "and the following reign. For having there undertaken to make the King's power abſolute, "and arbitrary, he ſtrained the Royal prerogative to all kinds of exceſſes; and aſſumed to himſelf a ſort of a lawleſs adminiſtration of affairs, "the exerciſe of which was ſuppoſed to be granted "to him, upon the large promiſes he had made: "and more apprehending other men's officious interfering than diſturbing his own abilities, he in "time, took care to make himſelf his Majeſty's "ſole informer, as well as his ſole ſecretary, and "by that means, not only upon pretenſe of the "King's prerogative, the affairs of Scotland were "diſpoſed of in the court of England, without "any notice taken of the King's council in Scotland; but ſtrict obſervation was alſo made of all "Scotſmen that came to the Engliſh court; and "to attempt an addreſs, and acceſs to his Majeſty, "otherwiſe than by Lauderdale's mediation, was "to hazard his perpetual reſentment. By theſe "ways he gradually made himſelf the almoſt only "ſignificant perſon of the whole Scotiſh nation; "and in Scotland itſelf, procured to himſelf that "ſovereign authority, as to name the privy-counſellors; to place and remove the lords of the ſeſſion and exchequer; to grant gifts and penſions; to levy and diſband forces; to appoint general officers, and to tranſact all matters of importance."

This demonſtrably ſhews, how much the King was delighted with the abſolute power exerciſed in his name in Scotland, and, conſequently, that he would have been glad to injoy the like in England.

If I ſhould tranſcribe all that is ſaid of duke Lauderdale, by dr. Burnet, I ſhould, I fear, be to tedious, and therefore I ſhall content myſelf with ſelecting a paſſage, where he is beſt deſcribed.

Burnet, Vol. I. p. 101.

——"The earl of Lauderdale made a very ill "appearance; he was very big; his tongue was "to big for his mouth, which made him bedew "all that he talked to; and his whole manner was "rough and boiſterous, and very unfit for a court. "He was very learned, not only in Latin, in "which he was a maſter, but in Greek and "Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity "and almoſt all the hiſtorians ancient and modern; "ſo that he had great materials. He had with "theſe an extraordinary memory, and a copious, "but unpoliſhed expreſſion. He was a man, as "the duke of Buckingham called him to me, of a "blundering underſtanding. He was haughty beyond expreſſion, abject to thoſe he ſaw he muſt "ſtoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a "violence of paſſion, that carried him often to fits "like madneſs, in which he had no temper. If "he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to "ſtudy to convince him; that would rather provoke him to ſwear he would never be of another "mind; he was to be let alone; and perhaps he "would have forgat what he had ſaid, and come "about of his own accord. He was the coldeſt "friend, and the violenteſt enemy I ever knew: I "felt it too much, not to know it. He at firſt "ſeemed to diſpiſe wealth; but he delivered himſelf up afterwards to luxury and ſenſuality: and, "by that means, he ran into a vaſt expenſe, "and ſtuck at nothing that was neceſſary to "ſupport it. In his long impriſonment he had "great impreſſions of religion in his mind: but "he wore theſe out ſo intirely, that ſcarce any trace "of them was left. His great experience in affairs, "his ready compliance with every thing that he "thought would pleaſe the King, and his bold offering at the moſt deſperate counſels, gained him "ſuch an intereſt in the King, that no attempt "againſt him, nor complaint of him, could ever "ſhake it, till a decay of ſtrength and underſtanding forced him to let go his hold. He was "in his principles much againſt Popery, and arbitrary government: and yet by a fatal train "of paſſions and intereſt, he made way for the former, and had almoſt eſtabliſhed the latter. And "whereas ſome, by a ſmooth deportment, made "the firſt beginings of tyranny leſs diſcernable and "unacceptable, he, by the fury of his behavior, "heightened the ſeverity of his miniſtry, which "was liker the cruelty of an inquiſition, than "the legality of juſtice. With all this he was "a Preſbyterian, and retained his averſion "to King Charles I, and his party, to his "death."

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If to theſe five members of the Cabal are joined, as in reaſon they ought, the King and the duke of York, it will be found that all the ſeven were for an abſolute and arbitrary government; and that, with regard to religion, four were Papiſt, viz. the King, the Duke, Arlington and Clifford, and three without any religion, or at leaſt they conſidered it only as an engine of ſtate, theſe were Buckingham, Aſhley, and Lauderdale.

Deſigns of the Cabal. Orleans. Burnet.

It would be difficult to know the tranſactions of the Cabal, if father Orleans, inſtructed by King James II, had not told us that a war with Holland was there reſolved, in order to furniſh the King with a pretenſe to keep on foot both land and ſea forces. For it is evident, that ſuch a deſign could not be accompliſhed, but by force or fear. The pretenſe for this war was to be taken from the diſpute about the flag, which might eaſily be renewed, and from the general complaints of the Engliſh merchants concerning their commerce, of which ſo great uſe had been made for undertaking the former. "But (adds father Orleans) the "true reaſon of making this war upon Holland, "was the ſecret correſpondence between the Republicans of England and the Dutch, who were "inceſſantly exciting them to rebellion, and to "ſhake off the yoke of Monarchy, being ever "ready to ſupport thoſe that ſhould attack it." This ſeems to contradict what the ſame author

ing up. He had a general knowledge of the ſleighter parts of learning, but underſtood little to the bottom. He pretended Oliver Cromwell offered to make him King. He was indeed of great uſe to him, in withſtanding the Enthuſiaſts of that time. His ſtrength lay in the knowledge of England, and of all the conſiderable men in it. He knew the ſize of their underſtandings and their tempers, and how to apply himſelf dexterouſly to them. He often changed ſides, and gloried in doing it at the propereſt ſeaſon But his reputation was at laſt ſo low, that he died in good time for his family and party, p. 57.

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advances a few lines before, viz. that the true ground of this war was to furniſh the King with a pretenſe for raiſing an army. There is however no contradiction: for it muſt be conſidered, that the deſign of the King and the Cabal concerned two points, which went hand in hand, and formed properly but one deſign; to wit, to introduce an arbitrary government, and to extirpate the Proteſtant religion. As it could not be ſuppoſed, the Engliſh would tamely give up their religion and liberty without any reſiſtance, it was natural to begin with depriving them of the only aſſiſtance they could hope for, by attacking the Dutch, and diſabling them to ſuccor England. Thoſe therefore who are called by father Orleans the Republicans of England, were the perſons, who, it was imagined, would oppoſe the King's deſigns, as well Epiſcopalians as Preſbyterians, and the Republicans properly ſo called. It is therefore evident, that the ſole cauſe of making war upon the States, was as much to put it out of their power to aſſiſt the Engliſh, as to have a pretenſe for raiſing forces, and that this was but one and the ſame reaſon.

The King makes a ſecret alliance with France. Primi.

Some time before, mr. Colbert de Croiſſy, the French embaſſador at London, having ſounded Charles and his miniſters, concerning a ſtrict alliance with his maſter, found them very favorably diſpoſed (1), eſpecially when he had told them, that the deſign of ſuch alliance was to humble the pride of the States-General. Nothing could indeed, more advance their intention, than the concurrence of France to deſtroy the hated and formidable power of the Dutch, who were alone capable of aſſiſting the Engliſh. Some pretend, that the King then ſigned a ſecret treaty with France; but if ſo, this treaty, in all likelihood, was only in general terms, which required more particular articles. Nevertheleſs, the King of France, to finiſh this affair ſo happily begun, came to Dunkirk on pretenſe of viewing the riſbank which was then raiſing; and bringing with him the ducheſs of Orleans his ſiſter-in-law, ſhe took occaſion from the neighborhood of England to deſire leave to viſit her brother, which was readily granted, ſince every thing was before concerted. She was met by the King at Dover, where ſhe arrived the thirteenth of May, and ſtaied above a fortnight ſurrounded with pleaſures and diverſions. But theſe entertainments hindered her not from executing the commiſſion ſhe was charged with, which was, as it is pretended, to make a propoſal to her brother in the name of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, of inſuring him an abſolute authority over his parliament, and reſtoring the Catholic religion in his three kingdoms, as ſoon as the States ſhould be ſufficiently humbled. Tho' the conferences between the King and his ſiſter were managed with great ſecreſy, the events with which they were followed, clearly diſcovered that this was the ſubject of them; and abbot Primi and father Orleans poſitively ſay it, except what concerns religion, which Popiſh authors and ſome others ſcruple to own, for fear of juſtifying the ſuſpicions afterwards entertained by the parliament, and the meaſures they would have taken to preſerve religion from utter deſtruction (2).

Primi..

Echard, Vol. III. p. 253. R. Coke.

The ducheſs of Orleans comes into England. Ibid. Burnet, p. 301.

Manages an alliance between the Kings of England and France. Primi. Orleans.

An accident which ſhortly after happened, ſeemed likely to break the good underſtanding between the courts of France and England. The nineteenth of June, the ducheſs of Orleans in perfect health, according to cuſtom, called for a glaſs of ſuccory-water, about four in the afternoon. She had no ſooner drank it, but ſhe found herſelf ill, and her pain increaſing, ſhe died about two in the morning. It was univerſally believed ſhe was poiſoned, but the author of her death is not ſo unanimouſly agreed on, tho' the duke of Orleans her huſband was ſecretly accuſed by many (3). The firſt account of her death was brought to the King by ſir Thomas Armſtrong, who told him plainly, what the French thought of this ſudden death, adding, that tho' he was in the chamber of the deceaſed at ſix the ſame morning, the ſtench of the corps was ſo ſtrong, that he could ſcarcely bear the room. His Majeſty could not forbear falling into tears, and expreſſing himſelf very paſſionately againſt the duke of Orleans, ſaying, "He was a———! but prithee, "Tom, do not ſpeak of it." Preſently after, arrived the marquis of Bellefonds with the news, and to pay the compliment of condolence from the French King. He gave an account of the Ducheſs's death, in a manner moſt proper to remove all ſuſpicion.

Death of the ducheſs of Orleans. Echard, Vol. III. p. 254, 255. Burnet. Kennet.

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Burnet, p. 303.

The King was ſoon comforted for the loſs of his ſiſter; and not thinking that this death, uncommon as it was, ought to break, or even retard, the meaſures taken with the French court, he ſent the duke of Buckingham to Paris, to conclude and ſign the Dover treaty. The pretenſe uſed by the duke of Buckingham for his journey, was to ſee France, and learn the language.

The duke of Buckingham ſent into France to conclude a treaty with that King. Echard. Temple.

Lewis XIV, in September, made an irruption into Lorrain by his general marſhal de Crequi. The duke, who did not expect to be attacked, was obliged to fly, and leave his duchy a prey to the marſhal, who took poſſeſſion in the name of his maſter. In vain did the duke hope for the interceſſion of Charles to the King of France, in return for the money lent and given him in his exile, and for the offer to ſerve him with all his forces. His envoy was anſwered, "That the King was ſorry "for what had happened, and that the preſent "violence, like the miſchiefs of a ſudden inunda-"tion muſt be indured at this time."

The duke of Lorrain diſpoſſeſſed of his duchy by the French, vainly applies for relief to King Charles. Echard.

Proclamation againſt the old parliament officers. Kennet. Echard, p. 256.

The parliament being to meet the twenty-fourth of October, the King, a few days before publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all officers and ſoldiers ſerving in any of the armies of the late uſurped powers, not having a conſtant habitation, to depart out of the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and not to return again or come within twenty miles, till after the tenth day of December next, and in the mean time to carry no ſword, piſtol, or any other arms. This was to ſhew the houſes his care of their preſervation.

The keeper's ſpeech to the parliament. Echard.

The parliament aſſembling, the King, after a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, refered all to the lord-keeper. Probably, he durſt not with his own mouth declare things ſo oppoſite to his deſigns, and which tended only to inſnare the parliament. He choſe rather to have this done by the keeper, who not being privy to the ſecrets of the Cabal, might ſpeak with more aſſurance, as being perſuaded of what he ſaid. He repreſented therefore in his ſpeech——— "That France and the States-Ge-"neral are powerfully arming by ſea and land; "are building new ſhips, and filling their maga-

(1) He founded a way to bring them into a favorable diſpoſition, namely, by diſtributing among them a hundred thouſand piſtoles, which were ſent to him for that purpoſe, by his maſter the King of France. See Life of De Wit, Vol. II. p. 344.

(2) The Ducheſs of Orleans brought over with her, and left in England, Madam Louiſe de Queroualle, as a miſtreſs for the King; probably with a deſign to retain and attach him to the intereſt of France. She was afterwards created ducheſs of Portſmouth, and is ſaid to be ſtill alive. See Echard, Vol. III. p. 254.

(3) The duke her huſband, heard ſuch things of her behavior, that it was ſaid, he ordered a great doſe of ſublimate to be given her in a glaſs of ſuccory-water, of which ſhe died a few hours after in great torments: and when ſhe was opened, her ſtomack was ulcerated. Burnet, p. 301.

"zines

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" zines with all ſorts of warlike proviſions. That, " ſince the begining of the laſt Dutch war, France " has ſo increaſed the number of her ſhips, that " her ſtrength by ſea is thrice as much as it was " before; and ſince the end of it, Holland has " been very diligent alſo in augmenting her fleets. " That in ſuch a juncture common prudence re- " quires, that his Majeſty ſhould make ſome ſuit- " able preparations: that he has therefore given " order, for the fiting out fifty ſail of the greateſt " ſhips againſt the ſpring, beſide thoſe which are " to be for the ſecurity of the merchants in the " Mediterranean, as foreſeeing, if he ſhould not " have a conſiderable fleet, temptation might be " given to thoſe who ſeem not now to intend it, " to give us an affront, if not to do us miſchief. " To which may be added, That his Majeſty, " by the leagues he hath made for the good of his " kingdoms, is obliged to have a certain number " of forces in caſe of infraction thereof; as alſo " for the aſſiſtance of ſome of his neighbors, in " caſe of invaſion. And his Majeſty would be in " a very ill condition to perform his part of the " leagues, if (while the clouds were gathering ſo " thick about us) he ſhould, in hopes that the " wind would diſperſe them, omit to provide " againſt the ſtorm." He then told them, " That " his Majeſty has made ſeveral leagues, as " the triple alliance; another with the States-Ge- " neral; another with the duke of Savoy: another " with the King of Denmark; another with the " King of Spain; not to mention the leagues for- " merly made with Sweden and Portugal, nor " thoſe treaties now depending between his Ma- " jeſty and France, or between him and the States- " General touching commerce; wherein his Ma- " jeſty will have a ſingular regard to the honor of " this nation, and alſo to the trade of it, ' which " never was greater than now it is.' He added, " That his Majeſty finds by his accounts from " the year 1660 to the late war, the ordinary " charge of the fleet communibus annis, came to " about five hundred thouſand pounds a year. If " that particular alone takes up ſo much, the re- " venue will in no degree ſuffice to take off the " debts due upon intereſt, much leſs give him a fund " for ſeting out this fleet, which by common eſti- " mation cannot coſt leſs than eight hundred thou- " ſand pounds."——He then intimated to them, " That his Majeſty intended to put an end to this " meeting before Chriſtmas, and therefore prayed " them to take his Majeſty's affairs into their ſpeedy " and affectionate conſideration (1)."

The commons vote the King a large ſupply, Echard, Vol. III. p. 259.

The houſe of commons charmed with all theſe great alliances made for the honor and advantage of the nation, immediately prepared three bills, one to raiſe eight hundred thouſand pounds by way of ſubſidies (2); another to lay an additional exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors for ſix years; a third for laying impoſitions upon proceedings at law for nine years. Theſe three bills were to produce to the King two millions five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. But, before any bill was finiſhed, his Majeſty adjourned the parliament to the latter end of January.

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and are adjourned.

The Prince of Orange came to London about the cloſe of the year 1669 (3), to pay a viſit to the King his uncle. The principal reaſon of his journey, was to demand of the King the repayment of the money lent him by the Prince his father in the time of his exile (4). He was graciouſly received, and after a ſtay of about three months returned into Holland.

The Prince of Orange in England. Kennet, p. 303. Echard. Burnet.

Before his arrival, ſir William Temple was recalled from his embaſſy in Holland (5). He was not a proper inſtrument to be imployed on the deſigns of the Cabal. Beſide the court was inclined to a ſpeedy rupture with the Dutch (6).

Sir William Temple recalled. Temple's Lett. p. 241.

After a ſhort receſs, the parliament met towards the latter end of January. The commons began with preparing a bill which made it death for any man " maliciouſly to diſable or diſmember an- " other; to put out an eye; to cut off a noſe " or lip," &c. (7). This was owing to an attempt upon ſir John Coventry, a member of the commons, in the ſtreet, in which his noſe was ſlit. This fact was, by the King's order, commited to the duke of Monmouth his natural ſon, and the duke had imployed ſome other perſons, who, after the deed, retired to his houſe (8).

Sir John Coventry's barbarous uſage gives an occaſion to a new act of parliament. Echard. Kennet Burnet.

February the fourteenth, the King ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons to haſten the money-bills. But the commons thought proper, before theſe bills were preſented to addreſs his Majeſty, concerning the growth of Popery, for which the concurrence of the lords was obtained. As this addreſs may ſerve to illuſtrate the hiſtory of his reign, it is not unneceſſary to inſert it intire.

May it pleaſe your excellent Majeſty.

The addreſs of both houſes againſt Popery. Echard. Vol. III. p. 265.

" We your Majeſty's moſt humble and loyal ſub- " jects, the lords and commons in this preſent " parliament, being ſenſible of your Majeſty's " conſtancy to the Proteſtant religion, both at " home and abroad, hold ourſelves bound in " conſcience and duty, to repreſent to your Ma- " jeſty the cauſes of the dangerous growth of " Popery in your Majeſty's dominions, the ill " conſequence whereof we heartily deſire may be " prevented. And therefore what we humbly " conceive to be ſome preſent remedies for the " ſaid growing evils, we have hereunto added in " our moſt humble petitions.

(1) This ſpeech was thought fit to be ſuppreſſed, nor is it in the journals of the houſe of commons. Echard, Vol. III. p. 256.

(2) Upon real and perſonal eſtates. Idem. p. 259.

(3) He arrived the 29th of October 1669, and took his leave the 15th of February following. Kennet, p. 303, 304.

(4) And alſo to try what offices the King would do, in order to his advancement to the Stadtholderſhip. Burnet, p. 273.

(5) Under pretenſe that it was only with intention of his informing his Majeſty better in the ſeveral points that concerned the preſent conjunctures of his ſtation there. Temple's Lett. p. 241.

(6) This year died Henry Jenkins, who deſerves to be remembered on account of his extreme age. He was a poor fiſherman of Yorkſhire, born in 1501, and living in the reigns of eight Kings and Queens of England, died this year, aged 169 years, exceeding the famous Thomas Parr, who died 1635, full ſeventeen years.

(7) This was afterwards called Coventry's act, from the name of the perſon that was the occaſion of it.

(8) The perſons that commited this fact, were, ſir Thomas Sandys, Charles Obrian, Eſq; Simon Parry, and Miles Reeves, who all fled from juſtice. Statutes, 22 Car. 2. c. 1. The reaſon of his uſage, it ſeems, was this: He was an oppoſer of the money-bills, and when paſſed, moved the laying a tax on the play-houſes, which were become neſts of proſtitution. This was oppoſed by the court: it was ſaid, The players were the King's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Coventry aſked, Whether did the King's pleaſure lie among the men or women players? This was carried with great indignation to court. It was ſaid, this was the firſt time the King was perſonally reflected on: if it was paſſed over, more of the ſame kind would follow. Whereupon, the forementioned perſons were ſent to watch for ſir John, and leave a mark upon him. He defended himſelf ſo well, that he got more credit by it, than by all the actions of his life. His noſe was ſo nicely needled up, that the ſcar was hardly to be diſcovered. The commons put a clauſe in the bill, that it ſhould not be in the King's power to pardon the perſons concerned. Burnet, p. 269.

Cauſes

Charles II. An' 1670.

Cauſes of the growth of Popery.

" 1. THAT there are great numbers of prieſts " and jeſuits frequenting the cities of Lon- " don and Weſtminſter, and moſt of the counties " of this kingdom, more than formerly, ſeducing " your Majeſty's good ſubjects.

" 2. That there are ſeveral chapels, and places " uſed for ſaying of maſs, in great towns, and " many other parts of the kingdom, beſide thoſe " in embaſſadors houſes, whither great numbers of " your Majeſty's ſubjects conſtantly reſort and re- " pair without controul; and eſpecially in the " cities of London and Weſtminſter, contrary to " the laws eſtabliſhed.

" 3. That there are fraternities or convents of " Engliſh Popiſh prieſts and jeſuits at St. James's, " and at the Combe in Hertfordſhire, and other " parts of the kingdom; beſide ſeveral ſchools are " kept in diverſe parts of the kingdom for the " corrupt educating of youth in the principles of " Popery.

" 4. The common and public ſelling of Popiſh " catechiſms, and other ſeditious books, even in " the time of parliament.

" 5. The general remiſſneſs of the magiſtrates " and other officers, clerks of the aſſize, and clerks " of the peace, in not convicting of Papiſts accord- " ing to law.

" 6. That ſuſpected recuſants are free from all " offices chargeable and troubleſome, and do injoy " the advantage of offices and places beneficial; " executed either by themſelves, or perſons intruſted " for them.

" 7. That the advowſance of churches, and pre- " ſentations to livings are diſpoſed of by Popiſh " recuſants, or by others intruſted by them as they " direct; whereby moſt of thoſe livings and bene- " fices are filled with ſcandalous and unfit miniſters.

" 8. That many perſons take the liberty to ſend " their children beyond the ſeas, to be educated " in the Popiſh religion; and that ſeveral young " perſons are ſent beyond the ſeas, upon the notion " of their better education, under tutors and " guardians, who are not put to take the oaths of " allegiance and ſupremacy, and uſually corrupt " the youth under their tuition into Popery.

" 9. That there have been few Exchequer pro- " ceſſes iſſued forth ſince the act of parliament " againſt Popiſh recuſants convict, tho' many have " been certified thither.

" 10. The great inſolences of Papiſts in Ireland " (where do publicly appear archbiſhops and bi- " ſhops reputed to be made ſo by the Pope, in " oppoſition to thoſe made under his Majeſty's " authority, according to the religion eſtabliſhed " in England and Ireland) and the open exerciſe of " maſs in Dublin, and other parts of that kingdom, " is farther a great cauſe of the preſent growth of " Popery. That Peter Talbot, the reputed arch- " biſhop of Dublin, was publicly conſecrated ſo at " Antwerp with great ſolemnity; from whence he " came to London, where he exerciſed his func- " tion; and was all along, in his journey to " Cheſter, treated with the character of His Grace " by the Popiſh Recuſants whom he viſited: and " at his landing at Dublin, was received with great " ſolemnity by thoſe of the Popiſh religion there, " where alſo he exerciſed his function publicly, " great multitudes then flocking to him, and ſtill " continues to do the ſame. His preſent reſidence " is within three miles of Dublin, at his brother's " colonel Richard Talbot, who is now here ſolli- " citing your Majeſty as public agent on the be- " half of the Iriſh Papiſts of that kingdom."

Remedies againſt theſe growing miſchiefs.

Charles II. An' 1670.

" We the lords and commons aſſembled in this " preſent parliament, do in all humility repreſent " to your ſacred Majeſty in theſe our petitions " following:

" 1. THAT your Majeſty by your proclama- " tion would be moſt graciouſly pleaſed to " command, that all Popiſh prieſts and jeſuits do " depart this realm, and all other your Majeſty's " dominions, on or before a ſhort day to be pre- " fixed, at their perils; except only ſuch foreign " prieſts as attend her Majeſty's perſon by the con- " tract of marriage, and embaſſadors according to " law of nations: and that all judges, &c. do cauſe " the laws now in force againſt Popiſh recuſants " convict, to be put in due execution: and in the " firſt place, for the ſpeedy convicting ſuch Popiſh " recuſants, that all judges and juſtices aforeſaid " do ſtrictly give the ſaid laws in charge unto the " juries at all aſſizes and ſeſſions, under the penalty " of incurring your Majeſty's higheſt diſpleaſure.

" 2. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to re- " ſtrain and hinder the great concourſe of your na- " tive ſubjects from hearing of maſs, and other ex- " erciſes of the Romiſh religion, in the houſes of " foreign embaſſadors or agents, and in all other " chapels and places of this kingdom.

" 3. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed, to " take care, and cauſe, 'That no office or imploy- ' ment of public authority, truſt or command in ' civil or military affairs, be commited to, or con- ' tinued in the hands of any perſon being a Popiſh ' recuſant, or juſtly reputed ſo to be.'

" 4. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to " take notice of all fraternities or convents of " Engliſh, and other Popiſh prieſts, jeſuits or friers, " and ſchools for the educating of youth in the " principles of Popery, erected within your Ma- " jeſty's dominions, and to cauſe the ſame to be " aboliſhed, and the ſaid prieſts, jeſuits, friers, and " ſchoolmaſters to be duly puniſhed for ſuch their " inſolences.

" 5. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed, from " time to time to require and cauſe, that all the " officers of, or relating to the Exchequer, iſſue " forth proceſſes effectually againſt Popiſh recuſants " convict certified thither. And that ſuch officers " as ſhall refuſe or neglect to do their duty as afore- " ſaid, be ſeverely puniſhed for ſuch their failures.

" 6. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to " give order, for apprehending and bringing over " into England, one Plunket, who goes under the " name of primate of Ireland, and one Peter Talbot, " who takes on him the name of archbiſhop of " Dublin, to anſwer ſuch matters as ſhall be ob- " jected againſt them."

The King's anſwer. Echard, p. 267.

The King replied to this addreſs, that he would do what was deſired, but ſuppoſed, no perſon would wonder, if he made a difference between thoſe Papiſts, that had lately changed their religion, and thoſe that were bred up in it, and had faithfully ſerved him and his father in the late wars. A few days after, the King publiſhed a proclamation, which ran much in the ſame ſtile with thoſe that had been iſſued on this occaſion, and was no better obſerved. From the begining of the reign of James I, to the end of that of Charles II, the ſame method was conſtantly practiſed. Upon the inſtances of the parliament to prevent the growth of Popery, theſe three Kings had never ſcrupled to grant whatever was required, and conſequently publiſhed proclamations; but there was a wide difference between the publication and the execution.

March 23. Kennet, p. 307.

I ſhall

Charles II. An' 1670. A reflection.

I ſhall here remark, that in the begining of the civil wars, Charles I, poſitively denied he had any Papiſts in his ſervice. But Charles II, his ſon, in this forementioned anſwer, not only publicly owns it, but ſays alſo, that in conſideration of the great ſervices of the Papiſts, to his father and himſelf in the civil wars, he is obliged to give them marks of his favor.

Money bills. Echard, Vol. III. p. 267.

This affair being terminated, the commons proceeded upon the three money bills, and, as if theſe had not been ſufficient to ſupply the King's extreme wants, they afterwards added a fourth, for impoſitions on foreign commodities. Theſe bills being ſent up to the lords, were debated in their houſe. On the ſecond reading of the ſubſidy-bill, the lord Lucas roſe up, and, in preſenſe of the King, who was then in the houſe (where he frequently came without any formality) made a ſpeech which was very diſagreeable to his Majeſty. I don't think it neceſſary to inſert the whole ſpeech, but however ſhall relate ſome paſſages, which will ſhow what many thought, tho' few had the boldneſs of the lord Lucas to ſpeak it publicly.

The lord Lucas's warm ſpeech concerning ſubſidies. Feb. 22. Id. p. 268.

He firſt complained, "That whereas, upon the "King's reſtoration, it was the hopes of all good "men, that the nation would be freed from the "burdens they had been ſo long oppreſſed with; "theſe burdens were heavier than ever, while their "ſtrength was diminiſhed, and they were leſs able "to ſupport them;—— that if the vaſt ſums given "were all imployed for the King and kingdom, it "would not ſo much trouble them: but they could "not without infinite regret of heart, ſee ſo great "a part of the money pounded up in the purſes "of a few private men, who in the time of his "Majeſty's moſt happy reſtoration, were worth "very little or nothing, but were now purchaſing "lands, and kept their coaches and ſix horſes, their "pages, and their lacqueys; while, in the mean "time, thoſe who had faithfully ſerved the King, "were expoſed to penury and want, and had ſcarce "ſufficient left to buy them bread.——But, "ſuppoſing all the money given was imployed for "the uſe of his Majeſty, and he was not cozened, "as without doubt he is, are there no bounds to, "no moderation in giving? Will it be ſaid, that "his Majeſty will not be able to maintain the "triple alliance, without a plentiful ſupply, and we "ſhall thereby run the hazard of being conquered: "This may be a reaſon for giving ſomething, but "it is ſo far from being an argument for giving "ſo much, that it may be clearly made out, 'That "it is the direct and ready way to be conquered "by a foreigner.' And it may be the policy of "the French King, by his often alarms of armies "and fleets, to induce us to conſume our treaſure "in vain preparations againſt him; and after he "has by this means made us poor and weak "enough, he may then come upon, and deſtroy "us. It is not the giving a great deal, but the "well managing the money given, that muſt keep "us ſafe from our enemies.——Beſide, what is this "but ne moriare mori, to dye for fear of dying, "and for fear of being conquered by a foreigner, "to put ourſelves in a condition almoſt as bad? "Nay, in ſome reſpect, a great deal worſe; for "when we are under the power of the victor, we "know we can fall no lower, and the certainties "of our miſeries are ſome ſort of diminution of "them: but in this wild way, we have no certainty "at all; for if you give thus much too day, you "may give as much more too morrow, and never "leave giving, till we have given all that ever we "have away.——It is therefore neceſſary to be able "to make ſome eſtimate of ourſelves: Would his "Majeſty be pleaſed to have a quarter of our "eſtates? For my part he ſhall have it: Would "he be pleaſed to have half? For my part, upon "good occaſions he ſhall have it: but then let us "have ſome aſſurances of the quiet injoyment of "the remainder, and know what we have to truſt "to.——The commons have here ſent up a bill for "the giving his Majeſty the twentieth part of our "eſtates, and I hear there are other bills alſo pre-"paring, which together will amount to little leſs "than three millions of money; a prodigious ſum! "And ſuch, that if your lordſhips afford no relief, "we muſt ſink under the weight of it. I hope "therefore, your lordſhips will ſet ſome bounds to "the over-liberal humor of the commons. If you "cannot deny or moderate a bill for money, all "your great eſtates are wholly at their diſpoſal, "and you have nothing that you can properly call "your own,——Upon the whole matter, I moſt "humbly propoſe, that you would be pleaſed to "reduce the twelve pence in the pound, to eight "pence."——

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This ſpeech, afterwards printed and publiſhed, gave the King and his miniſters ſuch diſtaſte, that it was ordered to be burned by the common hangman. But however it made ſome impreſſion upon the lords, who ſent the bill to the commons with amendments, that is, with ſome alterations (1). This occaſioned a conteſt between the two houſes, the commons refuſing to receive the amendments. But in a conference the diſpute was ended, by the acquieſcence of the lords, to the reaſons of the commons. The two firſt money bills, viz. the ſubſidy bill, and the additional tax upon beer, and other liquors, being ready, the King came to the houſe of lords the ſixth of March, and paſſed theſe two acts, with another, "for reveſting the power of "granting wine-licenſes in his Majeſty's heirs and "ſucceſſors, and for ſetling a revenue on his Royal "Highneſs in lieu thereof," which amounted to "twenty-four thouſand pounds a year (2).

Is burnt by the hangman. Echard, Vol. III. p. 269.

Money bills paſſed.

There ſtill remained two other money bills, which had been ſent to the lords, one for "impoſitions "on proceedings at law," and another for "an "additional impoſition upon ſeveral foreign com-"modities." The firſt bill paſſed the houſe of lords without difficulty. But the ſecond occaſioned a violent conteſt between the two houſes. The London merchants having preſented a petition to the lords, in which they ſhewed the diſproportion of the rates impoſed upon certain commodities to be ſuch as would utterly ruin the whole trade of theſe commodities, and bring an irreparable prejudice upon all the Engliſh plantations, and conſequently upon the kingdom; thereupon the lords judged it neceſſary to make alterations in the bill, and lower ſome of the rates, and then returned the bill to the commons. The commons maintained, the lords had no right to make any amendments in bills of impoſitions and rates, and could only receive or reject them as they were ſent, and the lords aſſerted the contrary. This diſpute produced ſeveral conferences, in which the two houſes mutually communicated their reaſons, anſwers and replies. It would be too tedious to enter into the diſcuſſion of this difference, which, beſide, would hardly be intelligible to thoſe who have not a thro' know-

Difference between the two houſes. Echard, Vol. III. p. 271.

(1) They alleged in particular, That the diſtreſſes allowed and appointed in that bill, ſuch as the breaking open of doors, were not agreeable to the ancient privileges of peers. Echard, Vol. III. p. 270.

(2) There was alſo paſſed, at the ſame time, among others, an act to prevent the malicious burning of houſes, ſtacks of corn, and killing or maiming of cattle. Statute b.

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ledge of the conſtitution of Engliſh parliaments. I ſhall only relate one circumſtance, which may be underſtood by all, and wherein conſiſted the eſſential part of the diſpute. The commons maintained, that by a fundamental right, it belonged to their houſe (in excluſion of the lords) to impoſe rates upon merchandiſe. They meaned by this fundamental right, a conſtant uſage or cuſtom, according to the principles of the parliament, in the time of Charles I. The lords, after the example of Charles I, demanded of the commons, where was the Charter or Contract to be found, by which the lords diveſted themſelves of this Right, and appropriated it to the commons with an excluſion to themſelves? To this the commons replied by another queſtion, Where was the Record by which the commons ſubmited, that this Judicature ſhould be appropriated to the lords in excluſion of themſelves? Wherever their lordſhips ſhould find the laſt record, they would ſhew the firſt indorſed upon the back of the ſame roll. In ſhort, his Majeſty perceiving the conteſt daily increaſed, came to the houſe of peers, and after the Royal aſſent given to an act for impoſitions on proceedings at law, and ſome others, he prorogued the parliament to the ſixteenth of April, 1672, and afterwards by ſeveral prorogations to the fourth of February 1672-3. So that this prorogation continued a year and nine months.

AN' 1671. A long prorogation of the parliament. April 22. Echard.

Every reader probably will be ſurpriſed at the extreme liberality of the commons to the King, and eſpecially in this ſeſſion. As to the former ſupplies, it may be ſaid, they had a foundation true or falſe. But for the preſent, which was greater than any before, it was founded upon a contingency which had not even the leaſt appearance. For it was on a ſuppoſition, that France and the States-general, who were making great preparations, might invade England, if they found her unarmed, tho' ſhe was in peace with France, and in ſtrict alliance with Holland. Beſide, the States had hitherto made no extraordinary preparations, becauſe they did not yet ſuſpect they ſhould be attacked. And as to France, Charles knew he had nothing to fear from that quarter. Nevertheleſs, upon the King's bare propoſition, ſupported by no probability, a ſum of two millions and a half was granted him, which ſome even compute at three millions. Nothing is more apt to render probable what is aſſerted by many authors, that ſcarce a member, however inconſiderable, was without a penſion from the King according to his credit in the houſe, and that theſe penſions were increaſed in proportion to the ſums granted to his Majeſty. Thus much is certain, that afterwards, upon an inquiry, ſome were found guilty of this colluſion.

Reflections upon the liberality of the commons.

Before I proceed, I muſt here mention the death of Anne Hyde ducheſs of York, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, the late chancellor. She died the thirty-firſt of March in the thirty-fourth year of her age, after an abjuration of the Proteſtant religion during her long indiſpoſition (1). From her marriage proceeded eight children, two of which only ſurvived her, Mary and Anne, who were both Queens of England. The reſt all died young (2).

Death of the ducheſs of York. Sandford, p. 677. Echard. Phillips. Burnet.

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The duke of York formally abjures the Proteſtant religion. Echard, Vol. III. P. 277.

The duke of York was a Papiſt before the King's reſtoration, but I cannot find at what time he changed his religion. It was for ſome time a ſecret, but had now been ſo divulged, that it was openly talked of in the court and country. At length, ſoon after the death of his ducheſs he made a formal abjuration of the Proteſtant religion before father Simon an Engliſh Jeſuit, and from that time openly declared himſelf a Papiſt. His inducement, as it is ſaid, to make public profeſſion of this religion, was: the King had for ſome years, even before Clarendon's diſgrace, entertained a ſecret deſign of divorcing his Queen, whom he had never loved. He had communicated this deſign to ſome of his confidents, but it was always oppoſed by the earl of Clarendon, whether from the injuſtice of the thing, or for the ſake of his daughter the ducheſs of York and her poſterity. After the removal of that miniſter, his Majeſty finding himſelf more free, perſiſted in his deſign, which, as it is affirmed, was incouraged by the Papiſts, and approved by the court of Rome. One pretenſe for this divorce, was, that the Queen had been pre-ingaged to another, who however was not named. It was alſo pretended, ſhe was incapable of having children, tho' ſhe had twice miſcarried. But as theſe facts are very difficult to be proved, the King was aſſiſted to find a more plauſible pretenſe; which was, to lay ſnares to betray the Queen into ſuch freedoms, as might be the ground of an accuſation of adultery. But his Majeſty could not reſolve to uſe a method ſo unjuſt, and diſhonorable (3). Nevertheleſs the divorce was reſolved, and as a pretenſe was only wanting, an effectual one would certainly have been found. The Prieſts and Jeſuits, who were continually about the duke of York, had long preſſed him to make open profeſſion of the Roman Catholic religion, but had not yet been able to ſucceed, becauſe the duke ſaw, it would make him forfeit the affection of moſt of the Engliſh. At length, upon his refuſal, they ſtrenuouſly labored the affair of the divorce, and cauſed, as it is ſaid, the Pope to promiſe his conſent. When the buſineſs was thus far advanced, they intimated to the duke of York, that they were able either to effect or hinder the King's divorce, and would undertake the latter, if he would make open profeſſion of the Catholic religion. This, as it is pretended, ingaged him to declare himſelf a Papiſt, being apprehenſive, that if the King ſhould be divorced from his Queen, he would marry again, and have legitimate children. I relate theſe particulars as I find them in the hiſtories and memoirs of thoſe times, but I muſt warn the reader, that the authors of them allege no other proof than their own teſtimony (4).

Ibid.

and makes an open confeſſion of the Poiſh religion.

Projects of the Cabal. Echard, Vol. III. p. 278.

After the parliament's prorogation, the Cabal ſought, with all poſſible diligence, means to execute their projects. Theſe were, firſt, to render the

(1) Some imagined, that that unhappy Princeſs had been prevailed upon, againſt her conſcience, to ſign a paper, containing the grounds of her converſion, which ſhe attributed chiefly to the reading of dr. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation. Her father, when he heard of her wavering in her religion, was more troubled at it than at all his own misfortunes. He wrote her a very grave and long letter upon it, incloſed in one to the duke, which ſee in the Life of King James. Supplement, p. 5, &c. Burnet, p. 309. Echard, p. 277.

(2) Their names were, Charles, born October 22, 1660. Mary, April 30, 1662. James, July 12, 1663. Ann, February 6, 1664. Charles, July 4, 1666. Edgar, September 14, 1667. Henrietta, January 13, 1668. And Katharine, February 9, 1670. Charles, James, Charles, and Henrietta, died before their mother, and Edgar and Katharine ſhortly after. Sandford, p. 677.

(3) Others were ſet on to deal with her confeſſor, that he might perſuade her to leave the world, and to turn religious. Burnet, p. 263.

(4) Burnet ſays, the duke of Buckingham offered, that if the King would give him leave, he would ſteal the Queen away, and ſend her to a plantation, where ſhe ſhould be well looked after. But the King himſelf rejected this propoſal with horror. He ſaid, it was a wicked thing to make a poor lady miſerable, only becauſe ſhe was his wife, and had no children by him, which was no fault of hers. p. 262, 263.

King

King abſolute, or, in their lauguage, a great Prince: and under this article was compriſed, the eſtabliſhment of Popery, if not the intire deſtruction of the Proteſtant religion. For there is no viſible medium between theſe two things. I have already given the reaſon why the article of religion is omited by the King's adherents. The ſecond project was to break the triple alliance. The third to make war upon Holland, tho' it was difficult to invent any the leaſt plauſible pretenſe. To execute the two laſt, mr. Henry Coventry, who had been plenipotentiary at the treaty of Breda, was ſent to Sweden, and ſir George Downing to the Hague. Temple, as I have ſaid, was recalled; but to amuſe the States, the King feigned to ſend for Temple only to be informed of ſome matters, and that he ſhould immediately return. He was however ſtill in London, and tho' the King had no deſign to ſend him back to Holland, yet to take from the Dutch all ſuſpicion of his intention to break with them, he had hitherto refuſed his permiſſion to ſir William to ſend for his wife and family. At laſt, he was openly recalled, and obtained leave for his wife and children to come over who were ſtill at the Hague. The recalling of Temple, and ſending of Downing in his place ſufficiently diſcovered Charles's intentions (1). The firſt was extremely beloved in Holland, as he had always behaved with integrity, and a concern for the common intereſts of both nations. The ſecond had ſerved for inſtrument to ingage the King and the States in the late war, and was looked upon in Holland as a man of no honor, and a real incendiary. So that when their High Mightineſſes heard, he was coming in the room of Temple, they no longer doubted of a rupture with England. Mean while Downing being arrived at the Hague, was not wanting in proteſtations, that the King his maſter was reſolved to maintain the triple alliance, and if he was equiping a fleet, it was wholy owing to the great preparations of his neighbors, and particularly the King of France, of whom he had juſt cauſe to be jealous. But withal, he failed not to complain of the obſtinacy of the Dutch, upon an affair of little importance, concerning the colony of Surinam; adding ſome complaints of the Engliſh merchants againſt the Dutch Eaſt-India company. Theſe were the two articles on which the King intended to found a rupture, but as he did not think them of ſufficient weight, he projected to draw the States into a ſort of inſult upon him, which might give him a more plauſible pretext for a war.

The King indeavors to amuſe the States-general.

July.

Temple's Lett. p. 248.

Baſnage.

To this end, the King having granted ſir William Temple a yacht to bring over his lady, the admiralty gave expreſs orders to the captain to go in queſt of the Dutch fleet, then at ſea, and, if they refuſed to ſtrike, to fire upon them. The captain met with them as he was returning with the embaſſadreſs and her children. When he ſaw the fleet paid no regard to the King's yacht, he fired ſeveral ſhots at them. Mr. de Ghent, who commanded the fleet, ſurpriſed at this inſult, ſent a boat to the yacht to know the meaning of it. The captain only anſwered, he had his inſtructions, and was bound to follow them. Upon this mr. de Ghent went to the yacht on pretenſe of paying a compliment to the embaſſadreſs, which being performed he talked with the captain, and was anſwered as before. The admiral replied, he had no orders from his maſters in that point, and did not know how the affair was agreed between his Majeſty and the States; but tho' it were ſetled, the captain could not pretend the fleet ſhould ſtrike to a yacht, which was but a pleaſure-boat, and could not paſs for a man of war. The captain ſtill perſiſted in ſaying, he only followed his orders. Nevertheleſs, the fleet did not fire a ſingle ſhot at the yacht, and the captain purſued his courſe, pleaſed that he had got off ſo well.

A yacht belonging to the King fires at the Dutch, to ingage them to ſtrike the flag. Temple's Letters, p. 248, 249.

Beſide the two millions and a half granted to his Majeſty by the parliament, the King of France, if abbot Primi is to be credited, ſent him alſo a very conſiderable ſum to inable him to fit out a fleet much ſuperior to that of the States (2). So Charles thought only of war, tho' with all poſſible artifice he indeavored to remove all ſuſpicion of his having any ſuch deſign. He ſpent the whole ſummer, and part of autumn in progreſs thro' ſeveral parts of his kingdom. The twenty-eighth of May he celebrated the feaſt of St. George in a very ſolemn manner at Windſor, and inſtalled in the Order of the Garter, the King of Sweden, and the Elector of Saxony, by their proxies, and after them the young duke of Albemarle. He alſo made a viſit to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was magnificently entertained, and to ſeveral other places, needleſs here to mention. After his return, both their Majeſties were invited to the lord-mayors feaſt, on the twenty-ninth of October, where no coſt was ſpared to diſplay the grandeur and riches of the city of London.

The King receives money from the King of France. Primi. State-Tracts in King Will. Vol. I.

An inſtallation at Windſor. Echard.

Before I proceed to the tranſactions of the next year, I think myſelf obliged to take notice of an attempt, the moſt extraordinary that can poſſibly be deviſed by a private man. I mean that of Blood, a famous villain, robber, and aſſaſſin, who formed the deſign of ſtealing the Crown, Scepter, and Globe, which are depoſited in the Tower. With the aſſiſtance only of two or three more, he executed his ſcheme ſo dextrouſly and happily, that they were got out of the Tower with their booty, before they were ſeized. To give ſome account of Blood, I ſhall briefly ſay here, that the duke of Ormond, when he was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, having cauſed ſome of Blood's complices to be hanged, who intended to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin, Blood ſwore, he would revenge their deaths. To this end, Blood followed the duke of Ormond into England, when he was recalled, and watched him ſo cloſe, that with the aſſiſtance of ſeven or eight perſons on horſeback, he ſtoped his coach, in the night, as he was going to Clarendon houſe, where he lived, knocked down his footmen (3), and forced the duke up behind one of the horſemen, in order to carry him to Tyburn, and hang him there, with a paper pined on his breaſt, to ſhew the cauſe of his execution. But the duke forcibly throwing himſelf off the horſe, with the villain who had tied the duke faſt to him, defeated the deſign, and the authors could never be diſcovered till after Blood's attempt upon the crown. This attempt was very extraordinary, but the King's conduct on that occaſion was ſtill more ſurpriſing. For having a curioſity to examine Blood himſelf, he ordered him to be brought to Whitehall, and put ſeveral queſtions to him, which the villain anſwered with aſtoniſhing boldneſs, confeſſing all, and unconcernedly relating the circumſtances of the affair. Then his Majeſty aſked him, whether he knew the authors of the attempt upon the duke of Ormond? Blood confeſſed,

Blood ſteals the crown. May 9. Strype's Contin. of Stow's Survey, Vol. I. p. 92, &c. Echard, Vol. III. p. 282.

Id. p. 262. Dec. 6, 1670.

Is examined by the King, Strype. Echard, Vol. III. p. 285.

(1) De Witt told ſir William's ſecretary, that he ſhould take ſir William's ſtay or coming back for certain ſigns of what the King's intentions were, towards the preſerving or changing the meaſures he had taken with the States. Temple's Letters, p. 248.

(2) He was promiſed ſix millions of livres, beſide three hundred thouſand crowns a month, or three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling a year, during the war. Life of De Wit, Vol. II. p. 344. Burnet, p. 304.

(3) Rapin by miſtake ſays, he killed the coachman and footmen.

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it was himſelf. Not content with this, he told the King, he had been ingaged in a deſign to kill him with a carbine, from out the reeds by the Thames ſide above Batterſea, where he often went to ſwim. But that when he had taken his ſtand in the reeds for that purpoſe, his heart was checked with an awe of Majeſty, and did not only relent himſelf, but diverted his aſſociates from the deſign. He alſo told the King, he was prepared to ſuffer death, as having deſerved it; but muſt tell his Majeſty, that he had hundreds of complices, who had bound themſelves by a horrible oath, to revenge the death of any of the fraternity, upon thoſe who ſhould bring them to juſtice; which would expoſe his Majeſty and all his miniſters, to the daily fear and expectation of a maſſacre. But, on the contrary, if he ſpared the lives of a few perſons, his own would be ſecure. The King was ſurpriſed, and probably intimidated by Blood's diſcourſe, thought, doubtleſs, the attempt of this villain on the duke of Ormond, to revenge the death of his complices, might be imitated, in revenge of his death, by his ſurviving comrades. Notwithſtanding this the King ſent the earl of Arlington to the duke of Ormond, to deſire him not to proſecute Blood, which the duke could not refuſe (1). He afterwards granted him a pardon, and not content with ſaving his life, conferred on him five hundred pounds a year in land in Ireland. From this time, Blood was continually at court, and the King treated him with that freedom and familiarity, that many perſons applied to him for favors from the King. This gave occaſion to his Majeſty's enemies to ſay, that he kept this villain about him, to intimidate thoſe who ſhould dare to offend him in things which were not puniſhable by law, as had been practiſed in the caſe of ſir John Coventry, for ſome railleries upon him in the houſe of commons. As for Edwards, the keeper of the crown, a man fourſcore years old, who had done his utmoſt, tho' in vain, to hinder the theft, and had received ſo many wounds, that he was left for dead, the King contented himſelf with aſſigning him a reward of two hundred pounds, the payment of which was ſo long delayed, that the poor man died before he received it (2).

Blood pardoned.

In the courſe of this year died two famous generals, diſtinguiſhed by their bravery and experience in the civil wars. The firſt was the lord Fairfax, generaliſſimo, and the other Edward Montague earl of Mancheſter. I ſhall ſay no more of them, becauſe they have been ſufficiently mentioned in the reign of Charles I; therefore ſhall only add, that both were very ſerviceable in the King's reſtoration (3).

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Death of the lord Fairfax and the earl of Mancheſter. Echard.

The league againſt Holland, like that of Cambray againſt the commonwealth of Venice, was ſtill kept ſo ſecret, that the States could only ſuſpect it, without any certainty. The deſign of the allies was to begin with the ruin of the Dutch, before declaration of war, and then to attack them all together, at the ſame time, and in different places. The French King, the Elector of Cologne, and the biſhop of Munſter, were to invade them by land, and the Engliſh and French fleet jointly to aſſault them by ſea. This was the project, but it met with an unforeſeen difficulty. Tho' Charles had received two millions five hundred thouſand pounds from the parliament, and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds from the King of France, he was ſtill in want. Indeed, he had applied part of the money received to the equipment of his fleet, which could not amount to half, and it was difficult to conceive what was become of the reſt. However this be, he ſignified to his miniſters, that he could not begin the war without fifteen hundred thouſand pounds, and as he could not apply to the parliament, which was prorogued, he promiſed the treaſurer's ſtaff, to the perſon who ſhould invent the means of raiſing that ſum. Sir Thomas Clifford proved the moſt happy and ingenious. He went to the King, and told him, that by ſhuting up the exchequer he would be ſure of that ſum. The King readily took the hint, and reſolving to follow it, performed his promiſe, and made Clifford lord-treaſurer. Some however aſcribe this project to the lord Shaftſbury, and ſay, that Clifford having artfully drawn it from him, gloried in it to the King (4).

Deſigns againſt the Dutch. Baſnage.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 238.

The King indigent.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 288.

Is adviſed to ſhut up the exchequer.

To underſtand this (which tho' plain to Engliſh readers, is not ſo to foreigners) it is to be obſerved, that at the exchequer are received, by direction from

The meaning of that project.

(1) The duke anſwered, "That the King ſhould ſee he valued his life as little, as his Majeſty did his crown." Echard, Vol. III. p. 286.

(2) Edwards had a grant of two hundred pounds for himſelf, and one hundred for his ſon. Both, by the delays of payment, were obliged to ſell their orders for half the money, and the old man lived not long to injoy the remainder. I think the reader will not take it amiſs, if I here give an account of the manner of Blood's ſtealing the crown, as I find it in the authors under mentioned: He went to the Tower in a clergyman's habit, with a woman whom he called his wife, and who, he pretended, wanted to ſee the crown; and having ſeen it, ſhe feigned to be taken with a qualm, and deſired mr. Edwards, the keeper of the crown to ſend for ſome ſpirits, who immediately cauſed his wife to fetch ſome, of which ſhe drank, and being invited to repoſe herſelf on a bed, ſhe did ſo, and ſoon recovered. At their departure, they were very thankful for this civility. Three days after, Blood comes with a preſent of gloves from his wife, and having thus begun an acquaintance, he improves it by frequent viſits. At laſt he tells mr. Edwards, that he had a mind to make a match between a nephew of his and mr. Edward's daughter, which nephew, he ſaid, had three hundred pounds a year. Accordingly, a day was appointed for the young couple to ſee one another. Blood comes with three more, armed with rapier blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a pair of pocket piſtols. One of the fellows ſtays at the door, and the others go in. Blood told mr. Edwards, he would not go up ſtairs till his wife came down, and deſired him, in the mean time, to ſhew his friends the crown, to paſs away the time. As ſoon as they were in the room, and the door ſhut as uſual, they immediately gagged the old man, and knocked him down for indeavoring to make a noiſe. One of the companions put the globe in his breeches; Blood kept the crown under his gown, and a third was filing the ſcepter (being too long to manage) when their companion without gave them notice, that young mr. Edwards was juſt come home, and gone up ſtairs; upon which they all made off with the crown and globe. But old Edwards geting up and making a noiſe, they were purſued and taken, as they were making to their horſes, which waited at the Iron-Gate in St. Katharine's. Blood, tho' he ſaw himſelf a priſoner, had the impudence to ſtruggle for the crown. Strype's Contin. of Stow's Survey, Vol. I. p. 92. Echard.

(3) This year alſo died William Seymour, duke of Somerſet; and the famous critic, Meric Caſaubon, prebend of Canterbury. Echard.

(4) The ſubſtance of the ſtory as it was told by mr. Echard, from a manuſcript of ſir Joſeph Tyley's, is this: ——The King, under preſſing neceſſities, promiſed the white ſtaff to any one of his miniſters, who could put him in a way to raiſe fifteen hundred thouſand pounds, without applying to his parliament. The next day lord Aſhley told ſir Thomas Clifford, that there was a way to do this; but that it was dangerous, and might in its conſequence inflame both parliament and people. Sir Thomas impatient to know the ſecret, plied the lord Aſhley with viſits, and having drank him to a proper height, led him inſenſibly to the ſubject of the King's indigence; lord Aſhley warm and ungarded, droped the important ſecret of ſhuting up the exchequer. Sir Thomas took the hint, left Aſhley as ſoon as he could, went the ſame night to Whitehall, and attending till the King roſe, demanded the white ſtaff. The King renewed his promiſe if the money could be found, and then ſir Thomas diſcloſed the ſecret. The project was put in execution, and Clifford advanced to be treaſurer, and created a peer. Aſhley was touched, and ſaid, "That Clifford had ploughed with his "heifer." However, to ſatisfy him, he was firſt made earl of Shaftſbury, and ſoon after lord chancellor of England. Vol. III. p. 288.

the

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the lord-treaſurer, all the ſums ordained to public uſes, and the intereſts of the money borrowed upon parliamentary funds, which commonly cannot be raiſed under ſeveral months, or even years. So, when the King has a mind to have all at once, the money that has been granted him, he borrows it of private perſons at a large intereſt, and aſſigns them payment upon the exchequer, which applies to this uſe the money, raiſed from the granted funds, as it comes in. Moreover, at the time I am ſpeaking of, all the London monied men, not to keep large ſums by them, put their money into the hands of bankers and goldſmiths, without intereſt. And when they wanted any part, they drew upon their goldſmiths or bankers, who immediately paid it. Now, as it was morally impoſſible, that all private perſons who had money at a banker's, ſhould want it at one time, thoſe who had the money in their hands kept only a ſum ſufficient to anſwer the uſual demands, and lent the reſt to the King at a large intereſt, upon the parliamentary funds. So, in ſhuting up the exchequer, he received all the money which came into it (1), without paying any thing of what he owed. But at the ſame time, the perſons who had truſted their money in the hands of bankers and goldſmiths, were intirely ruined, ſince it was not in their power to diſpoſe of their capital; eſpecially, as the bankers refuſed even to pay the notes daily drawn upon them, on pretenſe, that they received nothing from the exchequer. This cauſed an extreme conſternation in London; but the King and his miniſters purſued their meaſures, and, deaf to the complaints of ſo many ruined families, kept the exchequer ſhut up one year. At the expiration of which term, it continued ſhut up, by a new order, ſome months longer. But the greateſt misfortune did not conſiſt in twelve or eighteen months expectation. It is eaſy to imagine, the King having received all the money which came into the exchequer during that time, the ſums which were brought in, when it was opened, were not ſufficient to diſcharge the arrears of theſe eighteen months. This is the true ſtate of the affair, which cauſed the Engliſh to exclaim ſo loudly againſt the King and the Cabal. But the hopes the Cabal then had to render the King abſolute, made them very eaſy under the complaints and reproaches of the people.

The exchequer ſhut up. January 2. Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. p. 348. Echard. Kennet, p. 309. Burnet.

The King intends to ſurpriſe the DutchSmyrna fleet, before he had declared war. March 13. Baſnage. Burchett. Echard. Kennet, p. 310. Primi.

But Charles had in his thoughts a project which would ſtill furniſh him with more conſiderable ſums. This was to ſurprize the Dutch fleet returning from Smyrna richly laden (2), before any declaration of war. He had practiſed the ſame thing laſt year, with regard to the Bourdeaux fleet, and received from it a great advantage. This fleet being much richer, his expectations were ſo much the greater. To this purpoſe he put to ſea thirty-ſix men of war (3) under the command of Holms, who had orders to cruiſe in the channel, and intercept them. Holms being informed that the Dutch fleet approached, divided his own into three ſquadrons. That of Holland conſiſted of ſeventy-two ſail of merchant-ſhips, many of which had no guns, under the convoy of five men of war, commanded by experienced officers. Theſe drew up the merchant-men in three ſquadrons, in good order, and put themſelves between them and the Engliſh fleet, after having injoined them to purſue their courſe without breaking their line. Holms attacked this fleet the thirteenth of March (4), and fought the whole day without gaining any advantage. The next day at nine in the morning the fight was renewed, and laſted all that day, tho' on the ſide of the Dutch, captain De Haes, who acted as admiral, had been killed about noon. On the Engliſh ſide the vice-admiral's ſhip was diſabled. On the morrow, at eight in the morning, Holms who had been re-inforced by ſome frigates, renewed the ingagement, and at laſt took one man of war, the captain and moſt of the ſailors being ſlain, and three merchant ſhips (5) which were brought into the Thames. This was all the advantage the Engliſh received from an action, which highly reflected on the King. It was carefully given out at London, that this ingagement was but an effect of chance, becauſe the Dutch refuſed to ſtrike. Tho' every one openly ſpoke againſt ſo diſhonorable an action, the King was not affected with the ſentiments of the vulgar, and inſtead of repairing the injury done to the States, in ſeizing their ſhips before the war was declared, ſent out a ſquadron to meet four Dutch India ſhips, which were immediately taken and condemned. He alſo at the ſame time, ordered all the Dutch ſhips in his ports to be ſeized, tho' by an expreſs article of the treaty of Breda, no merchant ſhips were to be taken till ſix months after a declaration of war. The States, ſeduced by ſo ill an example, ſeized alſo the Engliſh ſhips. But, upon the ſtrong repreſentation of ſome of the deputies, how much the honor of Princes and States was wounded by theſe depredations, and that the King of England's acting againſt the faith of treaties, was not a ſufficient reaſon to ingage the States to imitate ſo blameable a conduct, the Engliſh ſhips were diſcharged and ſent home. Charles could not then avoid releaſing ſome of the Dutch ſhips, but did not reſtore all.

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But without ſucceſs. Baſnage.

Kennet, p. 310. Burnet.

Four India men taken. Baſnage.

One branch of the project formed by the Cabal was, as I ſaid, to render the King abſolute (6), and under this was comprized the extirpation of the Proteſtant, or at leaſt the introduction of the Popiſh religion; tho' father Orleans, and the writers on the King's ſide, when ſpeaking of this deſign, mention nothing of this article. Father Orleans, however, could not forbear owning it in the courſe of his hiſtory. I ſhall tranſcribe a paſſage from him, which, tho' extremely ſoftened with reſpect to the end, clearly ſhews, it was one of the branches of the above-mentioned project. After ſpeaking of what had paſſed concerning the Papiſts and other Non-conformiſts, he adds, "The King, "who was no good Chriſtian in his actions, tho' "a Catholic in his heart, did all that could be "expected from his indolent temper, to preſerve "the common liberty, that the Catholics might

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An extract from father Orleans's hiſtory.

(1) The bankers, who had formerly furniſhed the King with large ſums of money, at the extorſive intereſt of eight per Cent, had lodged in the exchequer between thirteen and fourteen hnndred thouſand pounds. R. Coke, p. 168. Burnet, p 306.

(2) It was reckoned worth a million and a half. Burnet, p. 307.

(3) This fleet conſiſted but of nine frigates, and three yachts; but the next day there came a re-inforcement of four or five men of war. See Echard, Vol. III. p. 291. Baſnage, Vol. II. p. 192.

(4) But before that, he indeavored to decoy by ſtratagem, into his own ſhip, the Dutch admiral, the vice-admiral, &c. See Primi in State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 17.

(5) Our hiſtorians ſay five. See Kennet, p. 310.

(6) The lord Clifford told a perſon of quality in private diſcourſe, That the King, if he would be firm to himſelf might ſetle what religion he pleaſed, and carry the government to what height he would: for if men were aſſured in the liberty of their conſciences, and undiſturbed in their properties, able and upright judges made in Weſtminſter-hall; and if, on the other hand, the fort of Tilbury was finiſhed to bridle the city, the fort of Plymouth to ſecure the Weſt, and arms for twenty thouſand men in each of theſe, and in Hull for the Northern parts, with ſome addition (which might be eaſily and undiſcernedly made to the forces on foot) there were none who would have either will, opportunity, or power to reſiſt. Kennet, p. 312. Note.

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" partake of it. But the church of England prevailed, and chancellor Hyde was ſo warm upon this occaſion, that the King was obliged to yield rather to his importunities than his reaſons. It was therefore the re-eſtabliſhment of this liberty of conſcience, that the lord Aſhley believed neceſſary to the execution of the projected deſign. He communicated his thoughts to his collegues of the Cabal, who were of the ſame opinion, not only on account of the reaſon he alleged, which was, the gaining of the Nonconformiſts who were juſtly feared, but alſo upon another, which he readily approved, namely, the favoring of the Catholics, whom moſt of them loved, and the reſt eſteemed. Arlington and Clifford were ſecretly Catholics, and both died in the communion of the church. Buckingham had no occaſion to be converted, could he only have prevailed with himſelf as to libertiniſm. Aſhley was not averſe to the Catholic religion, till intereſt and malice threw him into the contrary party. It will eaſily be conceived, that the King readily conſented to it, ſince he was a Catholic, and continued ſo to his death, tho' policy cauſed him to pretend the contrary. As for the duke of York, he ſupported the deſign with all his power. All the difficulty lay in the exent of this liberty, and the two Kings of France and England, acting in concert, debated this affair in the negociation of their treaty. Several propoſals were made, ſome more, ſome leſs, advantageous to the Catholics. France was for the moſt moderate, ſafeſt, and moſt ſeaſonable methods. At laſt, it was agreed, that Charles ſhould grant liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects in general."

From this author it appears, that religion was concerned in the projects of the Cabal. But probably, ſome were for having the progreſs of the Popiſh religion ſubſervient to render the King abſolute, and others were for rendering the King abſolute to favor the progreſs of Popery. Wherefore, theſe two articles were never ſeparated, nor indeed could be, ſince they intirely depended on each other. His Majeſty plainly ſhewed it, when he publiſhed his declaration for liberty of conſcience, ſince he could not grant this liberty without aſſuming a power to abrogate acts of parliament, or at leaſt ſuſpend the execution thereof as long as he pleaſed. This declaration, dated the fifteenth of March 1672, conſiſted of various articles, the ſubſtance of which are as follows:

Declaration for liberty of conſcience. Kennet, p. 313. Echard. Vol. III. p. 292. Burnet, p. 307. J. Phillips.

1. His Majeſty publiſhes it, " in virtue of his " ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical matters," which is a right inherent in his perſon, and declared to be ſo by ſeveral acts of parliament.

2. He declares his expreſs reſolution to be, that the church of England be preſerved and remain intire in her doctrine, diſcipline and government, as now it ſtands eſtabliſhed by law.

3. That no perſon ſhall be capable of holding any eccleſiaſtical benefice or preferment of any kind, who is not exactly conformable.

4. That the execution of all penal laws in matters eccleſiaſtical againſt whatſoever ſort of Nonconformiſts or Recuſants, be immediately ſuſpended.

5. He declares, that he will from time to time allow a ſufficient number of places, as ſhall be deſired, in all parts of his kingdom, for the uſe of ſuch as do not conform to the church of England, to meet and aſſemble in, in order to their public worſhip and devotion. Charles II. An' 1672.

6. That none of his ſubjects do preſume to meet in any place, until ſuch place be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved by him.

7. He declares, that this indulgence, as to the allowance of public places of worſhip, and approbation of teachers, ſhall extend to all ſorts of Nonconformiſts and Recuſants, except the Recuſants of the Roman Catholic religion, to whom he will no ways allow public places of worſhip, but only indulge them their ſhare in the common exemption from the executing the penal laws, and the exerciſe of their worſhip in their private houſes only (1).

War is declared againſt the Dutch. Echard, Vol. III. p. 294. Kennet, p. 310. Burnet. Phillips. R. Coke.

Two days after, Charles publiſhed his declaration of war againſt the States-General, dated the ſeventeenth of March (2). This declartion, as that of the former war, was founded upon generals, and affected pretenſes. " This is always the caſe when " war is firſt reſolved, and reaſons or pretenſes are " afterwards ſought." " The King hiſtorically " introduced his juſt reaſons to begin the firſt " war upon the States, tho' it was ended by the " treaty of Breda. He added, that peace was no " ſooner concluded than violated by the States, " in not ſending commiſſioners to London to ſetle " the trade of the two nations in the Eaſt-Indies: " and when he ſent over his embaſſador to put " them in mind of it, he could not in three years " get any ſatisfaction from them in the material " points, nor a forbearance of the wrongs which " his ſubjects received in thoſe parts."

First reflection.

' It is eaſy to ſee what great diſcuſſions theſe ge-
' nerals are liable to.

" 2. He ſaid, that having reſtored Surinam to " them, they were obliged by the treaty of Breda " to permit the Engliſh in that colony to remove " with their effects, but that this permiſſion was " refuſed."

Second reflection.

' The Dutch maintained on the contrary, that
' the Engliſh inhabitants of Surinam remained there
' upon their own choice.'

" 3. He complained of abuſive pictures and me-" dals diſperſed over Holland, reflecting on his " honor."

Third reflection.

' The States ſaid, they knew but of one abuſive
' medal, the ſtamp of which they had ordered to
' be broke.'

" 4. He complained, that in Holland his right " of the flag had been repreſented as ridiculous."

Fourth reflection.

' It is eaſy to perceive, whether his pretenſion
' concerning the yatch which brought over the
' lady Temple was juſt or not.'

This was the ſubſtance of what was moſt plauſibly alleged for undertaking the war. He ended with this declaration.——— " And whereas we " are ingaged by a treaty to ſupport the peace made " at Aix-la-Chapelle, we do finally declare, that " notwithſtanding the proſecution of this war, we " will maintain the true intent and ſcope of the " ſaid treaty; and that in all the alliances which we " have or ſhall make in the progreſs of this war, we " have and will take care, to preſerve the ends thereof

(1) The Preſbyterians went in a body, and dr. Manton, in their name, thanked the King for this declaration. Moſt of them had yearly penſions of fifty pounds, and the chief of them a hundred pounds. Burnet, p. 308.

(2) To furniſh the government with ſome fair pretenſions at leaſt for this war, the commitee for the Eaſt-India company was ſummoned to ſhew, whether the Dutch had not broke in upon their trade, for which public ſatisfaction ought to be demanded; They anſwered, and gave it under their hands, That ſince the treaty at Breda, the Dutch had ſufficiently obſerved the articles of Trade. Kennet, p. 310.

" inviolable,

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" inviolable, unleſs provoked to the contrary." He took but little care of his honor, in pretending to ſhew, that his deſign in breaking with the States and uniting with France, was, to maintain the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. But there was nothing ſo abſurd which the Cabal did not think they could impoſe on the public, tho' they were herein much miſtaken, as will appear in the ſequel.

This war was in ſuch direct oppoſition to the intereſt of England and all Europe, the defenſe of which Charles had ſo often boaſted to undertake by means of the triple league; it was ſo contrary to juſtice, equity, faith, and the religion of the Engliſh, publicly profeſſed by the King, that no man could believe it till the blow was ſtruck. The Hollanders imagined, the King only intended to exact ſome money from them, or at moſt to intimidate them in order to oblige them to reſtore the Prince of Orange his nephew to the poſts injoyed by his anceſtors. France herſelf could ſcarcely believe but that his Majeſty intended to deceive her, till he had fallen upon the Smyrna fleet. But all were miſtaken in aſcribing to the King any affection for his people. His ſole aim was to render himſelf deſpotic, in order to injoy all the riches of England without controul, and without any obligations to his parliament. His preſumptive heir, the duke of York, found his account in ſo fine a ſcheme; and beſide thought of eſtabliſhing the Catholic religion for which he was extravagantly zealous. As for the Cabal, they were perſons intirely deſtitute of all principles of honor, juſtice, or religion, each of whom was wholly bent on making his fortune by ſacrificing the public intereſt. For it cannot be thought, that men of their abilities could be ignorant, that what they were acting was directly contrary to the intereſts of the nation. They did not imagine, they could execute their grand project without a ſtrict alliance with the King of France, who artfully perſuaded them, that after the republic of Holland ſhould be deſtroyed, the two crowns would jointly labor to render the King abſolute in England, and eſtabliſh the Romiſh religion. But they had afterwards too much cauſe to believe France had deceived them. Indeed it was not Lewis's intereſt to render the King of England abſolute in his dominions, but rather to ſow and cheriſh diviſion between Charles and his ſubjects, in which, by ſeeming to enter into the views of the Cabal, he proved but too ſucceſsful. But there occurred in the execution of this project an obſtacle, which the ſecret counſellors ſhould have foreſeen, and perhaps did, without being able to prevent it. This was the King's immenſe profuſeneſs, by reaſon of which all the ſums received from France and the parliament were inſufficient to ſupport the war two years, ſo that his Majeſty was obliged to have recourſe to the parliament, who at laſt broke meaſures ſo well-concerted. On the contrary, this project alarming all Europe, the States found protectors, who rendered the execution very difficult.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 297.

The very day the declaration of war againſt the States was publiſhed at London, the like was done at Paris, founded on no juſter grounds: for the French King gave no other reaſon for the war, than his diſpleaſure at the conduct of their High Mightineſſes. This union between France and England (which then appeared openly, whatever care had been hitherto taken to conceal it) ſhewed the ridiculouſneſs of what the King ordered the lord-keeper to tell the parliament, " That common prudence re- " quired, that his Majeſty ſhould make ſuitable " preparations, when France had ſuch forces both " at land and ſea." By this it appeared, that the King ſcrupled not to tell his parliament the contrary of what he thought, which could not but make him loſe the confidence of his people, as it accordingly happened.

The French King declares war againſt Holland. March 28. Baſnage. Kennet, p. 313. Echard. R. Coke.

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The biſhop of Munſter, about a month after, alſo proclamed war againſt the Dutch, on pretenſe, that they had indeavored to corrupt the governors of his frontier-places. As for the Elector of Cologne, he had already introduced French troops into his dominions, to provide, as he pretended, for his ſecurity. But tho' he proteſted an intention to obſerve an exact neutrality, the Dutch were perfectly informed of his treaty with France. Thus theſe four Princes were united for the intire deſtruction of the republic of the United-Provinces, without mentioning ſeveral Princes of Germany, ingaged by the King of France to ſtand neutral, that they might not aſſiſt the Hollanders.

The biſhop of Munſter declares war againſt the Dutch.

The Elector of Cologne an ally of France.

The States having ſome time foreſeen this impending ſtorm, had indeavored to divert it, by giving the King of England all the ſatisfaction he reaſonably could expect. They had offered to agree to whatever he deſired concerning the flag, and beſide, they had, on the twenty-fourth of February, made the Prince of Orange captain-general, and admiral, tho' he was then but twenty-two years of age. They believed, this was ſufficient to content the King his uncle, yet ignorant that his deſign was to overturn their republic, without any regard to the intereſts of the Prince of Orange. This change in favor of the young Prince, would perhaps have never been made, had it not been held neceſſary to appeaſe the King of England. There were three parties in Holland: that of the Penſionary (which was the moſt powerful, and called the Louveſtein party, from the name of the caſtle where the Prince's father had confined the leading men of this faction) that of the Prince of Orange; and a third which affected a neutrality, and had hitherto joined with neither of the two firſt, but on this occaſion believed it neceſſary to join with the ſecond, in hopes of ſatisfying the King of England. The States therefore ſent a deputation to the Prince, offering him the dignities of captain-general and admiral, and the Penſionary de Wit, to his mortification, was appointed head of this deputation. Thus the Prince of Orange ſaw himſelf captain-general, but without an army, or at leaſt, with an army ſo inconſiderable, and filled for the moſt with unexperienced officers, choſen more for their attachment to the Penſionary, than their perſonal merit.

Offers made by the States to pacify Charles. Baſnage. Echard. Burnet.

The Prince of Orange made captain-general and admiral. Baſnage.

I ſhall not relate the progreſs of the King of France, and his two allies, the biſhop of Munſter and the elector of Cologne, in the firſt campain. This is ſo well known, that it will be time loſt to recite it. Let it ſuffice to obſerve, that the French King took the field the begining of May; made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places on the Rhine, without almoſt any oppoſition; and ſwimming that river, ſubdued all Guelderland with the towns upon the Yſſel, and at laſt arrived at Utrecht, which had ſent deputies to Doeſburgh to offer their ſubmiſſion to his commands. At the ſame time, the biſhop of Munſter, after ravaging the province of Overyſſel, invaded Frieſeland and Groningen, ſo that only Holland and Zealand remained free, of which the former was threatened with a like invaſion.

Progreſs and conqueſts of the King of France. Primi. Baſnage. Echard. Burnet.

Of the biſhop of Munſter. Primi.

But this was not all the States had to fear. While three of their provinces were loſt, and two others attacked, the danger from ſea was not inconſiderable. The two fleets of France and England joined the begining of May; the firſt conſiſting of forty, and the laſt of a hundred men of war. That of the Hollanders had ſeventy-two large ſhips, and forty frigates and fireſhips, and conſequently was very inferior in number to the combined fleet of England

Baſnage. Kennet, p. 314. Echard, Vol. III. p. 299.

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England and France (1). It was commanded by the famous Ruyter, assisted by Cornelius de Wit, the Pensionary's brother, as deputy from the States. Ruyter having put to sea before the enemies fleets were joined, had indeavored to prevent their union. But not succeeding, and being informed, that the two fleets lay at anchor in Solbay in Suffolk, he resolved to attack them. He had like to have surprized them, but being disappointed, prepared for battle. The two fleets of France and England, now composing but one, were ranged in three squadrons. The duke of York, high-admiral of England, commanded the red squadron; the count d'Etrées, the white; and the earl of Sandwich, the blue. The fleet of the States was likewise divided in the same manner; Ruyter was opposed to the duke of York, Bankert to count d'Etrées, and Van Ghent to the earl of Sandwich. All I can gather from the various descriptions of this battle, fought the twenty-eighth of May, is, that both sides displayed all the art and skill which experience had taught the commanders and officers; that they fought with equal bravery, with almost equal loss, and both sides challenged the victory. The admiral-ship of the English being disabled, the duke of York was obliged to hoist his flag in the London. The Royal James, commanded by the earl of Sandwich, not being able to disingage from a fireship, after she had sunk two, was blown up with the earl and her whole crew (2). The English lost two ships more, the Hollanders three, and Van Ghent was killed. The historians of the two parties equally pretend, that their fleet chaced that of the enemies, but both speak of it very slightly. For, it is not intirely the same with ingagements at sea, as with those at land, where commonly he that remains master of the field of battle, justly assumes the honor of the victory; whereas in naval ingagements, a fog, a calm, a wind, either contrary or tempestuous, may oblige the victorious fleet to retire the first. However bonfires were equally made at London, and the Hague, for the success of this battle, tho' with very little reason. The English complain, the French did not discharge their duty, and only fought at a distance, after having separated from the fleet. This conduct is ascribed to secret orders given to count d'Etrées, not to expose his Majesty's ships too much, but to leave the English and Dutch fleets to destroy one another (3).

A naval ingagement at Southwold-Bay, or Solbay. Burchett. Echard, Vol. III. p. 299. Basnage. Primi.

The victory uncertain.

Burnet. Echard.

Sometime before this, the King had created the earl of Lauderdale, duke of the same name; the lord Ashley Cooper earl of Shaftsbury; lord Arlington, earl of Arlington; and sir Thomas Clifford, lord Clifford. About the same time sir Thomas Osborn was sworn of the privy-council, and the new duke of Lauderdale, and the earl of Arlington, received the order of the garter. This was doubtless, to recompense these members of the Cabal, for their great services, in advising him to suspend, by his sole authority, the execution of two acts of parliament (4), till he should think convenient to take off the suspension. Tho' this suspension was not in itself disadvantageous to the public, yet, as it proceeded from the same principle by which the King assumed a power of suspending the penal laws against the Non-conformists, it was sufficiently evident, that he would not stop there.

Advancements at court. April 20. Kennet, p. 314.

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The King suspends the execution of two acts of parliament, May 10. Ibid. Echard.

I have already observed the sad condition of the States of the United-Provinces. There were two Provinces, Guelderland and Utrecht, in the power of the French, Overyssel was in the hands of the Elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster. The two provinces of Friesland and Groningen were not only threatened, but even attacked. In fine, the province of Holland found no readier way to stop the progress of the French King (5), who was at Utrecht, than by opening the sluices, and laying the counrry under water (6). This melancholly situation of affairs, raised a great discontent among the Dutch, and as the Pensionary de Wit had been many years at the head of the government, all the calamities of his country were charged to his ill conduct. Moreover, the people openly accused him of betraying his country. At last, this general discontent rose to sedition, which caused the States of Holland to annul the perpetual edict made in the year 1667, wherein they had obliged themselves never to own the Prince of Orange for Stadtholder, and to dispense with that oath; after which, the Prince was made Stadtholder. Sometime after, the two brothers, Cornelius and John de Wit, the first grand bailiff of Putten, and the other Pensionary of Holland, but who had lately thrown up his imploy, were torn in pieces by the mob of the Hague. The story is too well known to need a recital. It suffices to say, the Prince of Orange remained in peaceable possession of the government of Holland and Zealand; for Friesland and Groningen had a separate Stadtholder, viz. the young Prince John Casimir of Nassau, under the tuition of the Princess his mother, and three provinces were in the hands of the adversary.

Holland in a most deplorable condition. Basnage. Kennet, p. 314.

Admits the Prince of Orange to the office of Stadtholder. July 3.

The two de Wits tore to pieces by the rabble. Temple's Mem. Basnage. Echard. Burnet.

Lewis XIV, who had ever feared the Prince of Orange's advancement, no sooner saw him invested with this high dignity, than he indeavored corrupting him with the offered sovereignty of Holland. But he found this young Prince deaf to all his efforts, and resolute to serve the States who had intrusted him with its government, to the last

The King of France tries to corrupt the Prince of Orange, but in vain. Temple's Mem. Basnage.

(1) Basnage says, it consisted in all of a hundred and fifty-eight ships, Vol. II. p. 206. In the English fleet there were twenty thousand men, and four thousand guns; in the French, thirteen thousand men, and two thousand guns; and in the Dutch, twenty-two thousand men, and four thousand guns. Maiole, or Primi, p. 24.

(2) Of the thousand men on board, six hundred were killed on the deck. When the ship was on fire, the earl retired to his cabin, where he was followed by his captain sir Richard Haddock, who finding him with a handkerchief before his eyes, told him of the danger; but he answered, "He saw how things went, and was resolved to perish with the ship." It seems, the day before, the earl observing, that the English fleet rode in Solbay, in danger of being surprized by the Dutch, advised, That they should weigh anchor, and get out to sea. But the duke of York, slighting the advice, told the earl, "That he spake "that out of fear." Which the earl is thought to have so highly resented, that it rendered him careless of his own safety. Kennet, p. 314. Echard, Vol. III. p. 300.

(3) There were two English ships burnt, three sunk, and one taken; and of the French, one was burnt, and another sunk. Burchett, p. 403. The English also lost the captains of the following ships; of the Henry, Cambridge, Prince, St. George, Ann, Triumph, and Alice. They lost also the lord Maidstone, mr. Montague, sir Philip Cartwright, sir Charles Harbord, mr. Cotterel, mr. Napier, &c. ——— The body of the earl of Sandwich was discovered by one of the King's ketches (being known by the George he had on) and being taken up, and brought to Harwich, was thence removed to London, and solemnly buried in Westminster-Abbey. Kennet, p. 314.

(4) One was, for the incouraging and increasing of shiping and navigation; the other, for the incouragement of trade. Ibid.

(5) Who was approaching with an army of one hundred and eighteen thousand foot, and twenty-six thousand horse; commanded by the Prince of Conde and the marshal de Turenne. Idem. p. 315.

(6) By which the country received damage, to the value of eighteen millions of guilders. Ibid.

moment

moment of his life (1). The King of England ſeconded his ally in this deſign. The States had ſent embaſſadors to him with propoſals of peace, as they had alſo to the King of France at Utrecht. But Charles, after a refuſal to treat but in conjunction with France, and fearing the States deſign was to diſunite them, or render them jealous of each other, diſpatched the duke of Buckingham, and the earl of Arlington, two members of the Cabal *, into Holland, on pretenſe of treating of a peace jointly with France. Theſe embaſſadors paſſing thro' the Hague, in their way to Utrecht, affected to give out, that they were come to bring peace. But when they came to treat, their propoſals were ſo exorbitant, that it was evident peace was not his Majeſty's view in this embaſſy. It was rather to draw cloſer the alliance between France and England, and concert new meaſures for the proſecution of the war, as the ſequel clearly diſcovered. In paſſing thro' the Hague, the duke of Buckingham aſked the Prince, what it was he propoſed to himſelf in the deſperate ſituation of his country. To which the Prince replied, "That it was true their "condition was dangerous, but he had one way "ſtill not to ſee its ruin compleated, and that was "to lie in the laſt dyke." It is reported, the ſame duke, in a viſit to the Princeſs of Orange, having told her that they were good Hollanders, was immediately anſwered by her, "That was more than "they aſked, which was only that they ſhould be "good Engliſhmen." For this war was ſo evidently contrary to the intereſt of the Engliſh nation, that the people themſelves openly murmured at it. But as I have ſaid, not only on this occaſion, but throughout this whole reign, the intereſt of the King, and that of the people were always directly oppoſite. Charles, after the example of his father and grandfather, thought he could ſilence the complaints of the people by a proclamation to forbid, under ſevere penalties, ſpeaking againſt the government, but this ſerved only to increaſe the murmurs.

Charles ſends embaſſadors to Holland. Arlington's Lett. Kennet. Baſnage. * With George Savil, lord Halliſax.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 305. Burnet.

Temple's Mem. p. 382.

Kennet. Echard.

In this interval, the King of France ſeeing, that the drowning of Holland put a ſtop to his conqueſts, marched his army into Flanders, leaving the duke of Luxemburgh at Utrecht, and came to Paris in Auguſt, attended by the duke of Monmouth, who, in purſuance of Charles's ingagement in their treaty, had brought him, at the opening of the campain, ſix thouſand effective men.

Lewis marches into Flanders. Baſnage.

Kennet.

I ſhall not recite the particulars of the war carried on by land during the reſt of the campain, becauſe England had no part in it, and beſide it is fully deſcribed by the hiſtories of thoſe times. It is ſufficient for the reader to know in general, that tho' the States had ſome ſucceſs againſt the biſhop of Munſter, their affairs were reduced to a wretched condition, and the neighborhood of the duke of Luxemburgh ſcarce gave them time to breathe. Their whole refuge lay in the alliances they expected to make with the Emperor, Spain, and ſome Princes of Germany, and in the hopes that the Engliſh parliament which was to meet, according to the prorogation, the thirtieth of October, would ſee the intereſt of England, and of all Europe. But the King deprived them of this laſt reſource, by proroguing the parliament to February.

Baſnage.

The Dutch conceive great hopes from the parliament. Arlington's Lett.

The King declared in council, the fourth of December, that he would raiſe more forces, and diſpoſe of them in convenient quarters, to be imployed on occaſion. And for payment of them, ordered, that the exchequer ſhould continue ſhut till the firſt of May 1673, tho' he had poſitively promiſed it ſhould be opened the begining of the year. On this account he publiſhed a proclamation, in which it was ſaid, "That notwithſtanding his "Majeſty had not been wanting on his part, to "comply with all honorable ways and means that "might effect a peace, yet the continuance of "thoſe inevitable neceſſities which firſt obliged "him to ſhut up the exchequer, compelled him to "continue to ſtop the payment of monies till the "firſt of May next: doubting not but that his lov-"ing ſubjects would have ſuch truſt and confi-"dence in his juſtice, that it would take away all "apprehenſions of their being in the leaſt defrauded "of their juſt dues."

The exchequer ſhut by a new order. Echard, Vol. III. p. 306.

The ways and means uſed by the King to effect a peace, conſiſted, in his embaſſadors demanding, in his name, a million of pounds ſterling for the expenſes of the war; the compliment of the flag without any exception; a hundred thouſand pounds yearly for the liberty of fiſhing; the ſovereignty of all that ſhould remain of the United Provinces, for his nephew the Prince of Orange; a participation of the whole India trade; the town of Sluis; the iſles of Cadſant, Walcheren, Goerée, Voorne; and laſtly, an intire ſatisfaction to the King of France. It muſt have been great obſtinacy in the States to find fault with ſuch reaſonable demands. Conſequently the King could not in honor diſpenſe with the continuation of the war, and the keeping the exchequer ſhut to maintain it.

The King's demands for a peace. Baſnage, Vol. II. p. 257.

Sir John Trevor dying this year, ſir Henry Coventry, lately returned from Sweden, where he had ſucceſsfully negociated for the King, ſucceeded him in the office of ſecretary of ſtate.

Coventry made ſecretary,

Sir Orlando Bridgeman reſigning the great-ſeal, the new earl of Shaftſbury was made lord-high-chancellor (2). A few days after, the King performed his promiſe to Clifford, by making him lord-treaſurer, ſo that all the great offices of the ſtate were held by the Cabal, or by perſons devoted to their intereſts. But that it may be ſeen, how the five lords of the Cabal flattered the King, and one another, at the very time the nation was moſt loudly exclaiming againſt the government, I ſhall inſert here part of a ſpeech made by the lord Shaftſbury, as chancellor, to the lord Clifford, when he tendered him the oath in Weſtminſter-hall, upon his admiſſion to the office of treaſurer. After telling him the nature of his office, he added,——"My "lord, I may juſtly ſay you are in a place of the "very firſt rank as to dignity, power, truſt, and "influence of affairs; a place that requires ſuch a "man as our great maſter's wiſdom hath found for "it; from whoſe natural temper we may expect "courage, quickneſs and reſolution; from whoſe "education, wiſdom, and experience; and from "whoſe extraction from that noble and illuſtrious "houſe of the Cliffords (3), an heroic mind, a large "ſoul, and a unſhaken fidelity to the crown. My "lord, it is a great honor, much even beyond the "place itſelf, that you are choſen to it by the King, "who without flattery, I may ſay, is as great a "maſter in the knowledge of men and things, as "this, or any other age hath produced: and let me "ſay farther, it is not only your honor that you "are choſen by him, but it is your ſafety too, that "you have him to ſerve; with whom no ſubtle

and Shaftſbury lord chancellor. Kennet, p. 316.

(1) He always anſwered, That he would never betray a truſt that was given him, nor ever ſell the liberties of his country, that his anceſtors had ſo long defended. Temple's Mem. p. 381.

(2) He refuſed to put the great-ſeal to the declaration for indulgence, as judging it contrary to law: ſo he was diſmiſſed. Burnet, p. 307.

(3) The treaſurer was deſcended from the Cliffords earl of Cumberland. See Dugdales's Baron. Vol. I. p. 334.

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" infinuations of any near him, nor the aſpiring " intereſt of a favorite, ſhall ever prevail againſt " thoſe that ſerve him well. Nor can his ſervants " fear to be ſacrificed to the malice, fury, or miſ- " take of a more ſwelling popular greatneſs; a " Prince under whom the unfortunate fall gently; " a Prince, in a word, that beſt of all mankind de- " ſerves the title of 'deliciæ humana generis.' Let " me end with this wiſh, or rather propheſy, " That you may exceed all your predeceſſors in this " place; the abilities and fidelity of the renowned " lord Burleigh; the ſagacity, quickneſs and " great diſpatch of his ſon the lord Saliſbury; and " the uprightneſs, integrity and wiſdom of that " great man that went laſt before you, the earl " of Southampton."

It will hereafter appear, that the earl of Shaftſbury did not long preſerve the ſentiments of eſteem and admiration for the King, expreſſed in this ſpeech.

The Cabal had hitherto ſailed with a proſperous gale on a very dangerous ſea, famous for wrecks, without any oppoſition; but at length they were ſtoped in their courſe by a rock which it was not poſſible to avoid, I mean the parliament. It was now almoſt two years ſince the parliament was aſſembled, and as, in that interval, the King had taken ſome ſteps which inſtiled great fears into his ſubjects, the new ſeſſion was expected with the utmoſt impatience, in hopes, that the parliament would apply proper remedies to the preſent evils, and find means to prevent thoſe with which the kingdom was ſtill threatened. The parliament therefore met the fourth of February, and, by the direction of the court choſe a ſpeaker; ſir Edward Turner, the laſt ſpeaker, having been made chief baron of the exchequer. The choice falling upon ſir Job Charleton, he deſired to be excuſed; but the lord chancellor Shaftſbury told him, before the King and both houſes, that no excuſes would be admited.

The parliament meets. Echard.

A new ſpeaker choſen.

" The conjuncture of time (ſays he) and the King's " and kingdom's affairs, require ſuch a houſe of " commons, and ſuch a ſpeaker. For with rever- " ence to the Holy Scripture, the King may on this " occaſion ſay, 'he that is not with me is againſt " me:' for he that doth not now put his hand and " heart to ſupport the King in the common cauſe " of this kingdom, can hardly ever hope ſuch an- " other opportunity, or find a time to make ſa- " tisfaction for the omiſſion of this." Preſently after, his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Echard.

" I Am glad to ſee you here this day; I would " have called you together ſooner, but that I " was willing to eaſe you and the country, till " there was an abſolute neceſſity. Since you were " laſt here, I have been forced to a moſt important, " neceſſary and expenſive war; and I make no " doubt, but you will give me ſuitable and effec- " tual aſſiſtance to go thro' with it. I refer you " to my declaration for the cauſes, and indeed the " neceſſity of this war; and ſhall now only tell you, " that I might have digeſted the indignities to my " own perſon, rather than have brought it to this " extremity, if the intereſt as well as the honor of " the whole kingdom had not been at ſtake: and " if I had omited this conjuncture, perhaps I had " not again ever met with the like advantage. You " will find, that the laſt ſupply you gave me, did " not anſwer the expectation for the end you gave " it, the payment of my debts. Therefore I muſt " in the next place recommend them again to your " eſpecial care.

" Some few days before I declared the war, I " put forth my declaration for indulgence to Diſ- " ſenters, and have hitherto found a good effect " of it, by ſecuring peace at home, when I had " war abroad. There is one part in it that hath " been ſubject to miſconſtruction, which is that " concerning the Papiſts; as if more liberty were " granted to them, than to the other Recuſants; " when it is plain, there is leſs: for the others have " public places allowed them, and I never intended " that they ſhould have any, but only have the " freedom of their religion in their own houſes, " without any concourſe of others. And I could " not grant them leſs than this, when I had ex- " tended ſo much more grace to others, moſt of " them having been loyal, and in the ſervice of " me, and of the King my father: and in the " whole courſe of this indulgence, I do not intend, " that it ſhall any ways prejudice the church, but I " will ſupport its rights, and it in its full power. " Having ſaid this, I ſhall take it very ill to re- " ceive contradiction in what I have done. And " I will deal plainly with you, 'I am reſolved to " ſtick to my declaration.' There is one jealouſy " more that is maliciouſly ſpread abroad, and yet " ſo weak and frivolous, that I once thought it not " of moment enough to mention; but it may have " goten ſome ground with ſome well-minded peo- " ple, and that is, 'That the forces I have raiſed in " this war, were deſigned to controul law and pro- " perty:' I wiſh I had had more forces the laſt ſum- " mer, the want of them convinces me, I muſt " raiſe more againſt this next ſpring; and I do not " doubt but you will conſider the charge of them " in your ſupplies. I will conclude with this aſſur- " ance to you, 'That I will preſerve the true Re- " formed Proteſtant religion, and the church, as " it is now eſtabliſhed in this kingdom; and that " no man's property or liberty ſhall ever be in- " vaded.' I leave the reſt to the chancellor."

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The ſpeech afterwards ſpoke by the chancellor is ſo remarkable, that it well deſerves a place in this hiſtory.

My Lords, and you Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons.

" THE King hath ſpoke ſo fully, ſo excel- " lently well, and ſo like himſelf, that you " are not to expect much from me. There is not " a word in his ſpeech that hath not its full weight: " and I dare with aſſurance ſay, will have its effect " with you. His Majeſty had called you ſooner, " and his affairs required it, but that he was re- " ſolved to give you all the eaſe and vacancy to " your own private concerns; and the people as " much reſpite from payments and taxes, as the ne- " ceſſity of his buſineſs, or their preſervation, would " permit. And yet (which I cannot but here men- " tion to you) by the crafty inſinuations of ſome " ill-affected perſons, there have been ſpread ſtrange " and deſperate rumors, which your meeting to- " gether this day, hath ſufficiently proved both " malicious and falſe. His Majeſty hath told you, " that he is now ingaged in an important, very " expenſive, and indeed, a war abſolutely neceſ- " ſary and unavoidable. He hath referred you to " his declaration, where you will find the perſo- " nal indignities by pictures and medals, and other " public affronts, his Majeſty hath received from " the States; their breach of treaties, both in the " Surinam, and Eaſt-India buſineſs: and at laſt " they came to that height of inſolence, as to deny " the honor and right of the flag, tho' an undoubted " jewel of this crown, never to be parted with, and " by them particularly owned in the late treaty of " Breda, and never conteſted in any age. And " while the King firſt long expected, and then ſo-

" lemnly

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" lemnly demanded ſatisfaction, they diſputed his " title to it, in all the courts of Chriſtendom, and " made great offers to the French King, if he " would ſtand by them againſt us. But the Moſt " Chriſtian King too well remembered, what they " did at Munſter, contrary to ſo many treaties and " ſolemn ingagements; and how dangerous a neigh- " bor they were to all crowned heads. The King " and his miniſters had here a hard time, and lay " every day under new obloquies. Sometimes they " were repreſented as ſelling all to France for mo- " ney to make this war: Portſmouth, Plymouth, " and Hull, were to be given into the French hands " for caution. The next day news came, that " France and Holland were agreed. Then the " obloquy was turned from treachery to folly: the " miniſters are now fools, that ſome days before " were villains. And indeed the coffee-houſes were " not to be blamed for their laſt apprehenſions; " ſince if that conjunction had not taken effect, then " England had been in a far worſe caſe than it now " is, and the war had been turned upon us. But " both Kings knowing their intereſts, reſolved to " join againſt them, who were the common ene- " mies to all Monarchies, and I may ſay eſpecially " to ours, their only competitor for trade and " power at ſea; and who only ſtand in their way, " to an Univerſal Empire, as great as Rome. " This the States underſtood ſo well, and had " ſwallowed ſo deep, that under all their preſent " diſtreſs and danger, they are ſo intoxicated with " that vaſt ambition, that they ſlight a treaty, and " refuſe a ceſſation. All this, you, and the whole " nation ſaw, before the laſt war; but it could " not then be ſo well timed, or our alliance ſo " well made. But you judged aright, 'That at " any rate, Delenda est Carthago, " that government was to be brought down.' And " therefore the King may well ſay to you, it is " your war! He took his meaſures from you; and " they were juſt and right ones: and he expects a " ſuitable aſſiſtance to ſo neceſſary and expenſive an " action; which he has hitherto maintained at his " own charge, and was unwilling either to trouble " you, or burthen the country, until it came to " an inevitable neceſſity. And his Majeſty com- " mands me to tell you, that unleſs it be a certain " ſum, and ſpeedily raiſed, it can never anſwer " the occaſion.

" My Lords and Gentlemen. Reputation is the " great ſupport of war or peace. This war had " never begun, nor had the States ever ſlighted the " King, or ever refuſed him ſatisfaction; neither " had this war continued to this day, or ſubſiſted " now, but that the States were deceived in their " meaſures, and apprehended his Majeſty in that " great want of money, that he muſt ſit down un- " der any affronts, and was not able to begin or " carry on a war. Nay, at this day the States ſup- " port themſelves amongſt their people by this only " falſehood, 'That they are aſſured of the temper " of England, and of the parliament, and that you " will not ſupply the King in this war; and that " if they can hold out till your meeting, they " will have new life, and take new meaſures.' " There are lately taken two of their principal " agents, with their credentials and inſtructions " to this purpoſe, who are now in the Tower, and " ſhall be proceeded againſt according to the law " of nations. But the King is ſufficiently aſſured " of his people; knows you better; and can never " doubt his parliament. This had not been men- " tioned, but to ſhew you of what importance the " frankneſs and ſeaſonableneſs of this ſupply is, as " well as the fullneſs of it. Let me ſay, the King " has brought the States to that condition, that " your hearty conjunction at this time in ſupplying " his Majeſty, will make them never more formid- " able to Kings, or dangerous to England. And " if after this you ſuffer them to get up, let this be " remembered, 'The States of Holland are Eng- " land's eternal enemies, both by Interest " and Inclination.' In the next place, to " the ſupply for the carrying on of the war, his " Majeſty recommends to you the taking care of " his debts. What you gave the laſt ſeſſion did " not anſwer your own expectation. Beſide, an- " other conſiderable aid you deſigned his Majeſty, " was unfortunately loſt in the birth; ſo that the " King was forced for the carrying on his affairs, " much againſt his will, to put a ſtop to the pay- " ments out of the exchequer. He ſaw the preſ- " ſures upon himſelf, and growing inconveniences " to his people by great intereſt; and the difference " thro' all his buſineſs between ready money and " orders. This gave the King the neceſſity of that " proceeding; to make uſe of his own revenue, " which hath been of ſo great effect in this war. " But tho' he hath put a ſtop to the trade and gain " of the bankers, yet he would be unwilling to " ruin them, and oppreſs ſo many families as are " concerned in thoſe debts: beſide, it were too diſ- " proportionable a burden upon many of his good " ſubjects. But neither the bankers, nor they, " have reaſon to complain, if you now take them " into your care, and they have paid them what " was due to them, when the ſtop was made, with " ſix per Cent intereſt from that time. The King " is very much concerned both in honor and in- " tereſt, to ſee this done, and yet he deſires you " not to miſ-time it; but that it may have only the " ſecond place, and that you will firſt ſetle what " you intend about the ſupply.

" His Majeſty has ſo fully vindicated his decla- " ration from that calumny concerning the Papiſts, " that no reaſonable ſcruple can be made by any " good man. He has ſufficiently juſtified it by the " time it was publiſhed in, and the effects he hath " had from it; and might have done it more from " the agreeableneſs of it, to his own natural diſpo- " ſition, which no good Engliſhman can wiſh other " than it is. He loves not blood, or rigorous ſeve- " rities; but where mild or gentle ways may be " uſed by a wiſe Prince, he is certain to chuſe " them. The church of England and all good " Proteſtants, have reaſon to rejoice in ſuch a head, " and ſuch a defender. His Majeſty doth declare " his care and concerns for the church, and will " maintain them in all their rights and privileges, " equal, if not beyond any of his predeceſſors. He " was born and bred up in it: it was that his father " died for: we all know how great temptations " and offers he reſiſted abroad, when he was in his " loweſt condition; and he thinks it the honor of " his reign, 'That he hath been the reſtorer of the " church.' It is that he will ever maintain, and " hopes to leave to poſterity in greater luſtre, and " upon ſurer grounds, than our anceſtors ever ſaw " it. But his Majeſty is not convinced, that vio- " lent ways are the intereſts of religion, or the " church. There is one thing more, that I am " commanded to ſpeak to you of, which is the " jealouſy that hath been fooliſhly ſpread abroad, of " the forces the King has raiſed in this war. Where- " in the King hath opened himſelf freely to you, " and confeſſed the fault on the other hand. For if " this laſt ſummer had not proved a miracle of " ſtorms and tempeſts, ſuch as ſecured their Eaſt- " India fleet, and protected their ſea-coaſts from a " deſcent, nothing but the true reaſon, want of " money, could have juſtified the defect in the " number of our forces. It is that his Majeſty is

" provided

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" provided for againſt the next ſpring, having " given out orders for the raiſing of ſeven or eight " regiments more of foot, under the command " of perſons of the greateſt fortunes and quali- " ty. And I am earneſtly to recommend to " you, that in your ſupplies, you will take into " your conſideration, this neceſſary addition of " charge.

" And after his Majeſty's concluſion of his " ſpeech, let me conclude, nay, let us all con- " clude with bleſſing God, and the King! Let us " bleſs God, that he hath given us ſuch a King, " to be the repairer of our breaches, both in " church and ſtate; and the 'reſtorer of our paths " to dwell in:' that in the midſt of war and miſery, " which rages in our neighbor countries, 'our " garners are full, and there is no complaining in " our ſtreets;' and a man can hardly know that " there is a war. Let us bleſs God, that he hath " given this King ſignally the hearts of his people, " and moſt particularly of his parliament, who in " their affection and loyalty to their Prince have " exceeded all their predeceſſors: a parliament, " with whom the King hath many years lived with " all the careſſes of a happy marriage. Has the " King had a concern? You have wedded it. " Has his Majeſty wanted ſupplies? You have " readily, chearfully, and fully provided for them. " You have relied upon the wiſdom and conduct " of his Majeſty in all his affairs; ſo that you " have never attempted to exceed your bounds, or " to impoſe upon him: while the King on the " other hand, hath made your counſels the foun- " dation of all his proceedings; and had been ſo " tender of you, that he hath, upon his own revenue " and credit, indeavored to ſupport even foreign " wars, that he might be leaſt uneaſy to you, " or burdenſome to his people. And let me ſay, " That tho' this marriage be according to Moſes's " law, where the huſband can give a bill of di- " vorce, put her away, and take another; yet I " can aſſure you, it is as impoſſible for the King " to part with this parliament, as it is for you to " depart from that loyalty, affection, and dutiful be- " havior, you have hitherto ſhewn towards him. " Let us bleſs the King for taking away all our " fears, and leaving no room for jealouſies; and " for thoſe aſſurances and promiſes he hath made " us. Let us bleſs God and the King, that our " religion is ſafe; that the church of England is " the care of our Prince; that parliaments are " ſafe; and that our properties and liberties are " ſafe. What more hath a good Engliſhman to " aſk? 'But that this King may long reign,' and " this triple alliance of King, parliament, and peo- " ple may never be diſſolved."

Remarks upon this ſpeech.

I ſhall make no reflections on this ſpeech, becauſe it would lead me too far; and beſide, I imagine every diſ-intereſted reader can ſee the falſity of moſt of the things related, and the groſs artifice wherewith they are vented. I ſhall only obſerve, that this ſpeech was ſpoke by a member, or rather by the head of the Cabal, who perfectly knew the King's ſecret intentions. The earl of Shaftſbury therefore muſt have had a forehead of braſs to pronounce ſuch a ſpeech before ſo auguſt an aſſembly. But very likely, this was only for form ſake, and the Cabal believed themſelves ſo ſecure, that the parliament itſelf would not dare to ſeem to know their artifices. However they were miſtaken, for the houſe of commons had, even before the King and chancellor delivered their ſpeeches, given ſome indications of vigor. Preſently after their meeting, they loudly complained of writs iſſued out by the lord chancellor, for electing and returning of perſons to ſit in their houſe, in the room of ſuch as were dead, or removed. And, by the way, all the members elected by virtue of theſe writs, were the chancellor's creatures. This complaint occaſioned the King, immediately after the two ſpeeches, to declare to the commons, " That " he had given order to the lord chancellor to " ſend out writs, for the better ſupply of their " houſe, having ſeen precedents for it; but if any " ſcruple or queſtion did ariſe about it, he left it " to the houſe to debate as ſoon as they could." Accordingly the commons, the very next day, voted thoſe writs and returns irregular, and expelled all the members thus elected.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 313. Burnet.

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Members unduly elected turned out of the houſe.

There were in this parliament, as in moſt others, two parties, called the Court and Country party. This was their diſtinction, and it manifeſtly implied, that the intereſts of the court were directly oppoſite to thoſe of the people, as the intereſts of one party are uſually to thoſe of the contrary. The court party had always prevailed, while the people were perſuaded of the good intentions of the King and his miniſters. But as his Majeſty diſcovered himſelf, both by his way of living, aud frequent ſigns of irreligion; or by his inclination for the Papiſts; or by his profuſion and avidity of money; or laſtly, by his union with France and the war with the States, his party ſenſibly decreaſed every day, for two very natural reaſons. Firſt, becauſe many of thoſe members, who, at the begining, were of the King's party thro' inclination and zeal for religion, while they conſidered him as protector of the church of England, loſt this inclination, as ſoon as they were convinced, that the King was far from deſigning the good of the church or ſtate. His Majeſty's proteſtations loſt all their effect, when it was once ſeen, that his actions ſo little correſponded with his words. Secondly, for the ſame reaſon, the people, perceiving that religion and the ſtate were in danger, choſe ſuch repreſentatives to fill the vacancies of the houſe, whoſe principles were directly oppoſite to the deſigns of the court. As the ſeats by the death of the members could not but be very numerous in a parliament, which had now ſate twelve years, the country party came by degrees to prevail, and the King and his miniſters no longer found it ſo eaſy to carry whatever they deſired, as at the opening of the parliament. It is certain, ſo long as the people do not ſuſpect the King of ill deſigns againſt liberty and religion, the court party prevail in the parliament, or rather there are not then two different parties. For, ſuppoſing the King an exact obſerver of the laws himſelf, and careful to ſee them punctually obeyed, there can be no difference between the two parties, but with reſpect to the quantity of money granted to the King. But as the people are under obligations to the King, for his maintenance of order, equity, moderation, and juſtice in the government, they are never uneaſy with the power and wealth heaped on ſuch a King, and commonly the country party, if there is one in the parliament, is much inferior to the King's. But the caſe is quite otherwiſe when the people are once prejudiced againſt their Sovereign, and no longer confide in his promiſes. For then, the court party is compoſed of men, who have only their own private fortunes in view, and is not ſo numerous as that of the people, which, beſide the public intereſt, find likewiſe a private advantage in oppoſing the court's deſigns. In this caſe, the people uſually chuſe able repreſentatives, and ſuch as are believed well affected to their country, and it is very rare that the intrigues of the court are capable of hindering theſe elections. A proof of what I advance was ſeen in the elections of the parliament of the third of November 1640, under Charles I, wherein the country

Two parties in the parliament.

That of the people uppermoſt.

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country-party was ſo ſuperior to that of the court. This proof is confirmed by the tranſactions of the parliament I am now ſpeaking of, which for twelve years had appeared ſo devoted to his Majeſty, and which changed from one extreme to another, when they had loſt their former confidence in the King and his miniſter. It is in vain to aſcribe this change to the intrigues and cabals of ſome particular enemies of the court. Never could private perſons be powerful enough to corrupt a whole parliament, or the greater part, if their credit was not built upon the miſmanagement of the King and his miniſters. As we are entering upon a new period, I believe it neceſſary to prepare the reader for this change, by ſhowing him the true cauſe of it.

In the two ſpeeches of the King and the chancellor, we have ſeen what vaſt ſupplies the King demanded of his parliament, viz. a conſiderable aid for the ſea-ſervice; another for the land; a third to diſcharge ſome old debts; a fourth to refund the money taken out of the exchequer, and which could not amount to leſs than two millions two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling for the ſpace of ſeventeen months. All this computed, muſt have amounted at leaſt to five millions. Tho' the chancellor's ſpeech had but little weight with the commons, they would however ſhow, that in demanding a redreſs of grievances, as was their intention, they did not act thro' a ſpirit of paſſion and revenge. Wherefore, tho' they were by no means convinced of the neceſſity or juſtice of the war undertaken by the King, they voted a ſupply of an eighteen months aſſeſſment of ſeventy thouſand pounds a month, which in all amounted to twelve hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, for the King's extraordinary occaſions, without ſpecifying that it was for the ſupport of the war. But for fear his Majeſty ſhould prorogue them when the money bill was paſſed, they reſolved that the redreſs of grievances ſhould keep an even pace with it.

Feb. 17. Kennet, p. 318. Echard, Vol. III. p. 314. J. Phillips.

Addreſs of the commons againſt the declaration for liberty of conſcience. Echard, Vol. III. p. 314.

To this end, the nineteenth of February, the commons preſented an addreſs to the King, in which they told him——— "That having taken "into conſideration his declaration for indulgence to "Diſſenters, they found themſelves bound in duty "to inform his Majeſty, 'That penal laws in "matters eccleſiaſtical cannot be ſuſpended but by "act of parliament;' they therefore moſt humbly "beſought his Majeſty, to give ſuch directions, "'That no apprehenſions or jealouſies, might "remain in the hearts of his faithful ſubjects. To this addreſs the King ſent the following anſwer. "That he was very much troubled, that the de-"claration which he put out for ends ſo ne-"ceſſary to the quiet of this kingdom, eſpecially "in that conjuncture, ſhould prove the cauſe of "diſquiet, and give occaſion to the queſtioning of "his power in eccleſiaſtics, which he finds not "done in the reigns of any of his anceſtors. That "he never had thoughts of uſing it otherwiſe than "as it hath been intruſted in him to the peace and "eſtabliſhment of the church of England, and the "eaſe of all his ſubjects in general: neither doth "he pretend to ſuſpend any laws wherein the pro-"perties, rights, or liberties of any of his ſubjects "are concerned; nor to alter any thing in the "eſtabliſhed doctrine or diſcipline of the church "of England: but his only deſign in this was to "take off the penalties inflicted by ſtatutes upon "the Diſſenters, and which he believed, when "well conſidered of, they themſelves would not "not wiſh executed according to the rigor of the "law: neither hath he done this with any thought "of avoiding, or precluding the advice of his "parliament; and if any bill ſhall be offered to "him, which ſhall appear more proper to attain "the aforeſaid ends, and ſecure the peace of the "church and kingdom, when tendered in due "manner to him, 'He will ſhew how readily "he will concur in all ways that ſhall appear for "the good of the kingdom."

The King's anſwer. Feb. 23.

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The commons eaſily perceived, the King was not inclined to deſiſt from his declaration. Wherefore, three days after, they preſented another addreſs, in which, "They thanked him for his gra-"cious aſſurances and promiſes of 'maintaining "the religion eſtabliſhed, and the liberties and "properties of the people:' And they did not in "the leaſt doubt, but that his Majeſty had the ſame "gracious intentions in giving ſatisfaction to his "ſubjects, by his anſwer to their laſt petition and "addreſs: but that they found, that the ſaid an-"ſwer was not ſufficient to clear the apprehenſions "that might juſtly remain in the minds of his "people, by his Majeſty's having claimed a power "to ſuſpend penal laws in matters eccleſiaſtical, "and which his Majeſty did ſtill ſeem to aſſert, "in the ſaid anſwer, 'to be intitled in the crown, "and never queſtioned in any of the reigns of his "anceſtors:' wherein they humbly conceived his "Majeſty had been much miſinformed, ſince no ſuch "power had ever been claimed or exerciſed by "any of his Majeſty's predeceſſors. And if it ſhould "be admited, might tend to the interrupting the "free courſe of the laws, and altering the legi-"ſlative power, which had always been acknow-"leged to reſide in his Majeſty, and in his two "houſes of parliament. They therefore with an "unanimous conſent became humble ſuitors to his "Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to give them a "full and ſatisfactory anſwer to their ſaid petition "and addreſs, and that his Majeſty would take ſuch "effectual order, 'That the proceedings in this mat-"ter, might not for the future be drawn into con-"ſequence or example." The King's anſwer to this addreſs was, "It is of conſequence, and I "will take it into conſideration."

A ſecond addreſs from the commons. Feb. 26

The King's anſwer.

At the time theſe addreſſes were preparing, ſir Job Charleton, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, being taken ill, humbly prayed his Majeſty, that he might be eaſed of the burden he was no longer able to ſuſtain. Edward Seymour, ſo famous in the reign of William III, was, by the court's recommendation, choſen in his room.

Mr. Seymour choſen ſpeaker of the commons. Kennet, p. 318.

The King and the Cabal were extremely miſtaken in imagining, that the declaration of liberty of conſcience, would gain the Preſbyterians, in return for ſo great a favor. The leaders of that party were too wiſe to be caught in ſo palpable and dangerous a ſnare. It was not difficult for them to perceive they were only deſigned as inſtruments to advance the intereſt of the Romiſh faith. When they reflected, that this favor was received from the King, the duke of York, and the members of the Cabal, they could not be perſuaded it flowed from a principle of religion or humanity. Beſide, they ſaw ſo many extraordinary proceedings, ſo many invaſions upon the rights of the people; the Papiſts indulged in their religion; the King making exorbitant demands upon his parliament; an army incamped at the very gates of London (1) in the midſt of winter; a war begun to deſtroy the only Proteſtant ſtate capable of ſupporting religion; and Catholics in the principal poſts; all this ſufficiently demonſtrated, that the ſuſpenſion of the penal laws was not for their ſake. So, inſtead of thanking his Majeſty for this pretended favor, alderman

The Preſbyterians upon their guard.

Ibid.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 316. Burnet.

(1) On Black-Heath; raiſed without advice of parliament, and under many Popiſh officers. Kennet, p. 318.

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Love, a city-member, and an eminent Diſſenter, ſpoke with the greateſt warmth againſt the declaration (1). This declaration for liberty of conſcience, wrought a great change in the houſe of commons. For that houſe, which had been ſo extravagantly animated againſt the Preſbyterians, ſeeing them ſacrifice their own intereſt to that of religion and the kingdom, ordered a bill to be brought in for their eaſe; a bill by which all the penalties againſt them in the act of uniformity were removed, and nothing required but taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy. This bill was read the firſt time on the twenty-ſeventh of February, and was completed in a few days. But the lords having made ſome amendments, the King prorogued the parliament before theſe amendments could be agreed to by the commons.

A bill prepared by the commons in favor of the Preſbyterians.

This bill, which was readily paſſed by the commons, ſufficiently ſhewed their diſtruſt of the court with regard to the declaration for liberty of conſcience, ſince by it all pretenſe was taken away of confounding the Preſbyterians with the other Non-conformiſts. As long as the commons had not ſuſpected the King's intention to favor Popery, they had affected to rank all the Diſſenters in one claſs, in order to include the Preſbyterians in the ſtatutes made againſt Non-conformiſts in general. But when his Majeſty was perceived to uſe this confuſion to favor the Papiſts, the commons were willing to own the ſeveral ſects ought to be diſtinguiſhed, and rather than abandon religion to the intrigues and artifices of the court and the Papiſts, reſolved to eaſe the Preſbyterians. In this they diſcovered a true zeal for the Proteſtant religion in general, knowing, it was not ſo dangerouſly attacked by the Preſbyterians as the Papiſts. But they ſhewed their attachment to the Proteſtant religion not only on this occaſion. At the very time they were preparing this bill for the eaſe of the Preſbyterians, another was brought in to injoin frequent catechiſing in the parochial churches (2) for the inſtruction of youth, intimating thereby, how neceſſary this precaution was thought in the preſent juncture. But this bill, as well as the other, was rendered abortive by the parliament's prorogation (3).

A reflection upon the conduct of the commons.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 317.

Burnet.

There can be no plainer indication of what the parliament thought of the deſigns of the court in favor of the Papiſts, than the addreſs preſented by both houſes to the King about the ſame time. This addreſs contained, firſt complaints on the growth of Popery; on the great reſort of Romiſh prieſts and jeſuits in the Kingdom; on the admiſſion of ſo many recuſants into places of truſt, and particularly in the army. After this, the two houſes deſired, "1. That his Majeſty would be pleaſed "to iſſue out his Royal proclamation, to com- "mand all prieſts and jeſuits (with exception of "thoſe in attendance upon the Queen, not being "natural born ſubjects) to depart within thirty "days out of the kingdom: and that his Majeſty "would be pleaſed, in the ſame proclamation, to "command all judges and other officers, to put "the laws in execution againſt all ſuch prieſts and "jeſuits, as ſhould be found in the kingdom after "that time. 2. That his Majeſty would be "pleaſed likewiſe to iſſue out commiſſions, to "tender the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy to "to all officers and ſoldiers now in his ſervice and "pay, and that ſuch as refuſed the ſaid oaths "might be immediately diſbanded. 3. That the "commiſſaries of the muſters be commanded and "injoined by his Majeſty's warrant, upon the pe- "nalty of loſing their places, not to permit any "officer to be muſtered in the ſervice and pay of "his Majeſty, until he hath taken the oaths of "allegiance and ſupremacy, and received the ſa- "crament of the lord's ſupper, according to the "uſage of the church of England; and that every "ſoldier ſhould take the ſaid oaths before his firſt "muſter, and receive the ſacrament in like "manner, before his ſecond muſter." Upon this addreſs, his Majeſty publiſhed a proclamation in the uſual ſtile, the ſeventh of that kind, by which (after a declaration, that as he had always adhered to the church of England, againſt all temptations whatſoever, ſo he was reſolved to maintain and defend it) he ſtrictly commanded all jeſuits and Romiſh prieſts to depart the kingdom, and the laws to be put in due execution, againſt all Popiſh recuſants, or thoſe juſtly ſuſpected ſo to be, &c. This proclamation was not ſatisfactory to the commons, becauſe it extended but to one ſingle article of their petition, without any mention of the removal of Papiſts from places of truſt. Wherefore, they proceeded to a new bill, in order to obtain their end, being reſolved not to finiſh the money bill, till they had procured a redreſs of their grievances, and particularly a revocation of the declaration for liberty of conſcience.

Addreſs from the parliament againſt the Papiſts. Echard, Vol. III. p. 317.

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A proclamation upon it. Id. p. 318.

The commons enter upon new meaſures.

Charles was never ſo perplexed ſince his reſtoration. The Cabal had promiſed to make him abſolute, but after all, ſuggeſted no other means, than the uſing of force, at all hazards. By degrees he had hoped to attain his aim, in gaining now one point, then another, and laſtly to ſee himſelf able to trample on all oppoſers. He had moreover relied on the aſſiſtance of France, after the commonwealth of Holland ſhould be deſtroyed. But he had prepoſterouſly imagined, he ſhould have time to form all his meaſures, and be able to ſupport his deſigns, whenever they ſhould meet with oppoſition. Perhaps too he had depended on the condeſcenſion of this parliament, by reaſon it had hitherto been favorable to him. But as the commons were proceeding, the time was come, that the King muſt either give way, or break with them. In this laſt caſe, he had too much ſenſe to believe, that a handful of Papiſts, with a few flattering courtiers and miniſters, were able to ſupport him, at a time when he could expect no aſſiſtance from France, and when the male-contents might be countenanced by a Dutch fleet. Beſide, his exchequer was empty: and therefore he muſt have reſolved, by means of his army, to raiſe money on his ſubjects; knowing if he had not wherewith to content his adherents, he would hardly ingage them to betray the intereſts of their country. But this army was Proteſtant, excepting a few Popiſh officers and ſoldiers. The officers of the fleet, and the ſailors, were alſo Proteſtants. It was therefore unnatural to expect ingaging ſuch a fleet and army in his deſigns, ſo contrary to their religion and liberties. Laſtly, he conſidered, that theſe very miniſters and courtiers, who appeared ſo devoted to his ſervice, would deſert him, as it happened to the King his father, when he ſhould be no longer able to protect them. In ſhort, it was too ſoon to begin the execution of a project of this nature, for which he was unprepared, and yet, by the parliament's laſt addreſs, he was obliged either to execute or relinquiſh it. His honor ſeemed ingaged to ſupport the declaration for

The King in great difficulties. Echard.

(1) He declared, he had much rather ſtill go without their deſired liberty, than have it in a way that would prove ſo detrimental to the nation. Kennet, p. 318.

(2) Every Sunday in the afternoon. Echard, Vol. III. p. 317.

(3) It was ſtoped in the houſe of lords, ſays R. Coke, Vol. III. p. 180.

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liberty of conſcience, for he had told the parliament that he would adhere to it, and his inclination led him to favor the Papiſts, whoſe religion he had ſecretly imbraced. He moreover found himſelf obliged not to abandon thoſe miniſters to the parliament's reſentment; who, in giving him their advice, had depended on his protection. But honor was not capable to balance the difficulties which he foreſaw, if he perſiſted in his enterprize. On the other hand, his council was divided. The duke of Ormond and the earl of Arlington adviſed him to wait a more favorable opportunity; but the duke of York, and the reſt of the Cabal, were for throwing off the maſk, and ſupporting his declaration. They repreſented, that his father's ruin was owing to his condeſcending to the firſt demands of the parliament of 1640; and ſaid, they ſaw no leſs cauſe to fear now; for ſhould the declaration be recalled, other demands would be ſet up, which would never end, till they were carried ſo high, that the King would not be able to grant them, without undoing himſelf: and that after a thouſand condeſcenſions, he would at laſt be obliged to break with the parliament, and all the fruit he could reap from this compliance, would be to make them the more inſolent. They farther added, that his holding his reſolution a few days would bring the parliament to reaſon, his Majeſty having a party among them which began to make the leaders waver: and that there were forces ſufficient on foot to ſupport the one ſide, and intimidate the other. It is pretended, the earl of Shaftſbury undertook to anſwer for the ſucceſs. All this was very capable to hold the King in ſuſpenſe. It is believed, the ladies ingaged in this affair, and fearing that a rupture would deprive them of the King's bounties, ſtrongly ſollicited him to recal his declaration. However the King, after ſome heſitation, called for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the ſeal.

His council divided. Orleans. Echard.

He recalls his declaration. Burnet, p. 351. Echard.

The King came to the parliament the eighth of March, and after preſſing the commons to diſpatch the money bill, ſaid to both houſes, ——— "If "there be any ſcruple yet remaining with you "touching the ſuſpenſion of the penal laws, I here "faithfully promiſe you, that what hath been "done in that particular, ſhall not for the future be "drawn into example and conſequence; and as I "daily expect from you a bill for my ſupply, ſo "I aſſure you, I ſhall as willingly receive and paſs "any other you ſhall offer me, that may tend to "the giving you ſatisfaction in all your juſt griev-"ances."

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Ibid.

This ſpeech was ſo agreeable to the parliament, that both houſes went in a body and thanked the King for ſo full and ſatisfactory an anſwer.

Is thanked for it by both houſes.

But if the two houſes were pleaſed, the Cabal was not ſo. They had formed a project, and prepared a ſcheme to render King Charles abſolute. Nay, they had taken ſome ſteps towards its execution. This ſcheme had never been formed, had it not been ſuggeſted, the King would have the courage and reſolution to withſtand the complaints of the parliament: for the projectors could never imagine the parliament would ſuffer the liberties of the people to be invaded without oppoſition. All their hope therefore was founded upon his Majeſty's ſteadineſs. They were to ingage in a conteſt, in which they flattered themſelves to render the King victorious. But, to their great aſtoniſhment, they ſaw the King was retreating, when he ſhould have prepared for battle, and conſequently the hopes of victory were intirely vaniſhed. But this was not all they had to apprehend; they were in danger of being abandoned by the King, to the reſentment of the two houſes after this firſt ſtep; for how could they hope for his Majeſty's protection who had juſt given ſuch manifeſt marks of his own fear?

The Cabal very much diſpleaſed with the King.

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The earl of Arlington, as I have obſerved, had in ſome meaſure, deſerted the Cabal, by his advice to the King, to revoke his declaration for liberty of conſcience. The earl of Shaftſbury ſoon followed him, but in a manner more ſurprizing, more public, and with more remarkable circumſtances. As ſoon as he perceived, the King had not ſufficient reſolution to execute the great work which was projected, he thought it but juſt to forſake a Prince, who had forſaken himſelf, and left his counſellors expoſed to danger. This was the ſecond time the earl had experienced Charles's inconſtancy, and want of reſolution. The declaration affair was common to him with the reſt of the Cabal. But the writs iſſued out of chancery for the election of members to fill the vacant ſeats in the houſe of commons, were peculiar to him. He had undertaken to iſſue theſe writs as chancellor, on pretenſe of ſome precedents which were never known, on the King's poſitive promiſe to ſtand by him; and yet, he was deſerted by his Majeſty, at the firſt inſtance of the commons, or rather before their complaints. This was, however, a thing of very great importance. For if the crown could have iſſued writs for filling the vacancies, it could have been very eaſy for the miniſters to have had ſuch members returned as they pleaſed, as it happened on this firſt occaſion, wherein all thoſe who were choſen were creatures of the court. Father Orleans, who received his information of the Engliſh affairs from King James II, poſitively affirms, as one that could not be miſtaken when he follows ſuch a guide, "That the ancient cuſtom was, on the death of a "member, for the chancellor to iſſue a writ under "the great-ſeal, for the election of another, and "tho' the writ contained nothing to obſtruct "the freedom of the elections, yet the King might "find means to prevent any member from being "choſen, who was againſt him. That this cuſtom "had been changed during the troubles of the laſt "reign, when the commons aſſumed he power of "iſſuing the writs by their ſpeaker, and that this "abuſe had been ſuffered to continue, ſince the "King's reſtoration, thro' the weakneſs or igno-"rance of the chancellors before Shaftſbury." But this is a groundleſs aſſertion, as appears from what the King himſelf ſaid to both houſes, at the begining of this ſeſſion, "That he had given order to the lord "chancellor to ſend out writs, for the better ſupply "of their houſe, having ſeen precedents for it." Had this been a right inherent in the crown, and firſt invaded by the commons, during the troubles of the laſt reign, would the King have ſaid only, "that he had ſeen ſome precedents for it." This remark is only to ſhew, with what caution father Orleans's hiſtory is to be read, tho' dictated by King James himſelf.

Shaftſbury turns to the country party. Burnet. Echard.

Father Orleans refuted.

The earl of Shaftſbury throws himſelf into the party of the people. Orleans.

The earl of Shaftſbury was therefore more expoſed to the reſentment of the commons, than any other of the Cabal, not only for pernicious counſels given the King, in conjunction with his four colleagues, the ſecret whereof was not yet known, but chiefly for the writs iſſued by him as chancellor, ſo deſtructive of their rights and privileges. He had therefore reaſon to fear a vigorous proſecution for this fact, and it is certain, the oppoſite party to the court had already projected an accuſation againſt him. On the contrary, the weakneſs he had diſcovered in the King, gave him no hopes of protection from thence. He believed therefore, he had no other way to divert the impending ſtorm, than by quiting the King, and throwing himſelf into the contrary party. "He executed this re-"ſolution, ſays father Orleans, the day after the "King reſolved to revoke his declaration for

"liberty

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" liberty of conſcience. It was eleven at night " before the King had taken his laſt reſolution, and " the next morning the earl of Shaftſbury appeared " in the houſe of lords, at the head of the moſt " violent party, againſt the Catholic religion, the " Dutch war, and the union with France." If father Orleans is to be credited, he did more, for in a full houſe he diſcovered the reaſons which had induced the King to grant that liberty of conſcience, join with France, and declare war againſt Holland. I doubt not his diſcovering this ſecret to his new party, but confeſs, I muſt have better evidence than that of father Orleans, to convince me that this diſcovery was made publicly in a full houſe, and on this very occaſion, eſpecially, before the King and duke of York, who were that day preſent in the houſe. This would have been a formal accuſation againſt his Majeſty, the duke of York, and the other four members of the Cabal, of which he could have given no proofs, if they had been demanded. He had too much ſenſe to expoſe himſelf to ſuch danger. The occaſion of his declaring publicly againſt the King, on the day I am ſpeaking of, was this.

The earl of Shaftſbury declares publicly againſt the King. Tyley. Burnet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 321.

The lord treaſurer Clifford, ignorant of Shaftſbury's intentions, paid him a viſit the night before, and communicating to him a project for eſtabliſhing a perpetual fund to free the King from his dependence on the parliament, read to him a ſpeech, he had prepared to ſpeak on the morrow in the houſe of lords, concerning this project. The earl of Shaftſbury ſeemed highly pleaſed with the ſpeech, and deſired to hear it again. Next day, the King and duke of York coming to the houſe to countenance this project with their preſenſe, the lord Clifford ſpoke his ſpeech. He had no ſooner done, than the earl of Shaftſbury ſtood up, and anſwered his ſpeech from the begining to the end. He demonſtrated this project to be extravagant and impracticable; that it would overturn the government, and perhaps ſend the King and Royal family abroad again, to ſpend their days in exile, without hopes of a return. If the treaſurer's ſpeech ſurprized the lords, who perceived the deſign of it, their aſtoniſhment was increaſed when they ſaw the chancellor, a leading member of the Cabal, declare ſo openly againſt the King. It is ſaid, the duke of York, while Shaftſbury was ſpeaking, whiſpered the King, " What a rogue have you of a lord " chancellor!" And that theKing replied, " What " a fool have you of a lord treaſurer!" I know not whether the truth of theſe particulars is to be relied on, ſome of which are improbable. For what likelihood is there, that his Majeſty, after breaking the ſeal of his declaration with his own hands for fear of the parliament, ſhould appear, within a few hours after, in the houſe of lords, to ſupport, by his preſenſe, the treaſurer's project, which tended to the ſubverſion of parliaments? Or that he ſhould call the treaſurer fool, for a propoſal which the King could not be ignoraut of, and had doubtleſs approved (1)?

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The earl of Shaftſbury, however, from this time was always at the head of the country party, and cauſed the King to undergo great mortifications, as hereafter will appear. But I muſt give here a very material caution to thoſe who read father Orleans's hiſtory, or ſuch Engliſh or foreign authors as eſpouſe the King's cauſe. All theſe writers paint the earl of Shaftſbury in very black colors. He was, according to them, the greateſt villain that ever lived; his wickedneſs was anſwerable to the extent of his genius, and the depth of his penetration. He was perpetually contriving how to perplex the King and duke of York, or rather to ruin them irrecoverably. He was not only the head but the ſoul of his party, by which they were actuated. In ſhort, every thing tranſacted afterwards by the parliament againſt the King, is ſolely imputed to him, and it is artfully inſinuated, that, had it not been for ſuch an agent, the nation would have remained in tranquillity, and the parliament, content with the King's favorable anſwers and gracious promiſes, would have been quiet, and attempted nothing againſt the court. Thus, according to theſe writers, all the meaſures and precautions taken afterwards by the parliament againſt the deſigns of the court, were intirely owing to Shaftſbury's malice and revenge. It is eaſy to perceive, that their deſign is to diſpel the grounds of the parliament's fear and complaint of the conduct of the court, by inſinuating, that theſe complaints were frivolous, and the effects of Shaftſbury's vengeance, who, they ſay, directed both houſes of parliament, or rather had them intirely at command. For my part, I am no way concerned to vindicate the earl of Shaftſbury's honor, but believe myſelf obliged to remark, for the more eaſy diſcovery of the truth, that the Cabal's project to render the King abſolute, and introduce Popery, is of unqueſtionable certainty. The authors juſt mentioned, ſcruple not to own it, and ſhould they deny it, the thing would not be leſs true. Conſequently the parliament coming to a full and exact knowledge of this deſign, which was only before ſuſpected, had all the reaſon in the world for their fear and caution againſt the King and his miniſters. This being granted, let the earl of Shaftſbury have been a villain, or an honeſt

Advice to the readers concerning the earl of Shaftſbury.

(1) This buſineſs of Shaftſbury's turning againſt the court, is thus related by Burnet. " The lord Clifford reſolving to aſſert " the declaration for liberty of conſcience, ſhewed the heads he intended to ſpeak on to the King, who approved of them. He " began the debate with rough words, calling the vote of the commons, Monſtrum horrendum ingens, and run on in a high " ſtrain. When he had done, the earl of Shaftſbury, to the amazement of the whole houſe ſaid, he muſt differ from the lord " that ſpoke laſt, toto cœlo. He ſaid, while theſe matters were debated out of doors, he might think with others, that the " King's ſupremacy did warrant the declaration: but now, that ſuch a houſe of commons were of another mind, he ſubmited " his reaſons to theirs. They were the King's great council, and muſt both adviſe and ſupport him. The King was all in fury " to be thus forſaken by his chancellor, and told the lord Clifford, how well he was pleaſed with his ſpeech, and how highly " offended with the other. The debate went on, and upon a diviſion the court had the majority. But above thirty of the moſt " conſiderable of the houſe proteſted againſt the vote. So the court ſaw they gained nothing in carrying a vote, that drew " after it ſuch a proteſtation. It ſeems, Clifford, Buckingham, and Lauderdale, were for violent meaſures, while Arlington " and Shaftſbury preſſed the King to content the parliament. Accordingly, in the afternoon of the day that the matter had " been argued in the houſe of lords, Shaftſbury and Arlington got all thoſe members of the commons, who were in the court " party, to go privately to the King one after another, and tell him, that upon Clifford's ſpeech the houſe was in ſuch fury " that probably they would have gone to impeachments, had it not been for Shaftſbury's ſpeaking on the other ſide, who, they " believed, ſpoke the King's ſenſe, as the other did the duke's. So they made the King apprehend, the chancellor's ſpeech, " with which he was ſo offended, was really a great ſervice done him, and perſuaded him farther, that he might now ſave " himſelf, and obtain an indemnity for his miniſters, if he would part with the declaration, and paſs the bill. Whereupon, " before night, the King was quite changed, and ſaid to his brother, that Clifford had undone himſelf, and ſpoiled all by his " ſpeech; and tho' Shaftſbury had ſpoke like a rogue, yet that had ſtoped a fury, which the other's indiſcretion had kindled. " The duke, in the evening told Clifford what the King ſaid. Upon which Clifford went to the King, and ſaid, he thought, " that in what he had done he had both ſerved and pleaſed the King, but was ſurprized to find by the duke, that the King " was of another mind. The King, in ſome confuſion, owned, that all he had ſaid was right in itſelf, but he ſhould have " conſidered better what the commons could bear. Clifford finding he muſt loſe the white ſtaff, conſulted with Buckingham " whom to recommend for treaſurer, and they pitched upon ſir Thomas Oſborn, afterwards duke of Leeds, p. 348, &c."

man;

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man; let him have betrayed the King's ſecrets, and acted only thro' a ſpirit of revenge; let his fear of the parliament be the ſole motive of his ingaging in the country party againſt the King; or let him have acted from a principle of honor and duty, in order to ſave the church and ſtate, the thing itſelf remains the ſame. The good or bad qualities of the earl of Shaftſbury did not cauſe the parliament to have more or leſs reaſon to apprehend the deſigns of the King and his miniſters. If they were prejudicial to religion and the ſtate, as cannot be denied, the parliament had reaſon to take the beſt meaſures to prevent them. Why therefore are theſe meaſures, theſe precautions, aſcribed to Shaftſbury's malice and artifices, ſince there was another and more natural cauſe. Before the earl of Shaftſbury appeared in the oppoſite party to the court, the parliament had begun to take theſe precautions, tho' the court's deſigns were yet but ſuſpected: they were better informed by this earl; why therefore can it be ſuppoſed, that after this information, they ſhould ſuddenly relinquiſh their former motives, and act only with a view to ſerve as inſtruments of Shaftſbury's revenge? This is not even probable, and yet the authors abovementioned loſe no opportunity of reproaching the earl, and aſcribing all the mortifications the King afterwards received, ſolely to him. Beſide the reader's inſtruction, my deſign, in what I have ſaid, is to hinder ſuch as have read, or ſhall read the other hiſtorians, from thinking it ſtrange that I do not every moment exclaim againſt the earl of Shaftſbury's conduct, as if he were the ſole author of what was done againſt the King; and that I content myſelf with ſaying, in a word, this peer uſed all his intereſt and credit to break the meaſures of the King and his miniſters.

The teſt act paſſes the commons. Statute b. 25 Car. II. c. 2. Echard, Vol. III. p. 321, 326. Kennet. Burnet.

Immediately after this change in the earl of Shaftſbury, the commons paſſed a bill, afterwards called the teſt act, intitled, "An act for preventing the "dangers which may happen from Popiſh recu- "ſants." This act required, that all perſons injoying any office or place of truſt and profit, ſhould take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy in public and open court, and ſhould alſo receive the ſacrament in ſome pariſh church, immediately after divine ſervice; and deliver a certificate ſigned by the miniſters and church-wardens, atteſted by the oaths of two credible witneſſes, and upon record: and that all perſons taking the ſaid oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy ſhould likewiſe make and ſubſcribe this following declaration.——— "I do declare, "That I do believe, that there is not any tranſub- "ſtantiation in the ſacrament of the Lord's- "ſupper, or in the elements of bread and wine, "at, or after the conſecration thereof, by any per- "ſon whatſoever.——— This bill readily paſſed the houſe of commons, and after ſome difficulties, was alſo approved by the lords (1). The earl of Briſtol, tho' a Papiſt, made a ſpeech on this occaſion, and concluded with ſaying, "upon the whole "matter, however the ſentiments of a Catholic "of the church of Rome (not of the court of "Rome) may oblige me, upon ſcruple of con- "ſcience, to give my negative to this bill, yet as "a member of a Proteſtant parliament, my advice "prudentially cannot but go along with the main "ſcope of it, the preſent circumſtances of time, "and affairs conſidered, and the neceſſity of com- "poſing the diſturbed minds of the people."

March 15. Echard.

Beſide this bill, there was another preparing to prevent intermarriages between Proteſtants and Papiſts. This tended directly to break the preſent negociation of the duke of York's marriage with an archduchеſs of Inſpruch (2), and to hinder him from marrying any Catholic Princeſs whatever. In the mean while, the King was very uneaſy, ſeeing, the parliament was informed of his ſecret reſolutions, and effectual meaſures were taken to prevent their execution. Wherefore he quickened the commons by ſeveral meſſages, to finiſh the money bill. But the commons, inſtead of ſatisfying him, having provided for the ſecurity of religion, preſented him two addreſſes of grievances, one concerning England, the other Ireland. In the firſt, they told him, that they were firmly perſuaded of his intention to govern according to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom. Yet finding that ſome abuſes and grievances were crept into the government, they craved leave humbly to repreſent them to his Majeſty's knowledge, and to deſire,

Charles II. An' 1672.

Another bill to prevent the duke of York's marrying with a Popiſh Princeſs. Echard, Vol. III. p. 323.

Two petitions relating to grievances. Ibid.

"1. That the impoſition of twelve pence per "chaldron upon coals, for providing of convoys, "by virtue of an order of council dated the fif- "teenth of May 1672, may be recalled, and all "bonds, taken by virtue thereof, cancelled.

"2. That his Majeſty's proclamation of the "fourth of December 1672, 'For preventing diſor- "ders which may be commited by ſoldiers,' and "whereby the ſoldiers now in his Majeſty's ſer- "vice are in a manner exempted from the ordinary "courſe of juſtice, may likewiſe be recalled.

"3. And whereas great complaints have been "made out of ſeveral parts of the kingdom, of "diverſe abuſes commited in quartering of ſol- "diers, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to give "orders to redreſs thoſe abuſes, and in particular, "that no ſoldiers be hereafter quartered in any "private houſes, and that due ſatisfaction may be "given to the inn-keepers and victuallers where "they lye, before they remove.

"4. And, ſince the continuance of ſoldiers in "this realm, will neceſſarily produce many incon- "veniencies to his Majeſty's ſubjects, they humbly "repreſented it as their petition and advice, that "when this preſent war is ended, all the ſoldiers "that have been raiſed ſince the laſt ſeſſion of "parliament may be diſbanded.

"5. That his Majeſty would likewiſe be pleaſed "to conſider of the irregularities and abuſes in "preſſing ſoldiers, and give orders for the preven- "tion thereof for the future."

Theſe demands ſhew, how the court by degrees was laboring to introduce an abſolute authority: Firſt, by a light impoſition, by virtue of an order of council, of twelve-pence upon every chaldron, or thirty-ſix buſhels of coals. The tax was inconſiderable, but the conſequence very great. Secondly, the magiſtrates, in aſſuming the power of quartering of ſoldiers in private houſes, eaſily found an opportunity to gall and oppreſs their enemies, and ſuch as were not well-inclined to the court. Thirdly, in preſſing ſoldiers, the officers had room to commit many acts of injuſtice, by liſting not the moſt proper perſons for the ſervice, but the rich who were able to redeem themſelves with money. Tho' this practice was much uſed with regard to ſailors, and continues to this day, it had never extended to ſoldiers, or at leaſt but on very extraordinary occaſions.

(1) This bill was particularly promoted, if not invented by the earl of Shaftſbury, who reſolved to ſtrike directly at the duke of York and his friends. Echard, Vol. III. p. 321.

(2) The articles of that marriage were concluded in October 1672; and, as the earl of Arlington ſent word to ſir William Godolphin, "upon terms ſomewhat incongruous as to our government here, but in ſubſtance much to his Majeſty's and Royal High- "neſs's ſatisfaction." Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. p. 391. But tho' the Princeſs of Inſpruch's religion pleaſed the French King, yet the intereſt this marriage would bring with it, did not; ſo that he propounded the Princeſs of Modena R. Coke, p. 166. The duke had, before this, made his addreſſes to the lady Bellaſis, who was a Proteſtant. Burnet, p. 353.

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The petition concerning the Iriſh grievances contained ſeveral articles chiefly relating to religion. In one of theſe the commons deſired, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to diſmiſs out of all command, civil or military, colonel Richard Talbot, who notoriouſly aſſumed the title of agent for the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and forbid him all acceſs to his court. This Talbot was afterwards created duke of Tyrconnel, and lord lieutenant of Ireland by James II. (1)

Echard, Vol. III. p. 324.

The King's anſwer. Id. p. 125.

The King replied to theſe addreſſes, that as they conſiſted of ſo many different parts, it could not be expected he ſhould give an immediate anſwer. But promiſed, that for the ſeveral particular things contained in them, he would before the next meeting take ſuch effectual care, that no man ſhould have reaſon to complain. After this, the money-bill paſſed without oppoſition. But, not to approve expreſly the war for which this money was intended, the bill was intitled, "A ſupply of his Ma-"jeſty's extraordinary occaſions (2)," and a particular proviſo was tacked to it, "That no Papiſt ſhould "be capable of holding any public imployment.

Money bill paſſed.

AN' 1673. Acts paſſed. Statute-b.

Before the bill in favor of the Proteſtant Diſſenters and ſome others were ready, the King came to the houſe the twenty-ninth of March, and paſſed ſeveral acts, among which were the money bill, the teſt act, and an act for a general and free pardon, but with many exceptions (3). Then he adjourned the parliament to the twentieth of October. If the King in his declaration for liberty of conſcience had intended the eaſe of the Proteſtant Non-conformiſts, as he would have it believed, he might have deferred the adjournment of the parliament a few days, till the bill paſſed in their favor was ready, or at leaſt might have preſſed the two houſes to finiſh it. But as the Papiſts were excluded from the benefit of this act, he ſhewed no farther concern for the intereſt of the Preſbyterians, but adjourned the parliament before the lords had given their conſent to the bill.

The parliament adjourned. Echard.

The bill in favor of the Preſbyterians poſtponed.

The teſt act having received the Royal aſſent, moſt of the Catholic officers quited their poſts. The duke of York himſelf, who was lord high-admiral, reſigned that profitable office (4), and the lord Clifford that of high-treaſurer. He retired to his paternal eſtate * in Devonſhire, where he ſhortly after died.

The duke of York and lord Clifford reſign their places. Burnet.

Lord Clifford dies. Echard. Baſnage.

* At Chidleigh.

During theſe tranſactions in parliament, preparations for the ſea war were making in England and Holland with equal ardor and vaſt expenſe. The duke of York having reſigned his office of lord high-admiral, Prince Rupert was appointed to command the fleet. Ruyter having ſecret intelligence, that the Engliſh fleet would not be ſoon ready, put to ſea with forty-two men of war, and ſixteen veſſels to be ſunk in the Thames (5). He came into the mouth of the river the ſecond of May, where he found he had been impoſed on, and that forty-five large ſhips were coming to attack him. Upon this diſappointment, he retired expecting the reſt of his fleet at Schonevelt in Zealand. In this interval, Prince Rupert failed to meet the French fleet coming from Breſt, and joined them in the channel the ſixteenth of May. After this junction, the combined fleet conſiſted of one hundred and forty ſail of all ſorts, of which there were thirty large French ſhips (6). The Dutch fleet had but a hundred and nine ſail, viz. fifty-four large ſhips, fourteen frigats, twenty-four fire-ſhips, eleven advice-boats, and ſix galliots (7). As I am not ſufficiently verſed in marine affairs to give clear deſcriptions of ſea ingagements, I ſhall only ſay, that this year was ſignalized by three naval expeditions, fought with ſuch equal loſs, that neither could juſtly boaſt of victory, tho' both challenged it in every battle. The firſt was fought near Shonevelt the twenty-eight of May. The ſecond off Fluſhing the fourth of June, but this was rather a canonading of about four hours, after which, both ſides retired to their reſpective coaſts. The third, fought the eleventh of Auguſt, was the moſt obſtinate. The Engliſh loſt vice-admiral Spragg, who was drowned in changing his ſhip (8), and the Dutch vice-admiral Sweers. The loſs of the great ſhips in theſe three ingagements was inconſiderable, but on both ſides many leſſer ones were either burned or ſunk. In a word, nothing deciſive happened at ſea this campain, and therefore I need not be more circumſtantial (9).

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joins the French.

Baſnage.

Three ingagements at ſea diſtinguiſhed with no conſiderable advantage to either ſide. Burchett. Baſnage. Echard. Kennet.

As to what paſſed by land between France and the Hollanders, I ſhall only ſay, that the King of France took Maeſtricht in June, and the Prince of Orange, Naerden, a town near Amſterdam, in September, and afterwards Bonn, the reſidence of the Elector of Cologne, in October. Theſe two conqueſts, and the neceſſity the King of France was under to maintain the war againſt Spain (which had at laſt declared againſt him, beſide that the Emperor and ſeveral German Princes, were alſo upon the point of declaring for the States) obliged him to abandon all his conqueſts in the United Provinces, except Maeſtricht and Grave, where he left gariſons, after having drawn away all the reſt in November.

Succeſſes of Lewis and the Prince of Orange. Baſnage. Burnet.

Lewis abandons his conqueſts.

Mean while, a congreſs was held at Cologne for peace, but without ſucceſs.

Congreſs at Cologne for peace comes to nothing.

The nineteenth of June the King, at Buckingham's recommendation, made ſir Thomas Oſborn, afterwards earl of Danby, lord-treaſurer.

Sir Thomas Oſborne conſtituted lord high-treaſurer.

As I have before ſaid, the duke of York had caſt his eyes upon an archduchеſs of Inſpruch, a branch of the houſe of Auſtria. But the Empreſs dying at that time, the Emperor himſelf married this Princeſs. The duke was therefore obliged to make his addreſſes elſewhere, and as his zeal for the Popiſh religion allowed him not to marry a Proteſtant Princeſs, he made choice of Maria † ſiſter

The duke of York marries the Princeſs of Modena. Echard.

† D'Eſte.

(1) February twenty-ſix, 1671. The King had iſſued out a proclamation in Ireland, whereby he granted a general licence to all Papiſts to live in corporations, exerciſe trades there, and injoy the ſame privileges as other ſubjects ought to do; which was a greater privilege than his Proteſtant ſubjects had, for by their charter, all who were not free of the corporations could not have the benefit of their privileges. R. Coke, p. 166.

(2) The ſum granted was twelve hundred thirty eight thouſand, ſeven hundred and fifty pounds. Statutes 25. Car. II. c. 1.

(3) There was alſo an act paſſed, to inable the county Palatine of Durham, to ſend knights and burgeſſes to ſerve in parliament. Idem.

(4) Burnet ſays, when the duke carried all his commiſſions to the King, he wept as he delivered them up, but the King ſhewed no concern at all. p. 352.

(5) In order to ſtop the Canary, Bourdeaux, and Newcaſtle fleets from coming in. Kennet, p. 323.

(6) The white ſquadron was commanded by count d'Etrées, and the blue by ſir Edward Spragg. Burchett, p. 405.

(7) Baſnage ſays, it conſiſted of fifty men of war, twelve frigates, fourteen yachts, and twenty five fire ſhips. Vol. II. p. 412.

(8) He was forced to remove out of his ſhip into the St. George, but this ſoon after loſing her main-maſt, he was obliged to leave her; and as he was going on board the Royal Charles, his Barge was ſunk with a canon ſhot. In this laſt ingagement, ſir William Reeves and captain Heyman were alſo loſt; and likewiſe captain le Neve, and captain Merryweather, both foot officers. Burchet, p. 404. Echard.

(9) This year ſir Tobias Bridges took the iſland of Tabago in the Weſt-Indies from the Dutch; who by way of repriſals, took the iſland of St. Helena, but it was ſoon after recovered by captain Richard Munden. Burchett, p. 404.

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to Francis duke of Modena, and the marriage was immediately concluded and ſolemnized by his proxy † earl of Peterborough. The King of France greatly contributed to this match, by declaring the young Princeſs, then but fifteen years of age, an adoptive daughter of France, and by ingaging to pay her portion.

† Henry Mordaunt.

As the duke's marriage with a Catholic Princeſs could not but be very diſagreeable to the Engliſh, the court eaſily foreſaw, that the parliament, which was to meet the twentieth of October, would indeavor to oppoſe it. There were ſeveral bills ready, which could be finiſhed in few days; and as the parliament was only adjourned, the court feared they would begin with compleating theſe bills, two of which the court was deſirous to put a ſtop to, viz. the bill againſt inter-marriages between Proteſtant and Papiſts, and that for the eaſe of the Proteſtant Diſſenters. Wherefore the King was eaſily perſuaded to prorogue the parliament. The firſt thing the commons did, after their meeting, was, to preſent an addreſs to his Majeſty, deſiring that the duke's marriage with the Princeſs of Modena might not be conſummated, and that he might not be married to any but a Proteſtant. Upon this, the King prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, to defeat the two bills above-mentioned, and ſome others no leſs agreeable to him.

The commons addreſs againſt the duke's marriage. Kennet. Echard. Burnet.

The parliament prorogued.

The twenty-ſeventh of October the King coming to the parliament with the uſual formalities, made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them. "———That having conſented to a negociation "at Cologne, he hoped to have welcomed them "with an honorable peace; but the Dutch had "diſappointed him in that expectation, and treated "his embaſſadors at Cologne with the contempt "of conquerors, and not as might have been ex-"pected from men in their condition. That this "obliged him to move them again for a ſup-"ply, the ſafety and honor of the nation neceſ-"carily requiring it; that it muſt be proportion-"able to the occaſion, and if he had it not ſpee-"dily, the miſchief would be irreparable in his "preparations for the next ſpring.———" He told them, "That he was ſteady in main-"taining all the profeſſions and promiſes made "to them concerning religion and property; "and ſhould be very ready to give them freſh "inſtances of his zeal for preſerving the eſta-"bliſhed religion and laws, as often as any occa-"ſion ſhall require. In the laſt place, he com-"mended to their conſideration and care, the "the debt he owed the Goldſmiths, in which "very many other of his good ſubjects were in-"volved.———"

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Echard, Vol. III. p. 333.

The Goldſmiths's debt was contracted by the King when he ſhut up the Exchequer, and amounted to more than two millions ſterling. Thus Charles after a ſeizure of other men's property, by a pure act of authority, pretended, it belonged to the parliament to make reparation, on account of the application of this money to a war, of which he had not vouchſafed to communicate the deſign to them. This was the hardeſt caſe that had for a long time happened in England. For, on one hand, it was a melancholy thing to ſee ſo many families ruined, in ſupport of an expenſe which ought to have been common to the whole nation: but on the other hand to pay this debt, was to eſtabliſh a precedent of a terrible conſequence, and authoriſe the King and his ſucceſſors to imploy the ſame, or the like methods, for raiſing of money, without conſent of parliament. As for the twelve hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds granted the King for his extraordinary occaſions in the laſt ſeſſion, he believed, that ſum ought not to be imployed in diſcharging this debt, nor even in maintaining the Dutch war, ſince a new ſupply was demanded for that purpoſe.

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After the King had ended his ſpeech, the chancellor inlarged with great eloquence upon all the points touched by his Majeſty. But his ſpeech made little impreſſion on the commons. They were no ſooner returned to their houſe, but inſtead of voting the King thanks for his ſpeech, they adjourned themſelves to the thirtieth day of the month. The ſame day his Majeſty ſent them his anſwer to their addreſs concerning the duke of York's marriage, the ſubſtance of which was, "———That he perceived the houſe of com-"mons had wanted a full information of this mat-"ter, the marriage not being barely intended, but "compleated, according to the forms uſed among "Princes, and by his Royal conſent and autho-"rity: nor could he in the leaſt ſuppoſe it diſ-"agreeable to the houſe of commons, his Royal "Highneſs having been, in the view of the world, "for ſeveral months, ingaged in a treaty of mar-"riage with another Catholic Princeſs, and yet a "parliament was held during the time, and not the "leaſt exception taken at it." The houſe was by no means pleaſed with this anſwer; and therefore reſolved to preſent a ſecond addreſs, with their reaſons againſt this marriage. The ſame day, it was voted, that a bill ſhould be prepared for a general teſt between Proteſtants and Papiſts, that is to ſay, an oath which ſhould ſerve to diſtinguiſh Proteſtants from Papiſts, with this clauſe. "That they "who refuſed to take it ſhould be incapable of "bearing any office civil or military, or to ſit in "parliament, or to come within five miles of the "court."

The King's anſwer relating to the duke's marriage. Echard, Vol. III. p. 335.

A bill for a general teſt. Id. p. 336.

The commons took the King's ſpeech into conſideration, the thirty-firſt of October, and after a ſerious debate in a grand commitee, came to the following reſolution, "That the houſe conſider-"ing the preſent condition of the nation, will not "take into any farther debate, the conſideration of "any aid, or ſupply, or charge upon the ſubject, "before the time of payment of the eighteen months "aſſeſſment granted by a late act of parliament, "intitled, 'An act for raiſing the ſum of twelve "hundred, thirty-eight thouſand, ſeven hundred, "and fifty pounds, be expired; except it ſhall "appear that the obſtinacy of the Dutch ſhall render "it neceſſary; nor before this kingdom be effectu-"ally ſecured from Popery, and Popiſh coun-"ſellors, and the other preſent grievances be re-"dreſſed."

Vote of the commons to grant no more ſupplies to the King. Ibid.

His Majeſty, as may well be imagined, was extremely offended with this reſolution, and the more as it was followed by an addreſs for a general faſt to be obſerved throughout the whole nation, which intimated to the people, that the kingdom was in great danger. Two days after, the houſe in a body waited on the King with a ſecond addreſs againſt the duke of York's marriage, in which after many compliments, they repreſented to him,——"1. That "if this match do proceed, it will be a means to "diſquiet the minds of his Proteſtant ſubjects at "home; and to fill them with endleſs jealouſies "and diſcontents; and will bring his Majeſty into "ſuch alliances abroad, as will prove highly pre-"judicial, if not deſtructive to the intereſts of the "very Proteſtant religion itſelf. 2. They find by "ſad experience, that ſuch marriages had increaſed "and incouraged Popery in the kingdom, and had "given opportunity to Prieſts and Jeſuits to propa-"gate their opinions, and ſeduce great numbers of "his Majeſty's ſubjects. 3. They do already ob-"ſerve, how much the party is animated with the "hopes of this match, which was lately diſcou-"raged by his Majeſty's gracious conceſſions in the "laſt

Petition for a general faſt.

Addreſs againſt the duke of York's marriage. Ibid.

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" laſt meeting of the parliament. 4. They greatly " fear this may be an occaſion to leſſen the affec- " tions of the people to his Royal Highneſs, who " is ſo nearly related to the crown, and whoſe " honor and eſteem they deſire may always be in- " tirely preſerved. 5. That for another age more " at leaſt, this kingdom will be under the continual " apprehenſions of the growth of Popery, and the " danger of the Proteſtant religion. Laſtly, they " conſidered, that this Princeſs having ſo near a " relation and kindred to many eminent perſons of " the court of Rome, may give them great op- " portunities to promote their deſigns, and carry " on their practiſes here, and by the ſame means " penetrate into his Majeſty's moſt ſecret counſels, " and more eaſily diſcover the ſtate of the whole " kingdom. And finding by the opinions of very " learned men, that it is generally admited, 'That " ſuch treaties and contracts by proxies are diſſolve- " able,' of which there are ſeveral inſtances to be " produced, they do in all humility beſeech his " Majeſty, to put a ſtop to the conſummation of " this intended marriage. And this they do the " more importunately deſire, becauſe they have " not, as yet, the happineſs to ſee any iſſue of his " Majeſty, that might ſucceed in the government " of his kingdom."—— To this addreſs the King briefly replied, " That it was a matter he would " take into his preſent conſideration, and would " ſpeedily return an anſwer." After which the commons proceeded farther, and voted the ſtanding army a grievance, and accordingly, prepared an addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, ſhewing, " That the ſtanding army was a grievance, and a " burden to the nation."

Vote againſt a ſtanding army. Echard, Vol. III. p. 337.

But the fourth of November, the day on which the commons were to preſent their addreſs, the King came unexpectedly to the houſe of peers, and ſent for the commons. It happened that the ſpeaker and the uſher of the black-rod met both in the door of the houſe of commons, but, as the ſpeaker was within the houſe, the door was immediately ſhut againſt the uſher, who came with the King's meſſage. The ſpeaker was forced into the chair, and while the uſher continued knocking at the door, the houſe voted, " 1. That the alliance with " France was a grievance. 2. That the evil coun- " ſellors about the King were a grievance." And " 3. That the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance, " and not fit to be truſted or imployed in any office " or place of truſt." Upon which there was a general cry, " To the queſtion! To the queſtion!" But the uſher of the black-rod knocking earneſtly at the door, the ſpeaker leaped out of the chair, and the houſe roſe in great confuſion. When the commons came to the houſe of lords, the King made a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, in which he repreſented the great advantages which the enemy would reap from the leaſt appearance of a difference between him and his parliament.——He told them, he would not be wanting to let all his ſubjects ſee, " That no care ſhould be greater than his own in " the effectual ſuppreſſion of Popery." He then prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh day of January following, and thus put and end to the twelfth ſeſſion of this long parliament, which had ſate but nine days.

Other votes contrary to the King,

The parliament prorogued.

Immediately after the prorogation of the parliament, the King took the great-ſeal from the earl of Shaftſbury, and gave it to ſir Heneage Finch (1), with the title of lord-keeper. Soon after, the King ordered that no perſon who was a Roman Catholic, or reputed to be ſo, ſhould preſume to come near his perſon or court. He likewiſe publiſhed a proclamation for the rigorous execution of the laws againſt Papiſts. This was the eighth of the kind ſince his reſtoration, and executed as the other ſeven.

Sir Heneage Finch ſucceeds Shaftſbury. Kennet. Echard.

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Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

But this proclamation was not capable to remove the fears occaſioned by the duke of York's marriage with the Princeſs of Modena, which was conſummated the twenty-firſt of November, on the day of her arrival in England with the ducheſs her mother (2).

January 14. Conſummation of the duke's marriage.

The parliament meeting the ſeventh of January, the King repreſented to both houſes,——" That " no propoſal of peace from the Dutch had been " yet offered with an intent to conclude, but only " to amuſe: that therefore the way to a good " peace, was to ſet out a good fleet, which there " was time enough to do effectually, if the ſupply " was not delayed.——That a ſpeedy, a pro- " portionable, and above all, a chearful aid, was " now more neceſſary than ever: he once more " put them in mind of his debt to the Goldſmiths: " and then told them, that his alliance with France " had been very ſtrangely miſrepreſented to them, " as if there were certain ſecret articles of dangerous " conſequence; but he would make no difficulty " of leting the treaties, and all the articles of them, " without any the leaſt reſerve, be ſeen by a ſmall " commitee of both houſes, who might report the " true ſcope of them."

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Echard.

Then the lord-keeper inlarged on all theſe points with exceſſive flattery to the King, for his extraordinary care to maintain the laws and religion, and that this might not be doubted, he alleged for proof, the aſſurances given by his Majeſty. Above all, he magnified the King's offer, of leting them ſee the treaties with France, as a condeſcenſion which could not be ſufficiently acknowleged, but by an extraordinary ſupply. In ſhort, the King's and the keeper's ſpeeches were founded upon this principle, that the war with the States was juſt and neceſſary, and conſequently to be vigorouſly ſupported, in order to obtain a peace both ſafe and honorable.

Speech of the keeper of the great-ſeal.

I do not find, that the two houſes much regarded the King's offer of laying before them his treaties with France, by reaſon it was in his power to ſhew them what he pleaſed, and ſuppreſs the reſt. His Majeſty perceived therefore, into what difficulties the Cabal had thrown him by their violent counſels. He had loſt the confidence of his people, and neither his words nor his promiſes were any longer credited. It was in vain for him to proteſt his zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of his ſubjects: theſe proteſtations could not obliterate his paſt conduct, which gave but too juſt cauſe to ſuſpect his ſincerity. Wherefore, the parliament, without regarding his words, conſidered his actions, and labored to take effectual meaſures, to prevent the execution of the court's deſigns, which were but too apparent. There were many things concerning which they openly expreſſed their fear and diſcontent. 1. The growth of Popery publicly incouraged by the court. 2. The exorbitant power of France, which in the end could not but prove prejudicial to England. 3. The Dutch war, undertaken directly contrary to the intereſt of England, and for which however the King was inceſſantly demanding ſupplies, on a ſuppoſition of its being juſt and neceſſary, tho' he had alleged for it no lawful cauſe. 4. The management of affairs in Ireland, where the act of eſtabliſhment was openly trampled on, and

The King in great difficulties.

The parliament inraged againſt the court. The cauſes.

(1) Nephew of ſir John Finch, lord-keeper in King Charles the Iſt's reign. Kennet, p. 324.

(2) They were married at Dover by Nathaniel Crew, biſhop of Oxford.——This year died Oliver St. John, ſo often mentioned in the reign of King Charles I. Echard.

Papiſts

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Papiſts continually advanced or incouraged. 5. The King's proceedings in England, which were clear evidences of his principles and deſigns; viz. his raiſing a land army without any neceſſity; his granting liberty of conſcience by his ſole authority; his ſhuting up the exchequer; his diſpenſing with acts of parliament; his making a ſtrict alliance with France, when he ſhould rather have uſed his indeavors to oppoſe the increaſe of its greatneſs. 6. The open profeſſion of the Popiſh religion by the duke of York, and his marriage with a Popiſh Princeſs, authoriſed by the King notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the parliament. 7. The three miniſters, ſtill imployed by the King, viz. Arlington, Buckingham, and Lauderdale, all three of the moſt arbitrary principles, plainly diſcovered, it was not for the good of the kingdom, that the King uſed their counſels. Theſe cauſes of complaint were too real, to be ſilenced by the King's general proteſtations, on every occaſion, to maintain the laws and religion. Something more ſubſtantial than words was neceſſary to diſpel the ſuſpicions and fears of the people and parliament. Wherefore the houſes reſolved to reſtore the government to its natural ſtate. This very parliament which had conſidered as execrable rebels the oppoſers of Charles I's uſurpations, was obliged to purſue the ſame meaſures againſt the incroachments of Charles II, as were begun by the parliament of 1640. If civil war was not the conſequence, it is to be aſcribed to the weakneſs, fears, or perhaps to the abilities of the King, who, leſs obſtinate, and more diſcerning than his father, did not think proper to abandon himſelf intirely to the counſels of his miniſters, and particularly of the duke his brother. For certainly, as the parliament ſtood affected, an extreme confuſion, if not a ſecond and more bloody inteſtine war, muſt have been the event of the King's attachment to his principles and deſigns. Nothing is more proper to confirm this conjecture, than the revolution in the reign of James II. That Prince, naturally more furious and obſtinate than his brother, reſolving to run all hazards, found the Engliſh, in their turns, as reſolute to venture all in the defenſe of their laws, religion and liberty.

The parliament's deſign.

A reflection upon it.

Addreſs of the lords for the removal of Papiſts. Kennet.

In order to proceed according to this plan, the houſe of lords preſented an addreſs to the King, praying him to iſſue out his Royal proclamation, requiring all Papiſts, and reputed Papiſts, to remove out of London and Weſtminſter, during the ſeſſion of the parliament. Accordingly his Majeſty publiſhed a proclamation without delay, dated the fourteenth of January, declaring, "That as he had "always manifeſted his zeal for the preſervation "of the true religion eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, "and to hinder the growth and increaſe of Popery, "ſo he was now ready, upon this occaſion, to pre-"vent all fears and dangers that might ariſe by the "concourſe of perſons of that profeſſion, in or near "the cities of London and Weſtminſter, &c." This pretended zeal had ſhewed itſelf but in eight proclamations, already publiſhed by him at ſeveral times againſt the Papiſts, the negligent execution of which is very viſible from the number. When the King's affectation of boaſting continually his zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and againſt Popery, is conſidered; and when, on the other hand, it is remembered, that he had abjured the Proteſtant religion, and had a chapel ſecretly in his palace, where he daily heard maſs, and ſometimes even communicated the ſame day at both Proteſtant and Popiſh chapels, one knows not what to think of ſuch monſtrous diſſimulation.

A proclamation upon it. Ibid. Echard, Vol. III. p. 345.

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The next day, both houſes joined in an addreſs to the King for a general faſt, to implore God's bleſſing againſt the efforts of Popery, &c. Nothing was more offenſive to the King than ſuch addreſſes, which plainly implied, that religion was in danger, and thro' his fault; but he durſt not refuſe them, and therefore the fourth of February was appointed for a day of humiliation.

Addreſs of both houſes for a faſt. Ibid.

At laſt, the commons taking his Majeſty's laſt ſpeech into conſideration, voted, "That the houſe "will in the firſt place proceed to have their grie-"vances effectually redreſſed; the Proteſtant reli-"gion, their liberties and properties effectually "ſecured; and to ſuppreſs Popery, and remove "all perſons and counſellors Popiſh affected, or "otherways obnoxious or dangerous to the go-"vernment." Then they preſented an addreſs to the King,——"That the militia of the city of "London, and county of Middleſex, might be "in readineſs at an hours warning, and the mi-"litia of all other counties in England at a days "warning, for ſuppreſſing of all tumultuous inſur-"rections which might be occaſioned by Papiſts or "any other male-contented perſons." The King anſwered to this addreſs, "That he would take a "ſpecial care, as well for the preſervation of their "perſons, as of their liberties and properties."

A mortifying vote to the King. Id. p. 346.

An addreſs.

His anſwer.

This addreſs was only an intimation to the people, that the kingdom was in danger, and to juſtify beforehand the meaſures intended to be taken by the houſe, againſt thoſe who were conſidered as the principal authors of this danger, I mean, the members of the Cabal. By the death of lord Clifford, and the earl of Shaftſbury's change, this council was reduced to three, viz. the dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, and the earl of Arlington. The houſe began with the duke of Lauderdale, and unanimouſly voted, "That an addreſs ſhould be pre-"ſented to his Majeſty, to remove the duke of "Lauderdale from all his imployments, and from "his preſenſe and councils for ever, being a perſon "obnoxious and dangerous to the government."

Vote againſt the duke of Lauderdale. Ibid. Burnet.

The duke of Buckingham, while the commons were debating upon the heads of his accuſation, requeſted to be heard before their houſe, which was granted. But as his ſpeech in vindication of himſelf, was full of ambiguities, the houſe refered his examination to the next day, and drew up ſome queries, to which he was required to give direct anſwers. As theſe queſtions follow from what had paſſed, and tend to illuſtrate the hiſtory, I think myſelf obliged to inſert them, without adding his anſwers, the greateſt part of which left things as obſcure as they were before (1).

January 13. Burnet.

1. Whether any perſon declared to his grace any ill advice or purpoſes againſt the liberties and privileges of the houſe of commons, or to alter the government; who they were, and what they adviſed?

2. Some words fell from your grace yeſterday, wherein you were pleaſed to ſay, you had got nothing, but others had goten three, four, or five hundred thouſand pounds; who were they that had goten theſe ſums, and by what means?

Queſtions propoſed to the duke of Buckingham. Echard, Vol. III. p. 347.

His anſwer to this was,——That he was not at all acquainted by what means they got ſo much: that the duke of Ormond had got five hundred thouſand pounds, which was upon record; that lord Arlington had not got ſo much, but had got a great deal.

(1) The firſt day of his being before the houſe, he fell into ſuch diſorder, that he pretended he was taken ill, and deſired to be admited again. Next day he was more compoſed. He juſtified his own deſigns, laying all the ill counſels upon others, chiefly the lord Arlington, intimating plainly, that the root of all errors was in the King and Duke. He ſaid, hunting was a good diverſion, but if a man would hunt with a brace of lobſters, he would have but ill ſport. He had applied this ſaying to Prince Rupert and lord Arlington; but now it was underſtood to go higher. Burnet, p. 367.

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3. By whoſe advice was the army raiſed, and monſieur Schomberg made general (1)?

4. By whoſe advice was this army brought up to awe the debates and reſolutions of the houſe of commons?

5. Who made the triple alliance?

6. Who made the firſt treaty with France, by which the triple alliance was broken?

He anſwered, I made it.

7. By whoſe advice was the exchequer ſhut up, and the order of payment there broken?

8. Who adviſed the declaration in matters of religion?

9. Who adviſed the attacking the Smyrna fleet before the war was proclaimed (2)?

10. By whoſe advice was the ſecond treaty at Utrecht?

11. By what counſel was the war begun without the parliament, and thereupon the parliament prorogued?

12. By whoſe advice was the parliament prorogued the fourth of November laſt?

I do not think fit to inſert all the duke's anſwers, becauſe it is not juſt to prejudice the reader againſt thoſe, whom, to clear himſelf, the duke of Buckingham accuſed. But the queſtions are very proper to ſhew, what it was that the commons blamed in the conduct of the King and Cabal. They were ſo little ſatisfied with the duke's anſwers, that they paſſed the ſame vote againſt him as againſt Lauderdale.

The commons, it ſeems, chiefly intended to ruin the earl of Arlington, ſince, notwithſtanding his defenſe before the houſe, they drew up an impeachment againſt him, conſiſting of ſeveral articles. But this impeachment was not purſued, I do not think it juſt to mention the articles ſince I cannot alſo inſert what the earl could urge in his defenſe. I ſhall therefore only add, that this impeachment chiefly concerned the open protection, granted to the Catholics by the earl of Arlington as ſecretary; and ſome actions tending to promote arbitrary power, or his own private intereſt (3).

The earl of Arlington impeached. Id. p. 349.

A bill for a teſt. Id. p. 350.

The commons after this, proceeded to prepare a bill for a general teſt, by which every perſon refuſing to take it, ſhould be made incapable to injoy any office civil or military; to ſit in either houſe of parliament; or to come within five miles of the court. The teſt was in theſe words:

The teſt.

"I do ſolemnly, from my heart, and in the "preſenſe of Almighty God profeſs, teſtify and "declare, that I do not believe in my conſcience "that the church of Rome is the only Catholic "and Univerſal Church of Chriſt, out of which "there is no ſalvation; or that the Pope hath any "juriſdiction or ſupremacy over the Catholic "church in general, or over myſelf in particular; "or that it belongs to the ſaid church of Rome "alone to judge of the true ſenſe and interpretation "of the Holy Scriptures; or that in the Holy Sa"crament of the Euchariſt, there is made a perfect "change of the whole ſubſtance of the bread into "Chriſt's body, or of the whole ſubſtance of the "wine into Chriſt's blood, which change the ſaid "church of Rome calleth Tranſubſtantiation; or "that the virgin Mary, or any other ſaint ought "to be worſhipped or prayed unto: and all theſe "aforeſaid doctrines and poſitions, I do renounce "and diſclaim, as falſe and erroneous, and con- "trary to God's word, and the Chriſtian religion." Charles II. An' 1673.

It was not without reaſon that this oath was called the teſt or trial, ſince it was as a touch-ſtone to diſtinguiſh the Papiſts from the Proteſtants, there being no Catholic who could in conſcience take this oath. The King had already given his conſent to an act which impoſed much the ſame oath: but that was only for thoſe who were in office or imployment, whereas this was univerſal, and might be required of all ſuſpected perſons. But, before the bill was ready, the King prorogued the parliament, and ſo defeated both this, and ſeveral other bills tending to the ſame purpoſe.

The States make propoſals to the King for a peace. Baſnage, Vol. II. p. 458. Echard. Burnet.

The States-General knowing that the parliament approved not of the war the King was making on them, never ceaſed ſolliciting his Majeſty to a ſeparate peace (4), and had offered him whatever he could reaſonably expect, in ſuppoſing he deſigned the advantage of his kingdom. But as that was not the caſe, it is plain, their offers could not ſatisfy him. To content him, the commonwealth of the ſeven provinces ſhould have been intirely deſtroyed, and the King of France put in poſſeſſion. But as he durſt not openly avow this demand, he pretended to find in the offers of the States, only ambiguous or inſolent propoſitions, and from thence took occaſion to reject them.

The King begins to fall in his pretenſions.

But afterwards affairs took a turn which obliged him to come into other meaſures. The victories he hoped for at ſea, with the aſſiſtance of France, came to nothing. If his fleet was not beaten in the four late ingagements, at leaſt, it had gained no advantage over that of the Dutch. He had expected to give the States a mortal wound by a deſcent into Holland, and for that purpoſe had ſent for Schomberg to head his forces. But that general had been unſucceſsful in his expedition, and obliged to return without any thing done. The King of France, as I ſaid, had been forced to abandon his conqueſts in Holland, to defend himſelf againſt the new enemies raiſed him by the States. In ſhort, the parliament diſcovering the ſecret intent of this war, not only refuſed any farther ſupplies, but were preparing to bring the adviſers to juſtice. On the other hand, the King had managed the money granted by parliament, and that of the exchequer, with ſo little oeconomy, that he had not one ſhilling left. His profuſion had been ſo exceſſive, that it appeared, from orders counterſigned by the earl of Arlington ſecretary of ſtate, that he had given away above three millions ſterling, to ſeveral private perſons. In a ſhort, he knew not which way to turn himſelf for the continuance of the war, as he ſaw his parliament little inclined to furniſh the means. All theſe reaſons were very capable to induce him to liſten to the offers made him by their High Mightineſſes. He therefore by degrees began to diſcover, that he ſhould not be averſe to a reaſonable peace, provided the States would have ſuch regard to his honor as he had room to expect.

The States commiſſion the Spaniſh embaſſador at London to make a peace in their name. Baſnage. Temple. Echard. Kennet.

When there was no other difficulty, the States wrote him a very ſubmiſſive letter, and at the ſame time ſent full powers to the marquis del Freſno, the Spaniſh embaſſador at London, to conclude a peace in their name, on the conditions before offered, but rejected by the King, on pretenſe they were only deſigned to amuſe him. Theſe propoſals were ſo reaſonable, and offered in ſo ſolemn a manner,

(1) This army was to make a deſcent in Holland. See a little lower.

(2) He ſaid, it was lord Arlington. See Echard, Vol. III. p. 348.

(3) The earl excuſed himſelf, but without blaming the King. This had ſo good an effect, that he was acquited, tho' by a ſmall majority. But the care he took to preſerve himſelf, loſt him his high favor with the King. Burnet, p. 366.

(4) The States, ſays Burnet, commited a great error in deſiring this peace, without deſiring at the ſame time, that King Charles ſhould enter into the alliance for reducing the French to the terms of the triple alliance. But the Prince of Orange thought, that if he could once ſeparate the King from his alliance with France, the other point would ſoon be brought about. p. 366.

that

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that they could not be rejected without alarming the whole nation, and confirming the ſuſpicions, which were but too general, that this war was not deſigned for the advantage of the people. Beſide, the King's affairs required a ſpeedy pacification (1).

The King aſks advice of the parliament. Echard, Vol. III. p. 351.

The King, preſently after the receit of the States letter, came to the parliament the twenty-fourth of January, and communicated to both houſes the offers made by the Dutch, deſiring their advice on this affair. They anſwered, that it was their opinion, his Majeſty ſhould proceed in a treaty with the States, in order to a ſpeedy peace. From that time, all difficulties relating to the peace were removed, in the conferences between the marquis del Freſno, and the King's commiſſioners (2), and the treaty was concluded in a fortnight (3).

Peace concluded.

The commons go on with examining into grievances. Echard.

During this ſhort interval, the commons proceed to take into conſideration the nation's grievances. They inſiſted chiefly on keeping an army compoſed of regular troops, and after a vote that it was a grievance to the kingdom, they reſolved to addreſs his Majeſty for diſbanding all forces raiſed ſince the year 1663. The examination of this affair gradually led them to that of the horſe and foot guards, eſtabliſhed by the King without the concurrence or approbation of the parliament. It was found, that they were of vaſt charge to the King and kingdom; that they were a ſtanding army in diſguiſe, which might be eaſily augmented: that guards were only uſeful in arbitrary governments; that they were altogether inſignificant, as appeared from the King's daily truſting his perſon to his people without a guard.

The King acquaints the parliament with the peace. Kennet. Echard.

This debate was interrupted by the King's coming to the houſe of peers, the eleventh of February. The commons being ſent for, the King communicated to both houſes, that he had ſigned the peace with the Dutch. He told them moreover, in anſwer to their addreſs concerning the forces, that he had given orders for diſbanding even more than were deſired, and for ſending back the Iriſh regiments. He added, that he muſt needs acquaint them, that there was a great want of capital ſhips, and he ſhould be glad to be equal in number with his neighbors: He hoped therefore to have their aſſiſtance on ſuch an occaſion, to preſerve the honor and ſafety of the nation. The houſes thanked him for the peace he had made, and for his gracious anſwer to their addreſs.

He deſires a ſupply.

Grievances relating to Scotland and Ireland. Echard.

However this was not capable to induce the commons to ſuſpend their debates upon the grievances. They voted, "that a commitee ſhould be appointed to inſpect the laws lately made in Scotland, whereby, an army is authorized to march into England or Ireland, by the ſole direction of the council of Scotland; and peruſe ſuch other laws as tend to the breach of the union of the two nations." In a grand commitee they likewiſe reſolved, that a commitee ſhould be appointed to inſpect the ſtate and condition of Ireland, more eſpecially with regard to religion, the militia, and the forces of that kingdom. They moreover appointed another commitee. —— "To inſpect the law, and to conſider how the King might commit any ſubject by his immediate warrant, as the laws then ſtood; and to report their opinions;" and farther, "They were to conſider how the law then ſtood touching the commiting of perſons by the council-table, and to report the ſame." On this occaſion they ordered a particular bill to be brought in, concerning writs of Habeas Corpus, which was read three times, and paſſed the houſe. A bill was likewiſe ordered to be brought in for a teſt to be taken by the members of both houſes.

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The Habeas Corpus.

The King mortified.

It was a great mortification to the King to ſee the commons ſo rigorouſly examining his conduct; for all their reſolutions, in this ſeſſion, pointed to the former proceedings of the court. It may well be imagined, that as the project of the Cabal was to render the King abſolute, and advance the intereſts of Popery, the King and his miniſters had not been very ſcrupulous to gain firſt one point, and then another, in order to eſtabliſh precedents, and put his Majeſty in poſſeſſion of arbitrary power, in things which were not equally obvious to all. As the commons proceeded, it plainly appeared, they were reſolved not to omit any point. The King therefore to defeat their deſigns, made uſe of his conſtant method, and coming to the parliament the twenty-fourth of February, prorogued it to the tenth of November following, before any bill was ready for the Royal aſſent. Thus ended the thirteenth ſeſſion of this parliament, after ſitting ſix weeks and three days. The prorogation was afterwards continued, and laſted about fourteen months.

Prorogues the parliament. Echard, Vol. III. P. 353.

The peace is proclaimed. Collect. of Treaties, Vol. III. p. 277.

The peace was proclaimed the twenty-eighth of February in London, with much greater demonſtrations of joy and ſatisfaction from the people, than the war had been two years before. The ſole difference between this peace and that of Breda was, that the ſhips and veſſels belonging to the Dutch, whether ſingle or in fleets, ſhould ſtrike the flag, and lower their top-ſail to thoſe of England (4), provided they carried the King's flag. Moreover the States were to pay the King eight hundred thouſand patacoons, at four payments, viz. two hundred thouſand on the exchange of the ratifications, and the reſt at three payments, within the ſpace of three years. Thus the people of England diſcharged the expenſe of this war, and the King alone reaped the advantage (5).

An' 1674. The King abandons himſelf to his pleaſures. Burnet.

The King finding himſelf freed from the cares of war, and the uneaſineſſes cauſed by the parliament, abandoned himſelf intirely to a ſoft, indolent, and effeminate life. The ducheſs of Orleans his ſiſter had brought him, at their interview at Dover, the daughter of a gentleman of Bretagne, called de Queroüalle, who commanded the King's affection

(1) Lewis XIV, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the concluſion of this peace, and offered King Charles five millions and a half, with forty men of war, if he would break the negociations. Baſnage, Vol. II. p. 496.——After the ſigning of the peace, King Charles told the French embaſſador, That he had been doing a thing which went more againſt his heart, than the loſing of his right hand. Burnet, p. 367.

(2) They were the lord keeper Finch, the lord-treaſurer Oſborn; the dukes of Monmouth and Ormond, the earl of Arlington, and Henry Coventry, eſq; ſecretaries of ſtate. Collect. of Treat. Vol. III. p. 276,

(3) It was concluded in three days. See Temple's Lett. p. 295.

(4) From Cape Finiſterre, to Point Van Staten in Norway. Collect. of Treat. Vol. III. p. 277.

(5) This peace was ſigned at Weſtminſter, Feb. 9. See Collect. of Treat. Vol. III. p. 280. —— Burnet ſays, lord Arlington preſſed the Spaniſh miniſter, to prevail with the States, and the Prince of Orange, to get a propoſition for a peace to be ſet on foot. And that it might have ſome ſhew of a peace both begged and bought, he propoſed, that a ſum of money ſhould be offered the King by the States, which ſhould be made over by him to the Prince, for the payment of the debt he owed him. Rouvigny, the French embaſſador, preſſed the King much to give his parliament all ſatisfaction in points of religion. The King anſwered him, if it was not for his brother's folly (la ſottiſe de mon frere) he would get out of all difficulties. In concluſion, the Prince of Orange brought the States to make applications to the King, in the ſtile of thoſe who begged peace, tho' it was viſible they could have forced it, with the offer of two or three hundred thouſand pounds for the expenſe of the war, p. 366, 367.

beyond

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beyond any of his miſtreſſes, and was created dutcheſs of Portſmouth. But his particular fondeſs for her did not prevent his having many others, by whom he had ſeveral children, educated with no ſmall expenſe. In ſhort, not to dwell on what paſſed at a court ſo corrupted as that of Charles II, I ſhall only ſay, that the King's miſtreſſes had ingroſſed the whole credit of the court, and that he granted whatever they required.

Governed by his miſtreſſes.

It does not appear, that Lewis complained much of Charles for deſerting him, in making a ſeparate peace with the Dutch. This cauſed ſeveral politicians to imagine, that the King of France had given full conſent to this peace, in order to make Charles mediator between him and his enemies, whoſe number, ſince the laſt year, was greatly increaſed. This ſuſpicion is farther confirmed by Charles's offering his mediation to the King of France, ſoon after his peace with the States, which he readily accepted, without ſhewing the leaſt reſentment of what had been lately tranſacted. When the King was ſatisfied that his mediation was accepted by France, he ſent ſir William Temple into Holland to offer the ſame to the States. As their towns and provinces were now recovered, except Maeſtricht and Grave, they paſſionately wiſhed for peace. The only obſtacle was, the intereſt of their allies, the Emperor, the Empire, and Spain, who having ingaged in the war for their ſervice, could not be abandoned without extreme ingratitude. The only way to pleaſe them, was to bring matters to a treaty, where they might find their ſatisfaction. So without being over ſollicited, they accepted the King of England's mediation. It is true, France and the allies, had already accepted that of the King of Sweden, who had uſed his indeavors to procure a peace by his embaſſadors at the congreſs of Cologne. But ſince that congreſs was broken off by the forcible carrying away of Prince William of Furſtemberg (1), the Swede had rendered himſelf ſuſpected to the allies, by diſcovering too much partiality to France. So the States were not diſpleaſed in finding another mediator to renew the conferences, tho' they had no great reaſon to confide in King Charles. But they were deſirous of peace, and ſuch was the ſituation of the affairs of Europe, that to find another mediator would be difficult. Wherefore, it was more advantageous to accept him, than to have none at all, and loſe the hope of terminating the war. Nevertheleſs, they ſo ſtrongly ſollicited all the Princes their allies, that at laſt they were induced to accept the King of England's mediation. But there was a wide difference between agreeing upon a mediator, and concluding a peace. So many various intereſts to adjuſt, made it eaſy to ſee, that peace would be a very difficult work; beſide the accidents which the continuation of the war might produce, and which would be too apt to alter the pretenſions of the two parties. For inſtance, while a mediation of peace was talked of at the Hague, a battle was fought at Seneff, which indeed decided nothing, but might have had great conſequences, if victory had intirely declared for one of the armies (2). Moreover, the Prince of Orange took Grave in October.

Charles offers his mediation to Lewis, and is accepted. Temple's Mem. Echard, Vol. III. p. 457. Burnet.

July. Temple's Letters. The States accept it, Baſnage.

Baſnage.

and bring their allies to do the ſame.

Aug 1ſt. Temple. Burnet.

I cannot forbear taking notice of a thing which became more public afterwards, and of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully, viz. that at the very time Charles performed the office of a mediator, he received from France an annual penſion of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. By this we may judge of his impartiality. Moreover, it appears in Coleman's letters, the duke of York's ſecretary (3), ſome of which were wrote this year, that there was a cloſe union between the King of France, and the duke of York, and that the latter intirely relied on the aſſiſtance of France for the execution of the project formed in favor of the Engliſh Papiſts. This manifeſtly ſhews, that Charles had not deſiſted from his firſt deſigns, and only waited a favorable opportunity to execute them, when France, diſcharged from the burden of this preſent war, ſhould be in a condition to grant him the neceſſary aſſiſtance.

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King Charles a penſioner of France. Leed's Lett. Echard, Vol. III. p. 363, 364. Kennet, p. 327.

During theſe tranſactions, the Papiſts of England were laboring to prevail with the King to diſſolve a parliament which was ſo oppoſite to them; this alſo appears in Coleman's letters. But his Majeſty did not think it adviſeable to take ſuch a ſtep ſo ſoon, which might have done him great prejudice, by exaſperating the people, and from which he could reap no other advantage, than to procure ſome eaſe for the Papiſts. But this was not his principal aim. For tho' he was a diſguiſed Papiſt, he had ſo little zeal for religion, that he was by no means inclined to hazard his temporal intereſts, in complaiſance to the Popiſh party. He publiſhed therefore on the contrary, a proclamation, to ſtifle the falſe report that the parliament would quickly be diſſolved, and thereby to ſatisfy the people that the thing had never come under deliberation.

The King refuſes to diſſolve the parliament. Echard.

May. Echard, Vol. III. p. 364.

To finiſh the events of this year 1674, I ſhall only take notice of ſome particulars which may be of uſe in the ſequel. In September, the earl of Arlington was made lord chamberlain of the King's houſhold, and ſir Joſeph Williamſon, who had been plenipotentiary at the congreſs of Cologne, was made ſecretary in his ſtead. On the other hand, the duke of Buckingham, who had been the King's principal favorite, loſt his favor and credit to ſuch a degree, that his Majeſty, without any ceremony, gave him a public affront, in declaring his office of chancellor of Cambridge vacant, and in influencing the election in favor of his natural ſon the duke of Monmouth.

Preferments and removals at court. Kennet, p. 329.

The earl of Clarendon died this year at Roan in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, after an exile of ſeven years; during which he digeſted the memoirs he had collected to compoſe his Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars of England. The famous John Milton, author of the poem called Paradiſe Loſt, died alſo this year (4),

Deaths of the earl of Clarendon, and the poet Milton.

Of the five members of the Cabal, only the earl of Arlington, and the duke of Lauderdale remained about the King. The firſt finding himſelf in a very diſagreeable ſituation, ſince the parliament had ſo openly declared againſt him, believed he had no other way to ſupport himſelf, than by taking, or pretending to take meaſures oppoſite to thoſe of which the Cabal was accuſed. Accordingly, he was the firſt who adviſed the King to call in his declaration for liberty of conſcience, and when he ſaw the parliament acting with ſuch vigor to break the meaſures of the court, he affected

The earl of Arlington in diſgrace. Echard, Vol. III. p. 369.

(1) He was a Prince of the Empire, and was imployed by Lewis XIV to ſow diſcord between the Princes of Germany. He and his brother were the chief inſtruments in promoting the Dutch war; and were the perſons that perſuaded the archbiſhop of Cologne to let the French forces march thro' his dioceſe. Baſnage, Vol. II. p. 484.

(2) The Prince of Orange, tho' but twenty years old, highly ſignalized himſelf in this battle. Temple's Mem. p. 387.

(3) He was ſecretary to the dutcheſs. He was a clergyman's ſon, but was early catched by the jeſuits, and bred among them. He was a bold man, had a great eaſineſs in writing in ſeveral languages, and writ many long letters, being the chief correſpondent the party had in England. He underſtood the art of managing controverſies, particularly that of the authority of the church. Burnet, p. 368.

(4) He was Latin ſecretary to the Long Parliament, and afterwards to Oliver Cromwell himſelf.

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an extraordinary zeal for the Proteſtant religion. He was conſtant at ſermons and ſacraments, and carried his diſſimulation ſo high, as to perſecute the Papiſts, whom he had till now protected. Some even ſay, he adviſed the King to remove the duke of York from his court. But if, by theſe proceedings, he gained any favor with the people, he loſt it with the King and duke, who no longer confided in him as before. The King had particularly ſhewn he was diſpleaſed with him, by giving the treaſurer's ſtaff to ſir Thomas Oſborne, afterwards earl of Danby, which had ever been Arlington's ambition. This rendered the two earls mortal enemies to each other, and cauſed them to labor each other's deſtruction. The earl of Arlington, ſeeing that his enemy daily gained ground on him, imagined he might recover his former credit and favor by performing a ſignal ſervice for the King; which was, to ingage the Prince of Orange to enter into the meaſures of the Engliſh court, for procuring ſuch a peace as was deſired by the courts of France and England. As his counteſs was mr. Odyck's ſiſter, who was much in the Prince's confidence, he imagined, that with the aſſiſtance of Odyck, and his other relations and friends, it would be eaſy to ſucceed in the ſcheme he had projected. Wherefore, he obtained the King's leave to go to the Hague to execute his deſign. But as he was ignorant of the temper, humor, and character of the Prince of Orange, he took that very courſe to gain him which he ſhould have avoided. He indeavoured to vindicate all the proceedings of the Cabal and Engliſh court, by reaſons ſo weak and oppoſite to truth, that he ſeemed in his diſcourſe to the Prince, to think he had to deal with a perſon ignorant of the moſt common affairs, which could not but offend him. But what gave him the greateſt diſtaſte was, that he attempted to draw him into a diſcovery of the Engliſh lords, with whom he had held a ſecret correſpondence during the laſt war. In a word, this journey proved ſo unſucceſsful, that he loſt not only the Prince of Orange's eſteem, but all his credit with the King. Beſide, he farther incured the duke of York's hatred, by propoſing to the Prince, without any ceremony, as it is ſaid, a marriage with the Princeſs Mary, the duke's eldeſt daughter, which was afterwards accompliſhed. It ſeems, the duke foreſaw how fatal that marriage would be to him. After the earl's return to court, his credit ſo viſibly declined, and the King ſhewed it ſo openly, that the courtiers made no ſcruple, for his Majeſty's diverſion, to mimic him in his preſenſe. Thus had the earl of Clarendon been uſed. It is ſaid, that colonel Talbot, afterwards earl of Tyrconnel, having been ſome time abſent from court, and on his return ſeeing the earl of Arlington one day acted by a perſon with a black patch on his noſe, and a white-ſtaff in his hand, could not forbear reproaching the King with his ingratitude, in ſuffering a man to be thus unworthily treated, who had ſerved him ſo faithfully, as well in his exile, as ſince his reſtoration; to which his Majeſty in excuſe replied, that he had no reaſon to be ſatisfied with the earl's conduct; "For, not content to come to prayers "as others did, he muſt be conſtant at ſacraments "too." Why, anſwered Talbot, "Does not your "Majeſty do the very ſame thing? God's fiſh! "replied the King with ſome heat, I hope there "is a difference between Harry Bennet and Me."

Echard.

Oſborne made lord treaſurer. Temple's Mem. p. 394.

Arlington's ſucceſleſs negociation at the Hague. Temple.

Burnet, p. 377.

Temple's Mem. p. 397.

Burnet. Echard.

Loſes all his credit. Id. p. 372.

The King remains fixed to his firſt projects.

This ſhews, the King had changed neither inclination nor principles ſince his deſigns had appeared to be ruined. The truth is, he was not pleaſed with the members of the Cabal, tho' he did not diſlike their counſels, but their not having purſued the general deſign with ſufficient ability. Sir William Temple in his memoirs relates, that before he departed to offer the King's mediation to the States, he indeavored, in a private audience, to make the King ſenſible how ill adviſed and how ill ſerved he had been by the Cabal; to which the King anſwered----"It is true, I have ſucceeded ill; but if "I had been well ſerved, I might have made a "good buſineſs enough of it:" and ſo proceeded to juſtify what was paſſed. His Majeſty is therefore to be conſidered, at the time I am ſpeaking of, that is, during the fourteen months interval between the two ſeſſions, as waiting a favorable opportunity for the better executing his deſigns. And this opportunity was not to be found till France ſhould be at peace with her enemies, and in a condition to aſſiſt her ſecret ally. In the mean time, the King ſeems to have had no other buſineſs, than to get as much money as he could from his parliament. He began therefore, according to cuſtom, with publiſhing a proclamation againſt Popiſh prieſts and jeſuits, to prepare the parliament's favorable aſſiſtance.

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Temple's Mem. p. 383.

Echard.

The thirteenth of April, the fourteenth ſeſſion of this parliament began. The King opened it with a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them—— "That the principal end of his calling them now, "was to know what they thought might be wanting to the ſecurity of religion and property, and "to give himſelf the ſatisfaction of having uſed "his utmoſt indeavors to procure and ſetle a right "underſtanding between him and his parliament--- "For he muſt tell them, that he found the contrary was ſo much labored, and the pernicious "deſigns of ill men had taken ſo much place under "ſpecious pretenſes, that it was high time to be "watchful in preventing their contrivances, of "which this was not the leaſt; that they indeavored, by all means they could deviſe, to make "it impracticable any longer to continue this preſent parliament —— That he had done as much "on his part as was poſſible to extinguiſh the "fears and jealouſies of Popery; and would "leave nothing undone that might ſhew the world "his zeal to the Proteſtant religion as eſtabliſhed "in the church of England, from which he would "never depart. He then recommended the con"dition of the fleet, which he was not able, he ſaid, "to put into that ſtate it ought to be, and which re"quired a conſiderable ſum of money as well to "repair as to build. Laſtly, he told them, that "the ſeaſon of the year would not permit a long "ſeſſion ——— That he intended to meet them "again the next winter, and in the mean time "recommended to them all, ſuch temper and mo"deration in their proceedings, as might tend to "unite him and them in counſel and affections, "and diſappoint the expectations of thoſe, who "could only hope, by violent and irregular mo"tions, to prevent the bringing the ſeſſion to a "happy concluſion."

An' 1675.

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Id. p. 372. Kennet.

The commons thanked the King for his ſpeech and promiſes to preſerve their religion and liberties: but as he had given them only proclamations, the little efficacy of which was well known, they held them inſufficient, and accordingly proceeded to a new bill againſt the growth of Popery, and particularly Popiſh prieſts, that is, ſuch as had received orders from the ſee of Rome.

A bill againſt Popiſh prieſts. Kennet. Echard.

This done, the commons preſented a long addreſs againſt the duke of Lauderdale, in which they ſaid,—— "That upon a ſerious examination "of the ſtate of the kingdom, they found, that "ſome perſons in great imployment under his "Majeſty, had fomented deſigns contrary to the "intereſt of both his Majeſty and his people, in"tending to deprive them of their ancient rights "and liberties, among which was the duke of "Lauderdale

Addreſs againſt the duke of Lauderdale. Burnet, p. 379. Echard, Vol. III. p. 376. Kennet.

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" Lauderdale (1), this was clearly pointing at the " Cabal. That he had openly affirmed in the pre- " ſenſe of his Majeſty ſiting in council, and before " diverſe of his ſubjects attending there, ' That his " Majeſty's edicts ought to be obeyed; for his " edicts are equal with laws, and ought to be " obeyed in the firſt place.' They then repre- " ſented to his Majeſty ſome acts which had been " made by the parliament of Scotland, by which " it appeared, that there was a militia ſetled in " that kingdom of twenty thouſand foot, and two " thouſand horſe, ' who were obliged to be in a " readineſs to march into any part of this kingdom, " for any ſervice wherein his Majeſty's honor, au- " thority, and greatneſs may be concerned; and " were to obey ſuch orders and directions, as they " ſhall from time to time receive from the privy- " council there,' and that the duke of Lauderdale " was the promoter of this act. That by this " means England was expoſed to an invaſion from " Scotland under any pretenſe whatſoever, while " the duke of Lauderdale was intruſted with the " adminiſtration of that kingdom. For theſe rea- " ſons, they humbly beſought his Majeſty to re- " move the ſaid duke for ever from his perſon and " council." The King did not think fit to grant this requeſt, and gave ſome reaſons for his refuſal, which were not ſatisfactory to the commons. And therefore they reſolved to prepare againſt the duke a ſecond addreſs.

and refuſed by the King.

The earl of Danby's conduct examined by the commons. Echard, Vol. III. p. 378. Burnet.

The commons, after attacking the old members of the Cabal, proceeded againſt a new one, viz. the lord treaſurer Danby, who was believed to be deeply ingaged in the project of making the King abſolute. They examined his whole conduct ſince his admiſſion into that high poſt, and drew up ſeveral articles, in which they accuſed him of great miſdemeanors. In one of theſe articles, he was accuſed of ſaying at the hearing of a cauſe in the treaſury-chamber, " That a new proclamation is " better than an old act." But as ſufficient proofs could not be found to ſupport the charge, it was droped.

From theſe proceedings of the commons, it may be eaſily infered, that they were extremely jealous of the King and his miniſters, and doubted not of the court's intention to introduce Popery, and invade the liberties of the ſubject. Thoſe who would wholly aſcribe the ill humor of the commons to Shaftſbury's influences, can hardly anſwer the abovementioned facts, which would not be leſs true, tho' the earl of Shaftſbury had never been born.

The King is deſired by the commons to call home his forces from France; which he refuſes. Echard.

The commons ſhowed alſo their diſtruſt in another point, which to the King was no leſs grievous. By an addreſs they prayed him to recal his troops out of France, and prevent his ſubjects from ingaging in that ſervice for the future. The King rejected the firſt part of the addreſs, on pretenſe that, in the treaty concluded with the States, he had not ingaged to recal thoſe troops, and that it could not be done without prejudice to the peace, which he now injoyed, with all his neighbors: but by a proclamation he prohibited his ſubjects from entering into the ſervice of France.

The lords afraid that the commons are going too far. Kennet, p. 332. Echard.

While the commons were thus proceeding with vigor, and giving on all occaſions ſignal marks of their diſtruſt, the lords remained idle, and ſeemed regardleſs of the fears and jealouſies expreſſed by that houſe. Nay ſome, particularly the biſhops, obſerving that the commons were gradually departing from the principle which had been eſtabliſhed by this ſame parliament, as well concerning the church of England, as the Royal authority, feared they would lean too much to the oppoſite ſide. At the begining of this parliament, while it was believed that the King was and ever would be a protector of the church of England, and would give continual proofs of his affection for a people who had ſo generouſly reſtored him, it was thought the Royal authority could not be carried too high, nor too many precautions taken againſt the Non-conformiſts. But the face of affairs being changed, and the King having ſhown by his conduct ſince his acceſſion to the throne, that he really deſigned to introduce Popery, and render himſelf abſolute, theſe ſame principles, which had been conſidered as a bulwark to defend both church and ſtate, appeared too apt to countenance the deſigns aſcribed to the King and his miniſters, of invading the government and the eſtabliſhed religion. The commons therefore ſeeing the King was not the perſon he appeared to be, and that he took advantage of the acts made in his favor to advance his own intereſts, which were not thoſe of the nation, uſed all poſſible precautions to hinder the execution of his deſigns. Theſe precautions went ſo far, that the houſe of lords were at laſt apprehenſive, that the commons intended to overturn every thing eſtabliſhed concerning the Royal prerogative and the church's ſecurity, and that by degrees the nation would again become Republican and Preſbyterian. It is pretended the biſhops were all or moſt of them of this opinion. To prevent an evil which to them appeared very dangerous, * the earl of Lindſey brought into the houſe of lords a bill, intitled, " An act to prevent the dangers which may ariſe " from perſons diſaffected to the government." By this bill all perſons who injoyed any office eccleſiaſtical, civil or military, all privy-counſellors and members of parliament, were obliged, under a penalty, to take the oath which had been introduced firſt in the corporation act, then in the militia act, and afterwards more fully in the five mile act. The oath, to ſave the reader the trouble of looking for it elſewhere, was thus expreſſed, " I do " declare that it is not lawful upon any pretenſe " whatſoever to take up arms againſt the King; " and that I do abhor the traiterous poſition of " taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, " or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him, " in purſuance of ſuch commiſſion: and I do ſwear, " that I will not at any time indeavor the alteration " of the government either in church or ſtate. So " help me God."

* Robert Bartu. Bring a bill into their houſe to check their deſigns.

When this oath was inſerted in the three forementioned acts, it produced no conſiderable debate, for the reaſons I have been ſpeaking of; but the caſe was very different when it was propoſed in this ſeſſion. Firſt, becauſe it was rendered in a manner univerſal, ſince it was extended to all perſons in any office whatever, and even to privy-counſellors and members of parliament. Secondly, becauſe the times were altered, and moſt men had not the ſame opinion of the King, as when the three former acts were made. This bill occaſioned debates in the upper houſe, which laſted ſeventeen days, without a poſſibility of coming to any concluſion (2). There were two powerful parties in the houſe, one for, and the other againſt the bill, and the biſhops votes turned the ſcale on the ſide of the firſt. This appeared in that notwithſtanding all the efforts of the oppoſers of the bill to hinder its being refered

Great debates upon it. Echard, Vol. III. p. 379, 383. Kennet. R. Coke.

(1) Lately created earl of Guilford.

(2) The great ſpeakers for this bill, were, the lord treaſurer and the lord keeper, with biſhop Morley and biſhop Ward. The ſpeakers againſt it, were the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shaftſbury, the lords Holles and Hallifax, and the earl of Saliſbury. Kennet, p. 332.

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to a commitee, they could not ſucceed. Whereupon ſome lords of that party entered their proteſtation againſt it (1). The ſame thing happened when the bill came to be examined in a commitee of the whole houſe. In fine, with regard to the ſubſtance of the bill, the two parties diſplayed all their art and eloquence, the one for the paſſing, and the other for rejecting it. In general, thoſe who argued for the bill maintained, that "the poſition "of taking up arms by the King's authority againſt "his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him," was falſe and pernicious; and they ſupported their opinion by inſtances of what had been done in the laſt reign, where it cauſed ſuch great diſorders, and occaſioned the ſubverſion both of church and ſtate. They ſaid therefore, that the kingdom ſtill abounding with Fanatics, Republicans, and enemies of the church, it was abſolutely neceſſary to impoſe this oath upon them, to diſtinguiſh them, that it might be known who were to be guarded againſt. That otherwiſe there was danger of ſeeing one day renewed, the diſorders which had reduced the kingdom to ſo deplorable a condition, and that the oath injoined by this bill, was, "a moderate ſecurity to the church and "crown (2)."

Burnet, p. 383.

Kennet, p. 332.

The other party maintained (3), "That the "oath impoſed by this, contained three clauſes, "the two firſt aſſertory, and the laſt promiſſory; "that it was worthy the conſideration of the biſhops, whether aſſertory oaths, which are properly appointed to give teſtimony of a matter "of fact, of which a man is capable to be aſſured "by the evidence of his ſenſes, be lawful to be "made uſe of to confirm or invalidate doctrinal "propoſitions; and whether that legiſlative power, "which impoſes ſuch an oath, does not neceſſarily "aſſume to itſelf an infallibility. And as to promiſſory oaths, it was deſired, that the learned prelates would conſider the opinion of Grotius de "jure belli & pacis, lib. ii. cap. 3. who ſeems to "make it plain, that thoſe kinds of oaths are forbidden by our Savior Chriſt, Matt. v. 34, 37. "And whether it would not become the fathers of "the church, when they have well weighed that "and other places of the New Teſtament, to be "more tender in multiplying oaths, than hitherto "the great men of the church have been?" But the queſtion being put, the oath was voted by the majority of the houſe, the biſhops being all for it.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 381. Burnet, p. 384.

The bill paſſes. Echard, Vol. III. p. 381.

Then they proceeded to the particulars of the oath contained in the bill, and it was alleged by the oppoſers, that the poſition of "taking arms by "the King's authority againſt his perſon," was true and neceſſary in a limited government, like that of England, otherwiſe this would be to ſurrender the rights and liberties of the ſubject, to a Prince, who being ſuppoſed a tyrant (which was a very poſſible caſe) would not be reſtrained by the fear either of God or man. That ſhould ſuch a future King undertake to aboliſh all the laws, and invade the eſtates and liberties of his ſubjects, they would be obliged, by this oath, not to reſiſt him, but to ſubmit to his yoke. That even without ſuppoſing ſuch a tyranny, a King might happen to be made priſoner by his own ſubjects, as was the caſe of Henry III and Henry VI, and then thoſe who ſhould have the Sovereign in their hands, might act in his name and authority, by virtue of his commiſſion, while the ſubjects would be reſtrained by the obligation of this oath from indeavoring to free him from captivity. In a word, ſeveral other probable caſes were alleged, by which it was evidently proved, that the oath ought neceſſarily to have ſome reſtrictions, if it was not intended to ſurrender to the King all the liberties of the nation. But as ſuch reſtrictions could not be eaſily expreſſed, they concluded, it was much better, to leave the oath in generals, which ſhould not comprehend all poſſible caſes, as ſeemed to be the intention of this oath, from the terms in which it was conceived.

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This buſineſs was interrupted by an accident which raiſed between the two houſes a violent conteſt. The particulars I ſhall not relate as they ſuppoſe a knowledge of many things concerning the privileges of both houſes, with which few foreigners are acquainted. I ſhall content myſelf with briefly ſhowing the occaſion. One dr. Shirley having brought an appeal in the houſe of lords, from a decree in chancery, againſt ſir John Fagg, a member of the houſe of commons, they ordered Shirley to be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms for a breach of privilege. The warrant for taking Shirley into cuſtody was forcibly taken from the ſerjeant's deputy, by the lord Mohun. The commons demanded juſtice of the peers againſt the lord Mohun, and were anſwered, that he had done only his duty. The quarrel thus begun, daily increaſed, ſo that both houſes, in their anſwers and replies, came to language ſo reproachful, that there was no hope of an accommodation (4). Wherefore the King, on the ninth of June, came to the houſe of peers, and prorogued the parliament to the thirteenth of October. Thus ended the fourteenth ſeſſion of this parliament, before the money bill, and other public bills were ready for the Royal aſſent. The commons had deſigned to grant the King three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling (5), but at the ſame time reſolved to apply the ancient tonage and poundage to the maintenance of the navy, according to its original deſign, which amounted to four hundred thouſand pounds a year. As his Majeſty would have been a real ſufferer by ſuch an appropriation, he was not uneaſy at having ſuch an opportunity to prorogue the parliament, chuſing rather to be deprived of a ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds, than loſe a revenue of four hundred thouſand.

A quarrel between the two houſes. Kennet. Echard. Burnet.

Parliament prorogued. Echard, Vol. III. p. 387.

During the campain of 1675, the King of France loſt the famous marſhal Turenne, who had done

Death of marſhal Turenne. Temple. Baſnage. Echard.

(1) The proteſting lords, who were looked upon as of the country party, were, Buckingham, Bridgewater, Wincheſter, Saliſbury, Bedford, Dorſet, Ayleſbury, Briſtol, Denbigh, Paget, Holles, Petre, Berkſhire, Mohun, Stamford, Hallifax, De-la-mer, Eure, Shaftſbury, Clarendon, Grey of Rolleſton, Say and Seal, Wharton. It muſt be obſerved that this bill was contrived by the church party, and was diſliked by the duke, and the Papiſts in general, becauſe they thought the bringing any teſt in practiſe, would certainly bring on one that would turn them out of the houſe.

(2) Theſe were the lord chancellor's words.

(3) They ſaid, There ought to be no teſt, beyond the oath of allegiance, upon the elections to parliament: it being the great privilege of Engliſhmen, that they were not to be taxed but by their repreſentatives; it was therefore thought a diſinheriting men of the main part of their birth-right, to do any thing that ſhould ſhut them out from their votes in electing: all teſts in public aſſemblies were thought dangerous, and contrary to public liberty: A great deal was ſaid, to ſhew, that the peace of the world was beſt ſecured by good laws and good government; and that oaths and teſts were no ſecurity: the ſcrupulous might be fettered by them: yet the bulk of the world would boldly take any teſt, and as boldly break thro' it. Burnet, p. 384.

(4) The lords affirmed, That it is the undoubted right of the lords in judicature, to receive and determine in time of parliament, appeals from inferior courts, tho' members of either houſe be concerned. The commons, on the other hand, maintained it to be the undoubted right of their houſe, that none of the members thereof be ſummoned to attend the houſe of lords, during the ſeſſion and privilege of parliament. Echard, Vol. III. p. 384.

(5) For the building of ſhips.

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him very great ſervices. He was killed by a cannon ball in an action not important in itſelf, but rendered ſo by the death of this general, his army being obliged ro repaſs the Rhine. Their retreat facilitated the recovery of Treves to the allies, which was yet in the hands of the French. In the begining of the year, the contending powers had agreed, after long negociations, to treat of a peace in the city of Nimeguen. But nothing conſiderable was done this year.

Intrigues for the diſſolution of the parliament. Id. p. 390.

In England, ſince the laſt ſeſſion, there were ſome intrigues at court to ingage the King to diſſolve the parliament. The Preſbyterians earneſtly wiſhed it, hoping that the people, diſſatisfied with the court, would, as uſually happens, chuſe repreſentatives who had other principles than thoſe of the preſent parliament. The Papiſts had paſſionately deſired this diſſolution before the laſt ſeſſion, but, as it appears in one of Coleman's letters of Auguſt this year, they had altered their mind, and expected much from this very parliament which had hitherto been ſo averſe to them. But it is not ſeen on what this hope was founded. I ſhall hereafter mention this and ſome other letters of Coleman, in which it evidently appears, that the Papiſts were at this time very active to procure great advantages to their religion, and relied much on the duke of York, and the aſſiſtance of France.

The parliament opened with a ſhort ſpeech from the King. Kennet, p. 333. Echard.

October thirteen, the King opened the fifteenth ſeſſion of this parliament with a very ſhort ſpeech, in which, after recommending union to both houſes, and the intereſts of the church of England, he demanded money, as well for building ſhips, as for taking off the anticipations upon his revenues, deſiring them to remember, it was now above three years ſince he aſked any thing of them for his own private uſe.

The keeper's ſpeech.

Then the lord keeper made a ſpeech full of flattery to the King, in which he indeavored to ſhow, that no King had ever a more ſincere affection for his ſubjects, or labored with more zeal for the preſervation of religion and liberty, and therefore it was not to be doubted, but they would behave themſelves like thoſe who deſerved to be called his Majeſty's friends, and that they would likewiſe ſet him at eaſe.

The commons reſume the interrupted bills. Id. p. 393.

But the commons, inſtead of being moved by ſo unſeaſonable rhetoric, and by ſuch ill grounded reaſons, reſumed the conſideration of the bills left unfiniſhed the laſt ſeſſion, for the liberty of the ſubject, and added others for its better ſecurity.

Examine the public accounts. Id. p. 394. Burnet.

Afterwards they took into conſideration the ſums granted to the King for the laſt war, and the expenſes thereof, and found, that the charges amounted to a million leſs than the receit, without being able to diſcover to what uſes this million had been applied (1).

In the report made of this affair, it was ſaid, that the parliament was not obliged to pay the King's private debts by a tax, for if this pretenſion was admited, they would have the like debts to pay about a year and half hence, and thereby incourage the court to exact yearly a million and half, as they had hitherto done: that ſince the end of the war, the whole charge of the government, both by ſea and land, amounted not to above ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and the clear income of the revenue came at leaſt to ſixteen hundred thouſand, and conſequently there ought to have been a yearly remainder of near a million: and yet the King had anticipated his revenues near a million more, to pay which would be to intail perpetual anticipations upon the kingdom, to its utter ruin and deſolation. The parliament therefore reſolved to grant the King nothing for taking off theſe anticipations. Nevertheleſs, a few days after they voted a ſupply of three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling for the building of twenty large ſhips of war (2), but withal reſolved to appropriate tonage and poundage to the uſe of the navy, which could not but be very diſagreeable to the King.

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A vote to grant money for building of ſhips.

The commons then proceeded to examine the trade with France, and found, that the French commodities imported yearly into England amounted to a million more than they exported, upon which a bill was ordered to be prepared.

The ſtate of commerce examined. Echard, Vol. III. p. 395.

Laſtly, the commons hearing of a public report, that many of their members were penſioners to the court, reſolved to oblige thoſe of their houſe to take an oath, by which they were to proteſt, that they had not received any money from the court, ſince the firſt of January 1672. But I know not whether this reſolution was executed (3).

And the penſionary members. Ibid.

An attempt of a jeſuit. Kennet, p. 337. Echard, Vol. III. p. 396.

The debates of the commons were a little interrupted, by a report made to the houſe of the inſolence of a French jeſuit named St. Germain. This jeſuit being informed, that one Luzancy a French prieſt had imbraced the Proteſtant religion, and afterwards had publicly preached to juſtify his converſion, went to him, and, threatening to aſſaſſinate him, or carry him away by force into France, extorted from him a recantation in writing of his converſion and ſermon. This was done during the ſeſſion of parliament. A complaint was laid before the ſecretaries of ſtate, and alſo before the commons, atteſted by Luzancy, with an addition of the following particulars, which he offered to ſwear. That father St. Germain in ſeveral conferences with him declared: 1. That the King was a Roman Catholic in his heart. 2. That the court were indeavoring to get a liberty of conſcience in England for the Roman Catholics, and that granted, in two years, moſt of the Engliſh would acknowlege the Pope. 3. That he knew the King's intentions concerning religion, and that he was ſure his Majeſty would approve of all he ſhould do in that matter. 4. That he laughed at the parliament, as being only a wave that had but a little time; and ſaid, that no body was better welcome at court, and had greater intrigues with any of the nobility than he. 5. That it was good ſometimes to force people to heaven; and that there was an infinite number of prieſts and jeſuits in London, that did God very great ſervice. Luzancy added farther, that many perſons of good

(1) The charges of the war were, two millions and forty thouſand pounds, and the receit, three millions and forty thouſand pounds; conſequently, a million was miſapplied, or waſted by ill management.

(2) One firſt rate of fourteen hundred tons; eight ſecond rates, of eleven hundred tons; and eleven third rates, of ſeven hundred tons. Echard, Vol. III. p. 395.

(3) The words of this oath or teſt ran thus:——"I A. B. do proteſt before God and this houſe of parliament, That di- "rectly nor indirectly, neither I, nor any for my uſe, to my knowledge, have, ſince the firſt day of January 1672, had or re- "ceived any ſum or ſums of money by ways of impreſt, gift, loan, or otherwiſe, from the King's Majeſty, or any other perſon "by his Majeſty's order, direction, or knowledge, or by authority derived from his ſaid Majeſty, or any pardon, diſcharge, "or reſpite of any money due to his ſaid Majeſty upon account, or any grant, penſion, gratuity, or reward, or any promiſe "of any ſuch office, place, or command, of or from his Majeſty, or out of any money, treaſure, or eſtate, of or belonging to "his Majeſty, or of, from, or by any foreign embaſſador or miniſter, or of, or from any other perſon in the name, or by the "appointment, or with the knowledge of his Majeſty or any of them; otherwiſe than what I have now in writing faithfully "diſcovered and delivered to this houſe, which I have ſubſcribed with my name: Neither do I know of any ſuch gift, grant, "or promiſe ſo given, or made, ſince the ſaid time, to any other member of this houſe, but what I have alſo inſerted in the "ſaid writing; nor have I given my vote in parliament for any reward or promiſe whatſoever." So help me God, &c. Ibid.

credit

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credit and repute, were ready to juſtify upon oath, that ſeveral of the Roman Catholics had ſpoken things quite as bad or worſe. In ſhort, that they were grown ſo bold and inſolent, that a proſelyte could not walk the ſtreets without being threatened and called opprobrious names.

This affair threw the houſe into a ferment, and obliged the King to publiſh a proclamation, promiſing two hundred pounds for the apprehending of St. Germain. But that jeſuit was now retired into France, from whence he held a conſtant correſpondence with Coleman the duke of York's ſecretary, in whoſe letters it appeared, that the duke labored the advancement of Popery with the utmoſt aſſiduity.

I have before taken notice how much this parliament had been againſt the Preſbyterians, and that the diſcovery of the court's deſigns had induced them to bring in a bill for their relief, but that the bill became abortive by a ſudden prorogation of the parliament. The affair of Luzancy and St. Germain cauſed the commons to think of a like bill, but they were prevented by the lords. The duke of Buckingham having in a ſpeech to the peers ſhown the miſchiefs ariſing from perſecuting the Proteſtant Diſſenters, deſired leave to bring in a bill for their eaſe, which was granted immediately.

A bill brought into the houſe of lords, in favor of Non-conformiſts. Echard.

But this bill, and all the reſt prepared by the commons, were unhappily ſtifled in their birth by the revival of the former conteſt between the two houſes. This diſpute about privileges was managed with ſuch warmth on both ſides, that it was moved in the houſe of lords, to preſent an addreſs to the King to diſſolve the parliament, and the queſtion being put, it paſſed in the negative by only two voices. At length, his Majeſty ſeeing no expedient could poſſibly be found to reconcile the two houſes, prorogued the parliament from the twenty-ſecond of November to the fifteenth of February 1677, that is, for fifteen months.

The quarrel between the houſes revived.

The parliament prorogued. Kennet. Echard.

I ſhall cloſe this year with ſome leſs important tranſactions, which ought not to be omited.

In May, the Prince of Newburg came into England, and was received with great marks of diſtinction by his Majeſty, as well on account of his perſonal merit, as in conſideration of the civilities received by the King in his exile from the duke his father.

The Prince of Newburg arrives in England. Kennet. Echard.

The ducheſs of Mazarine having a difference with her huſband, retired into England this year, where it is pretended, ſhe would have ſupplanted the ducheſs of Portſmouth (1), had not an intrigue with a certain courtier been too ſoon diſcovered to the King. However he aſſigned her a penſion of four thouſand pounds ſterling annually. Her houſe, to the day of her death, was the rendezvous of all the men of wit and quality, and St. Evremond, a refugee as well as herſelf, was one of her moſt conſtant attendants.

And the Ducheſs of Mazarine.

The nineteenth of December, Heneage lord Finch, baron of Daventry, who had been lord keeper, was made lord high chancellor.

Finch made lord chancellor.

The moſt remarkable deaths were thoſe of dr. Lightfoot, dr. Willis, and Bulſtrode Whitelock (2). The laſt has been frequently mentioned in the recital of the differences between Charles I, and the parliament.

Deaths. Ibid.

As the parliament was not to meet next year, the Catholics and the court which openly protected them, were leſs reſerved, and appeared more active. This gave great uneaſineſs to the people, who, beſide, ſaw with concern the growing greatneſs of Lewis XIV, and the indolence of Charles, who, inſtead of being diſturbed or jealous, ſeemed to behold it with pleaſure. It may be affirmed, that the principal article of Charles II's reign conſiſts, in the perpetual oppoſition between the particular intereſts of the King and thoſe of the Engliſh nation. All the world ſaw and were ſenſible of it. It was the common talk, and the ſubject of daily libels. His Majeſty therefore by proclamation ſuppreſſed all coffee-houſes, on pretenſe of being places where diſaffected perſons met, and deviſed malicious and ſcandalous reports againſt the King and his miniſters. Immediately after was publiſhed another proclamation, for diſcovering and puniſhing the authors, who daily publiſhed libels in London againſt the government. But it is ſeldom found, that ſuch proclamations produce any great effects, eſpecially in England, where the liberty of ſpeaking or writing againſt the government is more unreſtrained, than in any other country.

The nation diſcontented. Id. p. 402.

CHARLES II. AN' 1675.

Dec. 29. Kennet. Coffee-houſes ſuppreſſed.

Proclamation againſt libels.

Tho' laſt year all the contending powers had conſented to ſend their plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, to treat of a peace, by the mediation of England, there was no great likelihood of a general pacification. Sir William Temple and ſir Leoline Jenkins, the Engliſh mediators and embaſſadors, repaired to Nimeguen in July, and only found there the plenipotentiaries of France, and thoſe of the States-general. The Emperor, the King of Spain, the Elector of Brandenburg, retarded the negociations, as much as poſſible, in hopes, that the King of England, being concerned in the preſervation of the Netherlands, would not ſuffer them to fall under the dominion of France, and that this would ingage him in the end to declare for the allies. But they were extremely miſtaken in imagining that the intereſt of England was that of the King. It was this that made the proceedings of the Engliſh court always unintelligible to them, as well as to the reſt of the Princes of Europe, who were ignorant of Charles's ſecret deſigns, and his ingagements with the French King.

Congreſs of Nimeguen. Jenkins's Life. Temple's Lett. Echard.

AN' 1676.

At the begining of the campain of 1676, the King of France took Conde and Bouchain, after which, in June, he returned to Paris, leaving his army under the command of the count de Schomberg. On the other ſide the Prince of Orange beſieged Maeſtricht towards the end of July, which gave Schomberg opportunity to take Aire, and march to the relief of Maeſtricht. His approach and ſome other accidents obliged the Prince to raiſe the ſiege.

Baſnage. Echard.

The campain being ended, all eyes were turned to the negociations at Nimeguen. It was ſoon apparent, that the deſign of France was only to divide the allies, and make a ſeparate peace with the States. The King of England had alſo the ſame view, and therein aſſiſted France with all his power, having ſent orders to ſir William Temple, to indeavor to perſuade the States, and the Prince of Orange, to give their conſent. The States were inclinable enough, but the Prince of Orange could not be prevailed with, who thought, it would be a betraying of the common cauſe, and the intereſt of the Princes, who had ingaged in the preſervation of Holland, which, without their aſſiſtance had been irrecoverably loſt. He ſaid, it was in his uncle's power to oblige the French to peace when he pleaſed by declaring againſt them. But nothing was farther from Charles's intention, who, inſtead of being jealous of the King of France, was privately doing him all the ſervice he could, in ſolliciting the States, and his nephew the Prince, to make a ſeparate peace.

Charles tries to procure a ſeparate peace between France and Holland. Temple. Jenkins. Kennet.

(1) It is ſaid, that ſhe was brought into England for that very purpoſe, by the country party. Life of St. Evremond.

(2) Author of the Memorials of the Engliſh affairs. He was upon the ſtage above twenty years, but the laſt fifteen years he lived retired.

Charles II. An' 1676.

This discovers with what partiality he acted as mediator.

He indeavors to disabuse the confederate Princes. Echard, Vol. III. p. 404.

The hope entertained by the allies, that England would at last declare against France was the greatest obstacle to a pacification. The King not being ignorant of it, believed he ought to undeceive the allies, in order to induce them to make such a peace as the French King desired. For this reason, he published two proclamations, in which, on pretense of regulating some things concerning the neutrality, his design was to show he had no intention to depart from it.

French privateers molest the English. Kennet, p. 338, &c.

As the King had made peace with Holland, the French privateers infested the Channel in such a manner, that without any regard to the neutrality of England, they seized its ships, and, as if in open war, made them prizes (1). It was proved, that they had taken fifty-three since the peace. Finally, the thing went so far, that the commissioners of trade were obliged to present a report concerning these indignities, to the King, and to pray him that he would take some course to prevent it. His Majesty very graciously received this report, and sent orders to his embassadors at Paris to make complaints on this occasion; but that was all the satisfaction the merchants could obtain (2). For the French court knowing that Charles would not break with them for fifty-three ships belonging to private men, regarded not these complaints. The King's indolence produced at least this effect, that the people of England, inraged to see themselves thus exposed to the piracies of the French, were extremely desirous of a war with that nation, in order to be revenged, and impatiently waited the meeting of the parliament, in belief that both houses would be more careful, than the King, of the interest of his kingdom.

The English desirous of a war with France.

Proclamation against Papists, &c. Echard, Vol. III. p. 406.

Nothing memorable happened the remaining part of this year, except a proclamation published by the King, forbiding his subjects to hear mass in the Queen's chapel in Somerset house, or in the houses of embassadors. These proclamations were always expressed in very rigorous terms; but executed with such negligence, that the frequency of them only served to shew, how little desirous the King was to have his orders strictly observed. They were usually a preparative to the next session, but during the intervals of parliament, the Romish priests and jesuits, who swarmed in the kingdom, and all other Papists, were sure of impunity.

Earl of Bristol's death.

George Digby earl of Bristol died this year in the sixty-fifth year of his age, who has often been remembered in the course of this history (3).

A question started whether the parliament was not dissolved. Kennet. Echard. Burnet, p. 401. R. Coke.

The King, as I said, had prorogued the parliament for fifteen months, a few days only excepted. This prorogation, the longest ever known, raised a doubt, whether by it the parliament was not actually dissolved. This question was owing to the statute of Edward III, never repealed, whereby it was inacted, that a parliament should be held once every year, and oftner if occasion required. This dispute made a great noise in the kingdom, and books were published on both sides. The court party in general maintained, that the parliament was not dissolved, and the contrary party pretended it could not meet, after a fifteen months interruption. I believe the interest of neither party was herein much concerned, tho' perhaps some private persons might have found some advantage in a new parliament.

Charles II. An' 1676.

The King's speech to the parliament. Echard.

The parliament however met the fifteenth of February according to the prorogation. The King in his speech to both houses declared, "That he "was prepared to give them all the satisfaction "and security in the great concerns of the Protestant religion, as established in the church of "England, that should be reasonably asked, or "could consist with Christian prudence. And "he declared himself as freely, that he was ready "to gratify them in a farther security of their "liberty and property (if they could think it was "wanted) by as many good laws as they should "propose, and as could consist with the safety of "the government, without which there could be "neither liberty nor property left to any man." After, this, imagining he had given both houses intire satisfaction, he told them, "That he ex-"pected and required from them, that all occa-"sions of differences between the two houses "should be carefully avoided.——In the next "place, he desired them to consider the neces-"sity of building more ships, and how much all "their safeties were concerned in it.——And, "as they knew him to be under a great burden "of debts, he hoped, they would not deny him "the continuance of the additional revenue of "excise, which was near expiring.——And, "that they might be satisfied how impossible it "was (whatever some men thought) to support "the government with less than the present re-"venue, they might at any time see the yearly "established charge, by which it would appear, "that the constant and unavoidable charge being "paid, there would remain no overplus towards "the discharging those contingencies which might "happen in all kingdoms, and which had been "a considerable charge to him the last year."

The chancellor's speech. Echard, Vol. III. p. 412.

Then the chancellor inlarged on all these points; but as his speech was wholly founded upon this unquestionable truth, according to him, that the King had only the welfare of his people at heart; I shall transcribe only this single passage.——"For "the King hath no desires but what are public; "no ends or aims which terminate in himself; "all his indeavors are so intirely bent upon the "welfare of his whole dominions, that he doth "not think any man a good subject, who doth "not heartily love his country: and therefore let "no man pass for a good patriot, who doth "not heartily love and serve his Prince. Pri-"vate men indeed are subject to be misled by "private interests, and may entertain some vain "and slender hopes of surviving the public; but "a Prince is sure to fall with it, and therefore "can never have any interests divided from it. "To live and die with the King, is the highest "profession a subject can make, and sometimes "it is profession only and no more; but in a "King it is an absolute necessity, it is a fate in-"evitable, that he must live and die with his "people. Away then with the vain imaginations "of those who infuse a misbelief of the govern-"ment; away with all those ill meant distinc-"tions between the court and the country, be-"tween the natural and political capacity; and "let us all who go about to persuade others, "that there are several interests, have a care of "that precipice, to which such principles may "lead them."

The duke of Buckingham makes a speech, to prove the parliament dissolved. Echard. Kennet.

As soon as the commons were withdrawn, the duke of Buckingham stood up in the house of lords,

(1) Pretending, they were only Dutch ships with English passes. Burnet, p. 390.

(2) No wonder since sir Ellis Leighton, secretary to the English embassador at Paris, received bribes in the prosecution of the merchants affairs, and sometimes made corrupt agreements with the French privateers. Kennet, p. 338.

(3) This year also died sir Matthew Hale, chief justice of the King's bench; sir William Morrice, formerly secretary of state; and John Ogilby, the publisher of several books.

and

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and made a very long ſpeech, to prove, that the parliament was diſſolved by the laſt prorogation. He grounded his opinion upon ancient ſtatutes "which "(he ſaid) are not like women, the worſe of being "old," and chiefly upon the ſtatute of Edward III, viz. "That a parliament ſhould be holden every "year once, and more often, if need be." He added, "tho' theſe words are as plain as a pike-"ſtaff, and no man living, that is not a ſcholar, "can poſſibly miſtake their meaning, yet the gram-"marians in thoſe days made a ſhift to explain, that "the words, 'if need be,' related as well to the "words, 'every year once,' as to the words, "'more often,' and ſo by this grammatical whim-"ſey of theirs, have made this ſtatute to ſignify "nothing. For this reaſon in the thirty-ſixth year "of the ſame reign, a new act of parliament was "made, in which thoſe unfortunate words, 'if "need be,' are left out, and that act, relating to "Magna Charta, and other ſtatutes, made good. "Here now, my lords, there is not left the leaſt "color for any miſtake, for it is plainly declared, "'That the Kings of England muſt call a parlia-"ment once within a year." Then he reduced the whole matter to this dilemma. "Either the Kings "are bound by theſe acts, or elſe the government "of England by parliaments is at an end. For if "the Kings have power, by an order of theirs, to "invalidate an act made for the maintainance of "Magna Charta, they have alſo power, by an "order of theirs to invalidate Magna Charta it-"ſelf." It appears by the ſequel of this ſpeech that the duke of Buckingham's aim was to put an end to this parliament, which had continued ſo long, and thereby rendered the commons, in ſome meaſure, ſovereigns over their countrymen. The duke was ſeconded by the earls of Saliſbury and Shaftſbury, and the lord Wharton. At laſt, after great debates, the houſe ſent all four to the Tower (1), from whence they were ſhortly after releaſed, except the earl of Shaftſbury, who was continued there above a year, becauſe he would not own the juſtice of his impriſonment (2).

Seconded by three other lords. Kennet. p. 339.

All four ſent to the Tower. Burnet.

A ſupply granted. Kennet. Echard. Burnet.

Shortly after, the commons voted the King a ſupply of five hundred and eighty-four thouſand pounds, to build thirty ſhips, without appropriating tonage and poundage. Beſide, they continued for three years the additional tax upon beer, which was to expire the twenty-fourth of June.

It ſoon after appeared, that their grand affair was to ſtop the great progreſs of France in the Netherlands, and ingage the King in a war with that kingdom, to which end, they preſented the following addreſs:

The commons addreſs the King againſt France. Kennet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 417, &c. Burnet. R. Coke.

"We your Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects, do "moſt humbly offer to your Majeſty's conſidera-"tion, that the minds of your people are much diſ-"quieted with the manifeſt dangers ariſing to your "Majeſty, by the growth and power of the French "King, eſpecially by the acquiſitions already made, "and the farther progreſs like to be made by him "in the Spaniſh Netherlands, in the preſervation "and ſecurity whereof we humbly conceive the in-"tereſt of your Majeſty, and the ſafety of your "people, are highly concerned; and therefore we "humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take the ſame "into your Royal care, and to ſtrengthen yourſelf "with ſuch ſtricter alliances, as may ſecure your "Majeſty's kingdoms, and ſecure and preſerve the "ſaid Spaniſh Netherlands, and thereby quiet the "minds of your Majeſty's people." To which the King anſwered,——"That he was of the opi-"nion of his two houſes of parliament, that the pre-"ſervation of Flanders was of great conſequence; "and that he would uſe all means in his power for "the ſafety of his kingdom."

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His anſwer.

This anſwer not being ſatisfactory, the houſe preſented a ſecond addreſs on the ſame ſubject the thirtieth of March. It was much the ſame with the firſt, excepting the addition, that in caſe his Majeſty ſhould happen to be ingaged in a war with France, they ſhould always be ready to aſſiſt him with ſuch ſupplies, as might inable him to proſecute the ſame with ſucceſs.

AN' 1677. A ſecond addreſs.

The King gave no anſwer to this addreſs till twelve days after, when he ſent a meſſage, "That "the only way to prevent the dangers which might "ariſe in theſe kingdoms, would be to put him "timely in a condition to make ſuch fiting prepa-"rations, as might inable him to do what ſhould "be moſt for their ſecurity."

The King's anſwer.

This drew from the commons a third addreſs to the King, in which they informed him, that they were preparing a bill for "the additional duty of "exciſe," on which he might borrow two hundred thouſand pounds, and promiſed to give him ample teſtimony of their affection at their next meeting, after a ſhort receſs during Eaſter. The King not ſatisfied with ſo ſmall a ſum, told them plainly, that without ſix hundred thouſand pounds, it would not be poſſible for him to anſwer the ends of their ſeveral addreſſes.

A third addreſs.

The King's anſwer.

Many members being abſent on account of the expected adjournment at Eaſter, the commons were cautious of proceeding upon other money bills; but deſired his Majeſty's leave to adjourn, promiſing, after the receſs, they would comply with his demands. The ſame day, the ſixteenth of April, the King came to the houſe of peers, and gave his aſſent to ſeveral acts. The chief were, 1. An act for the raiſing of five hundred and eighty-four thouſand pounds ſterling, for building of thirty ſhips. 2. An act for an additional exiſe upon beer, and other liquors, for three years. 3. An act for preventing of frauds and perjuries. 4. An act for taking away the writ 'de Hæretico Comburendo. 5. An act for erecting a judicature to determine differences touching houſes burned by the late dreadful fire in Southwark (3). Then the chancellor acquainted the two houſes, that his Majeſty gave them leave to adjourn to the twenty-firſt of May next.

Acts paſſed. Statute-b. Kennet.

The King, undoubtedly, had no deſire to begin a war with France, his private ingagements with Lewis being too ſtrong for him to harbor ſuch a thought. However he improved the preſent occaſion to draw money from his parliament, on pretenſe of providing for the ſafety of the nation. For that was all he had yet obliged himſelf to, tho' the commons imagined, he was ready to come into their meaſures, as ſoon as he ſhould be aſſured of a ſupply. The vigor with which the commons acted, was owing to the progreſs of Lewis in the Netherlands and on the Rhine, while Charles, plunged in pleaſures, remained unconcerned, and by his con-

The King's management.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 422.

(1) The two earls, upon having leave to have their own ſervants to wait on them, named their cooks firſt, which the King highly reſented, as carrying in it an inſinuation of the worſt ſort. Burnet, p. 402.

(2) The earl of Shaftſbury it ſeems, had reflected on the duke of Buckingham, as a man inconſtant and giddy in his conduct. As the duke was taking coach, on his diſcharge out of the Tower, the earl looking out of his window, cryed, "What my "Lord, are you going to leave us? Ay, my lord (replied the duke) ſuch giddy-headed fellows as I can never ſtay long in a place." Echard, Vol. III. p. 416.

(3) Alſo an act for the better obſervation of the Lord's day. And another for confirming and perpetuating augmentations made by Eccleſiaſtical perſons, to ſmall vicarages and curacies.

duct

Charles II. An' 1677.

duct effectually deſtroyed the principles eſtabliſhed by his chancellor, that it was impoſſible for the King and kingdom to have oppoſite intereſts. The

Towns taken by the French.

ſeventeenth of March, the French King took Valenciennes, and beſieged Cambray, while St. Omers was inveſted by the duke of Orleans. Cambray coſt him but ſeven days, and while he beſieged the

Prince of Orange loſes a battle. Temple's Mem. Baſnage. Vol. II. p. 807. Burnet.

citadel, the Prince of Orange marched to the relief of St. Omers, and was overcome by the duke of Orleans at Montcaſſel. After this defeat, the citadel of Cambray and St. Omers, ſurrendered by capitulation, about the twentieth of April. By this means the Spaniſh Netherlands were open on all ſides, and could not be preſerved but by the aſſiſtance of England. This was clearly ſeen by the commons, and excited their indeavors to awaken the King out of his affected lethargy. His Majeſty knew the danger as well, or better than, his parliament. But contrary to his chancellor's maxims, the kingdoms danger was not his. The more

Charles finds his advantage in the French conqueſts.

powerful the King of France rendered himſelf, the greater was his private advantage, becauſe it was by the aſſiſtance of France, that he intended to inſlave his own kingdom. Let a man ſtudy never ſo much to find plauſible reaſons for the King's conduct and negligence, with regard to the Netherlands, and the growing power of France, he will find none, without ſuppoſing what I have ſaid concerning the

Temple.

King's deſigns. The Spaniards and Dutch, the Emperor and the Princes of Germany, all reaſoned wrong. They imagined, that Charles would not ſuffer the Netherlands to be loſt, becauſe it was the intereſt of England to preſerve them, and were miſtaken in imagining, the King would be influenced

The King's conduct.

by the good of his kingdom. But he had a particular intereſt directly contrary to that of England, viz. his own, which he blindly purſued. He would have ſeen the laſt town of the Spaniſh Netherlands loſt without being moved. Nevertheleſs, as it was alſo his intereſt not to diſcover his deſigns before the time, for fear of alarming the Engliſh, and ingaging the parliament in other meaſures, he pretended to approve of their views. But this was only to obtain a ſupply, without promiſing any thing but to make preparations, which properly was obliging himſelf to nothing at all. Such was the King's conduct in this whole affair, as will appear ſtill more plain in the ſequel.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 424.

The parliament meeting the twenty-firſt of May, by the King's proclamation of ſummons, after an adjournment of near five weeks, the commons believed his Majeſty had ſpent this interval in making the alliances they had deſired, and that he would communicate to them what had been done. But

The King preſſes the money bill;

the King only told them, by ſecretary Coventry, that he expected the houſe would forthwith proceed to the money bill, and the rather, becauſe he intended there ſhould very ſhortly be a receſs. This

diſtruſted by the commons.

meſſage occaſioned warm debates in the houſe. They were inclined to give the King the ſix hundred thouſand pounds he had aſked, but were willing to have ſomething for their money; whereas the King was for being ſure of the ſupply before he proceeded in what was deſired by the commons. Their diſtruſt was not very honorable to him, but it was his fault, becauſe he had given ſo many occaſions for it, and therefore he could not think it ſtrange. He made it however ſubſervient to his deſign, and pretended in his turn to fear, that the commons intended to ingage him in a war with France, and then leave him to extricate himſelf as well as he could, without granting the neceſſary aſſiſtance for its ſupport. On this pretenſe he ſent for the commons to Whitehall, and made then the following ſpeech:

Gentlemen,

Charles II. An' 1677.

The King's ſpeech to the commons. Echard, Vol. III. p. 425.

"I Have ſent for you hither, that I might prevent thoſe miſtakes and diſtruſts, which I find ſome are ready to make, as if I had called you together only to get money from you, for other uſes than you would have it imployed. I do aſſure you, on the word of a King, that you ſhall not repent any truſt you repoſe in me, for the ſafety of my kingdoms, and I deſire you to to believe, I would not break my credit with you; but as I have already told you, 'That it will not be poſſible for me to ſpeak or act thoſe things which ſhould anſwer the ends of your ſeveral addreſſes, without expoſing my kingdoms to much greater dangers,' ſo I declare to you again, I will neither hazard my own ſafety nor yours, until I be in a better condition than I am able to put myſelf, both to defend my ſubjects, and offend my enemies. I do farther aſſure you, I have not loſt one day ſince your laſt meeting, in doing all I could for your defenſe, and I tell you plainly, it ſhall be your fault, and not mine, if your ſecurity be not ſufficiently provided for."

Remarks upon this ſpeech.

As this ſpeech, under general and obſcure terms, perfectly anſwered the King's ſecret intentions, it is abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome remarks, in order to ſhew, diſtinctly and plainly, both the King's intention and character.

Firſt, the commons had deſired the King to provide for the ſafety of his kingdoms, upon the foundation, that their ſafety depended on the preſervation of the Spaniſh Netherlands; but the King ſays not a word which may oblige him to the defenſe of the Netherlands, and contents himſelf with promiſing, upon his Royal word, that he will provide for the ſafety of his kingdom; which general promiſe left him room to ſay afterwards, that whatever he had done was for the kingdom's ſafety.

Secondly, he ſuppoſed, that in providing for this ſafety, his kingdoms would be expoſed to great dangers, unleſs he had the money beforehand, which was a groundleſs ſuppoſition.

Thirdly, he told them, he ought to be put in a better condition to defend his ſubjects, and offend his enemies. By this laſt expreſſion he inſinuated, that he would enter into a league offenſive againſt France, which was not his intention, as will hereafter plainly appear.

Fourthly, he told them, he had not loſt one day in doing all he could for their defenſe, which expreſſion ſignified nothing, ſince he had juſt told them, he could neither ſpeak nor act, before he had the demanded ſupply. In what therefore did his five weeks care conſiſt?

Fifthly, there is but one thing clear in this ſpeech, and that is, he would be ſure of the money before he began to act. By which he intimated to the commons, that he pretended to have as much reaſon to diſtruſt them, as they could have to diſtruſt him, tho' aſſuredly the caſe was very different.

Great debates among the commons. Ibid.

This ſpeech occaſioned very great debates in the houſe of commons. The court party propoſed a ſpeedy grant of the deſired ſupply, to inable the King to make alliances, otherwiſe, the making of them could not be expected, and alleged, that the King had the ſame power of making war and leagues, as the houſe had in giving money; he could not have money without them, nor they alliances without him. The contrary party remarked, that nothing poſitive was promiſed by the King, except that he would provide for the ſafety of the kingdom, which might be explained ſeveral ways, without any aſſurance it ſhould be underſtood in the ſenſe of the commons. As for ſaying that the King would make alliances when he ſhould have the ſupply,

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ply, the expreſſion was too general to hazard upon it a ſum of ſix hundred thouſand pounds. But if alliances were made forthwith, and declared to day, the ſix hundred thouſand pounds would be granted to morrow.

This laſt opinion prevailed, ſuch was the diſtruſt conceived of the King. So, the houſe reſolved to preſent an addreſs to his Majeſty, which ſhould oblige him to ſpeak more plainly, that they might know how to proceed. The ſubſtance of this addreſs was:

They addreſs the King. Echard, Vol. III. p. 426. Kennet. Burnet. R. Coke.

"It is a great affliction to us, to find ourſelves "obliged to declare againſt the granting the ſup- "ply you are pleaſed to demand, conceiving it "not agreeable to the uſage of parliaments, to "grant ſupplies for the maintenance of wars "and alliances, before they are ſignified in par- "liament; from which uſage if we depart, the "precedent might be of dangerous conſequence in "future times.——

"We humbly beſeech your Majeſty to enter in- "to a league offenſive and defenſive with the "States-General of the United Provinces, againſt "the growth and power of the French King, and "for the preſervation of the Spaniſh Netherlands, "and to make ſuch other alliances with other ſuch "of the confederates as you ſhall think fit and uſe- "ful to that end.——

"Laſtly, they laid before him ſeveral reaſons "to convince him, that, in this juncture, a war "with France was abſolutely neceſſary, in order "to oblige her to leave the reſt of Chriſtendom in "repoſe, and promiſed to put him in a condition "for a vigorous maintenance of the ſame."

The King continues to feign a diſtruſt of the commons.

Had Charles really intended to ſtop the great progreſs of the French King, this addreſs would have been more than ſufficient to ingage him in a war with that Prince, or at leaſt to have done ſomething to give him apprehenſion of it. But as nothing was farther from his thoughts, he affected a diſtruſt of the commons, which he really had not. He had undertaken the firſt war againſt the States, upon a like aſſurance without the leaſt heſitation. He had ingaged in the ſecond war without even imparting his deſign to the parliament. But when a war with France was deſired, he pretended to fear from the commons, what he had not feared when a war with Holland was in queſtion; tho' it was manifeſt this fear was intirely groundleſs. But any delay was to be uſed rather than retard the progreſs of his good friend, and yet he was unwilling to loſe this opportunity of procuring a ſupply from his parliament.

Complains of the addreſs. Kennet, p. 342. Echard. R. Coke. * Two days after.

By their laſt addreſs the commons pretended to oblige the King to give a clear anſwer. But they found themſelves miſtaken. The King received this addreſs the twenty-ſixth of May, ſent * for the commons to Whitehall, and for anſwer ſharply reproved them for invading his prerogative, in requiring him to enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with the States-General, "Should I, ſaid "he, ſuffer this fundamental power of making "war and peace to be ſo far invaded, as to have "the manner and circumſtances of leagues pre- "ſcribed to me by parliament, no Prince or State "would any longer believe, that the ſovereignty "of England reſts in the crown.——Wherefore "you may reſt aſſured, that no condition ſhall "make me depart from ſo eſſential a part of the "Monarchy." At the concluſion of this ſpeech he declared his pleaſure to them, that the houſe be adjourned to the ſixteenth of July (1), telling them, he would give them notice by his proclamation when he intended they ſhould ſit again; which, he ſaid, would not be till winter, unleſs ſome extraordinary occaſion ſhould happen.

Adjourns the parliament.

Nothing is a plainer demonſtration, how different the King's intereſts were from thoſe of his kingdom, than his conduct on this important occaſion. The commons believed it abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, to check the progreſs of the French King, and preſerve the Netherlands, and to that end, make alliances with the States-General and their confederates. This was a very evident truth. The King himſelf did not deny it, while there was hope of geting the ſix hundred thouſand pounds, demanded on pretenſe of puting himſelf in a condition to defend the kingdom, which ſhewed at leaſt that he believed it in danger: but when he ſaw the commons would not be ſatisfied with general promiſes, and required ſomething real, the neceſſity of puting the kingdom in a ſtate of defenſe, vaniſhed at once. He adjourned the parliament for ſeveral months, without any notice of the danger with which the kingdom was threatened, tho' that danger ſubſiſted no leſs than at the begining of the ſeſſion. Thus the danger was preſſing to the kingdom, when it was no longer ſo to the King: a clear evidence that the King and parliament had different views and intereſts. So, on pretenſe of the commons infringing on his prerogative, he took occaſion to order a long adjournment, which broke all the meaſures of that houſe, and almoſt deſtroyed the hopes entertained by the allies of aſſiſtance from England, which could not but be very advantageous to France. I do not think it poſſible to demonſtrate the King's conduct in a manner ſatisfactory to the impartial, without ſuppoſing that he expected aſſiſtance from France to make himſelf abſolute, and change the eſtabliſhed religion. On this ſuppoſition, inſtead of being concerned to ſtop the progreſs of the French, it could not but be for his intereſt that they ſhould ſtill become more powerful. Accordingly this was what he wiſhed, as all his proceedings evidently teſtified.

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The King uſes his indeavors for a ſeparate peace. Temple's Mem. p. 448, 450. Lett. p. 457.

From ſir William Temple himſelf we learn, that while he was at Nimeguen as plenipotentiary mediator for a peace, he was ſent for to London by the King, on pretenſe of making him ſecretary of ſtate, but in reality to diſpatch him to the Hague, to indeavor perſuading the Prince of Orange to conſent to a ſeparate peace with France. But Temple declined a commiſſion which he had before tried to execute, without being able to ſucceed. This ſhows with what zeal the King indeavored to ſerve France, which only wanted to divide the allies by ſuch an expedient. It is certain, the French King, tho' till now ſuperior to his enemies, was little able longer to ſuſtain a war with almoſt all Europe united againſt him. It was therefore in the King of England's power to procure a juſt and reaſonable peace, by declaring againſt France, as he was deſired by the parliament: but this could not be obtained of him. On the contrary, fearing to be forced to it at laſt by the clamors of his people, he ſecretly labored to procure France an advantageous peace, by the diviſion of her enemies.

Sir William Temple having refuſed to be imployed on this errand, mr. Laurence Hyde was ſent to the Hague, to try to gain the States and Prince of Orange.

Project of a marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princeſs Mary. Temple's Lett. fol. p. 395, 396 416.

His Majeſty had the more hopes of prevailing with the Prince, as there had been ſome time ſince a propoſal from him for his marriage with the Prin-

(1) They were adjourned by the ſpeaker, without the conſent of the houſe, or ſo much as his puting the queſtion, tho' ſir John Finch was, for the ſame thing, impeached of high-treaſon in 1640. Kennet, p. 343.

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ceſs Mary, eldeſt daughter to the duke of York; and he did not doubt, that to ſucceed in that affair, the Prince would comply to every thing deſired of him concerning the ſeparate peace with France. It was probably for this end, that the King permited the Prince his nephew to come to his court, and ſollicit his affairs in perſon: but without any poſitive aſſurance that his addreſſes would be well received. The Prince could not leave the army before the campain was ended, and therefore arrived not in England till the ninth of October, when he landed at Harwich, and from thence went to court. The King, the duke of York, the lord treaſurer, and ſir William Temple, were the only perſons informed of the motive of the Prince's journey. The court, which was then at Newmarket, being returned to London, the Prince had a ſight of the Princeſs, and then demanded her in form of the King and duke of York, by whom his propoſal was differently received. The duke of York ſeemed very cold, and the King appeared to imbrace it with joy: but it was on condition that he and the Prince ſhould previouſly agree upon the terms of a general pacification. This condition was like to render the Prince's journey intirely fruitleſs. The Prince was abſolutely againſt ſpeaking of a peace till after the marriage, and the King as reſolute to agree upon the plan of a peace before the marriage ſhould be concluded. They continued five or ſix days fixed to their reſolutions. The Prince acquainted the King, by ſir William Temple, "That his allies, who were like to have "hard terms of peace, as things then ſtood, would "be apt to believe, that he had made his match "at their coſt, and for his part he would never ſell "his honor for a wife." All this was not capable to divert the King from his reſolution, and the affair ſeemed upon the point of breaking off. But all was reconciled. Temple paying a viſit to the Prince one night after ſupper, was told by him, "That he repented his coming into England, and "reſolved to be gone in two days, if the King "continued in his mind of treating on the peace "before he was married; but that before he went, "the King muſt chuſe how they ſhould live hereafter; for he was ſure it muſt be either like the "greateſt friends, or the greateſt enemies; and "deſired ſir William to let his Majeſty know ſo "next morning, and give him account of what he "ſhould ſay upon it." Sir William, in diſcharge of his commiſſion, repreſented to the King the ill conſequences of a breach with the Prince, conſidering the ill humors of ſo many of his ſubjects on account of his ingagements with France, and the invitation made the Prince by ſeveral of them during the late war. The King having heard him with great attention, anſwered, "I never yet was deceived in judging a man's honeſty by his looks,--- "and if I am not deceived in the Prince's face, "he is the honeſteſt man in the world; and I will "truſt him, and he ſhall have his wife, and you "ſhall go immediately and tell my brother ſo, "and that it is a thing I am reſolved on." The duke of York appeared at firſt ſomewhat ſurprized, but however anſwered, the King ſhould be obeyed, and he ſhould be glad his ſubjects would learn from him the obedience which they owed to their Sovereign,---adding, "I tell him my opinion very "freely upon any thing, but when that is done, "and I know his pleaſure upon it, I obey him." Immediately after ſir William waited on the Prince with the agreeable news. The ſame day, the marriage articles were drawn and agreed, the Princeſs having forty thouſand pound ſterling aſſigned for her portion, and the day after the King declared the marriage in full council (1). The city of London teſtified an extraordinary joy at the news, and ſir Francis Chaplin the lord-mayor invited the King to a magnificent entertainment the twenty-ninth of October. The marriage was conſummated on the Prince's birth-day the fourth of November (2).

A few days after, the King and the duke of York, the Prince of Orange, the lord treaſurer, and ſir William Temple, entered into conference for ſetling the ſcheme of a general peace, and after ſome debates, agreed on theſe terms: "All ſhould "be reſtored by France to the Emperor, that had "been taken from him in the war, the duchy of "Lorrain, to that duke, and all on both ſides "between France and Holland: And to Spain, "the towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenard, Courtray, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, St. Guillain, and Binch. That the Prince of Orange "ſhould indeavor to procure the conſent of Spain; "and the King that of France, for which purpoſe he ſhould ſend ſome perſon immediately "over with the propoſition, who was to demand a "poſitive anſwer in two days." The lord Duras, afterwards earl of Feverſham, a creature of the duke of York's, was the perſon fixed on to execute this commiſſion.

Shortly after the Prince and Princeſs of Orange embarked for Holland. The King poſitively aſſured the Prince, he would never depart from the plan agreed on for a general peace, and that if France refuſed its conſent, he would declare war againſt that nation. And yet, the Prince had the mortification before his departure, to ſee the adjournment of the parliament prolonged from the third of December to the fourth of April (3).

The Prince arrives in England. Temple's Mem. p. 454. Kennet. Echard. Burnet.

A difference between the King and Prince. Temple.

Memoirs, P. 454.

p. 455. Octob. 23.

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The King yields, and the marriage is concluded and conſummated. Octob. 14. Temple. Burnet. Kennet. Echard.

A plan for a general peace agreed upon. Temple's Mem. p. 455, 456.

The Prince returns for Holland. Burnet. Kennet.

The adjournment prolonged.

(1) The French embaſſador, and lord Arlington, appeared the only two perſons unſatisfied upon it at court; the firſt, not knowing how he ſhould anſwer it to his maſter, that an affair of that importance ſhould paſs without his communication, much leſs advice, in a court where nothing had been done ſo, for many years; and the lord Arlington, that it ſhould paſs without his knowledge, who ſtill indeavored to keep up the court's opinion of his confidence with the Prince. Temple's Mem. p. 455.

(2) Burnet, in his account of this matter, ſays, that the lord treaſurer Danby ſeeing his ruin was inevitable, if he could not bring the King off from a French intereſt, gave the Prince of Orange, by ſir William Temple, great hopes of a marriage with the duke's daughter, and got the Prince to aſk the King's leave to come over to England. When the Prince, after a fruitleſs ſtay for ſome weeks, was going away, the lord Danby preſſed his ſtaying a few days longer, and that the management of the matter might be left to him. So, next morning he came to the King, and told him, he had received letters from all his Majeſty's beſt friends in England, and ſhewed him a bundle of them, which he was ſure the King would not trouble himſelf to read. They all agreed, he ſaid, that the King ſhould make a marriage between the Prince of Orange and the duke's daughter. If not, the parliament would certainly addreſs for it, and ſo the King would loſe the thanks of it. Whereas, if the King did it of his own motion, he would have the honor of it. Having inforced the thing with all the arguments he could, the King was convinced, and ſent for the duke, who obeyed the King's pleaſure. Danby ſo ordered the matter, that the ducheſs of Portſmouth could not ſpeak with the King, before he had declared the matter in council, p. 409, 410.

(3) The Prince and Princeſs were hurried out of town ſo faſt (there being a ſecret deſign to invite them to an entertainment in the city by the country party, which the court did not like) that they had ſcarce time to make proviſion for their journey. Being come to Canterbury, they repaired to an inn, where thro' haſte they came very meanly provided. Upon application to borrow money of the corporation, the mayor and his brethren, on grave deliberation, were really afraid to lend them any. Dr. Tillotſon, then dean of Canterbury, hearing of this, immediately got together what plate and money he could, and went to the inn to mr. Bentinck, with the offer of what he had. This was highly acceptable to the Prince and Princeſs, and the dean was carried to wait upon them. By this lucky accident, he began that acquaintance and correſpondence with the Prince and mr. Bentinck, as advanced him afterwards to the Archbiſhoprick.

The

The King is gained by France. Temple's Mem. p. 457.

The French Court was extremely ſurprized, as well with the ſcheme of the peace, as the manner in which it was pretended to be impoſed on them. But whether the lord Duras had ſecret orders to give hopes, that the ſcheme might be altered, or that gaining the King of England was not looked on as impracticable, the envoy, after ſtaying ſome days beyond his commiſſion, returned without an anſwer, or at leaſt with an anſwer of no ſignification. It contained only, "That the Moſt Chriſtian King hoped, his brother would not break with him upon one or two towns, to which England had no pretenſion, but however, he would ſend orders to his embaſſador at London, to treat with his Majeſty himſelf." It is known, the King of France offered mr. Montague, the Engliſh embaſſador, large ſums for the King and the treaſurer, which were not accepted, at leaſt openly; but on the other hand, the King ſuffered himſelf to be ſo mollified by the offers or articles of France, that the ſcheme of peace agreed on with the Prince of Orange, was at laſt reduced to nothing, and no more heard of.

Danby's Lett.

The plan for a peace is forgot.

Secret negociations with France. Danby's Lett.

From the return of the lord Duras to the meeting of the parliament; the King was actally negociating with the King of France, the terms on which he was to reſiſt the ſollicitations of his parliament, and prevent his declaring for the allies. This appeared openly in the parliament itſelf, by the letters of the lord treaſurer Danby, produced before the commons in 1678, by mr. Montague, embaſſador at the French court; and ſince that, a fuller conviction has been given of this by mr. Montague's letters, publiſhed by the earl of Danby, in the reign of William III. I ſhall tranſcribe the extracts of theſe letters, that the reader may be ſatisfied of what I ſay, without relying on my word. But I am to premiſe, that his Majeſty, after prolonging the adjournment to April 1678, thought proper to aſſemble the parliament the fifteenth of January, and as ſoon as they met, to adjourn the commons, by a meſſage to the twenty-eighth of the ſame month. The letters I mentioned were as follows:

Extract of a letter from mr. Montague to the King from Paris, in the year 1677.

"——I Am ſure, the greatneſs of the King of France is ſupported only by your Majeſty's connivance at what he does, and the good will Chriſtendom ſees you have for him. The advantage he has by it even in point of revenue, by his conqueſts, does amount to five times the ſum you have now from him: and tho' after games are hard to play, I think I underſtand this court ſo well, and if you care to have it done, I am confident I could get you, by agreement, a million of livres a year to be paid while the war ſhall laſt, and four millions after the peace ſhall be made, I mean, Sir, over and above what you have from France now.——

Extract of a letter from mr. Montague to the lord treaſurer Danby, writ a little after the former.

"I Expect his Chriſtian Majeſty's anſwer to the demands I made by the King's direction of two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, to be paid till the general peace is concluded, taking for granted that it will be conformable to my orders from the King, to inſiſt upon two millions of livres a year during the war, and four millions after the peace, or elſe two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling during the war. But I am told this morning, that mr. Courtin has agreed this matter with the King my Maſter; and that his Majeſty will be contented with two millions of livres a year only during the war; which I confeſs ſurprized me extremely, conſidering the neceſſity of his Majeſty's condition, and the poſitiveneſs of his commands to me, to inſiſt upon two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which I had done very effectually, and muſt have ſucceeded in, conſidering the reaſonableneſs of the demand, except the generoſity of the King our Maſter's nature, who values money ſo little, has already condeſcended to the leſſer ſum of two millions of livres. &c,

Extract of a letter from the lord treaſurer Danby to mr. Montague, embaſſador in France, the ſeventeenth of January 1677-8.

"——Yeſterday young Ruvigny came to me with mr. Barillon (having given me his father's letters the day before) and diſcourſed much upon the confidence the French King hath of the firmneſs of ours to him: of the good opinion his maſter hath of me; of his King's reſolution to condeſcend to any thing, that is not infamous to him, for the ſatisfaction of our King; how certainly our King may depend upon all aſſiſtances and ſupplies from his Maſter, in caſe the friendſhip be preſerved——The main of their drift was to ingage me to prevail with the Prince of Orange as to the town of Tournay——The King muſt come to ſome declaration of his mind to the parliament when it meets. That which makes the hopes of peace leſs probable, is, that the duke grows every day leſs inclined to it, and has created a greater indifferency in the King than I could have imagined; which being added to the French King's reſolutions, not to part with Tournay, does, I confeſs, make me deſpair of any accommodation. Nevertheleſs, I am aſſured that one principal cauſe of this adjournment for thirteen days, has been to find an expedient for the peace; and the effect hath hitherto been, that no body will now believe other than that the peace is already concluded between us and France.

Extract of another letter from the ſame hand to the ſame perſon, dated the twenty-fifth of March 1678.

"——In caſe the conditions of peace ſhall be accepted, the King expects to have ſix millions of livres a year for three years, from the time that this agreement ſhall be ſigned betwixt his Majeſty and the King of France; becauſe it will probably be two or three years before the parliament will be in humor to give him any ſupplies after the making of any peace with France; and the embaſſador here has always agreed to that ſum, but not for ſo long a time. If you find the peace will not be accepted, you are not to mention the money at all; and all poſſible care muſt be taken to have this whole negociation as private as is poſſible, for fear of giving offenſe at home, where for the moſt part we hear in ten days after of any thing that is communicated to the French miniſters."——At the bottom of the letter were theſe words under the King's own hand——

This letter is writ by my order, C. R.

Remark upon the King's conduct.

I ſhall make no obſervations upon theſe letters, which plainly ſhew, with what ſincerity the King diſcharged the office of mediator, and how much he favored France. The beſt excuſe for him is, that theſe ſecret proceedings and negociations were only to get money. But when it is conſidered, that he would have received much more from his parliament, if he had purſued the paths of uprightneſs, and might have had more left of what the parliament

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ment would have granted him in one ſingle year, than he hoped to draw from France in three, a man can ſcarce forbear thinking, that his blind attachment to the intereſt of France was for hidden deſigns which it was not yet time to diſcover. And if it is ſaid, he took money from France, only to be freed from the trouble of applying to his parliament, this does but confirm that he intended to make himſelf abſolute (1).

The King concludes alliances with the States. Temple.

The King had not prolonged the adjournment of the parliament to the twenty-eighth of January, in order to find expedients for a general peace, as the treaſurer told Montague in his letter of the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month, but to have time to receive the news of a league with Holland, which was indeed ſigned the ſixteenth ditto. This league was very far from anſwering the deſires of the parliament. It was properly but defenſive, to prevent the French King from purſuing his conqueſts in the Netherlands. Nay, it may be eaſily judged, conſidering the King's ſtrict union with France, and the ſecret correſpondences between the two courts, whether Charles had any great deſire to go to war with the King of France in order to oblige him to reſtore what he had taken. He believed nevertheleſs that this league would be capable to impoſe upon the parliament, and therefore had defered their meeting to receive the news of its concluſion. Supported by this league, which, according to him, was to produce wonderful effects, he made the following ſpeech to both houſes, the twenty-eighth of January.

The King's ſpeech. Kennet, p. 346. Echard.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"WHEN we parted laſt, I told you, 'That "before we met again I would do that "which ſhould be to your ſatisfaction.' I have "accordingly made ſuch alliances with Holland, as "are for the preſervation of Flanders, and which "cannot fail of that end, unleſs prevented either "by the want of due aſſiſtances to ſupport thoſe "alliances, or by the ſmall regard the Spaniards "themſelves muſt have to their own preſervation. "The firſt of theſe I cannot ſuſpect, by reaſon of "your repeated ingagements to maintain them; "and I know you are ſo wiſe as to conſider, that "a war, which muſt be the neceſſary conſequence "of them, ought neither to be proſecuted by "halves, nor to want ſuch aſſurances of perſe-"verance as may give me incourgement to pur-"ſue it: beſide, it will not be leſs neceſſary to "let our enemies have ſuch a proſpect of our reſo-"lutions, as may let them ſee certainly that we "ſhall not be weary of our arms, till Chriſten-"dom be reſtored to ſuch a peace, as ſhall not be "in the power of any Prince alone to diſturb.

"I do acknowledge to you, that I have uſed all "the means poſſible by a mediation, to have pro-"cured an honorable and ſafe peace for Chriſten-"dom; knowing how preferable ſuch a peace "would have been to any war, and eſpecially to "this kingdom, which muſt neceſſarily own the "vaſt benefits it has received by peace, while its "neighbors only have yet ſmarted by the war; "but finding it no longer to be hoped for by fair "means, it ſhall not be my fault if that be not "obtained by force which cannot be had any other "ways. For this reaſon, I have recalled my "troops from France, and have conſidered, that "altho' the Dutch ſhall do their parts, we cannot "have leſs on ours than ninety ſail of capital ſhips "conſtantly maintained, nor leſs than thirty or "forty thouſand landmen (with their dependencies) "to be imployed upon our fleets and elſewhere. "And becauſe there ſhall be no fear of miſ-"imploying what you ſhall give to theſe uſes, I "am contented that ſuch money be appropriated "to thoſe ends as ſtrictly as you can deſire. I "have given teſtimony enough of my care in that "kind, by the progreſs I have made in building "the new ſhips; wherein, for the making them "more uſeful, I have directed ſuch larger dimen-"ſions as will coſt me above one hundred thou-"ſand pounds more than the act allows. I have "gone as far as I could in repairing the old fleet, "and in buying neceſſary ſtores for the navy and "ordnance: and in this and other proviſions for "better ſecuring both my foreign plantations and "the iſlands nearer home, I have expended a "great deal more than the two hundred thouſand "pounds you inabled me to borrow upon the ex-"ciſe, altho' I have not found ſuch credit as I "expected upon that ſecurity. I have born the "charge both of a rebellion in Virginia, and a new "war with Algiers: I ſtand ingaged to the Prince "of Orange for my niece's portion, and I ſhall not "be able to maintain my conſtant neceſſary eſta-"bliſhments, unleſs the new impoſts upon wine, "&c. be continued to me, which would other-"ways turn only to their profit to whom we leaſt "intend it.

Charles II. An' 1677.

"I hope theſe things will need little recommen-"dation to you, when you conſider your promiſes "in ſome, and the neceſſity of the reſt; and to "let you ſee, that I have not only imployed my "time and treaſure for your ſafety, but done all I "could to remove all ſorts of jealouſies, I have "married my niece to the Prince of Orange, by "which I hope I have given full aſſurances, that I "ſhall never ſuffer his intereſts to be ruined, if I "can be aſſiſted, as I ought to be, to preſerve "them. Having done all this, I expect from you "a plentiful ſupply, ſuitable to ſuch great occa-"ſions, whereon depends not only the honor, but, "for ought I know, the being of the Engliſh na-"tion, which will not be ſaved by finding fault "afterwards, but may be prevented by avoiding "the chief fault of doing weakly and by halves, "what can only be hoped from a vigorous and "thorough proſecution of what we undertake. "Theſe conſiderations are of the greateſt impor-"tance that ever concerned this kingdom, and "therefore I would have you enter immediately "upon them, without ſuffering any other buſineſs "whatſoever to divert you from bringing them to "good reſolutions."

A remark on this ſpeech.

It is very ſurpriſing, that Charles II, with more extraordinary ſupplies than were ever granted to any King of England; with a revenue much larger than any of his predeceſſors (which, by the calculation of the commons, amounted to ſixteen hundred thouſand pounds) was nevertheleſs always in want, and oppreſſed with debts, and in every ſpeech complained to his parliament, that he had expended for the public, more than was granted him. He had however been ingaged but in two wars, which he might have avoided if he had thought fit, and ſaved his ſubjects ſeveral millions, fruitleſly conſumed in them. But this is not the only reflection which may be made upon this ſpeech; there is another of much greater weight.

The whole ſpeech was grounded upon a ſuppoſition which naturally ought to have been true, but was not, viz. that his alliance with Holland could not fail ingaging him in a war with

(1) This year died, Gilbert Sheldon, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Theophilus Gale, author of the Court of the Gentiles; Robert Sheringham, who wrote a Treatiſe, De Anglorum Gentis origine; and James Harrington, eſq; author of the Oceana.

France,

Charles II. An' 1677.

France, tho' nothing was farther from his intention. His aim therefore was to repreſent his alliance with Holland, and the war againſt France, as one and the ſame thing, or at leaſt the war as the neceſſary conſequence of this alliance, tho' he gave no poſitive hopes of the war. There was indeed a wide diſtance between the one and the other. For, if the parliament had granted the immenſe ſums he demanded, he might certainly have made peace when he pleaſed, without expending any of the money in preparations. He would only have had to declare againſt France, and peace would have inſtantly followed. For France was not in condition to reſiſt, if England had been ſincerely united with the reſt of its enemies. Herein the King threw the parliament into a great dilemma. For, either they were to grant him the large ſums he demanded, without having other hope of a future war, than a conſequence not abſolutely neceſſary; or in refuſing the ſupply, they gave the King a plauſible pretenſe to ſay, it was not his fault, that England did not join with the enemies of France. But in the houſe of commons were men of ſufficient abilities to diſcover his Majeſty's artifices, and inſtruct their fellow members, wherein they ſucceeded the more eaſily, as above two thirds of the houſe were little inclined to credit the King's word.

The commons ingaged in difficulties.

The commons addreſs the King. January 31. Kennet. Echard. Phillips.

After great debates it was therefore reſolved, to preſent an addreſs to the King, the ſubſtance of which was,——"That they beſought him "not to admit of any treaty of peace, whereby "the French King ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of "any greater dominion or power, than was left "him by the Pyrenean treaty: that no trade be "admited with France, or any goods ſuffered to "be imported from thence, on pain of forfeiture. "And when he ſhould be pleaſed to communicate "his alliances to them in parliament, they would "give ſuch ready aſſiſtance, on all occaſions, as "might bring the war to a happy concluſion."

This addreſs threw the King, in his turn, into a great perplexity. He would have it believed, that he intended to make war upon France, tho' he had already reſolved againſt it. He could not therefore anſwer this addreſs without a direct aſſent or diſſent, either of which he was willing to avoid. To extricate himſelf, he had recourſe to the ſame expedient he had formerly uſed. This was, to complain of the great invaſion of his prerogative, in thus preſcribing the meaſures he was to take, which at the ſame time he ſhewed to be ridiculous and impracticable. He ſaid, his ſpeech was to both houſes, and the return ought to be from both. That however, if, by their aſſiſtance, he was put into a condition ſufficient for ſuch a work, he would never be weary, till Chriſtendom was reſtored to ſuch a peace, that it ſhould not be in the power of one Prince to diſturb: that the rights of making and managing war and peace, belonged ſolely to him, and they were miſtaken, if they thought he would ever depart from that right: That if the commons would incourage him to go farther in alliances, they muſt conſider of raiſing ſpeedy ſupplies; for from the conſideration of thoſe he muſt take his meaſures.

The King finds a way to elude it. Febr. 4. Kennet, p. 346. Echard, Vol. III. p. 441. J. Phillips.

Charles II. An' 1677.

The meaning of this anſwer was eaſily underſtood, viz. that the King ſtudiouſly avoided to ſay poſitively, he intended to declare war againſt France, tho' he wiſhed that conſequence to be drawn from his alliance with Holland; an alliance of which the contents were not known, and which was not yet imparted to the parliament. He pretended, however, that on his bare declaration or information of an alliance with Holland, the parliament ſhould inable him to maintain ninety large ſhips, beſide thirty others, and forty thouſand land forces (1). And yet, ſhortly after, when the articles of this treaty appeared, the commons voted, that it was not purſuant to their deſires. It is eaſy to ſee, wherein the difference between the King and the commons conſiſted. The King feared, or feigned to fear, that the parliament, after ingaging him in a war with France, would leave him deſtitute of means to ſupport it. The commons really diſtruſted his ſincerity, and feared, that, after receiving the money, he would think no more of war, but ſuffer an unſafe peace to be concluded. Let the reader determine for one or other. I ſhall only ſay, that, if the reigns of Henry III and Richard II are excepted, England had never ſeen, till within the laſt ſixty years, ſuch mutual diſtruſt between her Kings and parliaments. To this then it muſt be imputed, that James I, Charles I, and Charles II, were no ſlaves to their word, and while they pretended to ſalve their ſincerity by generals, reſtrictions, obſcure or ambigious expreſſions, they intirely loſt the confidence of their ſubjects. Every King of England is in danger of being very unhappy, when, by ſuch artifices, he renders ſuſpected the ſincerity of what he ſays in full parliament.

The commons ſenſible of his artifices.

A vote of the commons. Echard, Vol. III. P. 444.

A reflection.

Nevertheleſs, the commons reſolved to grant the King a ſupply, but with ſtrict limitations. At the begining of this ſeſſion, they had granted him ſeventy thouſand pounds, for the ſolemn funeral of his father, whoſe body could not be found, tho' it was certainly known to be intered in Windſor chapel. I do not know whether it was ever diſcovered, or the intended obſequies performed (2).

Id. p. 441.

The earl of Shaftſbury diſcharged. Kennet. Echard.

The earl of Shaftſbury, after thirteen months durance in the Tower, was at laſt diſcharged. But not till he had begged pardon on his knees at the bar of the lords houſe, as well for his fault as his obſtinacy in not acknowleging it (3).

Ghent and Ipres taken by the French. Temple's Mem. Baſnage. Echard. Kennet.

While ſo much time was ſpent in England in

(1) In the debates about raiſing the land forces, ſir William Coventry was for hiring bodies of troops from the German Princes, and for aſſiſting the Dutch with money. He thought, that which did more properly belong to England, was to ſet out a great fleet, and to cut off the French trade every where; for they were then very high in their manufactures and trades. Burnet, p. 411.

(2) The truth of the matter ſeems to be this: That the King either had great occaſion for that ſum of money, or thought he could put it to a better uſe, than laying it out on a ſolemn funeral for his father; and ſo never ſent to inquire for the body. For that King Charles I, was actually buried at Windſor (tho' the lord Clarendon ſeems, at the end of his hiſtory, to doubt of it) and that his body might have been found without much difficulty, is plain from the following certificate, given by mr. John Sewell, regiſter at Windſor caſtle.——"Anno 1696, September 21, the "ſame vault in which King Charles I was buried, was opened, to lay in a ſtill born child of the then Princeſs of "Denmark, the late Queen Anne. On the King's coffin, the velvet pall was ſtrong and ſound, and there was about the "coffin a leaden band, with this inſcription cut thro' it, KING CHARLES, 1648.——When the body of King "Charles I, lay in ſtate in the Dean's-hall, the duke of Richmond had the coffin opened, and was ſatisfied that it was the "King's body. This ſeveral people have declared they knew to be true, who were alive, and then preſent, as mr. "Randolph of New-Windſor, and others." Echard, Vol. II. p. 649.

(3) He had, it ſeems, recourſe to the King's Bench, whither he was brought by a Habeas Corpus; but the judges denied him redreſs. This application to an inferior court was ſoon taken notice of by the lords, who voted it a breach of privilege, for which the earl was to anſwer his contempt at the bar of the houſe. He was accordingly brought to the bar, where he offered to acknowlege his aſſerting the diſſolution of the parliament to be an unadviſed action, and to beg their lordſhips pardon for his offenſe in bringing his Habeas Corpus. Which being done in a form preſcribed by the houſe, he was releaſed. Idem. Vol. III. p. 442.

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deliberations about war, the King of France taking the field in February, made himſelf maſter of Ghent and Ipres in March, and then put his forces into quarters of refreſhment. Theſe conqueſts ſo alarmed the Dutch, that from this time they reſolved upon a ſeparate peace, tho' they durſt not own it publicly. Lewis XIV, who knew their intentions, and had nothing to fear from England, began to talk like a conqueror, and himſelf to form the plan of the peace he was willing to grant the allies, and which was different from that agreed on between Charles and the Prince of Orange.

Temple's Mem. Kennet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 443.

On the contrary, the commons of England ſurpriſed at the progreſs of the French arms, made haſte to finiſh a bill for raiſing money by a poll tax. The fourteenth of March they reſolved upon an addreſs to the King, to pray him to declare war againſt France; to diſmiſs the embaſſador of that crown; and recall his own from Paris, with a promiſe of the neceſſary and plentiful ſupplies. This addreſs was ſent the next day to the lords for their concurrence: but, before an anſwer was given, the King came to the houſe of lords the twentieth of March, and after paſſing the poll bill (1), and ſome others, adjourned the parliament to the eleventh of April.

An addreſs gives the King occaſion to adjourn the parliament. Acts paſſed.

It is remarkable that five days after, the lord treaſurer writ the ſecond of the forementioned letters to embaſſador Montague, concerning the ſecret negociation of which I have ſpoken.

An' 1678.

The parliament meeting the eleventh of April was farther adjourned to the twenty-ninth, when the chancellor acquainted the two houſes, that his Majeſty had diſcovered that the Dutch were thinking of a ſeparate peace without his conſent or privity, and deſired their advice how to proceed. The commons gave their opinion for an actual war with France, and at the ſame time voted, "That the late leagues "made with the States-general of the United Pro"vinces, were not purſuant to the addreſſes of the "houſe, nor conſiſtent with the good and ſafety of "the kingdom." The King returned an anſwer, which teſtified his reſentment of this vote. But the commons not at all diſcouraged, preſented a ſecond addreſs, in which——"They beſought him to "communicate to them his reſolutions upon their "advice."——They added, "That the in"conveniencies and dangers which the kingdom "lay under, might have been totally, or in a great "meaſure prevented, in caſe his Majeſty had ac"cepted of the advice by them given in their ad"dreſs of the twenty-ſixth of May laſt, and the "thirty-firſt of January: they beſought him there"fore, that he would be pleaſed to remove thoſe "counſellors that adviſed him to give thoſe anſwers "which he did to the ſaid addreſſes.——In "fine, that he would be pleaſed to remove the duke "of Lauderdale from his preſenſe and council."——The King immediately anſwered, "That he was "much ſurpriſed at the extravagancy of their "addreſs, and unwilling at preſent to give it ſuch "a due anſwer as it deſerved." Two days after, the thirteenth of May, he prorogued the parliament to the twenty-third of the ſame month. Thus the propoſal for a war with France never failed to produce either an adjournment or a prorogation. It muſt be obſerved, that this was at the very time the ſeparate peace between France and Holland was negociating, which the Dutch would never have reſolved, could they have believed that England would declare for a war. Nevertheleſs, the King would ſtill have it believed, he was diſpoſed to a war, tho' hitherto he had not poſitively ſaid it. To this purpoſe, immediately after the poll bill had paſſed, he raiſed thirty thouſand men, who were compleated in ſix weeks.

The advice of the commons diſpleaſes him. A ſecond addreſs. Echard, Vol. III. p. 445. Phillips.

The King's angry anſwer.

He prorogues the parliament. Temple's Mem. Burnet. Kennet.

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Echard, Vol. III. p. 455.

While theſe troops were raiſing, and before the prorogation of the parliament, the States-general ſent Van Lewen to the King, to acquaint him, that they were diſpoſed to a peace, becauſe they ſaw, there was no reliance on the uncertain meaſures of England. That however, if his Majeſty would immediately declare war againſt France, they would break off all negociations, and vigorouſly proſecute the war purſuant to their alliances, and that his declaration was the only thing that could prevent a pacification. This was declared to the King by ſir William Temple, from the States embaſſador. Charles now finding that a poſitive anſwer was to be returned, which he had hitherto avoided, told ſir William Temple, "That ſince the Dutch would "have a peace upon the French terms, and France "offered money for his conſent to what he could "not help, he did not know why he ſhould not "get the money."

An embaſſy from the States, to acquaint the King, that he might yet prevent the peace. Temple's Mem. p. 460, 461.

The King reſolves to accept the money offered by France.

The weakneſs of this evaſion is apparent: for tho' the embaſſadors of the States had declared, there ſhould be no peace, if Charles would really ingage in a war, the King, ſuppreſſing this poſitive declaration, ſuppoſed that the States were for a peace upon any terms. Upon this falſe ſuppoſition, he ordered ſir William Temple to treat with Barillon the French embaſſador; but ſir William wiſely declined ſuch a negociation. What Temple refuſed was undertaken by others, and the ſame author ſays, that among the articles propoſed by the embaſſador of France, for concluding a private treaty with the King, there was one article which was ſo offenſive, that the King aſſured him he would never forget it while he lived. He ſays no more, whether becauſe he was not informed of it, or did not think proper to divulge what he knew. But dr. Swift, who publiſhed ſir William Temple's letters, acquaints us with that remarkable paſſage, viz. "That France "in order to break the force of the confederacy, "and elude all juſt conditions of a general peace, "reſolved by any means to enter into ſeparate "meaſures with Holland, to which end it was ab"ſolute neceſſary to gain the good offices of the "King of England, who was looked upon as the "maſter of the peace whenever he pleaſed. The "bargain was ſtruck for either three or four hundred "thouſand pounds: but when all was agreed, mr. "Barillon, the French embaſſador, told the King, "that he had orders from his maſter, before pay"ment, to add a private article, by which his Ma"jeſty ſhould be ingaged, 'Never to keep above "eight thouſand men of ſtanding troops in his three "kingdoms.' This unexpected propoſal put the "the King in a rage, and made him ſay, "God's "fiſh! Does my brother of France think to ſerve "me thus? Are all his promiſes to make me "abſolute maſter of my realms come to this? Or "does he think that a thing to be done with eight "thouſand men?

A treaty negociated at London between Charles and Lewis.

Temple's Lett. fol. p. 464.

Hence it manifeſtly appears, for what the thirty thouſand men the King was raiſing were intended. They could not be levied for a war againſt France, tho' the King uſed that pretext, ſince he had already made his bargain with that crown for four millions of livres. Nothing elſe therefore can be thought, but that his Majeſty ſeeing the peace on the point of concluſion, which he only could, but would not prevent, imagined, that after

The apparent deſign of Charles from this treaty.

(1) In the poll bill there was one ſtrict appropriating clauſe for the money ſo levied, to be applied to no uſe but the intended French war; and alſo another clauſe, prohibiting the importation of any French commodities for three years. Echard, Vol. III. p. 444.

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Charles II. An' 1678.

its ratification, the King of France would assist him to become absolute master in his kingdoms, and furnish him with money to maintain the thirty thousand men without his applying to the parliament. If this be not so, what account can be given of his conduct in raising an army, at a time when all his proceedings shewed, he had not the least thought of making war upon France?

He is abused by the King of France.

The King was deceived by the promises of Lewis XIV, who artfully took advantage of the eager desire of Charles and the duke his brother to establish a despotic government in England, to ingage them in all the measures they had taken during the whole war, and which were so directly contrary to the nation's interests. But when he found himself secure of a peace with the Dutch, and by a necessary consequence, of a general peace with all Europe, he made a jest of his promise to his friend. He thought doubtless it was not for the interest of France, that the King of England should be absolute, or rather, he feared to ingage, for the sole interest of the King of England, in an undertaking capable of kindling a new war, in which all Europe might be imbroiled.

I know not whether the King consented to Lewis's demands, and am only sure, that he continued his levies, whether with intention to execute his projects without the assistance of France, or in the hope of obtaining better conditions from Lewis, by terrifying him with the apprehension of his joining with the allies, and which might still be practicable. By degrees, he spoke more gently of war, and sufficiently declared his inclination for peace. In all likelihood he had adjusted matters with France.

The parliament sits. Kennet. Echard.

In this situation were affairs when the parliament met the twenty-third of May, after a prorogation of ten days. The King opened the seventeenth session of this long parliament with a speech, the substance of which is as follows:

The King's speech.

——— "I am resolved, as far as I am able, "to save Flanders, either by a war or a peace, "which way soever I shall find most conducing to- "wards it.——If I were able I would keep up "my army and my navy at sea for some time; "but I leave it to you to consider of supplies for "their continuance or disbanding; and in either "case not to discourage so many worthy and brave "gentlemen, who have offered their lives and "service to their country, and in pursuit of your "own advices and resolutions. I must tell you, "that a branch of my revenue is now expiring, "and another part of it is cut off by a clause in "the poll bill; that I have borrowed two hundred "thousand pounds upon the excise at your request, "of all which you are to consider. I never had any "intentions but of good to you and my people, "nor ever shall; therefore I desire you will not "drive me into extremities, which must end ill "both for you and me, and, which is worst, for "the nation. I desire to prevent all disorders or "mischief that may befall by our disagreement; "but in case there do, I leave it to God Almighty "to judge who is the occasion of it. One thing "more I have to add, and that is, that I will "never more suffer the course and method of pas- "sing laws to be changed, by tacking together "several matters in one bill. The rest I leave to "the lord chancellor."

The chancellor's speech, according to custom, tended to excuse the King's measures. As he only inlarged upon what the King had said more succinctly, I think it needless to insert the speech, in which nothing was offered new or material.

The house of commons having adjourned themselves for three days, met again the twenty-seventh of May, and came to the following resolution; "That the house taking into consideration the "state of the kingdom, and the expense occasioned "by the army, were humbly of opinion, that "if his Majesty pleased to think fit to enter into "war against the French King, the house was, "and would be always ready to assist him in that "war; but if otherwise, they would proceed to "the consideration of providing for the speedy dis- "banding of the army."

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A resolution of the commons. Kennet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 450, 451.

Communicated to the King.

The house farther ordered, That the members of his Majesty's privy-council should acquaint the King with this vote, and pray his speedy answer.

His answer.

His Majesty replied, "That the French King had "made such offers of a cessation till the twenty- "seventh of July, that he believed they would "not only be accepted, but end in a general peace; "yet, as that was uncertain, it would not be pru- "dent to dismiss either fleet or army before that "time."

A vote for disbanding the army.

Upon this answer the house voted, "That all forces raised since the twenty-ninth of "September last (except those transported to foreign "plantations) be forthwith paid off and disbanded, "and that they would consider of a supply for that "purpose." Accordingly the fourth of June the house voted two hundred thousand pounds for disbanding of the army by the end of the month, and the next day they voted a like sum towards defraying the expenses of the fleet.

A message from the King.

Upon these votes the King, by a message, told the house, that his mind was still the same, "That "the army and fleet ought to be kept up till the "expected peace should be concluded," and he farther recommended to their consideration, "Whe- "ther it were not dishonorable for him to recall his "forces in Flanders, from those towns which he "had taken into his protection, before they could "provide themselves of other succors." Upon this consideration the commons extended the time, as to the forces in Flanders, to the twenty-seventh of July.

A vote to grant no more money during the session.

The fifteenth of June, the house resolved, that, "after the Tuesday following, no motions should "be made for any new supplies of money, till after "the next recess." As hitherto the house had experienced, that the King only amused them, and intended to have the money before he positively declared himself, they resolved to put him under a necessity of declaring, within three days, for fear he should still continue to amuse them, till it should be too late. Accordingly, on that very Tuesday the King came to the house of peers, and sending for the commons, told both houses, "That the "peace between France, Spain, and Holland, was "almost concluded, in which his part would be "not only that of a mediator, but also to give his "warrants in it. That Spain writes word, 'That "unless England bears the charge of maintaining "Flanders, even after the peace, they will not be "in a condition to support it long.' Therefore to "that end it was necessary to keep up the navy "at sea; and not only so, but to give the world "some assurance of being well united at home: "that tho' the house of commons might think "such a peace as ill a bargain as a war, because "it would cost them money, yet if they seriously "consider, that Flanders had been lost, and per- "haps by this time, he believed they would give "much greater sums than that would cost, rather "than the single town of Ostend should be in "French hands, and forty of their men of war in "so good a haven, over-against the river's mouth." Then he insinuated to them, "That they could not "but be pleased to understand the reputation Eng- "land had gained abroad, by having, in forty "days, raised an army of thirty thousand men, "and prepared a navy of ninety men of war; there- "fore, if they desired to keep up the honor of "the

The King acquaints the houses with the peace of Nimeguen. June 18. Echard, Vol. III. p. 451.

Demands money;

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"the crown at home, and look to the ſafety of "the balance of affairs abroad; if they deſired he "ſhould paſs any part of his life in quiet, and all "the reſt in confidence and kindneſs with them, "and other future parliaments, they muſt find a "way not only to ſettle for his life his revenue as "at Chriſtmas laſt, but alſo to add a new fund "of three hundred thouſand pounds per annum, "upon which he would paſs an act to ſettle fifty "thouſand pounds upon the navy and ordnance; "and ſhould be likewiſe ready to conſent to all "ſuch laws as they ſhould propoſe for the good "of the nation." He laſtly reminded them, "to "inable him to keep his word with the Prince of "Orange in the payment of his niece's portion, "which was forty thouſand pounds; the firſt pay-"ment being now due, and demanded by him."

And an augmentation of his revenue. Burnet, p. 421.

Would not any one think at reading this ſpeech, that the King had hitherto kept the balance of Europe perfectly even, and was thereby intitled to demand, that he ſhould be inabled to preſerve it? Would not one think, that he had done the nation ſome important ſervice, which deſerved an augmentation of three hundred thouſand pounds a year to his revenue? But the commons were ſo uſed to ſuch ſpeeches, that on them they made no impreſſion. If their diſtruſt of the King had been hitherto great, it may be affirmed, it was conſiderably increaſed, when they ſaw a peace concluded, which diminiſhed not the exorbitant power of France, but left Europe expoſed to its mercy. It was evident, the King might, if he had pleaſed, have procured a peace more advantageous. After this, it is not ſtrange, that his ſtrict union with France was ſuſpected to conceal deſigns which were not for the benefit of the nation. Accordingly, when the commons came to debate on the additional revenue demanded by the King, it was unanimouſly rejected (1). Moreover, the houſe refuſed to give a compenſation for the loſs ſuſtained by the King in the prohibition of French commodities. In fine, the lords having paſſed the bill for diſbanding the army, with an inlargement of the time prefixed for one month longer, the commons abſolutely refuſed their conſent to the amendment.

Burnet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 452.

Charles perceiving by this what he was to expect from the commons, came to the parliament the fifteenth of July, and paſſed ſeveral bills, of which theſe were the principal.

Acts paſſed. Statute b.

1. An act for granting a ſupply of ſix hundred and nineteen thouſand, three hundred and eighty pounds, for diſbanding the army, and other uſes therein mentioned. 2. An act for granting an additional duty to his Majeſty upon wines for three years. 3. An act for burying in woollen. This act, which is ſtill in force, is very ſerviceable to the flannel manufacture, and conſequently makes a great conſumption of wool.

The parliament prorogued. Kennet. Echard.

Theſe acts being paſſed, the chancellor acquainted both houſes, that the King thought proper to prorogue them to the firſt of Auguſt, and ſo to keep them in call, by ſhort prorogations; but that his intention was, they ſhould not meet till winter, unleſs there was occaſion for their aſſembling ſooner. Thus ended the ſeventeenth ſeſſion of this parliament. And thus England found itſelf ingaged in an expenſe of ſix hundred thouſand pounds, to pay an army and fleet, which certainly had neither been prepared to make war againſt France, or for the ſecurity of the kingdom.

While the parliament was ſiting, the States-general ſeeing nothing was to be hoped for from England, treated with France, both for themſelves and Spain, with regard to the Netherlands. At length, every thing being ſetled, and the King of France promiſing to reſtore to the Spaniards, Ghent, Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenard, Courtray, and Limburg, the States ordered their plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen to ſign the peace the laſt day of June. It was univerſally expected, that the peace would be ſigned that day. But as the time for fixing this reſolution had been neglected (the Spaniards and Dutch, not doubting but it was to be immediately after the exchange of the ratifications) the Spaniſh embaſſador happened the day before, to aſk the French plenipotentiaries, when they would reſtore the towns? To this they poſitively anſwered, that it would not be till after the reſtitution of the towns taken from the King of Sweden, by the allies in the North (2). This unexpected pretenſion put a ſtop to the ſigning of the peace; and the Dutch plenipotentiaries received expreſs orders from their maſters not to ſign, unleſs France would ingage to reſtore the ſix places, upon the ratification of the treaty. But the French were immoveable, and appeared reſolute to continue the war, unleſs Sweden was ſatisfied.

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A difficulty ſtarted, relating to the evacuation of ſome towns by the French. Temple's Mem. p. 463.

Charles having intelligence of this new difficulty, and moreover was informed by the French embaſſador, that it was his maſter's intention, immediately ſent ſir William Temple to Holland, with full power to ſign a league with the States, by which they ſhould be mutually bound to continue the war, in caſe France ſhould not agree to evacuate the ſix towns within ſuch a time. This league was really concluded and ſigned the twenty-ſixth of July, to the great ſatisfaction of the Prince of Orange, and thoſe who thought the peace very diſadvantageous.

A league between Charles and the States. Id. p. 464.

The readineſs with which this reſolution was taken by the King, much ſurprized thoſe, who, from his former proceedings, had no great opinion of his ſincerity. But when it was ſeen that the league was concluded, and France continued obſtinate, it was hoped, the war would be renewed with more vigor than ever, and that England would incline the balance to the ſide of the allies. It is difficult to diſcover the motive of the King's vigorous reſolution. Some have believed, he was really offended at the contempt France ſeemed to ſhow of his mediation, in ſtarting ſuch an incident. Others have imagined, that foreſeeing Lewis would at laſt comply, notwithſtanding his ſeeming reſolution, he thought, by this proceeding, to redeem his credit with the Engliſh, who till then ſtrongly ſuſpected him of too cloſe a correſpondence with France. Others have fancied, that he took this reſolution in order to obtain a large ſupply from the parliament, not doubting but he ſhould be afterwards able to procure a peace.

However this be, it ſhortly after appeared, that the King repented of what he had done, and feared that his league would rekindle the war. At the time that the Dutch were preparing to improve this happy juncture, to break off the negociation with France, and to riſe in their demands, one Du Cros, an agent of Sweden at London, brought an expreſs order from the King for ſir William Temple to repair immediately to Nimeguen, and uſe his utmoſt indeavors to perſuade the plenipotentiaries

Charles diſconcerts the meaſures of the States. Id. p. 465. R. Coke.

(1) It was ſaid, there was a demand for a revenue, which would furniſh the court ſo well, that there would be no more need of parliaments. The court party thought ſuch a gift as this would make them uſeleſs. So the thing was upon one debate rejected without a diviſion. Burnet, p. 421.

(2) The King of Denmark and the Elector of Brandenburgh, who had beat the Swedes out of Germany. Burnet, p. 422.

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potentiaries of Sweden to consent to the evacuation of the six towns within a time limited. His Majesty ordered him likewise to assure them, that after the peace he would use the most effectual indeavors he could, for the restitution of all the territories the Swedes had lost in the war. It was not difficult for sir William Temple to infer from hence, that the King had no inclination to quarrel with France. But he was still more fully convinced, when he was informed from Pensionary Fagel, that Du Cros had been with the States deputies, and acquainted them with the order he had brought; that he had also said, the terms of the peace were absolutely agreed between the Kings of France and England, and from some expressions he had heard the King use, intimated, it would be in vain to pretend to prevent it. As sir William and the Pensionary could not doubt but Du Cros was sent by the King, they concluded, either the King had altered his mind, or had never intended entering into a war with France. Wherefore the States, instead of forming new schemes, were contented with the plan already agreed on, with a resolution however not to sign the treaty till the restitution of the six towns was assured within such a time specified (1).

Temple. Basnage.

Since the league had been concluded at the Hague, the King of France, to whom it was communicated, had used all possible artifices to elude, and bring it to a negociation, with an offer to treat upon it, either at St. Quintin or Ghent. But the States, on the contrary, had expresly ordered their embassadors to break off the negociation, if the peace was not signed by such a day, with the article of the evacuation of the towns in a time limited. Sir William Temple came to Nimeguen but three days before the expiration of the time fixed by the States. On his arrival he found very little disposition on either side towards signing the peace; the French and Dutch appeared equally inflexible, and the latter would not hear either of any negociation or delay.

The peace signed.

At last came the critical day, the eleventh of August, fixed by the treaty at the Hague, in the morning of which the French embassadors desisted from their pretensions, and the peace was signed before twelve that night. This gave France the desired satisfaction of making a separate peace with Holland, which was immediately followed by a peace between France and Spain, and some months after with all the confederate powers, except the duke of Lorrain, who could never obtain his re-establishment. It may be affirmed with great truth, that the King of England might have procured Europe a more advantageous peace, since the parliament would have granted him the necessary supplies, if he had pleased to act agreeably to the interest of Europe in general, and of England in particular. His conduct can only be ascribed to his desire of executing the project of rendering himself despotic, and introducing the Popish religion in England which he thought could not be accomplished without the assistance of France.

Blockade of Mons. Temple. Basnage.

The treaty concluded between England and Holland, the twenty-sixth of July, had, as I said, fixed the eleventh of August for signing the peace. In this interval the French King had, by his general the duke of Luxemburgh, blocked up Mons. All his artifices to draw the affair of the evacuation to be negociated, were only to gain time for Luxembourgh to become master of that place before the peace was signed. But the Dutch being bent not to enter into treaty upon that affair, the French general had not time to make any great progress before the town. Mean while the Prince of Orange having information that peace was upon the point of being signed, and desiring to distinguish himself by some great action, marched directly to the duke of Luxemburgh, surprised him, and gave him a considerable check (2). This battle, called afterwards the battle of St. Denys, being fought the fourteenth of August, three days after the peace was signed, gave occasion to various opinions concerning this action of the Prince of Orange. Some said he knew not the peace was signed. Others pretended, the news was brought him by an express, but not from the States, and therefore he might improve the present advantages. However with this action ended a war, which had lasted six years, and was at first so fatal to Holland, that the republic saw itself on the brink of destruction.

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Battle of St. Denys. Temple. Basnage.

Observations upon the Popish plot.

We are now come to the discovery of that famous conspiracy known in England by the name of the Popish Plot, which makes one of the principal periods of this reign, and has given occasion to many politicians to exercise their talents, some in supporting the reality, others in exposing the falsity of it. What I have been saying is sufficient to demonstrate the impossibility for any historian whatever, to please two sorts of men, whose sentiments are diametrically opposite, and who, thro' prejudice, religion, passion, and party-interest are previously disposed to believe or disbelieve the Popish plot. An historian is in vain impartial if his readers are not so. The course of this history ingages me to speak of this famous conspiracy, on which depend all the events of the remainder of this reign. It may well be judged, that I do not expect to satisfy all the world: this I take to be an impossible thing. What therefore I propose is, to inform the reader of the conspiracy itself, whether true or false, of the reasons and proofs alleged in maintenance of their reality or falsehood, and to have the inward satisfaction of saying nothing but what I believe to be true.

But before I proceed to the particulars, it is absolutely necessary to clear some ambiguities which I have observed in the writers on both sides, that the reader may be the better prepared to be on his guard.

1. The word Plot in English, and Conspiration in French, are always taken in a bad sense. Their general signification is, a design, but an unlawful design to attempt something against the person of the King or his ministers; against the constitution of the government; against the established religion; in short, a design bad in itself, wherein the public is concerned, and for the execution whereof means and instruments are already prepared. But if any one maintains, there is nothing unlawful in a design to change a bad religion established, in order to introduce a better; or if on supposition that a government was established by force and violence, it is affirmed, there is nothing ill or unlawful in a design to restore it to its ancient state, it is plain, this will only be a dispute about words. Thus the fact or design in itself may be allowed, which by some will be termed a Plot, while others will not give it that appellation. This has been the case with some authors who have spoken of the Popish plot. They

(1) This affair of Du Cros was transacted, one morning, in an hours time, in the duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, where the orders were dispatched, by the intervention and pursuit of monsieur Barillon, the French embassador. Temple's Mem. p. 466.

(2) The Prince of Orange, in this battle, was in great danger of being lost, had not monsieur Ouwerkerk come to his relief, and killed a French captain that was just going to shoot him in the head. The duke of Monmouth, with some English and Scotish regiments, was in that battle. Upon news of peace next day, the duke of Luxemburgh, with a great compliment, desired an interview with the Prince, and they met in the field. Basnage, Vol. II. p. 941.

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own there was a design to alter the form of government, and subvert the Protestant religion, and yet deny there was a plot.

2. This plot, true or false, contained three particular designs. 1. To kill the King. 2. To subvert the government. 3. To extirpate the Protestant religion, and establish Popery (1). Most of the authors instead of considering these three articles, as branches of one and the same plot, have affected to separate them; some have chiefly insisted upon the design of killing the King, and slightly touched upon the other two. They believed themselves able to prove the falshood of this design, and therefore concluded that there was no real plot. Others meeting with some improbabilities in the depositions of the witnesses concerning the design of killing the King, have chiefly indeavored to prove the two last articles, from whence they have infered, there was a true and real plot. The reader must be on his guard against these artifices which intirely alter the state of the question, and always remember, that the plot did not consist in the single design to kill the King, or in the single design to subvert the government, or in that to change religion, but in all these three designs united together, and making but one and the same conspiracy.

3. Those who assert the reality of the plot, pretend, that the King, the duke of York, and some of the ministers were the heads and contrivers, and give many proofs, some of which have already appeared in the transactions of this reign. The opposite party object, that it is a manifest contradiction to make the King author of a plot to take away his own life: that beside, conspiracies of subjects against their sovereigns have been common, but to accuse a Prince of a plot against his subjects is a thing never heard of. To these objections it is answered, that tho' the plot contained three articles, the two last only were essential, and of these the King was the head and contriver: that the article of killing the King, tho' placed first, was only consequent to, and depending upon, the two others. That this was only the attempt of some of the conspirators, who believed, there was no readier way to execute the plot, than by seting the duke of York upon the throne, who was less timerous, and more active and daring than his brother. That therefore there is no contradiction in the supposition, that the King was the head and author of the two designs, of subverting the government, and changing religion; and that the other was carried on by some persons without his privity, in order to advance the progress of the plot. That therefore the difficulty of this objection proceeds from the prepostrous joining the three articles when they ought to be separated, as on other occasions they are separated where they ought to be joined. As to the second objection, that it is impossible a King should plot against his subjects, it is drawn from the word plot, which is very rarely applicable to a Sovereign. But it is by no means impossible for a King of England, whose power is limited by law, to form a design of establishing an arbitrary and despotic government, as appears in the examples of Edward II, Richard II, James I, and Charles I. Now a man may refuse, if he pleases, to give to such a design the name of a plot. provided he does but own the reality of the thing.

4. Lastly, it will be necessary to premise, that there are three opinions concerning the reality or falsehood of this plot. The first is of those who believe it true in all its branches and circumstances. The second, of those who believe it absolutely false, and invented on purpose to exasperate the people against the King and the duke of York. The third, of those who believe it true with regard to the design of rendering the King absolute, and altering religion, but doubtful with respect to the design of killing the King, and who, after duly weighing the Pro and Con, think they ought to suspend their judgment on this article. I thought it necessary to arm my readers with these few observations against the prejudices they may have received in reading other historians, who scruple not, to disguise and curtail the facts; to pass over in silence such as are disadvantageous to them; to insist and lay great stress upon others; to insert in their relations, many stories admited by their party, but supported with no other authority; to add numberless insinuations founded only on their prejudices; in a word, to suppose continually what they have undertaken to prove. This would evidently appear in a formal disputation, but is very easy to be done in a continued narrative, where the writer inserts whatever he thinks fiting.

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The twelfth of August (the day after the signing of the treaty of Nimeguen) dr. Ezrael Tonge, a London divine, applied himself to one Chrittopher Kirby (2), who had some interest at court, to tell the King, there was a plot against his person. Kirby discharging his commission the next day, while the King was walking in St. James's Park, the King ordered him to bring Tonge to him at eight that evening. Tonge came to Whitehall at the appointed time, and delivered to the King a writing or narrative, which, in forty-three articles, contained the particulars of a plot. His Majesty, after looking over it superficially, told Tonge, he was going to Windsor the next day, but would put the paper into the hands of the lord treasurer Danby, on whom he ordered him to attend next morning.

Tonge discovers the plot to the King. Oates's Narrat. Burnet. Echard. Burnet, p. 425.

Accordingly on the fourteenth of August, Tonge waited on the treasurer, who asked him if the paper left with the King, was an original or a copy. Tonge answered, it was a copy of a writing which had been thrown into his house without his privity: but fancied it was by a certain person who had often entertained him upon subjects of the like nature. Some days after Tonge returned to the treasurer, and told him, he knew the man, who had even put into his hands another narrative larger than the former, which he delivered to the treasurer. After the earl had looked over the paper, he asked Tonge, whether he knew the two men mentioned in the narrative, as the persons designed to kill the King, and went by the name of Honest William, and Pickering. Tonge answered, he knew them; that they frequently walked in the Park, and if a trusty person was appointed to go with him, he doubted not but he should have an opportunity of giving him a sight of them in a very short time. The treasurer asked, if he knew where they lodged, that they might be secured; Tonge answered he did not, but would indeavor to inform himself.

The treasurer having given his Majesty an account of what he had learned from Tonge, and of the contents of the two narratives, desired him at

(1) The chief promoters and authors of this plot, where, Pope Innocent XI; cardinal Howard; Johannes Paulus de Oliva, general of the jesuits at Rome; Pedro Jeronymo de Corduba, provincial of the jesuits in New-Castile; La Chaise, confessor to Lewis XIV; the provincial of the jesuits in England; the Benedictine monks at the Savoy; the jesuits and seminary priests in England, who were then in number about eighteen hundred; the lords Petre, Powis, Bellasis, Arundel of Wardour, Stafford, and several persons of quality. See Oates's Narrat. H. Care, &c.

(2) A chymist, that was sometimes in the King's Labaratory.

the

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the ſame time, that a warrant might be ſent for apprehending honeſt William (1) and Pickering, and that ſome other members of the council be informed of an affair which concerned his Majeſty's life. But the King would neither ſuffer the two men to be apprehended, nor permit the earl to ſpeak of it to any perſon living, and particularly to the duke of York.

Who forbids the publication of it.

Some days after, Tonge ſent word to the lord treaſurer, that he knew where Honeſt William and Pickering lodged: moreover he ſaid, ſome of the intended aſſaſſins were to go within two days to Windſor; but that he would give notice of the time fixed for their journey, that they might be arreſted at their arrival: however a few days after, he pretended, the journey had been prevented by an accident to one of their horſes. The King from thence concluded the whole to be a fiction, and tho' the truth might eaſily have been diſcovered, by apprehending the two men whoſe lodgings were known, he would never permit, either that they ſhould be apprehended, or the affair communicated to any member of the council, ſaying, "He ſhould alarm "all England, and put thoughts of killing him "into people's heads who had no ſuch thoughts "before."

This reaſon being, as appears, very weak, it can only be infered from the King's conduct, that he believed not the plot, or had ſome intereſt to ſeem as if he did not believe it.

Forged letters directed to Bedingfield a Popiſh prieſt. Burnet, p. 425. Echard.

Three days after, Tonge writ to the earl of Danby, that a packet of letters was to go to the poſt-houſe in Windſor, directed to one Bedingfield a prieſt (2). The pacquet came indeed, and Bedingfield, after reading the letters, carried them to the duke of York, telling him, "He feared ſome "ill was intended him by the ſaid pacquet, be-"cauſe the letters therein ſeemed to be of a dan-"gerous nature, and that he was ſure they were "not the hand-writing of the perſons whoſe names "were ſubſcribed to the letters (3)." The King being more confirmed in the belief that there was nothing real in the pretended plot, ſeemed reſolved not to permit the papers or informations received from Tonge to be produced. But the duke of York was ſo very earneſt to have the letters, directed to Bedingfield, examined by the council, that the King at laſt conſented, and gave the treaſurer leave to declare at the ſame time the intelligence received from Tonge, and ſo the affair became public.

Hitherto I have not mentioned the famous Titus Oates, principal actor in this play, becauſe having reſolved to advance nothing but what I believe exactly true, I did not think proper to adopt whatever has been ſaid concerning him and his ſecret conferences with dr. Tonge, of which not a ſingle voucher is produced. However, I think myſelf obliged briefly to relate, what has been advanced by others, tho' with no other certainty than their own teſtimony.

Account of Titus Oates. Echard, Vol. III. p. 461.

"Titus Oates was the ſon of a ribbon-weaver, "who afterwards turning Anabaptiſt-preacher, and "being chaplain to a regiment of Cromwell's "forces in Scotland, was there clapt up in priſon "upon Overton's plot againſt that uſurper; but "having the fortune to eſcape upon the King's "reſtoration, he conformed to the church, and "got the living of Haſtings in Suſſex; where he "continued till he thought fit to return again "to his former Anabaptiſtical ſtation. This ſon of "his had his firſt education in Merchant-Taylor's "ſchool in London, and next in the univerſity of "Cambridge, where he was ſtudent in two col-"leges, Caius's and St. John's, and where he left "no reputation behind him for his parts or learn-"ing; tho' he ſeemed diſtinguiſhed for a tena-"cious memory, a plodding induſtry, and an un-"paralled aſſurance, beſide a particular canting "way that appeared in his academical exerciſes. "Removing from thence he ſlipt into orders, and "for a while officiated as curate to his father; after "which he injoyed a ſmall vicarage in Kent (4), "from whence he removed to another in Suſſex, "after that for ſome time got into the duke of "Norfolk's family, when he particularly ſided "with the Socinians at London; ſo that he be-"came very uncertain as to his principles and re-"ligion, and infamous as to his morals (5). In the "laſt year, 1667, being abandoned and deſtitute "of common neceſſaries, he fell into the acquain-"tance of dr. Ezrael Tonge, a city divine, a man "of letters, and a prolific head, filled with all the "Romiſh plots and conſpiracies ſince the reforma-"tion (6). This man was remarkable for his "parts and great reading, but of a reſtleſs and hu-"morous temper, full of variety of projects, and "ſcarce ever without a pen in his hand, and a plot "in his head. At firſt he ſeemed to entertain "Oates out of charity, who then went by the "name of Ambroſe; and complaining that he "knew not where to get bread, the doctor took "him to his houſe, and gave him cloaths, lodg-"ing and diet, and told him, "he would put "him in a way." After which, finding him a "bold undertaker, he perſuaded him to inſinuate "himſelf among the Papiſts, and get particular "acquaintance with them: which being effected, "he let him underſtand, that there had been "ſeveral plots in England to bring in Popery, "and if he would go beyond ſea among the je-"ſuits, and ſtrictly obſerve their ways, it was "poſſible there might be one at preſent; and if "he could make that out, it would be his pre-"ferment for ever: but however, if he could get "their names, and ſome informations from the "Papiſts, it would be eaſy to rouze people with "the fears of Popery."

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Agreeably to this advice, Oates reconciled himſelf to the church of Rome, and moreover, according to ſome, entered into the jeſuits Society. In April 1677, he was ſent to Valladolid in Spain, where, after a ſtay of ſix months, he returned to England. A month after he went to St. Omers, the Engliſh ſeminary, for farther diſcoveries. In ſhort, the latter end of June, the ſame year, he returned to England, and repaired to his friend Tonge, furniſhed with materials picked up at St. Omers. Out of theſe materials Tonge and Oates, at ſeveral conferences together either at London, or in a

(1) His true name was John Groves. Oates's Narrat. p. 6.

(2) The duke of York's confeſſor. Ibid.

(3) The duke carried them to the King. And he fancied they were writ either by Tonge or Oates, and ſent on deſign to have them intercepted, to give the more credit to the diſcovery. The duke's enemies, on the other hand, gave out, that he had got ſome hints of the diſcovery, and brought theſe as a blind to impoſe on the King. Burnet, p. 425.

(4) Bobbing, which was given him in 1672, but the air being very bad he left it. H. Care. Hiſt. of the Plot. p. 64.

(5) Biſhop Burnet ſays, "He was proud and ill-natured, haughty, but ignorant. He had been complained of for ſome "very indecent expreſſions concerning the myſteries of the chriſtian religion. He was once preſented for perjury." —— p. 425.

(6) Biſhop Burnet gives him this character: "He underſtood gardening and chymiſtry, and was full of projects and no-"tions. He was a very mean divine, and ſeemed credulous and ſimple; but always paſſed for a ſincere man." p. 424.

hired

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hired houſe at Lambeth (1), framed the papers or narratives delivered by Tonge to the King and lord treaſurer Danby, as copies of what Oates had writen with his own hand.

I omit many circumſtances of what is ſaid to paſs between Tonge and Oates, which ſeem to ſuppoſe, either there was ſome third perſon who related all theſe particulars, or elſe, that one of the two diſcovered them before his death. The intent of this retical is, as may eaſily be ſeen, to ſhew, that Tonge and Oates were the inventors of this plot, which made ſo much noiſe afterwards, and never exiſted but in their heads. It muſt be owned, that if this was well proved, it would be a ſufficient evidence, that the plot diſcovered by Oates was a fiction. In the recital, appears Tonge a divine, who (having a prolific head filled with all the Romiſh plots and conſpiracies ſince the reformation) fancies it poſſible there may be one now on foot. He perſuades Oates to inſinuate himſelf among the Papiſts, turn Catholic, and be entered into the ſociety of the Jeſuits, in order to have opportunity to make diſcoveries. Oates complies, returns from St. Omers, freighted with materials, out of which theſe two men draw up a narrative of a horrid plot againſt the King's perſon, the government, and the Proteſtant religion, and Tonge undertakes to deliver it to his Majeſty. If all this be true, there is need of no other proofs: this alone is ſufficient to demonſtrate that the plot was a fiction, and a chimera. Wherefore, if ever there is reaſon to give the readers ſome aſſurance of what is advanced, with ſo many circumſtances, it is in ſuch a caſe as this which alone decides the queſtion. But I muſt caution the reader, that thoſe who have advanced theſe facts, have not vouchſafed to give the leaſt proof. They have not ſaid, that they were received from ſuch or ſuch perſons then living. They have cited no authors before them, nor in ſhort produced one voucher of what they have advanced concerning facts, which naturally could come to their knowlege, but by ſome extraordinary means. It is a deſign managed between Tonge and Oates alone, without the intervention of any third perſon. It is certain, neither Oates nor Tonge revealed theſe pretended particulars before their deaths, or ever retracted their informations. It is therefore juſtly wiſhed, that thoſe who have reported their ſecret conferences with ſuch particular circumſtances, had produced ſome authority for what they have advanced.

What follows is the ſubſtance of the writing delivered by Tonge to the King, in form of a depoſition. Titus Oates was the ſpeaker, tho' he had not ſigned it, and tho' his name did not appear in it.

The Subſtance of T. Oates's Narrative.

"That in April 1677, the ſaid deponent was "imployed by Strange, the then provincial, Keins, "Fenwick, Harcourt, and other jeſuits in London, "to carry their letters to one father Suiman, an "Iriſh jeſuit, at Madrid in Spain: that in his jour-"ney he broke open the ſaid letters, and found "therein an account given of what jeſuits they had "ſent into Scotland, to incourage the Preſbyterians "to rebel; and that they feared not ſucceſs in "their deſigns, by reaſon of the King's being ſo "addicted to his pleaſures, and their intereſt in "the duke of York, &c. That he ſaw ſeveral "ſtudents ſent out of England to Valladolid, who "were obliged by the jeſuits of the college to re-"nounce their allegiance to his Majeſty of Great-"Britain; and that one Armſtrong, in a ſermon "to the ſtudents there, did affirm, that Charles "Stuart, the King of England, is no lawful King, "but comes of a ſpurious race, and that his father "was a black Scotſman, and not King Charles "the Firſt; with ſeveral other traiterous words "and correſpondences which he there diſcovered. "Being returned to England, where he made far-"ther diſcoveries, about the begining of Decem-"ber, the ſaid deponent was ſent with another trea-"ſonable letter, writen by Strange, and ſeveral "other jeſuits, to St. Omers, wherein was ex-"preſly mentioned their deſign to ſtab or poiſon "the King; and that they had received ten thou-"ſand pounds from la Chaiſe, which was in the "hands of one Worſly a goldſmith in London. "There was likewiſe incloſed a letter of thanks to "father la Chaiſe, which the deponent carried to "him from St. Omers to Paris. During this his "journey, and being abroad, he ſaw and read "many other letters, all tending to the ſame end "of cuting off the King, ſubverting the preſent "government of England, and reſtoring the Ro-"miſh religion; and they were ſo confident as in "ſome of them to ſay, 'That his Majeſty of Eng- p. 11. "land was brought to that paſs (that is ſo poſſeſſed "of their fidelity) that if any male-contents among "them ſhould not prove true, but offer to diſcover, "he would never believe them."

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But one of the principal things he tells us in this narrative, was, "That in April 1678, he came over "from St. Omers with more jeſuits, to the grand "conſult which was held in May, by about fifty "jeſuits, at the White-horſe tavern in the Strand, "where they met and ploted their deſigns for their "ſociety: from whence they diſperſed into ſeveral "clubs, five or ſix in a company, where they "ſigned a' 'Reſolve for the death of the King,' "with the manner how it was to be done, which "the deponent, as a meſſenger, carried from one "company to another to be ſigned. Very ſhortly "after he returned to St. Omers, and towards the "end of June came back to England; where he "ſoon became privy to the treaty with Wakeman "to poiſon, and Honeſt William and Pickering "to ſhoot the King; and that he heard Keins a "jeſuit preach a ſermon to twelve perſons of qua-"lity in diſguiſe; wherein he aſſerted, 'That "Proteſtant and other heretical Princes were ipſo "facto depoſed, becauſe ſuch, and that it was as "lawful to deſtroy them, as an Oliver Cromwell, "or any other uſurper,' &c."

Beſide theſe new diſcoveries, he tells us, that he learned ſeveral other remarkable particulars from them, as, "That the late wars, and many other p. 23, 24. "miſchiefs were brought about by them; but "more particularly the dreadful fire in 1666, which "was principally managed by Strange the provin-"cial; in which their ſociety imployed eighty, or "eighty-ſix men, he could not tell which, and "ſpent ſeven hundred fire balls, and over and "above all their vaſt expenſe, they were fourteen "thouſand pounds gainers by the plunder, among "which was a box of jewels, conſiſting of a thou-"ſand caracts of diamonds. He farther learned "that the fire in Southwark, in the year 1676, was "brought about by the like means; and tho' in "that they were at the expenſe of a thouſand "pounds, they made a ſhift to get two thouſand "clear into their own pockets."

The council pays no regard to this diſcovery.

This depoſition as I before ſaid, was at length communicated to the council by the King's permiſſion. Probably, the King ſo managed, that the council took no great notice of this affair, and looked on the diſcovery as a forgery. After that, the lord treaſurer ſeeing he was clear of the buſineſs, ſince it was imparted to the council, would no longer hearken to Tonge, but when he came, diſmiſſed him, either unheard, or with obrobrious

(1) One Lambert's houſe, a bell founder, at Fox-hall, called afterwards the Plot Houſe. Echard.

language.

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Tonge and Oates take measures to bring the affair before the parliament; and in order to it apply to Godfrey juſtice of peace. Sept. 29. Oates's Nar. Burnet.

language. This made Tonge and Oates reſolve to bring the affair before the parliament. But as they had cauſe to fear, that the court would find means to ſuppreſs this depoſition, or repreſent it as a writing without name and authority, they applied to ſir Edmundbury Godfrey, a juſtice of peace in St. Martin's pariſh, and Oates requeſted him to receive his oath, that the paper which he put into his hands, contained matters of treaſon, and other high crimes. Godfrey was unwilling to grant their requeſt, and the rather, becauſe he was not ſuffered to read the particulars. But at laſt, Tonge depoſing on oath, that the ſame had been communicated to the King, Oates was ſworn, and a certificate given him. This was the ſixth of September.

The council examines the affair of the plot. Hiſt. of the plot. Echard. Burnet.

Sometime after, the King being returned to Whitehall, whether the council had been informed of the reſolution of Tonge and Oates, or feared to be accuſed of negligence, in an affair which concerned the King and the public, or from ſome other motive, they reſolved to examine into the bottom of this matter. To this end, the twenty-ſeventh of September, ſix weeks after the King received the firſt information, Tonge was ſent for by the council, but not appearing till the council was riſen, he was ordered to attend the next day. In this interval, Tonge took another copy of Oates's depoſition, and, it is pretended, inſerted ſeveral articles which were not in the firſt, but theſe new informations are not ſpecified. However, this was the copy which was afterwards publiſhed under the title of Oates's Narrative. This copy being finiſhed, Tonge and Kirkby carried it to ſir Edmundbury Godfrey the juſtice, and left it in his hands (1).

Provides for the ſecurity of the informers. Burnet. Echard.

Next day, the council examined Tonge and Kirkby, and then ordered Oates to be called in. After their examination, Tonge and Oates had lodgings aſſigned them in Whitehall, by order of the council, with a guard for their ſecurity, and a weekly ſalary for their ſubſiſtence. At this time the privy-council for above a week, ſat twice a day on this affair, and imployed Oates, as he was the firſt diſcoverer of the plot, three days and nights to ſearch after and ſeize the perſons of the conſpirators, and ſecure their papers. By his means, and on his depoſitions, were arreſted, ſir George Wakeman, the Queen's phyſician; mr. Edward Colman, the duke of York's ſecretary; mr. Richard Langhorn, Thomas Whitebread, John Gawen, Anthony Turner, William Ireland, William Marſhal, William Rumley, James Corker, Thomas Pickering, and many others. The eight laſt were Romiſh prieſts or jeſuits. In Coleman's houſe letters were found which greatly confirmed Oates's teſtimony, and will be hereafter remembered (2).

Several of the conſpirators apprehended. Sept. 30. Octob. 2. &c. H. Care's Hiſt. of the plot. Echard, Vol. III. p. 466. Kennet.

Conſternation of the people.

Tho' no particulars of the plot had yet been publiſhed, the people were informed in general, that the deſign of it was to kill the King, ſubvert the government, and change the eſtabliſhed religion. The impriſonment of ſo great a number of Roman Catholics, ſuggeſted that they were at leaſt ſuſpected of being concerned. This was ſufficient to make them believed the ſole authors of the plot; and an accident, a few days after, ſo confirmed this belief, that nothing was able to ſhake it. This was, that ſir Edmundbury Godfrey, who had ſworn Oates to his narrative, after having being miſſed four days, was found dead in a ditch about a mile out of London (3), with his ſword thro' his body, his cane and gloves by him, rings upon his fingers, and money in his pocket (4). The coroners inqueſt ſat upon the body, but meeting with ſome difficulties adjourned to the day following, when upon the declaration of the ſurgeons, they gave up their verdict, "That he was murdered by certain perſons unknown to the jurors, and that his death proceeded from ſuffocation and ſtrangling (5); and that his ſword had been thruſt thro' his body ſome time after his death, and when he was quite cold, becauſe not the leaſt ſign of blood was ſeen upon his ſhirt, or his clothes, or the place where he was found." Tho' it was poſſible, this murder might not have been commited by the Papiſts, they were ſo readily and publicly accuſed, that it was not ſafe to deny it, and that the people drew from it an invincible proof of the plot, and the aſſurance of the Papiſts being the authors. It was not conceived, what intereſt the Proteſtants could have to murder this juſtice, but it was obvious that the Papiſts might do it in revenge for his ſwearing Oates to his narrative. The Catholics in their then ſituation dared not vindicate themſelves. The people were univerſally incenſed againſt them, and the court would not openly protect them. It paſſed therefore for certain, that the Papiſts were Godfrey's murderers. Of this will hereafter appear poſitive evidence. A few years after, the face of affairs being changed, the Papiſts, and friends of the court, found means to give another turn to this murder. Firſt, they raiſed ſtrong objections to invalidate the depoſitions of the witneſſes. Secondly, they obſerved, that the death of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey could be of no great advantage to them, ſince he only ſwore Oates to his narrative, and from that time to his death meddled no more. Thirdly, they inſinuated, that Godfrey had murdered himſelf, out of fear of being hanged for not diſcovering ſooner what he knew. Fourthly, and on this they chiefly inſiſted, they pretended that Godfrey had been murdered by the Proteſtants, in order to throw the odium of his death upon the Papiſts. Now as the Papiſts had no intereſt to publiſh this murder, it is pretended, that his death was concealed till the body was found, and then publiſhed by thoſe who commited the deed, in order to charge the Catholics with it. But tho' it were true, that the whole city was filled with the rumor of Godfrey's murder the day after he diſappeared, it ſeems to me, that the conſequence drawn from thence would not be neceſſary. Thus much is certain, Godfrey was murdered, and the Papiſts were charged with the deed, as long as the Proteſtant party prevailed; but when the face of affairs was altered, the court party did, and ſtill do, accuſe the Proteſtants of it (6).

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The murder of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey. Relat. of his murder. Kennet. Burnet.

Echard.

The Papiſts accuſed of it.

(1) He took two copies more which were ſworn to, and whereof one was left with the juſtice. Echard.

(2) Coleman, ſays Burnet, had a whole day free to make his eſcape, if he thought he was in danger. And he had conveyed all his papers out of the way: only he forgot a drawer under the table, in which the papers relating to 1674, 75, and part of 76, were left. Had he withdrawn all his papers nothing had appeared; had he left all, it might have been concluded, that the whole ſecret lay in them, p. 426.

(3) Near St. Pancras church, by Primroſe-hill. He was miſſing from October 12. to October 17, on which laſt day he was diſcovered. Relat. of his Murder, p. 5.

(4) Namely, ſeven guineas, four broad pieces, two ſmall pieces of gold, and four pounds and half a crown in ſilver. Idem.

(5) It is remarkable, that a large laced band, which he had on when he went from home, was off when his body was found. Idem. p. 6.

(6) Dr. Lloyd and dr. Burnet went to view the body; and, beſides the circumſtances above-mentioned, obſerved, that his ſhoes were clean. A mark round his neck an inch broad. His breaſt all over bruiſed, and his neck broken. There were many drops of white wax lights on his breeches, which he never uſed himſelf. And ſince only perſons of quality or prieſts uſe thoſe lights, this made all people conclude in whoſe hands he muſt have been, p. 429.

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Octob. 20. H. Care. Echard.

However this be, the King, who was then at Newmarket, returning to London to hold the parliament, publiſhed a proclamation, with the promiſe of five hundred pounds reward to the diſcoverer of the murderers of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey. But as this proclamation had but little effect, it being ſuggeſted that the diſcoverers would be in danger of an aſſaſſination; the King publiſhed a ſecond, with an aſſurance of his protection to thoſe who ſhould bring this matter to light (1).

The treaſurer communicates the plot to the council. Echard.

Mean while the King was extremely perplexed. He had at firſt indeavored to ſtifle the noiſe of this conſpiracy, by concealing it from his very council; but was forced at laſt to conſent it ſhould be communicated to them: and the ſteps taken by Tonge and Oates, in puting the depoſition into the hands of a juſtice, had obliged the council to take precautions alſo for their own ſakes, in cauſing many perſons to be arreſted. The murder of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey happening upon this, and the whole kingdom being alarmed at it, there was no poſſibility of ſtifling the noiſe of the plot, which had now reached the moſt diſtant parts. The King therefore reſolved to take the only courſe left, which was to prevent, if poſſible, this affair from coming before the parliament. He was not ignorant of the diſaffection of the commons. The tranſactions of the laſt ſummer ſhewed, that he was ſuſpected of deſigns detrimental to church and ſtate, and all his proceedings had given but too juſt cauſe for this ſuſpicion. He therefore very juſtly feared, that the parliament would examine into the bottom of this plot; and, under a pretenſe of taking care of his perſon, diſcover many things which were not yet to be revealed. For, as I have remarked, this plot contained three articles, viz. the three deſigns of killing the King; ſubverting the government; and changing the eſtabliſhed religion. In all likelihood, the King believed not the firſt, but could not be ignorant of the two laſt. Nay, his whole deportment had made this ſo clear, that all the kingdom was in a manner convinced of it. Therefore to avoid ſo dangerous a diſcuſſion; he reſolved to take from the parliament the examination of the plot. To this end he expreſly commanded the earl of Danby, his prime miniſter, not to acquaint the two houſes with what had paſſed thro' his hands, and reſolved ſo to order it, that every thing concerning the plot ſhould be left to the law, believing it would be much eaſier for him to manage the judges than the parliament.

The King indeavors to conceal it from the parliament.

Echard, Vol III. p. 472.

The twenty-firſt of October the King opened the eighteenth ſeſſion of this parliament with the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both houſes. Kennet.

"I Have thought the time very long ſince we parted laſt, and would not have defered your meeting by ſo many prorogations, if I could well have met you ſooner. The part which I had this ſummer in the preſervation of our neighbors, and the well ſecuring what was left of Flanders, is ſufficiently known, and acknowleged by all that are abroad. And tho' for this cauſe I have been obliged to keep up my troops, without which our neighbors had abſolutely deſpaired; yet both the honor and the intereſt of the nation have been ſo far improved by it, that I am confident no man here would repine at it, or think the money raiſed for their diſbanding, to have been ill imployed in their continuance; and I do aſſure you, I am ſo much more out of purſe for that ſervice, that I expect you ſhould ſupply it. How far it may be neceſſary, conſidering the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, to reduce the land and ſea forces, or to what degree, is worthy of all our ſerious conſiderations.

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"I now intend to acquaint you (as I ſhall always do with any thing that concerns me) that I have been informed of a deſign againſt my perſon by the jeſuits, of which I ſhall forbear any opinion, leaſt I may ſeem to ſay too much or too little: but I will leave the matter to the law, and in the mean time will take as much care as I can, to prevent all manner of practiſes by that ſort of men, and of others too, who have been tampering in a high degree by foreigners, and contriving how to introduce Popery among us. I ſhall conclude with recommending to you my other concerns. I have been under great diſappointments by the defect of the poll bill. My revenue is under great anticipations, and at beſt was never equal to the conſtant and neceſſary expenſe of the government, whereof I intend to have the whole ſtate laid before you, and require you to look into it, and conſider of it, with that duty and affection which I am ſure I ſhall ever find from you. The reſt I leave to the lord chancellor."

The earl of Danby communicates the plot to the commons, Echard, Vol. III. p. 472.

The King by his precautions had hoped to prevent the parliament from taking cognizance of the plot. But the earl of Danby broke all his meaſures, by communicating to the commons, the very firſt day, Oates's narrative. It was believed, he was either afraid of being called to an account, if he concealed from the parliament an affair of ſuch importance, which had paſſed thro' his hands, or was willing to ingratiate himſelf with that houſe, in which he had many powerful enemies. The King was highly provoked with a procedure ſo contrary to his orders and deſigns, and gave him a ſevere reprimand; but the thing was without remedy.

and they to the lords.

The commons, having communicated theſe informations to the lords, labored inceſſantly upon the affair of the plot. For ſome days they ſat from morning till late at night, and took extreme care to keep the minutes and votes of the houſe from being divulged. The lords were no leſs vigilant; ſo that in two or three days, both houſes preſented three addreſſes to the King, The firſt was, to pray him to appoint a faſt. The ſecond, to require the removal of all Popiſh recuſants out of London. The third, to pray the King's order to the lord chamberlain, that no unknown perſon might have acceſs to his Majeſty.

Three addreſſes from the houſe to the King. Kennet. Echard.

Theſe three addreſſes it muſt be obſerved, were all founded upon the diſcovery of the plot, and that both houſes did not confine it to the ſingle deſign of killing the King, but expreſly added the two others, of ſubverting the government, and changing the religion eſtabliſhed. This is a remark which is to ſerve for the whole proceſs of this affair. For the two houſes did never ſeparate theſe three articles, a clear evidence that they believed the plot was not confined as ſome would inſinuate to the deſign of killing the King.

Oates examined by the commons. H. Care. Echard, Vol. III. p. 474.

The ſame day that the third addreſs was preſented,

(1) Sir Edmundbury's corpſe being embalmed, was kept till October 31, when it was carried, in a very ſolemn manner, from Bridewel hoſpital, of which he was one of the governors, to the church of St. Martin's in the Fields, where he was buried. The pall was ſupported by eight knights, all juſtices of peace. All the aldermen of the city attended the funeral. Seventy-two London miniſters marched two and two before the body. And great multitudes followed after, in the ſame order. An excellent ſermon, ſuitable to the occaſion, was preached, on 2 Samuel iii, 34, by dr. William Lloyd, vicar of St. Martin's. Kennet, p. 352. Relat. &c.

viz.

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viz. the twenty-fourth of October, three days after the opening of the ſeſſion, Oates was examined in the houſe of commons ſix or ſeven hours. After his examination, he was ſeveral times interrogated, according to cuſtom, "Whether he knew any thing "more of the plot, or any other perſon concerned "in it, than what he had already mentioned;" to which he ſolemnly anſwered, "He did not." And yet, he afterwards added ſeveral things to this depoſition. As this is one of the objections againſt Oates's evidence, it will not be improper to inform the reader of what has been ſaid for and againſt it.

An objection againſt Oates remarked upon.

It is ſaid firſt, that Oates having been examined upon oath by the houſe of commons, and having affirmed, he knew no more of the plot, could not afterwards add new depoſitions againſt other perſons, without perjury. To improve this objection, it is likewiſe ſaid, he was ſolemnly interrogated, whether he knew any thing more; and that he anſwered as ſolemnly he did not. But this word ſolemnly is only uſed to aggravate the imputation of perjury. For it will be readily granted, that a witneſs, at his firſt hearing, is not aſked, whether he knows any thing more, with greater ſolemnity than the other queſtions, upon which he has depoſed. Beſide to this objection it is replied, that the oath taken by Oates, before he was interrogated, properly reached only to the facts which he was to depoſe, and not to the queſtion after his depoſition, whether he knew any thing more of the plot? So the charge of perjury vaniſhes, unleſs it be proved, that he was again ſworn upon the laſt interrogation.

Burnet, p. 430.

It is in the ſecond place anſwered, that this objection being made to Oates on another occaſion, he ſaid, that having been three days and three nights without ſleep when he was examined by the commons, and the examination laſting above ſix hours, it was not ſtrange, that at the firſt hearing he ſhould not recollect all he knew. I leave the reader to conſider the objection and anſwer.

Echard refuted in relation to Oates, Vol. III. p. 474.

And here I cannot forbear obſerving a fallacy put on his readers by a celebrated hiſtorian, in ſaying, "That he began ſo much to abound with "new diſcoveries, that ſome began to ſuſpect his "veracity. Therefore (adds the hiſtorian) to put "an end to all ſuch doubtings, on the thirty-firſt "of October, the commons reſolved, 'Nemine "contradicente.' That upon the evidence that has "already appeared to this houſe, this houſe is of "opinion, 'That there is, and hath been a dam-"nable and helliſh plot contrived and carried on "by Popiſh recuſants, for aſſaſſinating and mur-"dering the King, for ſubverting the government, "and rooting out and deſtroying the Proteſtant "religion."

A vote of the commons. Kennet. p. 352.

Beſide that this author in deſcribing for ſole motive to the commons the deſire of terminating all doubts concerning Oates's veracity, boldly accuſes them of not acting uprightly, it may be demonſtratively proved, that this could not be their motive, ſince the witneſs added nothing to his firſt depoſition in the ſix days between his examination and the vote of that houſe. I was willing to make this remark, to ſhew, with how great caution the hiſtorians who have writ of the affairs of that time, ſhould be read.

Ibid.

The commons having paſſed this vote, 'Nemine contradicente,' they ordered, "That this vote be "communicated to the lords at a conference, and "that the lords be deſired to join with this houſe, "in providing remedies for the preſervation of his "Majeſty's perſon and government, and the Pro-"teſtant religion." Two days after, in a conference between the two houſes, upon the ſubject of the laſt vote of the commons, this report was made,

The lords concur with it.

"The lords have conſidered the vote of the houſe "of commons communicated to them at the con-"ference, and have moſt readily and unanimouſly "concurred with them in it, 'Nemine contradi-"cente;' and their lordſhips are very glad to ſee "that zeal which the commons have ſhewed upon "this occaſion, and do fully concur with them, "'That the moſt ſpeedy and ſerious conſiderations "of both houſes are neceſſary for prevention of "the imminent dangers.' In order whereunto "their lordſhips have reſolved to ſit 'de die in "diem,' forenoon and afternoon, and deſire that "the houſe of commons will do the ſame."

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A preſumption for the reality of the plot.

If this does not prove the plot to be real, it proves at leaſt, that both houſes believed it ſo, ſince there was not the leaſt diviſion upon this article. Therefore to deny that the plot was real, it muſt be allowed, either that all the members of both houſes were groſsly miſtaken, or that they acted in a ſpirit of prejudice and party, to fatigue the court. But why ſhould they be thought to trouble the court, if the King was not ſuſpected to have been the principal author of the plot, tho', doubtleſs, he was not concerned in the firſt article relating to the attempt on his life, which, as I have ſaid, was only an appendix of the plot, or at leaſt conſidered as ſuch.

Several conſpirators apprehended, of which five were Popiſh lords. Octob. 14. Hiſt. of the plot. Echard.

The ſame day the commons examined Oates, they ſent for the lord chief juſtice Scrogs, who took his examination upon oath, and in the houſe ſealed twenty-ſix warrants for apprehending ſo many perſons whom he had ſworn againſt, among whom were the lords Powis, Strafford, Arundel of Wardour, Petre, Bellaſis, and ſir Henry Tichbourn baronet, all Papiſts, who were ſent to the Tower, and the reſt to ſeveral priſons.

Proclamation againſt Papiſts.

The King was ſo perſuaded of his being ſuſpected, that he thought himſelf obliged to ſeem equally convinced with the parliament of the danger. To remove therefore this ſuſpicion, he publiſhed a proclamation in theſe word: "The lords and commons "having taken into their ſerious conſideration, the "bloody and traiterous deſigns of Popiſh recuſants, "againſt his Majeſty's ſacred perſon and govern-"ment, and the Proteſtant religion; therefore he "commanded them all, except ſetled houſe-keepers, "that would take the oaths of allegiance and ſu-"premacy, to depart the cities of London and "Weſtminſter, and all places within ten miles diſ-"tant from the ſame."

The Papiſts accordingly departed out of London; tho' for ſo ſhort a ſpace, that in leſs than a fortnight they returned again; whether they had leave from their leaders to take the oaths, or knew ſuch proclamations were never ſtrictly executed.

Another relating to the King's guards. Novemb. 2. Kennet, p. 352.

Beſide this, the King being ſenſible, that among his foot and horſe guards, there were many Papiſts, and new converts to the Romiſh religion, declared in council, and publiſhed an order, with a promiſe of twenty pounds ſterling, to whoever ſhould make diſcovery of any officer or ſoldier, in his horſe or foot guards, who having taken the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and the late teſt, had ſince been converted to the Romiſh religion.

Not ſatisfied with theſe ſlight precautions, the commons prepared a bill to prevent the danger from ſo many Papiſts ſiting in parliament, and particularly in the houſe of lords.

Id. p. 353. Echard.

But this was only a preparative for the more eaſy prevention of the danger with which religion was threatened, from the hopes conceived by the Papiſts of ſeeing the duke of York on the throne after his brother, who neither had, nor expected to have, any legitimate iſſue. This danger cauſed ſeveral members of the commons, to form the project of a bill for excluding the duke of York from the ſucceſſion to the crown: but this was done by degrees. On the fourth of November, a debate was ſuffered to ariſe in the houſe for an addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to remove the duke

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of York from his perſon and counſels. But this debate was adjourned to the eighth, and afterwards to the twelfth of the month.

The King perceiving the intent of the commons, came to the parliament the ninth of November, and ſending for the commons, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Kennet, p. 353. Echard.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Am ſo very ſenſible of the great and extraordinary care you have already taken, and ſtill continue to ſhow, for the ſafety and preſervation of my perſon in theſe times of danger, that I could not ſatisfy myſelf without coming hither on purpoſe to give you all my moſt hearty thanks for it. Nor do I think it enough to give you my thanks only, but I hold myſelf obliged to let you ſee withal, that I do as much ſtudy your preſervation too, as I can poſſibly; and that I am as ready to join with you, in all the ways and means that may eſtabliſh a firm ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, as your own hearts can wiſh: and this not only during my time (of which I am ſure you have no fear) but in future ages, even to the end of the world. And therefore I am come to aſſure you, that whatever reaſonable bills you ſhall preſent to be paſſed into laws, to make you ſafe in the reign of any ſucceſſor (ſo as they tend not to impeach the right of ſucceſſion, nor the deſcent of the crown in the true line, and ſo as they reſtrain not my power, nor the juſt rights of any Proteſtant ſucceſſor) ſhall find from me a ready concurrence. And I deſire you withal, to think of ſome more effectual means for the conviction of Popiſh recuſants, and to expedite your counſels as faſt as you can, that the world may ſee our unanimity, and that I may have the opportunity of ſhewing you, how ready I am to do any thing that may give comfort and ſatisfaction to ſuch dutiful and loyal ſubjects."

Bedloe a ſecond witneſs in the plot. Hiſt. of the Plot. Burnet, p. 431. Echard. R. Coke.

During theſe tranſactions, one William Bedloe, who took upon him the title of captain Bedloe, becauſe he had ſerved in the Low-Countries (1), going from London to Briſtol, wrote to ſecretary Coventry from Newbury, that he had many ſecrets to diſcover, and therefore deſired that he might be arreſted on his arrival at Briſtol, and ſent to London. If I do not inſert all that has been ſaid againſt Bedloe by certain hiſtorians, it is their fault, becauſe they have given no authority for what they advanced, nor do I think myſelf obliged to copy implicitly from authors who wrote forty years after the events, and have not thought proper to allege the leaſt proof of what they aſſert. I ſhall however briefly ſay, that they ſpeak of Bedloe as of the greateſt villain that ever lived.

Bedloe was apprehended at Briſtol, according to his deſire, and brought to London the ſixth of November, when the parliament was very buſy upon the affair of the plot. A guard was immediately aſſigned him for his ſecurity, and a penſion for his ſubſiſtence, with a lodging at Whitehall. The King was preſent at his examination before the two ſecretaries of ſtate. He declared he had been bred a Proteſtant of the church of England, but within two years perſuaded by the jeſuits to turn Catholic. He ſaid, "He knew that ſir Edmundbury Godfrey "was murdered in Somerſet-Houſe," but it is pretended, he ſolemnly declared upon oath his ignorance of the plot then in queſtion. But as I ſaid, facts ſupported by no authority deſerve little credit (2). It is added, that the very next day, being examined by the houſe of lords, "He thought "fit, upon new incouragement, to be more open, "and launch out into the depths of the plot, with "a new and ſupplemental evidence." It is eaſy to perceive the tendency of ſuch inſinuations deſtitute of authority. Charles II. An' 1678. Echard.

His depoſitions.

However this be, Bedloe declared to the lords, that Walſh and le Phaire, two jeſuits concerned in the murder of Godfrey, informed him, "That "the lord Bellaſis had a commiſſion to command "forces in the North, the earl of Powis in "South-Wales, and the lord Arundel of Wardour had a commiſſion from the Pope to grant "commiſſions to whom he pleaſed: That Coleman had been a great agitator in the deſign "againſt the King." He was aſked, if he knew Oates, and he poſitively denied it; but afterwards pretended, he knew him by the name of Ambroſe.

The next day, the two houſes obtained from the King a proclamation againſt Walſh, le Phaire, Conyers, Simonds, Pritchard, and Caſtaway, but none of them could be apprehended.

His ſecond depoſition.

The twelfth of November, Bedloe was examined a ſecond time in the houſe of lords. The ſubſtance of what he ſaid was, "That the monks of Douay "firſt told him the deſign; and, after four ſacra"ments of ſecreſy, they ſent him to Harcourt a "jeſuit in Duke-ſtreet, London, who provided "for him, and ſent him to Paris, &c. That "le Phaire, Walſh, Pritchard and Lewis, told "him what lords were to govern, what men were "to be raiſed; particularly forty thouſand to be "ready in London: what ſuccors were to be ex"pected, viz. ten thouſand from Flanders, twenty "or thirty thouſand religious men and pilgrims "from St. Jago in Spain; that Hull was to be "ſurprized; and that, juſt in the critical time the "plot was to be diſcovered; that le Phaire gave "him a ſacrament of ſecreſy; and they told him, "who and who were to be killed, and the men "that were to do the work. Le Phaire ſaid further, that Conyers was my lord Bellaſis's con"feſſor, and communicated his orders; and that "they were reſolved, 'If any plotters were taken, "to diſpatch them before they could be brought "to trial, or to burn the priſon.' That le Phaire, "Pritchard, Lewis, Keins, and Walſh, and others, "had often told him, that there was not a Roman "Catholic in England of any quality or credit, "but was acquainted with this deſign of the Papiſts, and had received the ſacrament from their "father confeſſors, to be ſecret and aſſiſtant in the "carrying it on: that the part aſſigned him, was "to bring and carry orders and counſels, and all "other intelligences from one army to another, upon all occaſions, he knowing every part and "road of England and Wales."

After this depoſition, the lords having conjured Bedloe to ſpeak nothing but the truth, he did "In

(1) He had formerly been a ſervant to the lord Bellaſis, afterwards an enſign in Flanders. About Michaelmas 1674, he was ſent for over by Harcourt, recommended by the Engliſh abbeſs at Dunkirk, and ſo by degrees became acquainted with the jeſuits, and was at laſt generally imployed as an agent for them, and ſent frequently with letters into foreign parts. Hiſt. of the Plot. p. 127.——Burnet ſays, Bedloe had led a very vicious life. He had gone by many falſe names, by which he had cheated many perſons. He had gone over many parts of France, and Spain, as a man of quality. And he had made a ſhift to live on his wits, or rather by his cheats, p. 432.

(2) Burnet ſays, he declared, he had only heard that forty thouſand men were to come over from Spain, who were to meet at St. Jago's as pilgrims. But knew nothing of any fleet to bring them over, p. 452.

"the

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" the preſenſe of God, as he ſhould anſwer it at " the day of judgment, aſſure all to be true he had " depoſed."

A prolamation againſt the Papiſts. Echard, Vol. III. p. 478.

Bedloe's depoſition, which was communicated to the commons, greatly alarmed the parliament and people. Accordingly the effect of it was ſuch, that the King, to avoid being ſuſpected of having any concern in the plot, publiſhed a proclamation the twelfth of November, " Whereby all Romiſh re- " cuſants, and ſuch reputed, were injoined, under " the penalty of the laws, to repair to their own " houſes, and not remove more than five miles " from thence without licenſe." But the commons did not think this proclamation ſufficient to free them from their apprehenſions. The ſame day they preſented an addreſs to the King, praying,

The commons addreſs the King. Kennet, p. 353.

" That a ſpecial commiſſion may be iſſued forth, for " tendering the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy " to all the ſervants of his Majeſty, and his Royal " Highneſs, and to all other perſons (except her " Majeſty's Portugal ſervants) reſiding within the " palaces of Whitehall, St. James's, and Somerſet- " houſe, and all other his Majeſty's houſes; and " that there may be likewiſe ſpecial commiſſions " iſſued forth, for tendering the ſaid oaths to all " perſons reſiding within the two Serjeants-inns, " all the inns of court, and inns of chancery."

His anſwer.

The King returned an anſwer in writing, that he granted their requeſt, with exception of the menial ſervants of the Queen and ducheſs, who were ſo very inconſiderable in their number, and within the articles of marriage. He added, " That he could " not but take notice, that in a late addreſs from " the houſe of peers, the menial ſervants of the " Queen and ducheſs were excepted, and that he " hoped the commons would proceed with the ſame " moderation as to that particular." This anſwer was not ſatisfactory, and therefore they inſiſted in a ſecond addreſs, " That the perſons excepted in " his Majeſty's meſſage, might be comprehended " in the ſame commiſſion, for which they gave " ſome reaſons." But before his Majeſty had anſwered this addreſs, there happened an accident which put the commons much out of humor.

The commons ſend ſecretary Williamſon to the Tower. Ibid.

The eighteenth of November, they were informed, that ſeveral commiſſions had been granted to Popiſh recuſants, and warrants alſo that they ſhould be muſtered, notwithſtanding they had not taken the oaths, nor ſubſcribed the declaration according to the act of parliament; and that they were counter-ſigned by ſir Joſeph Williamſon, ſecretary of ſtate. Upon this information, Williamſon * was immediately ſent to the Tower. This highly offended the King, who the next day ſent for the commons to attend him in the Banqueting-houſe in Whitehall, where in a ſpeech he told them plainly, " That tho' they had commited his ſer- " vant, without acquainting him; yet he intended " to deal more freely with them, and acquaint " them with his intention to releaſe his ſecretary;" which accordingly he did that very day. Upon this the commons preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty,

* As a member of the houſe of commons.

Id. p. 354.

with the reaſons of their proceedings in the commitment of the ſecretary. They ſaid, " 1. That " diverſe commiſſions were granted to Popiſh offi- " cers, and counter-ſigned by the ſaid ſir Joſeph " Williamſon, and delivered out in October laſt, " ſince the meeting of this houſe, and the diſco- " very of the preſent Popiſh conſpiracy.

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2. Diverſe warrants have alſo been produced be- " fore us of diſpenſations, contrary to law, for " Popiſh officers to continue their commands, and " to be paſſed in muſter, notwithſtanding they " have not taken the oaths of allegiance and ſupre- " macy, and received the bleſſed ſacrament of the " lord's-ſupper, according to the late act of parlia- " ment in that behalf; all which ſaid warrants were " likewiſe counter-ſigned by the ſaid Williamſon; " which being complained of to us, and con- " feſſed by the ſaid ſir Joſeph Williamſon, We " your Majeſty's moſt dutiful ſubjects, having the " immediate conſideration before us, of the im- " minent danger of your Majeſty's perſon, the " ſafety whereof is above all things moſt dear to " us, and likewiſe the dangers from Popiſh plots " ſo nearly threatening the peace and ſafety of your " Majeſty's government, and the Proteſtant re- " ligion, we humbly are of opinion, we could not " diſcharge our duty to your Majeſty, and the " whole kingdom, without commiting the ſaid ſir " Joſeph Williamſon; and therefore moſt humbly " deſire, 'That he may not be diſchaged by your " Majeſty.' And we do further moſt humbly deſire " your Majeſty, to recall all commiſſions granted " to all Papiſts within the kingdom of England " and Ireland, or any other of your Majeſty's do- " minions and territories."

To this the King anſwered, " That he had " releaſed mr. ſecretary Williamſon before their " addreſs came, and promiſed to recall all his com- " miſſions whatſoever given to Papiſts, or reputed " Papiſts."

If the King had not ſome ſecret deſign, it muſt be confeſſed, he ill-timed theſe commiſſions while the Popiſh plot made ſo much a noiſe, and the parliament was imployed in examining into it. But this is a myſtery which is not yet cleared. However, the affair was carried no farther.

A proclamation againſt Romiſh prieſts or Jeſuits. Kennet. Echard.

About this time, the bill to diſable Papiſts from ſiting in parliament, paſſed the commons, and afterwards the lords, tho' with more difficulty (1). The King likewiſe publiſhed a proclamation, offering a reward " to any one who ſhould diſcover " or apprehend a Romiſh prieſt or jeſuit."

The King demands money. Nov. 25. Kennet, p. 354.

Mean time, the King finding the commons delayed to grant him money, came to the parliament, and, after a repetition of ſome things mentioned in his firſt ſpeech, he deſired them, either to grant him money to continue his forces in Flanders, or to diſband them. Whereupon, the commons, who ſaw with uneaſineſs ſo formidable an army on foot in ſuch a juncture, reſolved, nemine contradicente, " That all the forces raiſed ſince the twenty-ninth " of September 1677, ſhould be diſbanded:"

The commons reſolve to diſband the forces. Echard, Vol. III. p. 481.

(1) Kennet ſays, The commons were ſo zealous for this bill, that they voted it to be a bill, " Upon which the ſafety of " King and kingdom, and the Proteſtant religion, did intirely depend." And when it was like to ſtick in the houſe of lords, the commons deſired them, by a meſſage, to proceed ſpeedily on it; elſe, they would think themſelves unable to prepare any effectual remedies, to prevent the evils that hung over them, p. 357. Echard on the other hand, ſays, the bill paſſed the houſe of lords with ſome little amendments, and a particular clauſe in favor of the duke of York. But the greateſt ſtruggle about it was chiefly in the houſe of commons when it was ſent back, tho' it was paſſed there alſo with the ſaid alterations. In the debate, ſir Jonathan Trelawny and mr. Aſh being violently heated, and opprobrious words paſſing between them, ſir Jonathan gave Aſh a box on the ear, which being returned by Aſh with a ſlap on the face, they both began to draw. Whereupon ſir Jonathan was ſent to the Tower, and Aſh publicly reprimanded by the ſpeaker. Vol. III. p. 480. This bill conſiſted of a teſt againſt Popery, in which tranſubſtantiation was not only renounced, but the worſhip of the Virgin Mary and the Saints, as practiſed in the church of Rome, was declared to be idolatrous. Gunning, biſhop of Ely, maintained the church of Rome was not idolatrous. He was anſwered by Barlow, biſhop of Lincoln. However, Gunning took the teſt. The duke ſpoke on the clauſe for excepting himſelf, with tears in his eyes, proteſting, that whatever his religion might be, it ſhould only be a private thing between God and his own ſoul, and no effect of it ſhould ever appear in the government. Burnet, p. 435.

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To which purpoſe they preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty.

At the ſame time, the commons had before them a bill, "For raiſing a third part of the militia to "be in conſtant arms for a time," which with amendments was ſent up to the lords, and there paſſed.

The thirtieth of November the King gave the Royal aſſent to the bill, "For diſabling Papiſts "from ſiting in either houſe of parliament," and ſhowed himſelf very willing to recal his forces from Flanders. But the militia bill he abſolutely rejected, alleging, "That it was to put the militia out of "his power, which thing he would not do, no "not for one hour; but if the commons would "aſſiſt him with money for that purpoſe, he would "take care to raiſe ſuch a part of the militia as "ſhould ſecure the peace of the government and "his own perſon." But the parliament thought not fit to accept his propoſal.

The militia bill rejected.

As the King was convinced of the unanimity of the two houſes concerning the reality of the plot, he had thought proper to feign a no leſs fear of the danger the church and ſtate were in. And this is what father Orleans can hardly forgive in him, ſaying, "his diſſimulation was made uſe of to the "commiting of much injuſtice." But the King found himſelf in no condition to oppoſe the torrent, which run ſo violently againſt the Papiſts. As he knew himſelf ſuſpected of being concerned in the plot, his whole policy was ingaged to remove that jealouſy, the which he ſaw both houſes were too apt to believe. So, without unſeaſonably affecting an indiſcreet zeal for a religion which he publicly diſowned, he calmly left the Papiſts expoſed to the reſentment of the parliament, for fear of his own ruin by an oppoſite conduct. For this reaſon it was, that he ſuffered the conſpirators to be brought to their trials (1).

Coleman's trial. State Trials, Vol. II. p. 656.

Edward Coleman, ſecretary to the duke of York was firſt tried, the twenty-ſeventh of November, at the King's-bench bar, before the lord chief-juſtice Scroggs. The witneſſes produced againſt him were Oates and Bedloe. The firſt depoſed,

The ſubſtance of Oates's evidence againſt Coleman.

"1. That in November 1677, being brought "acquainted with the priſoner by father John "Keins, then the deponent's confeſſor, who "lodged at mr. Coleman's houſe, he carried ſome "letters from him to St. Omers, which he ſaw "opened when he came there. In them were trea-"ſonable expreſſions againſt the King, calling him "tyrant, &c. And a letter in Latin incloſed to "father la Chaiſe, to whom Oates carried it from "St. Omers to Paris, in which there were thanks "returned for the ten thouſand pounds by him re-"mited to England, for the propagation of the "Catholic religion, and promiſing it ſhould be "imployed for no other purpoſe, but that for "which it was ſent, viz. To cut off the King "of England, as appeared by the letter of la Chaiſe, "to which all this was an anſwer, and which "Oates ſaw and read.

"2. That Coleman was concerned in the deſign "of killing the King; for when, at the jeſuits "great conſult, on the twenty-fourth of April, "which afterwards divided into ſeveral clubs, it "was reſolved that Pickering and Grove ſhould "take off his Majeſty by ſhooting, or other means; "this reſolve was communicated to Coleman, in "Oates's hearing, at Wild-houſe, who did approve "thereof, and ſaid, 'It is well contrived.'

"3. That in Auguſt 1678, Coleman was pre-"ſent at a conſult with the Jeſuits and Benedictine "monks at the Savoy, for raiſing a rebellion in "Ireland, for which forty thouſand black bills "as arms were provided; and was very forward to "have dr. Fogarthy ſent over to poiſon the duke "of Ormond: and at another time, being in Fen-"wick's chamber, in Drury-lane, Coleman ſaid "to him, in Oates's hearing, 'That he had found "a way to tranſmit two hundred thouſand pounds "to carry on the rebellion in Ireland.'

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"4. That in the month of Auguſt, Coleman "knew of the four Iriſh ruffians ſent to kill the "King at Windſor; and in Oates's hearing, aſked "father Harcourt at Wild-houſe, 'What care was "taken for thoſe gentlemen that went laſt night to "Windſor?' Who replied, 'That eighty pounds "was ordered them,' which he ſaw there on the "table, moſt of it in guineas; and that Coleman "was ſo zealous that he gave a guinea to the meſ-"ſenger who was to carry the money to expedite "the buſineſs.

"5. That in July 1678, Coleman was privy "to the inſtructions brought by Aſhley, rector of "St. Omers, from father Whitebread, to impower "the conſultors to propoſe ten thouſands pounds to "ſir George Wakeman to poiſon the King, pro-"vided Pickering and Grove failed to do the work: "that Coleman had read and copied thoſe inſtruc-"tions, and tranſmited them to ſeveral others of "the conſpirators, who were gathering contribu-"tions about the kingdom, who would be more "incouraged to give largely, both becauſe they "were aſſured the buſineſs would ſoon be diſpatched, "and that they might ſee they had aſſiſtance from "beyond ſeas; and that Coleman was ſo far from "diſappointing this treaſon, that he ſaid, 'It was "too little, and thought it neceſſary to give five "thouſand pounds more, to make the buſineſs "ſure.'

"6. That in April 1678, Oates ſaw Coleman's "patent or commiſſion to be ſecretary of ſtate, "from Paulus de Oliva, general of the ſociety of "Jeſuits, by virtue of a brief from the Pope, "and he knew the hand perfectly well; and in "Fenwick's chamber he ſaw Coleman open it, and "heard him ſay, 'It was a good exchange.' Laſt "of all, Oates being aſked how many came over "in April to the grand conſult, and how many "prieſts and jeſuits had been in England at one "time? He ſaid, He could not exactly remember "their numbers, but, to his knowledge, there had "been in England, at the ſame time, a hundred and "ſixty ſecular prieſts, eighty jeſuits, and by name "in the catalogue above three hundred.

Bedloe depoſed,

Bedloe's evidence.

"1. That he knew not of any commiſſion to "mr. Coleman; but that ſir Henry Tichbourn had "told him, That he brought a commiſſion for him "to be principal ſecretary of ſtate, when he brought "over the reſt of the commiſſions for the lords and "others, from the principal jeſuits at Rome, by "order of the Pope.

"2. That in April 1675, he carried over a large "packet of letters from Coleman to father la "Chaiſe, about carrying on the plot, and brought "back an anſwer: and on May the twenty-fourth "or twenty-fifth, 1677, he received another packet "of Coleman's, to carry to Paris to the Engliſh "monks; and that he had received money to carry "on the deſign to ſubvert the government of Eng-"land, 'to free England from damnation and ig-"norance, and to free all Catholics from the hard "tyranny and oppreſſion of heretics.'

(1) On the twenty firſt of November, William Stayley, a goldſmith, was tried for treaſonable words againſt the King, and executed November the twenty-ſixth. State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 652.

"3. That

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" 3. That upon Bedloe's return with anſwers to " the laſt letters, which were delivered to Coleman " by Harcourt, he heard the priſoner, at his " houſe behind Weſtminſter-Abbey, at the foot of " the ſtair-caſe, ſay, 'If he had a hundred lives, " and a ſea of blood to carry on the cauſe, he " would ſpend it all to eſtabliſh the church of Rome " in England; and if there was an hundred here- " tical Kings to be depoſed, he would ſee them all " deſtroyed.' Upon this ſaying, mr. Coleman " aſked him this queſtion, 'Did I ever ſee you in " my life?' Yes, ſaid the other, in the ſtone gal- " lery in Somerſet-houſe, when you came from a " conſult, where were great perſons, which I am " not to name here; that would make the bottom " of your plot tremble: you ſaw me then."

The third evidence againſt Coleman was his own letters, found in his lodgings when he was arreſted. But it muſt be obſerved that only thoſe of the years 1674 and 1675, were found in a drawer under the table. The general opinion was, that he had received notice of his being accuſed by Oates in the council, and ſo had time to burn or convey away thoſe of the two laſt years, with the book in which they were entered. Nevertheleſs, the following extracts are taken from ſome of his letters writ with his own hand, and allowed to be authentic.

Extract of a letter of mr. Coleman to father la Chaiſe June, 29, 1674.

Coleman's letters produced againſt him. Treby's Collect. p. 1.

" I Am commanded to tell you, that his Royal " Highneſs, my maſter, is very ſenſible of the " friendſhip of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, which " he will indeavor to cultivate very carefully, " and to give him all poſſible aſſurances of it, to " take away all jealouſies that his enemies would " raiſe to the contrary. That his Royal Highneſs " has done nothing in any manner whatſoever, nor " in any place, againſt the intereſt of his moſt Chriſ- " tian Majeſty, but hath rendered him all good " offices he hath been capable of. That as for re- " calling the parliament, and touching my lord " Arlington, his Highneſs is altogether of opinion " of his Majeſty, that neither one or other is uſeful, " but quite contrary, very dangerous as well for " England as France; and that his moſt Chriſtian " Majeſty is in great danger of loſing the neu- " trality of England, at the next ſeſſion (if the " parliament meet) as he loſt its alliance by the " peace of Holland at laſt; becauſe the lower- " houſe, and their friends (as the furious Proteſtants, " and the male-contents in the houſe of lords) have " a deſign to leſſen his Royal Highneſs, and root " out the Catholic religion; and they think they " cannot make uſe of any other fitter means to at- " tain their ends, than to raiſe the Dutch, and to " perplex his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as much as " lies in their power. That his Highneſs doubts " not, but it is abſolutely neceſſary for the intereſt " of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and his Royal " Highneſs, to uſe all indeavors to hinder the " meeting of the parliament, by perſuading his " Britannic Majeſty, that his greatneſs, his honor, " and his quiet, are no leſs concerned therein than " theirs: ſo that if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would " write freely his thoughts thereupon to his Bri- " tannic Majeſty, to forewarn him of the danger " he apprehends from thence, and would withal " think fit to make him the ſame generous offers " of his purſe, to perſuade him to diſſolve the " preſent parliament, as he hath done to his High- " neſs for the election of another, perhaps he " would ſucceed therein by the aſſiſtance we would " give him here. As for another parliament, it " would be eaſy enough to get ſuch a one as we " wiſh for; the conſtitutions of our parliaments " being of ſuch a nature, that as there is nothing " to be hoped for by the King from an old one, " ſo there is nothing to be feared from a new one; " becauſe ſuch a one, at their firſt meeting, muſt " needs aſſiſt his Majeſty, ſo far as to inable him " to acknowlege his obligations both to his moſt " Chriſtian Majeſty and to all the world."——— CHARLES II. AN' 1678.

In the year 1674, there was a prorogation of the parliament, which laſted fourteen months: it appears in this letter, that the intereſts of the King of France and the Popiſh religion were the true cauſe of this long prorogation.

Extract from a letter of mr. Coleman to father la Chaiſe, September, 25, 1674.

Id. p. 5.

" FOR the firſt point of your letter, his Royal " Highneſs has commanded me to tell you, " that he will govern himſelf according to your ad- " vice, and treat of nothing concerning the Catho- " lic religion with monſieur Rouvigny, nor with " any other perſon than yourſelf; but that he will " communicate to you all things he ſhall find ne- " ceſſary for the good of the Catholics, and ſhall " be very well pleaſed to receive advices from you " thereupon. For the reſt, his Royal Highneſs " does a little wonder, that he hears nothing from " monſieur Rouvigny touching the ſecond point " of your letter, ſince you have written ſo poſi- " tively that he had order to confirm, and procure " execution of what his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty " propoſed to him the ſecond of June laſt, by your " mediation.——His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty made " a very generous offer to his Royal Highneſs of " the aſſiſtance of his purſe, to inable him to de- " fend them both from the evils that threatened " them, and by good luck his Royal Highneſs has " labored with ſo much diligence and ſucceſs, that " the dangers which they apprehended are a little " put off: but one thing more is neceſſary for the " perfect ſecuring their affairs; and without making " one ſtep more, all that he has already done will " ſignify nothing. For that the aſſiſtance of his " moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is no leſs neceſſary at " preſent than heretofore, to ſubdue intirely thoſe, " who being exaſperated againſt his moſt Chriſtian " Majeſty, as much as againſt his Royal Highneſs, " and are angry with his Royal Highneſs, only " becauſe he is ſo unalterably addicted to the in- " tereſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, will exerciſe " their malice and their rage with more brutality " than ever, if they find occaſion for it hereafter. " If you can therefore, by your credit, obtain " from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the accompliſh- " ment of the offer of his purſe, for raiſing the re- " putation of his Royal Highneſs in the opinion of " his Britannic Majeſty, and for puting him in con- " dition to reſiſt the ſharpeſt bateries of the adver- " ſaries of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and Royal " Highneſs, to wit, the poſſibility they pretend to " get money from the parliament, and the impoſ- " ſibility of having any elſewhere, by which they " often keep the mind of his Britannic Majeſty in " ſuſpenſe, and wherein they place the hope they " have to conquer him at laſt: there will nothing " more remain, to be feared by his moſt Chriſtian " Majeſty, or his Royal Highneſs, but his Royal " Highneſs will be able to diſſolve the parliament " with eaſe, and afterwards, in recompenſe of the " ſaid aſſiſtance, will perform on his part, all that " his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall aſk of him, and " will proceed with ſincerity, upon the word of a " Prince (that no man can reproach him for viola- " tion of) for the intereſt of his moſt Chriſtian " Majeſty."

Extract

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Extract from a letter of mr. Coleman to the Pope's Nuncio at Bruſſels, September 4, 1674.

Treby's Collect. p. 9.

" ——THAT the duke's principal deſign
" is, to uſe the Pope's interpoſition,
" and by that means to eſtabliſh himſelf in the
" poſſeſſion of his eſtate, thro' the aſſiſtance of
" France and Spain, and to turn all their cares for
" the eaſe of the Pope's friends, and particularly
" for the Catholics of the church, againſt their
" enemies; and aſſures him he will find, that the
" Pope never had an occaſion ſo favorable as at
" this hour, to inrich thoſe of his family, and to
" augment the number of his friends; and if he
" lets it ſlip, he never will find the like: ſo that
" if ever they propoſe to make uſe of the treaſure
" of the church, it is now they ought to do it;
" for they can demand nothing that the duke will
" not be capable to do for the Pope's friends:-----
" On the other ſide, without their aid, he will run
" great hazard of being loſt, both himſelf and his
" aſſociates."

Extract of a letter from mr. Coleman to the ſame Nuncio, written October 23, 1674.

Id. p. 12.

" YOU agree with me, that money is the only
" means of bringing the King into the duke's
" intereſt, and of diſingaging him from the parlia-
" ment; and you muſt alſo agree with me, that
" nothing can more promote the intereſts of the
" Catholic party, which is the principal object of
" the duke's care and affection, and of the hatred
" of the parliament, and which muſt hope, or fear,
" according as the one or the other of them in-
" creaſe in power.——Nothing in the world is
" more certain, than that the King has a good in-
" clination towards the duke, and the Catholics,
" and would join himſelf willingly and inſeparably
" to their intereſts, if he did not apprehend ſome
" danger from ſuch a union; which, however, he
" would not have cauſe to fear, if he found their
" intereſt, and conſequently their power, ſo far
" advanced above that of their adverſaries, that
" they ſhould neither have the power nor the bold-
" neſs to conteſt any thing with them; which the
" King could ſee in a very little time, if we could
" perſuade him to do two or three things:——And
" I am certain money could not fail of perſuading
" him to it; for there is nothing it cannot make
" him do, tho' it were as much to his prejudice, as
" this we indeavor to perſuade him to will be to
" his advantage."——

In another letter, Coleman poſitively ſaid, " That
" it was by the credit of the Catholics, that the
" parliament was prorogued till the thirteenth day
" of April 1675.

Extract from a letter of mr. Coleman to father la Chaiſe.

" ——OUR prevailing in theſe things
" will give the greateſt blow to the
" Proteſtant religion here, that ever it received
" ſince its birth."

In another.

Id. p. 17.

" WE have here a mighty work upon our
" hands, no leſs than the converſion of
" of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the ſub-
" duing of a peſtilent hereſy, which has domi-
" neered over great part of this northern world a
" long time; there never was ſuch hopes of
" ſucceſs ſince the death of Queen Mary, as now
" in our days."

In the ſame letter.

" ——THE oppoſition we are ſure to meet
" with is alſo like to be great; ſo that
" it imports us to get all the aid and aſſiſtance we CHARLES II.
" can, for the harveſt is great, and the laborers AN' 1678.
" but few."——

After the reading of theſe letters, Coleman alleged in his defenſe.

State-Trials.

" 1. That Oates, who now pretended ſuch ac-
" quaintance with him, declared before the King
" and council, 'That he never ſaw him before, or
" did not know him."

To which the other anſwered, " That it being
" candle-light, and his ſight weak, and Coleman
" altered in habit and wig, he did at firſt ſay, he
" could not ſwear that was the man, or that he
" had ever ſeen him before; but as ſoon as he
" heard him ſpeak, he knew him well, and could
" have then ſworn it, had it been demanded.

" 2. That had the things now alleged by Oates
" been true, he would have charged the ſame be-
" fore the council: but then he only charged him
" with ſending of one letter, and ſuch ſlender mat-
" ters that the council was ready to let him go at
" large; and therefore all the reſt muſt be invented
" ſince."

To this Oates replied, " That he was then ſo
" weak and weary, he could not well tell what he
" had ſaid; beſide, his deſign was then to lay no
" more to his charge, than might ſerve for in-
" formation, &c.

" 3. Whereas Oates charged him with conſent-
" ing to Wakeman's poiſoning of the King, and
" that it was conſulted by him in Auguſt, and,
" as he remembered, about the twenty-firſt day,
" Coleman alleged, that he was then in Warwick-
" ſhire, and one of his men and he were there all
" Auguſt, as he thought, but was not ſure of it;
" and after conviction, he offered a book that
" would ſhew he was out of town from the eighteenth
" to the thirty-firſt of Auguſt;" but this was no evidence in itſelf, and offered too late, ſo it did not contradict Oates, who was not poſitive to a day, but only to the month. As to what was ſworn by Bedloe, he made no other anſwer than a ſolemn aſſeveration, " That he never ſaw the man in his life." But as to his papers, which he did not deny, he alleged, " There was no treaſon in them, tho' very
" extravagant expreſſions; and that it would plainly
" appear from them, that his deſign was ſo far
" from killing the King, that it was only 'to make
" the King and duke as great as could be."

1. It is neceſſary to obſerve upon this laſt anſwer, that according to Oates's depoſition, the reſolution to kill the King was not taken till the twenty-fourth of April 1678, and theſe letters were of the years 1674 and 1675; conſequently they could not mention the deſign of killing the King, neither were they produced in proof of that article.

2. Oates had accuſed Coleman of being concerned in the plot, before his letters were found. How then, if he did not know Coleman, could he gueſs ſo right, as to lay things to his charge, which were found in letters under his own hand?

3. Coleman confeſſed, that his intention was to make the King and duke of York as great as was poſſible. This was a neceſſary conſequence of the projected change of religion. For it was not poſſible to ſubvert religion, without a ſubverſion of the government; nor to render the King abſolute, without a deſign of altering religion, ſince the King and duke were both Catholics. One of theſe articles proved, neceſſarily proves the other.

In the concluſion of his defenſe, he uſed theſe words; " Poſitively I ſay, and upon my ſalvation, " I never ſaw theſe witneſſes, Oates but once, and " Bedloe never before." Coleman condemned,

The jurors, who were all gentlemen of the county of Middleſex, againſt whom Coleman had made no exceptions, and executed without any confeſſion of his crime.

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exceptions, withdrawing, in a little time brought him in guilty of high treaſon. The next day he received ſentenſe of death, and the third of December was hanged and quartered according to cuſtom. He perſiſted to the laſt moment in denying the crimes for which he was condemned. But as his letters ſeemed at leaſt to prove a deſign of extirpating the Proteſtant religion, he declared his ſole intention was to procure liberty of conſcience for the Papiſts. Probably it will not be univerſally agreed, that this is the natural ſenſe of the expreſſions in his letters. It is true, a report was ſpread in London, that he was promiſed a pardon, in caſe he made no confeſſion; but ſuch rumors are not much to be credited (1).

A proclamation to incourage farther diſcoveries. Echard, Vol. III. p. 487.

The ſame day Coleman was tried, the King, at the requeſt of the lords, publiſhed a proclamation, promiſing, "That if any perſon or perſons ſhall, "before the twenty-fifth day of December next, "make any farther diſcovery of the late horrid "deſign againſt his Majeſty's perſon and govern-"ment, he or they——ſhall not only receive from "his Majeſty for every ſuch diſcovery, the reward "of two hundred pounds; but if he or they were "a principal or principals in the ſaid deſign, they "ſhall have his Majeſty's gracious pardon."

Oates and Bedloe accuſe the Queen. Burnet, p. 435. Echard, Vol. III. p. 487.

Whether thro' a deſire of having this reward, or whether they believed to have a good foundation, Oates and Bedloe had the boldneſs, before the King and council, to accuſe the Queen herſelf, of conſenting to the death of the King, and of being in the deſign to poiſon him by means of Wakeman. But, beſide that, their depoſitions contained only certain ſigns which were far from proofs, the King ſtoped this affair by his authority: yet he could not prevent an addreſs from the commons, to deſire the immediate removal of the Queen and her family from the court at Whitehall. His Majeſty was ſo offended at Oates's inſolence, that he ordered a ſtricter guard upon him than ever. But the day after, the commons addreſſed him, "That Oates "be freed from his reſtraint, attended by his own "ſervants, and that a competent allowance be ap-"pointed for his maintenance." At the ſame time they reſolved, that an addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that all Papiſts, and ſuſpected Papiſts, within the ſeveral counties of England, may be ſecured.

The commons, the ſixth of December, impeached the five lords in the Tower, at the bar of the houſe of peers. But they had not time to exhibit the articles againſt them, and the affair was reſumed by another houſe.

State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 692. Burnet, p. 443.

December the ſeventeenth, five of thoſe arreſted for the plot, were arraigned at the Old Bailey, viz. William Ireland and Thomas Pickering, both prieſts; John Grove a lay-brother; Thomas Whitebread provincial of the jeſuits, and John Fenwick a jeſuit alſo. But in the courſe of the evidence, there not appearing ſufficient proof againſt the two laſt, they were reſerved for another time. So the three firſt only were tried that day. The ſum of Oates's teſtimony againſt them was:

The trials of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove. Ibid.

"1. That at the grand conſults of April the "twenty-fourth, at the White-horſe in the Strand, "whereof Ireland was one; it was reſolved, that "Pickering and Grove, as having been formerly "ingaged, ſhould go on in their deſign and at-"tempt to aſſaſſinate the King; and that Grove "being a layman, ſhould have fifteen hundred "pounds for his reward; and Pickering being a "prieſt, thirty thouſand maſſes, which at twelve-"pence a maſs, amounted to that ſum.

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"2. That this reſolve was the ſame day drawn "up in writing by one Mico, who was ſecretary "to the ſociety, and companion to provincial "Whitebread, at the ſaid Whitebread's chamber, "who having ſigned it, it was carried by the de-"ponent Oates, as being a meſſenger to the con-"ſult, to be ſigned by the reſt of the conſpirators; "and that Ireland in his own chamber did ſign it "in his preſenſe.

"3. That Pickering and Grove conſented to "ſuch reſolve, accepted the terms, and alſo ſigned "it the ſame day in Whitebread's chamber, at "mrs. Sander's at Wild-houſe, where, in a little "chapel, they, and about forty or fifty of the conſul-"ters heard maſs, and received the ſacrament, ad-"miniſtered by one Barton, a jeſuit, and thereupon "took an oath of ſecreſy upon a maſs-book, which "Mico held, while Whitebread pronounced the "words.

4. That in purſuance of this reſolve, the depo-"nent did ſeveral times ſee Pickering and Grove "walk in the Park together, with ſcrewed piſtols, "longer than ordinary piſtols, and ſhorter than ſome "cabines: that they had ſilver bullets champed, "to render the wound incurable, and that he ſaw "Grove's bullets in May, and Pickering's in "Auguſt. Moreover,

"5. That before the conſult, in the month of "March, Pickering had a fair opportunity to ſhoot "the King; but the flint of his piſtol happened "to be looſe, and he durſt not venture to give fire; "and becauſe by their negligence this opportunity "was miſſed, Pickering underwent penance, and had "twenty or thirty ſtrokes of diſcipline, and Grove "was chiden for his careleſſneſs, as the deponent "had ſeen in Whitebread's letters.

"6. That Grove did go about with one Smith, "to gather Peter-pence, either to carry on the de-"ſign, or to ſend to Rome: that he ſaw the book "wherein it was entered, and heard the ſaid Grove "ſay, "He had been gathering it."

Bedloe's depoſition.

Bedloe the ſecond witneſs ſwore,

"1. That he was imployed for the ſpace of five "years as a meſſenger, by the conſpirators, for "carrying their letters to the confederates beyond "ſeas, and bringing others back, all, or moſt of "them relating to the plot; for he had a way to "open and read them, by which he fully informed "himſelf of thoſe matters: and for the nature of "the plot; he heard ſome of the conſpirators ſay, "'That they would not leave any member of any "heretic in England, that ſhould ſurvive to tell "hereafter, That there ever was any ſuch religion "in England as the Proteſtant.' And to confirm "his intimacy with them, he ſwore the manner of "his firſt coming to be imployed by them; by "means of a lady abbeſs of the Engliſh nunnery of "Dunkirk, who having kept him ſix weeks in her "convent, recommended him to ſir John Warner, "as a proper inſtrument, who afterwards ſent "him to father Harcourt to be inſtructed." And as a further confirmation, he brought his brother James Bedloe, who ſwore he knew nothing of the

(1) He declared before the commitee, that he acted by order in all he had done. And he believed the King knew of his imployment, particularly that at Bruſſels. But tho' he ſeemed willing to be queſtioned about the King, the commitee did not think fit to do it, nor to report what he ſaid concerning it: only in general they reported that, he ſpoke of another matter, about which they did not think fit to interrogate him, nor to mention it. Littleton, one of the commitee, gave dr. Burnet an account of all that paſſed that very night. And he found his behavior made great impreſſions on them all: it was given out, to make the duke more odious, that Coleman was kept up from making confeſſion, by the hopes the duke ſent of a pardon at Tyburn. But he could not be ſo ignorant, as not to know, that at that time it was not in the King's power to pardon him, while the tide ran ſo high. Burnet, p. 437.

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plot, but did teſtify, "That he had heard the priſoners often named as being of his brother's acquaintance; and that he had, on his brother's behalf, received ſeveral ſums of money from prieſts and jeſuits, as fifty or ſixty pounds at a time.

"2. That about the latter end of Auguſt, this year, at mr. Harcourt's chamber, he met the priſoners, Ireland, Pickering, and Grove, with ſome others, where he heard them diſcourſe, That ſince the four Iriſh ruffians had miſſed killing the King at Windſor, Pickering and Grove ſhould go on with their deſign, and that one Conyers, a Benedictine monk, was to be joined with them; and that they ſhould indeavor to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty in his morning walks at Newmarket; that they were very eager upon it; and mr. Grove, more forward than the reſt, ſaid, 'Since it could not be done clandeſtinely, it ſhould be attempted openly; and that thoſe who ſhould fall in the attempt, had the glory to die in a good cauſe; but if they were diſcovered, the diſcovery could never come to that height, but their party would be ſtrong enough to bring it to paſs.

"3. He ſwore that Harcourt told him, Grove was to have fifteen hundred pounds, and Pickering as many maſſes, at twelve pence a maſs, as came to the like ſum.

"4. That at the ſame time, when the diſcourſe about killing the King was held at Harcourt's chamber, there was likewiſe a deſign concerted among them of killing ſeveral noble perſons, and the particular parts aſſigned to every one; as Knight, to kill the earl of Shaftſbury; Pritchard, the duke of Buckingham; Oneil, the earl of Oſſory; Obrian, the duke of Ormond, &c.

The defenſe made by the priſoners conſiſted in:

The priſoner's defenſe. State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 715. p. 701.

"1. A peremptory denial of the whole. Grove particularly ſaid, 'As I have a ſoul to ſave, I know nothing of this matter charged upon me.' Pickering affirmed, 'that he never ſhot off a piſtol in his life.' And Whitebread, who was there during the trial, declared 'before Almighty God, that Oates had not ſpoken three words of truth.'

p. 706.

"2. A particular denial of their knowledge of, or acquaintance with the witneſſes. Ireland denied that he ever ſaw Bedloe, before that time in the court; and challenged him to produce one witneſs that he had ever ſpoken to him. Pickering affirmed, that he never ſaw Oates before; and offered to ſwear that he never was in Bedloe's company. And Grove affirmed, that he had ſcarce any acquaintance with Oates. Whereupon Oates gave him a remarkable token, viz. that in December laſt, when he was with him, he owned, that 'he and three Iriſhmen had fired Southwark; and that they had a thouſand pounds given them for it; whereof he had four hundred pounds, and the others two hundred pounds a piece.'

p. 713. p. 702, 703.

p. 711, &c.

"3. Ireland, againſt Bedloe's evidence, affirmed, he was not in London the whole month of Auguſt, and part of September; and offered to prove it by twenty witneſſes, that he was in Staffordſhire and Cheſhire all that time: and urged Bedloe to name the place, and the company wherever they met together. But not only Bedloe ſwore the contrary, but likewiſe Oates himſelf; but what ſeemed more important, one Sarah Pain, formerly a ſervant to Grove, ſwore that ſhe ſaw mr. Ireland at a ſcrivener's door in Fetter-Lane, about the twelfth or thirteenth of Auguſt.

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"4. Ireland, as well as Whitebread, objected againſt the grand conſult of April the twenty-fourth, that hundreds could prove that Oates was at St. Omers all the months of April and May; and offered to produce a certificate from thence, under the ſeal of the college." But ſuch certificate was not allowed as evidence by the law of England. Laſtly, they indeavored to blaſt the reputation of doctor Oates, and prove him perjured, ſince he had ſaid before the council, that he knew no more than what he had already depoſed, and yet had ſince added other teſtimonies. As I have ſpoken of this objection, I ſhall not repeat here what has been ſaid. p. 703.

They are condemned,

In fine, all three were found guilty, and ſentenſed to be drawn, hanged and quartered. But the execution of Ireland and Grove, was defered till the twenty-fourth of January following, and that of Pickering to the ninth of May. They all three perſiſted to their laſt breath, in proteſting they were as innocent of the crimes for which they were condemned, as the child unborn. As all the Papiſts that ſuffered for this conſpiracy made uſe of the ſame manner of expreſſion, to declare their innocence, it was believed, there was ſome equivocation in theſe words, tho' it could not be ſaid wherein it conſiſted.

and executed.

A reflection upon this trial.

If it be conſidered, that the evidence of Oates and Bedloe upon oath was poſitive, and that the priſoners alleged in their defenſe only bare negations, the jury will be eaſily juſtified in their verdict. For why ſhould they credit the aſſeverations and oaths of the accuſed, more than the depoſitions of the two witneſſes? And yet it was afterwards, and ſtill is, pretended by many, that the condemned perſons were innocent. 1. Becauſe they aſſerted their innocence with their dying breath. 2. Becauſe it is taken for granted that Oates and Bedloe were great villains. 3. But the ſtrongeſt proof, according to thoſe who are of this opinion is, that it was on the trial of theſe three men that Oates, in the reign of King James the Second, was convicted of perjury upon the depoſitions of twenty-two witneſſes from St. Omers, who ſwore that Oates was at St. Omers, in the jeſuits college, the whole months of April and May, without ever ſtiring from thence. Moreover, above forty witneſſes from the counties of Stafford and Cheſter, depoſed upon oath, that father Ireland was in thoſe counties all Auguſt, and part of September. State-Trials, Vol. III.

To aſſiſt the reader's judgment on this affair, I think it neceſſary to make ſome obſervations, and the rather, as the diſpute upon this ſubject is not yet terminated.

1. The defenſe by the Alibi (1) is ſubject to great inconveniences, ſince, there being two contradictory evidences, it leaves the judges doubtful what to reſolve. Generally if they come to a determination, it is not becauſe there is reaſon to believe one of the evidences more than the other, but becauſe equity requires that they incline rather to clemency than rigor. In the preſent trial, there were no depoſitions in favor of the Alibi, but only a bare allegation of the priſoners, and an offer of proof by abſent witneſſes. So even ſuppoſing the innocence of the three accuſed perſons, the jury could not but find them guilty, unleſs they pretered the bare aſſeveration of the priſoners to the oaths of the witneſſes, which is never practiſed. But in the trial of Oates, the proof of the Alibi was made uſe of to convict him of perjury, and ſentenſe him for it to a very

(1) The proof of the Alibi, is, that whereby the priſoner indeavors to prove his being in a different place from that where the crime for which he ſtands indicted, was, or is ſuppoſed to be commited.

rigorous

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rigorous punishment. It belongs to the lawyers to decide, whether this be exactly regular.

2. If the circumstances of the times of these two trials are considered, it will be found, there is as much reason to believe, in respect of one as of the other, that prejudice and passion bore a great sway. When the three jesuits were condemned, the whole kingdom was alarmed with the noise of a plot, formed by that society against the King, the government, and the Protestant religion. The two houses of parliament had supported the reality of this plot, by the unanimity of their votes, and the King himself supposed it in all his proclamations. It should not therefore seem strange, that the judges and jury were prejudiced, and thereby inclined blindly to believe what Oates and Bedloe deposed. But on the contrary, when Oates was convicted of perjury, the face of things was intirely changed. A very zealous Catholic King was on the throne, and it was now dangerous to affirm, there was a Popish plot in 1678. The Papists had now the same superiority over the Protestants as the Protestants had in 1678 over the Catholics, and the judges were intirely devoted to the King. It suffices to say in a word, that Jefferies was his judge, who forgot nothing which he thought capable to prejudice the jury against the prisoner. In short, Oates was condemned upon the evidence of twenty-two witnesses from St. Omers, all scholars or dependents of the jesuits, and upon that of forty other witnesses from the counties of Chester and Stafford, among whom it is only said there were several Protestants. Moreover, the question was not only, whether Ireland was in those counties during the months of August and September, but whether he had never stired from thence in that time (1). Now it is difficult to conceive that such a negative proposition can be proved by forty witnesses.

Having thus represented what is urged on both sides, I leave the reader to his own judgment. The affair of the conspiracy must now be interrupted for some time, in order to proceed to another which made a great noise at this time. But it is necessary to look back a little on the situation of the English court.

The earl of Danby's affair. Temple. Burnet, p. 439, &c. Kennet, p. 355. Echard. Danby's Let.

The earl of Danby lord treasurer, was considered as the King's prime minister. He had a great genius and a solid judgment, and as he disapproved of the principles of the cabal, indeavored to disingage the King from the measures he had been led into by their counsels. This drew on him the enmity of the duke of York, and all the French faction, with whom joined the lord Russel, and other male-contents in the house of commons; and among the peers, the earl of Essex and Shaftsbury, while the duke of Monmouth, and the duchess of Portsmouth did their utmost to lessen his credit with the King. In short, a strong party was formed against him, who were bent to ruin him at all events. These adversaries were also joined by another, who had been his most intimate friend. This was mr. Montague, embassador in France, who aspiring to the office of secretary of state, took it heinously that the treasurer had ingaged to bring in sir William Temple. Mr. Montague was the treasurer's most dangerous enemy, because he had private letters in his hands from that minister, and tho' he could not divulge them without great injury to the King, this gave him no uneasiness, because, resolving to throw himself into the party against the court, which was most prevalent in the parliament, he knew he should be protected, even against the King himself. To this purpose, he got himself elected member for Northampton, and suddenly leaving Paris, without the King's consent or knowledge, came to London, and took his seat in the house. His Majesty, offended at so strange a proceeding, and being also informed by the Swedish embassador of the design of the treasurer's enemies, and their intention to make use of his letters, sent the nineteenth of December the following message to the house of commons, ——— "That upon information that mr. Mon- Kennet, "tague, a member of that house, and late embas- p. 355. "sador in France, had held several conferences with Burnet, "the Pope's nuncio there, without any directions p. 440. "or instructions from his Majesty; his Majesty to R. Coke. "the end that he might know the truth of that "matter, had given orders for the seizing of mr. "Montague's papers (2)." The chiefs of the opposite party to the King made great objections to this message, pretending it ought to be first known, whether the information had been given upon oath, and what was the nature of mr. Montague's crime, before they could consent to the seizure of his papers. Upon this mr. Montague acquainted the house, "That he had in his custody some papers, which, Kennet, "as he conceived, might tend very much to the p. 355. "safety of the King's person, and the preservation of "the government." A commitee was immediately appointed to bring the writings to the house, which being accordingly done, and mr. Montague ordered to select such of them as he thought for the service of the house, and dispose of the rest as he pleased, he produced two letters out of many others, both subscribed, Danby, and sent to him at Paris, on the Danby's Let. negociation of the money which his Majesty expected from the King of France, at the bottom of one of which were these words, "This letter is "writ by my order, C. R. (3). These letters discovering to the house, from whence had proceeded the King's delays with regard to the war against France, they immediately resolved, "That there Dec. 21. "was sufficient matter of impeachment against Kennet, "Thomas earl of Danby, lord treasurer of Eng- p. 355. "land," and within two days, by the help of Burnet. mr. Montague, the articles of impeachment were drawn up, and sent to the house of lords. But this impeachment was rather against the King himself, than the earl of Danby, who had only acted by his express orders. For tho' in the impeachment were inserted several articles which only concerned the earl, it was not in those that the strength of the impeachment consisted, but in those relating to the negociation with France, concerning the King's

(1) A woman swore she saw Ireland in London, about the middle of August. Burnet, p. 443.

(2) Burnet says, the earl of Danby having broke with Montague, was apprehensive Montague might accuse him, so resolved to prevent him. Jenkins, then at Nimeguen, writ over, according to a direction sent him, as was believed, that he understood Montague had been in a secret correspondence with the Pope's nuncio at Paris (Montague, it seems, had made use of him, and given him money, which he loved, for such secrets as he could draw from him.) Upon Jenkins's letter, the King sent the above message to the commons. This was a device of the lord Danby's, to find his own letters and destroy them, and then to let the prosecution drop. But Montague had put a box, in which the letters were, in sure hands out of the way. While the debate about the message was in hand, the box was brought to him, which he opened, and took out two of the lord Danby's letters, that contained instructions to him to treat with the King of France for three hundred thousand pounds a year, for three years, if a peace succeeded; since it would not be convenient for the King to meet a parliament in all that time, and he was charged to mention no part of this to the secretary of state. These last words made very much for secretary Coventry, since now it appeared, that he was not trusted with these ill practises, p. 440, 442.

(3) The first was dated January 17, 1677-8, and the second March 25, 1678.

pension,

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penſion, on pretenſe that the lord treaſurer had acted without order, tho' the contrary was not doubted (1). But the deſign was to oblige the earl, for his own ſafety, to plead the King's orders for what he had done. This extremely perplexed him, for he could not juſtify himſelf, without accuſing the King, and he could not accuſe the King, without intirely forfeiting his favor: eſpecially as the King had earneſtly deſired him not to divulge his ſecrets, offering him letters of pardon to ſcreen him from the parliament. He therefore reſolved to conceal the King's private orders on this affair, but however could not help ſending two of Montague's letters to the commons, which diſcovered him to be the principal author of this negociation. Theſe letters alſo ſhewed, that the court of France conſidered the lord treaſurer as their great enemy, whoſe ruin was to be effected, in order to have the King of England at their diſpoſal. But the commons were ſo inraged againſt the earl, that they would not

Dec. 23.

ſuffer theſe letters to be read. On the contrary when the articles of his impeachment were read in the houſe of lords, he in a ſpeech frequently inſinuated, that he could make ſuch a defenſe, as would admit of no reply (2). Every one knew what he meaned, but it is certain, he was not ſo much aimed at as the King himſelf, and that it was intended by this means, more than by the plot itſelf, to ſhew the public, that the King and the duke of York, were the real authors of all the evils of the kingdom, and in a word, the chiefs of the conſpiracy to ſubvert the government and Proteſtant religion.

The King prorogues the parliament. Kennet, P. 356.

His Majeſty readily perceived the deſign of the earl of Danby's impeachment, and therefore, before the lords could reſolve, whether the earl of Danby ſhould be ſent to the Tower, came to the parliament the thirtieth of December, and prorogued it to the fourth of February, after paſſing one ſingle act againſt the Papiſts.

The earl of Sunderland made ſecretary of ſtate. Febr. 9. Temple's Mem. Kennet, p. 356.

As ſoon as the parliament was prorogued, ſir Joſeph Williamſon ſecretary of ſtate, reſigned the ſeals into the hands of the King, who appointed the earl of Sunderland * in his room, tho' he had given hopes of that poſt to ſir William Temple, then embaſſador in Holland, and had called him over for that purpoſe. But Temple at his arrival found the poſt filled, the earl of Sunderland having paid Williamſon ſix thouſand pounds, and five hundred guineas, which Temple was not able or willing to give. Shortly after, the King diſmiſſed the earl of Danby, and put the treaſury into commiſſion (3).

* Robert Spencer.

The earl of Danby reſigns. Id. p. 357.

The King was extremely imbaraſſed, after the prorogation, not only by reaſon of the earl of Danby's impeachment, which properly fell upon him, but alſo by freſh diſcoveries, both of the plot and Godfrey's murder. The twenty-firſt of December, Miles Prance, a goldſmith of London, a Papiſt, who had ſometimes worked for the Queen in her chapel of Somerſet-houſe, was taken up by a warrant from the council, upon the information of one Wren, a lodger in his houſe, that he was concerned in Godfrey's murder. Tho' it was very poſſible for Godfrey to have been murdered by perſons not in the plot, yet it was generally believed, the murder was commited by Papiſts, and that if the authors

Prance taken up for the murder of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey. Burnet, p. 445.

could be diſcovered, it would be a great means to unravel the conſpiracy. Wherefore the two houſes had appointed a commitee, of which the earl of Shaftſbury was chairman, to inquire after the authors of this murder.

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In this affair, as in that of the plot, there are, among the hiſtorians, two parties directly oppoſite, one aſſerting this murder was commited by Papiſts, and the other maintaining the contrary. The latter, in ſupport of their opinion, relate numberleſs facts, with ſo many circumſtances, that they would be more than capable of proving what they advance, could their faithfulneſs and alſo the certainty of the facts be intirely relied on. But it is very aſtoniſhing to ſee the truth of their opinion continually ſuppoſed, without any other proof than a great many unwarranted facts. This may paſs when we write only for one of the parties, ever ready to believe what is advanced by an hiſtorian of their own ſide; but as I write for foreigners, to whom the actors and the authors are equally unknown, I am not to ſuppoſe true, facts of which I ſee no proof. I do not hereby pretend to inſinuate to my readers, that all theſe facts are falſe; but only that I have not ſufficient reaſons to believe them true, and conſequently ought not to form any ſuppoſition from them.

Leſtrange. Echard, Vol. III. P. 504.

As for Prance the goldſmith, it is readily ſuppoſed, he was maliciouſly accuſed by Wren, becauſe Prance had forced him to pay fourteen months rent, due to him for lodging, and that having at firſt with execrations denied the murder, he was at laſt compelled by threats and ill treatment to confeſs that he knew the whole matter, and to give a particular account of all the circumſtances. If this ſuppoſition was well proved, or at leaſt ſupported by the teſtimony of any cotemporary perſon of reputation known in London, there would be no occaſion to ſeek for other proofs. But, as I have ſaid, theſe facts are declared as undeniable, without any warrant. For my part, who ſeek not to impoſe on my readers, I ſhall only inform them of the facts univerſally acknowleged, adding alſo ſuch as are doubtful and advanced without proof, that the reader may know what he is to adhere to.

Dec. 21.

Prance being arreſted, as I ſaid, was carried to Weſtminſter to be examined before a commitee of the lords.

Ibid.

Here a deciſive fact is begun to be advanced without any authors, viz. that Prance was firſt carried into a little room, where ſeveral perſons went to ſee him, and among others Bedloe, who knowing him not, privately inquired which was the priſoner? When he was informed, he withdrew to an eating-houſe in the neighborhood, where Prance was brought ſome time after, till he ſhould be called to his examination. As ſoon as Bedloe, who was purpoſely planted in the ſame room, had caſt his eyes on him, he cried out, "This is one of the rogues "that I ſaw with a dark lanthorn about the body "of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey; but he was then "in a perriwig."

If any care had been taken to prove that Bedloe had aſked which was Prance, and that he purpoſely waited for him in the eating houſe, where he knew he was to be brought, there would be no need

(1) The ſubſtance of the articles againſt him, was, 1. That he had treated with foreign Princes and embaſſadors, without the privity of the ſecretaries of ſtate. 2. Indeavored to ſubvert the ancient form of government; and deſigned to raiſe and keep up a ſtanding army. 3 Attempted to hinder the meeting of parliaments. 4. Concealed and ſuppreſſed the evidence for the Popiſh plot. 5. Had waſted the King's treaſure, and iſſued out great ſums of money for unneceſſary penſions, and ſecret ſervices, to the value of two hundred and thirty one thouſand, ſix hundred and two pounds in two years. 6. Procured for himſelf conſiderable gifts and grants. Kennet, p. 355.

(2) He affirmed, That he had never done any thing of great moment, for which he had not always had his Majeſty's command.

(3) The commiſſioners were, Arthur Capel earl of Eſſex, Lawrence Hyde, the earl of Clarendon's brother, ſir John Ernle, ſir Edward Deering, and Sidney Godolphin. Kennet, p. 357.——This year died Henry Oldenburg, ſecretary to the Royal Society, firſt publiſher of the philoſophical tranſactions; and Andrew Marvel.

of

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of other proof, and the caſe would be decided. But this fact intirely reſts upon the authority of the hiſtorian who relates it (1).

He denies all. Dec. 22.

Prance being carried to the commitee of lords, Bedloe directly charged him with the murder of Godfrey, and Wren with being out of the houſe while the body was miſſing. Prance denied all with imprecations on himſelf. But as the bare denial of a priſoner ought not to carry it againſt the teſtimony of two witneſſes, the lords thought fit to ſend him to Newgate, where he was put in the condemned hole, loaded with heavy Irons, and, ſays my author, left all night to conſider what farther anſwers to make, and whether he would venture his ſoul or body.

Is ſent to Newgate.

Leſtrange. Echard, Vol. III. p. 505.

Herein evidently appears the prejudice of the hiſtorian, who cannot have known, that the intention of the lords was to leave Prance to conſider, whether he would venture his ſoul or his body. He could ſay this but by the virtue of his ſyſtem, which ſuppoſes, that the commitee was reſolved, at any rate, to make Prance an evidence to the murder of Godfrey.

But here is ſtill another more important fact, advanced with the ſame aſſurance, without any authority.

Ibid.

Next morning early, a man entered the condemned hole, where Prance was; and laying down a paper upon a form juſt by him, retired; ſoon after came in another with a candle, who ſet it down and left him. By that light he read the paper, wherein he found brief hints of what he was to ſwear when he ſhould be called to his ſecond examination, with a menace of being hanged if he did not confeſs what was expected of him. Prance, ſays the author, preſently imagined this to be a contrivance of the lord Shaftſbury.

Ibid.

A fact of this nature (which paſſed in a dungeon where there was but one man, and where two others, at ſeveral times, only go in and out, without ſaying a word, one to bring a paper, the other a candle) can only be known by Prance's confeſſion. Now it is certain, Prance never owned any ſuch thing; if he had, it would aſſuredly have been ſaid, how and upon what occaſion. But if this be ſo, how can it be ſaid that Prance imagined this to be a contrivance of the earl of Shaftſbury? Is it a thing ſo common, to know what paſſes in a man's private thoughts, that it is not worth the while to ſay how this knowlege was attained?

I proceed to other facts which are not conteſted. Prance after he had continued all night in priſon, and part of the next day, told captain Richardſon, maſter of Newgate, that he had matters of great moment to communicate to the earl of Shaftſbury, chairman of the commitee. He was, according to his deſire, carried the ſame night to the earl, who, in preſenſe of three other perſons, examined him

Id. p. 506.

five or ſix hours. It is pretended that the earl abuſed and menaced him, telling him, "That "there were great ones concerned, and he muſt "diſcover them too; for the little ones ſhould "not ſerve his turn, bidding him, not ſpare the "King himſelf." It does not however appear that theſe menaces made great impreſſions upon Prance, ſince his depoſition reached only perſons of low condition. However, he diſcovered part of what he ſaid he knew, with a promiſe of a more ample confeſſion if he might be aſſured of his pardon. He ſigned his depoſition, and was remanded to priſon. Upon this the lords obtained from his Majeſty a full and general pardon for him. Then a commitee of the lords was ſent to Newgate to acquaint him with it, and to examine him. The commons likewiſe ordered him to be examined by a commitee of ſecreſy. Theſe two examinations being made with great ſtrictneſs, Prance was carried the next day to Whitehall, to be examined before the King and council.

Prance confeſſes. Dec. 22. Ibid

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In this examination he accuſed five perſons, as actually preſent at the murder; viz. Girald and Kelley, two Iriſh prieſts; Robert Green, cuſhionman to the Queen's chapel; Laurence Hill ſervant to dr. Godden, treaſurer of the chapel; and Henry Berry porter of Somerſet-houſe. Being aſked, "Why he gave ſo different a relation to the com-"mitee of lords from what he now ſo freely con-"feſſed?" He anſwered, "That he was not "then ſure of his pardon." Being farther aſked, "Why he came not in upon the proclamation and "reward thereof?" He ſaid, "He was afraid "to truſt it." As he had been very particular concerning the circumſtances of the time, place, and manner of the murder, the King, to be aſſured of the truth, appointed the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Oſſory, and the vice chamberlain, to go with Prance to Somerſet-houſe, and make him ſhew them the places where the things were acted.

Ibid.

Leſtrange. Echard, Vol. III. p. 506.

The author ſo often mentioned, adds what deſerves to be remembered. Prance, ſays he, was very punctual in naming and ſhewing ſome of the rooms, but ſo uncertain and dubious in ſome particulars, eſpecially about the chief room, that when the duke of Monmouth privately aſked the earl of Oſſory, "what he thought on it?" The earl anſwered, "It was all a cheat (2)." I purpoſely take notice of this particular, becauſe it is directly contrary to the report made to the council, as will preſently appear.

In the afternoon, Prance, in the preſenſe of the council, was confronted with Green, Berry, and Hill, who denied every ſyllable of the charge, and Prance ſtood as ſtoutly to every point of the accuſation. After which he was ſent back to Newgate for four or five days.

Id. p. 507.

The ſame author ſays here, that his irons were ſometimes off and ſometimes on, according as he was in a diſcovering temper. That is to ſay, the jailor, by the ſecret orders of the commitee, treated him well or ill, as he was diſpoſed to retract or adhere to his depoſition. There is likewiſe added another particular, that he was often viſited by members of both houſes, who ſometimes ſeverely threatened him when his evidence did not agree with Bedloe's, and particularly becauſe he would not own the periwig which Bedloe had firſt mentioned. But theſe particulars tending to ſhew that Prance was forced to depoſe what he knew not, are ſupported by no author, no evidence, no authority. There are no other vouchers but the hiſtorians who report theſe particulars, without condeſcending to inform their readers from whence they received them.

He retracts before the King. Dec. 29. Burnet, p. 446. Echard, Vol. III. p. 507.

After Prance had remained four or five days in Newgate, he was once more carried to be examined before the King in council. But he requeſted that he might firſt wait upon his Majeſty himſelf. Upon this Richardſon had orders to carry him to

(1) Our author means Echard. Burnet ſays, Prance being taken up on Wren's information, was carried to Weſtminſter. Bedloe accidentally paſſed by, not knowing any thing concerning him: and at firſt ſight, he charged ſomebody to ſeize on him; for he was one of thoſe, whom he ſaw about Godfrey's body, p. 445.

(2) In an account of the plot printed in 1680, it is ſaid, That Prance gave ſuch an exact account of the very ſpot upon which the murder was commited; where he himſelf, where Berry ſtood; as alſo the door, ſtairs, dark entry, &c. mentioned in his narrative, that his Majeſty's commiſſioners returned very well ſatisfied with the truth of his relation and confeſſion, p. 68.

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mr. Chiffinch's lodgings, where the King came. The King taking Prance into a room by himſelf, after ſome time, opened the door, and bad Chiffinch and Richardſon take notice of what Prance ſaid; who being called to ſpeak out plainly, he declared, "That the men he had ſworn againſt were inno-"cent, and that all he had ſworn againſt them was "falſe," which he affirmed, ſays one, with great paſſion and aſſeveration. Upon which the King aſked him, "Upon your ſalvation is it ſo?" He replied, "Upon my ſalvation the whole accu-"ſation is falſe." He was then carried before the council, where he declared to the ſame effect, and was aſked, "What inducement he had to his for-"mer ſtory———who put him upon it?" He ſays, "No body prompted him; he only knew "the men he ſwore againſt; he never ſaw Bedloe "before he was taken up; he knew nothing of "the plot nor of the murder;———and could not "reſt for the ſtory he had told. But Wren owed "him money, and threatened him becauſe he "dunned him for it, and ſo haired him into it." He was then remanded to priſon.

After ſo ſerious an aſſeveration, no man of ſenſe can imagine that Catholics or Courtiers had gained Prance to retract his firſt depoſition. For this would be only to allege a bare ſuſpicion without proof. But to have it believed, that the commitee, and ſeveral members of both houſes, had threatened Prance in caſe his depoſition did not agree with Bedloe's, there is no need of proof, and the bare relation of an hiſtorian who wrote above thirty years after, is more than ſufficient for that.

Unhappily Prance retracted once more. But this ſignifies nothing, becauſe he denied what he had lately ſaid before the King and council, by reaſon of the exceſſive torments he was to made ſuffer, till he had promiſed to depoſe whatever was deſired. Let us hear what a famous hiſtorian (1) ſays on this occaſion (2).

Leſtrange. Echard, Vol. III. p. 507.

"Prance, excepting juſt after his return, ſtood "firm and immoveable in his denial, againſt all "terrors and temptations for about twelve days, "from the twenty-ninth of December to the "eleventh of this preſent January. During which "ſpace of time, his uſage was barbarous, and more "like the Romiſh inquiſition, than the methods "of a free nation. For nine days at leaſt his caſe "was deplorable; and what with the deadly cold "and naſtineſs of the place; the diſtreſs of his con-"dition; the agony of his thoughts, under the "horror of bringing new guilt upon his conſcience; "and the galling weight of his irons, he lay in ſuch "torments both of body and mind, that he ſpent "his hours in roaring and groaning, frequently "and pitifully crying out, 'Not guilty, not guilty! "No murder, no murder!' He uſed the ſame out-"cries, or clamors, at leaſt, to that effect, ſo "often, that the impoſers had no way to cover "the ſcandal, and the inhumanity of their treat-"ment, but either by imputing the anguiſh of a "wounded conſcience to the ravings of a diſtem-"pered brain; or by converting the marks of a "true repentance into the ſtory of a counterfeit "madneſs. But when things were at the worſt, "Prance was now and then, as the good humor "prevailed, eaſed of his irons, comforted with "good words and promiſes, and no artifice "omited to bring him to a proper underſtanding. "The keepers were then under the ſole direction of "a certain ambulatory commitee, when and in what "degree to ſqueeze, to pinch, to eaſe, to ſhackle, "to comfort or to torment their priſoners; and "moſt things were done according to the particular "order of that cabal. It would be too tedious to "recite all the ſufferings of this unfortunate man, "who being unable to hold out as Corral had done, "and finding his life in the ſame danger with thoſe "he had accuſed, he at length ſubmited to the "temptation, and upon a new aſſurance of pardon, "he promiſed to ſtay by his former evidence. Im-"mediately upon this, on the eleventh of January, "his irons were knocked off, and he was removed "from hard boards, and a diſmal cold room, to "a fine lodging and a curious bed, with variety "of the beſt meats and drinks. Here having pen, "ink and paper, and the aſſiſtance of his friend "one mr. Boyce, he finiſhed his ſtory, and pre-"pared for being a complete evidence againſt "Green, Berry and Hill, who where ſhortly after "to come upon their trials."

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As the author of this paſſage is not content with inſinuating, that Prance was compelled by torments to ſupport his ſecond depoſition, but openly undertakes to prove it by facts which are intirely deciſive, it is abſolutely neceſſary for the reader's inſtruction to make ſome obſervations on this ſubject.

1. When in a controverted matter, an hiſtorian reports facts to which he was not an eye witneſs, and which however are capable of deciding for or againſt, the reader has a right to expect from him ſome teſtimony, or ſome author; in a word to be informed, how he came to the knowlege of ſuch facts. But here we ſee neither teſtimony nor author, in the text or margin.

2. From this very relation it appears, that all the ill uſage of Prance conſiſted in keeping him nine days in irons. If this is like a Romiſh inquiſition, it may be affirmed, England has a conſtant inquiſition, ſince priſoners commited for murder, or other great crimes are never treated otherwiſe. Beſide, it will be ſeen hereafter, that Prance denied his ever receiving any ill uſage in priſon, or his wanting any thing. As to the torments of his mind, and his roarings and groanings, ſuppoſing them to be true, only Prance could know the motives, and it muſt be ſurpriſing to ſee an author talk of what paſſed in Prance's mind, as if he had been his confident.

3. He ought to have explained what was this ambulatory commitee, from whom the keepers received directions; for it is well known, that during the prorogation of the parliament (and all this paſſed at the time of the prorogation) the keeper of Newgate could obey no orders but thoſe of the King, or at leaſt of the courts of juſtice.

4. Laſtly, in proof of a fact ſo remarkable and deciſive, we have only the bare aſſeveration of the author, whoſe exaggeration is kept up with expreſſions the ſtrongeſt and moſt capable to give the readers terrible ideas of the torments indured by Prance, which, however, amount to a nine days impriſonment in irons. Beſide, the author poſitively ſays, that Prance was gained without telling us

(1) Echard; who has borrowed the following paragraph, as well as ſeveral others, from Roger Leſtrange, without naming his author.

(2) Burnet ſays, after Prance had declared before the King and council, that his firſt confeſſion was all a fiction, he was carried back to priſon, but immediately ſent the keeper of Newgate to the King, to tell him, that all he had ſworn was true, but that the horror and confuſion he was in, put him on denying it. Yet he went off from this again, and denied every thing. Dr. Lloyd was upon this ſent to talk with him. At firſt he denied every thing to him. But dr. Lloyd told me, that he was almoſt dead thro' the diſorder of his mind, and with cold in his body. But after that dr. Lloyd had made a fire, and cauſed him to be put in a bed, and began to diſcourſe the matter with him, he returned to his confeſſion; which he did in ſuch a manner, that dr. Lloyd ſaid to me, it was not poſſible for him to doubt of his ſincerity in it, p. 446.

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by whom, or how, or giving the leaſt warrant for what he advances. I do not ſay that all this is falſe, for I know nothing of it. But as it is not forbid to rely on the faithfulneſs of the author, or of thoſe from whom he has received his informations; ſo neither is it forbid to doubt of it, and to believe that he might be prejudiced by party ſtories, which are implicitly ſwallowed or rejected, according as they are advantageous or prejudicial to the ſide eſpouſed by thoſe who hear them.

Bedloe had given but a very imperfect information of the murder of Godfrey. He ſaid indeed, it was commited in Somerſet-houſe, and that he had ſeen the dead body. But as to other circumſtances, he only ſpoke of them as received from perſons who had abſented themſelves; whereas Prance delivered in writing a more regular and full account, which contained preciſely his depoſition before the King in council, and was to the following effect:

The ſubſtance of Prance's depoſition concerning ſir Edmundbury Godfrey's murder. Jan 2. Prance's Examin. Burnet, p. 445. Echard, Vol. III. p. 508.

"Girald, Kelly, Green, Berry, Hill and Prance, "with the approbation of ſome others, after ſe- "veral conſultations (1), had reſolved to murder "ſir Edmundbury Godfrey, as being a bitter per- "ſecutor of the Catholics, an active diſcoverer of "their deſigns, and a particular enemy to the "Queen's ſervants. Thus determined, on Satur- "day the twelfth of October, Hill went to ſir "Edmundbury Godfrey's houſe in the morning, "and talked with him in private (2). Then "taking his leave, he went to Girald and Green, "and with them ſtaid hard by, waiting for the "gentleman's coming out, which he did about ten "or eleven, all alone as uſually. They dogged "him to ſeveral places, till about ſix or ſeven in "the evening, when Green went to Prance's houſe, "and told him, They had ſet him near St. Cle- "ment's; and that Prance muſt make all haſte to "the Water-gate at Somerſet-houſe, where he "ſhould find Kelly and Berry, which he did; and "they three waited there till about nine o'clock: "when of a ſudden Hill came running and ſaid, "'He was coming, and they muſt pretend a quar- "rel, and he would fetch him in.' While Kelly "and Berry were in a ſeeming ſcuffle, Hill, at the "gate, ſtoped ſir Edmundbury Godfrey, and in- "treated him for God's ſake to come in, for two "men were a 'quarrelling, and he was afraid "there would be bloodſhed.' The gentleman be- "ing a magiſtrate, did at laſt conſent, and Hill "entered the gate firſt, to ſhew him the perſons; "and after them followed Girald and Green; "while Prance watched the Water-gate, and Berry "was to ſecure the paſſage by the chapel. But "firſt, he and Kelly, the pretended combatants, "ſtood about the end of the rail by the Queen's "ſtables; and as ſir Edmundbury went down to- "wards them, Green ſuddenly threw a twiſted "handkerchief about his neck, and immediately "all four pulled him down and ſtrangled him, "ſo as he could make no noiſe; after which "they threw him behind the rail, and gave "him ſome violent punches on the breaſt with "their knees, and Green with all his force rung "his neck almoſt round. Prance and Berry being "come to them, when he was quite dead, they all "helped to carry the body into dr. Godden's lodg- "ings, where Hill lived, and where they brought "him up five or ſix ſteps, into a little room on the "right-hand, and there left him that night, and Sun- "day all day and night. On Monday night, Hill "and ſome others removed him into a room in "the upper court, where Prance was ſhewn the "body by the light of a dark-lanthorn, and where "Bedloe ſwore he ſaw Prance. On Tueſday "Night, they carried him to another room in the "long entry over-againſt dr. Godden's lodgings; "and on Wedneſday night they removed it to "the little room where it was firſt laid. Having "kept the body above four days and nights, "Girald and Kelly adviſed to have it carried into "the fields, and leave him run thro' with his own "ſword, that he might be ſuppoſed to have mur- "dered himſelf; and therefore his money, rings, &c. "were all to be left with him. This being agreed, "they reſolved to carry him out that night; and "accordingly Hill procured a ſedan, or chair, into "which they put the body about twelve o'clock. "Berry the Porter, having invited the centinels in- "to his houſe, opened the gate, and Prance and "Girald carried out the ſedan (3). Thus ſome- "times they two, and ſometimes Kelly and Green, "carried it up towards Soho-fields, hard by the "Grecians church; and there Hill attending with "a horſe, they ſet the body up before him, and "left the ſedan in ſome unfiniſhed builings in that "place; whereupon Girald ſaid, "I wiſh we had "a hundred ſuch rogues as ſecure as this." Then "Prance being a houſe-keeper, returned home; "and the other four went on, one leading the "horſe, Hill holding the body (4), and the other "two walking by. They carried him to a place "called Primroſe-hill, about two miles out of "town, where they left him in a ditch, with his "own ſword run thro' his body by Girald himſelf, "in the exact poſture of one that had murdered "himſelf."

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This depoſition, which was immediately pub- liſhed, met with univerſal credit from the people. But afterwards, when the Popiſh party prevailed, ſeveral authors indeavored to find many miſtakes and inconſiſtencies in it, and even maintained, that it was not pened by Prance, but by ſome abler hand. As at firſt it was dangerous to ſay, that Prance was a falſe witneſs, it was afterwards no leſs dangerous to maintain, he had ſpoke the truth. Hence ſome adhere to this depoſition, and others to the writings afterwards publiſhed againſt it, to demonſtrate its falſhood.

Proclamation againſt the Papiſts. Echard, Vol. III. p. 509.

During theſe tranſactions, the King was by no means at eaſe. The plot (of which he was ſuſpected to be the author, at leaſt in what concerned the government and religion) and the impeachment againſt the earl of Danby, which intirely reflected upon him, could not but greatly perplex him. To divert a little theſe ſuſpicions, he publiſhed, the be- gining of January, ſeveral proclamations againſt the Papiſts, who, immediately after the prorogation of the parliament, were returned to London and Weſtminſter. By another proclamation, he recalled all his ſubjects from the foreign ſeminaries; but theſe were remedies little capable of curing the peoples fears and jealouſies.

Jan. 3. Kennet, p. 356.

Jeſuits taken up on the information of Dugdale. Echard, Vol. III. p. 509. Burnet.

About this time, a college of Jeiuits at Lower-Come in Herefordſhire was diſcovered. More-

(1) Prance named an alehouſe where they uſed to meet, and the people thereof did confirm this of their meeting there. Burnet, p. 445.

(2) He went to ſee whether Godfrey was gone out, and ſpoke to his maid; who, upon Hill's being taken, went to New- gate, and in the crowd of priſoners diſtinguiſhed him, ſaying, He was the perſon that aſked for her maſter that morning. Ibid. ——— They had watched ſir Edmundbury for ſeveral weeks, before they could find an opportunity of puting their villanous deſign in execution. MSS.

(3) One of the centinels ſwore he ſaw a ſedan carried in; but none ſaw it carried out. Burnet, p. 446.

(4) They had agreed to ſay, in caſe they ſhould meet any body, that it was a drunken man they were carrying in that manner. MSS.

over,

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over, a freſh witneſs appeared, one Stephen Dugdale, who pretended to make new diſcoveries in the plot, and accuſed five jeſuits, and one prieſt (1). This obliged the King to publiſh a new proclamation againſt Evers, Gawen, Vavaſor alias Gifford, Leviſon, jeſuits, and Broadſtreet a prieſt, with a promiſe of a hundred pounds to any that ſhould apprehend Evers, and fifty pounds each for the reſt (2).

The King diſſolves the parliament. Kennet, p. 356. Burnet.

Mean time, as the meeting of the parliament approached, the King perceiving, that in the preſent diſpoſition of the commons, he ſhould receive no advantage from them, but rather new mortifications, on the twenty-fourth of January diſſolved this parliament by proclamation (3), promiſing withal, to iſſue out writs for the calling of a new parliament the ſixth of March following. Thus ended the Long Parliament, which had continued almoſt eighteen years, and for twelve years been ſo favorable to his Majeſty. Never parliament had been ſo liberal to any King, or carried the prerogative higher. If Charles II had not purſued methods ſo contrary to the intereſts of the kingdom, he would never have loſt the affection of this parliament, which ſtudied only to pleaſe him, and give him the moſt effectual proofs of their loyalty. But when, in proceſs of time, they diſcovered, that the King had ill deſigns againſt the government, and the eſtabliſhed religion, which he had ſufficiently ſhewn by his two wars againſt Holland, and his intimate union with France, they began to conſider him as an enemy to the nation, whoſe deſigns and meaſures were broken. The letters, produced by mr. Montague in the parliament, fully convinced the moſt incredulous, that the King was a penſioner of France, and ſacrificed to that crown the intereſt of England. It is therefore no wonder, that the parliament credited the diſcovery of a plot, which was ſo natural a conſequence of the King's deſigns, now intirely believed. Indeed, the firſt article of this plot, concerning the killing of the King, might be doubtful and uncertain; wherefore the parliament willingly left it to the deciſion of the courts of juſtice. But the two laſt, relating to render the King abſolute, and ſubverting the eſtabliſhed religion, needed no other proofs than thoſe his Majeſty had given. Beſide, the duke of York being a declared Papiſt, and having great influence in the King's counſels, it was not difficult to conceive, that he being ſuch a zealot for his religion, would loſe any opportunity to promote it: and this his ſecretary's letter plainly demonſtrated. Indeed, this parliament was compoſed chiefly of rigid Epiſcopalians, who perhaps cannot be vindicated in their perſecution of the Preſbyterians. But however, they were not willing to ſacrifice the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the nation, to their paſſion againſt Preſbyterianiſm. From thence flowed the quarrels between the King and the parliament; the mortifications ſo frequently given him, and his diſſolution of it at laſt, tho' he had in it ſo many creatures, purchaſed either with ready money or penſions. At firſt, this trade was ſecretly carried on, but after Clifford's advancement to the treaſury, it was practiſed ſo openly, that every man's name and price were publicly known. Notwithſtanding all this, when once the conduct of the King and court was conſidered, it was not poſſible for his Majeſty to obtain a majority in the houſe of commons, becauſe thoſe who were ready to ſacrifice the nation's money to the King, would not ſacrifice to him their liberties and religion. There was another cauſe alſo which ſtoped the King in his career, viz. that as ſoon as the people were diſſatisfied with the court, vacancies in the parliament were filled with men of quite contrary principles to the King and duke of York, ſo that, in time, the parliament became very different from what it was at the begining. It is not therefore ſtrange, that the King ſhould deſire to be rid of a parliament, from which he could expect no farther benefit: but he flattered himſelf in vain, with having another more favorable, as hereafter will appear.

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Calls another. A reflection upon this parliament.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 511.

Elections for a new parliament. Id. p. 512.

On the twenty-fifth of January, the King iſſued out writs for the new election, which put the whole nation into a ferment. It happened to the King, on this occaſion, as it had done to his father. The people being diſcontented with the court, and full of fears and jealouſies; affected to chuſe for repreſentatives thoſe moſt averſe to Popery and arbitrary government. And as the high-church-men had been for ſeveral years a little too ſtrongly attached to the King; and had, in the laſt parliament, paſſed acts to raiſe the Royal prerogative higher than ever, the people in general were not for truſting their intereſts in ſuch hands. On the contrary, the Preſbyterians, tho' long oppreſſed, were ſtill numerous in the corporations, ſo that by the ſuperiority of their votes, they commonly carried the elections in favor of their own party, or at leaſt of men, who had only outwardly conformed to the church of England. In ſhort, when the returns were made, it appeared, that moſt of the repreſentatives were men very oppoſite to the court's principles and deſigns. The King, to prevent theſe impreſſions, affected an extraordinary ſeverity againſt the Papiſts, and by proclamation, on complaint of the neglects of the proſecution of recuſants, ordered the chancellor to put out of commiſſion all juſtices of peace, who were remiſs in their duty. But this artifice was too common to be capable of perſuading the people, that the King was truly zealous for the Proteſtant religion.

Id. p. 513.

Trial of the murderers of Godfrey. State-trials, Vol. III. p. 756.

While all were ingaged in the new elections, three of the five accuſed of Godfrey's murder, viz. Green, Berry and Hill, were tried at the King's-bench bar, on the tenth of February, before the lord chief-juſtice Scroggs.

Burnet. Oates's depoſition.

Oates depoſed, That he heard Godfrey ſay, a little before his death, "That he went in fear of "his life by the Popiſh party, and had been "dogged ſeveral days."

Robinſon's depoſition.

One Robinſon teſtified, That he heard him

(1) Burnet gives the following account of this Dugdale and his evidence. He had been the lord Aſton's bailif, and was a man of ſenſe and temper. He behaved himſelf decently, and had ſomewhat in his air and deportment that diſpoſed the people to believe him: ſo that the King himſelf began to think there was ſomewhat in the plot, tho' he had little regard to Oates or Bedloe. He made a diſcovery of a correſpondence that Evers held with the jeſuits in London, who had writ to Evers of the deſign of killing the King, and deſired him to find out proper men for executing it. Three other jeſuits preſſed Dugdale to undertake it, promiſing he ſhould be canonized for it, and the lord Stafford offered him five hundred pounds, if he would ſet about it. Dugdale's evidence was confirmed by one circumſtance. He had talked in the country of a juſtice of peace in Weſtminſter who was killed, on the Tueſday after Godfrey was miſſed; ſo that the news of this muſt have been writ from London by the Saturday night's poſt. He did not think it a ſecret, and ſo talked of it as news at an alehouſe. The two perſons, he ſaid he ſpoke to, remembered nothing of it, but ſeveral others ſwore they had heard it. He ſaid moreover, that the duke had ſent to Coleman when in Newgate, to perſuade him to diſcover nothing, and deſired to know whether he had ever diſcovered their deſigns to any other perſon; and that Coleman ſent anſwer, that he had ſpoke of them to Godfrey, but to no other man, upon which the duke gave order to kill him, p. 444.

(2) Gawen was ſoon after taken into cuſtody, but the reſt abſconded. Echard.

(3) Some think, this parliament was diſſolved, on purpoſe to protect the Popiſh lords in the Tower, and divert, if poſſible, the noiſe of the Popiſh plot: or elſe to cover the duke of York from the reſentment of the commons, and the general indignation of the people. Kennet, p. 356.

ſay,

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say, " That he believed he ſhould be the firſt " martyr."

Prance's depoſition.

Prance's evidence was the ſame with what he had before depoſed. The priſoners objected to him, that he had recanted, and denied all before the King and council. The court made for him the anſwer which he had before given to the council, That " all that was nothing but an unuſual " fear, and a want of a full aſſurance of his par- " don" (1). Some repreſent this as a great partiality in the judge. But it muſt be obſerved, that judges ſit upon the trial of criminals, not to condemn or acquit: the jury decide the caſe, and find the priſoners guilty or not guilty. When therefore any material difficulty offers, it is the office of the judge to direct the jury, and ſhow them what they are, and what they are not to mind, with the reaſons of their opinion. So I hope, that on this occaſion the court did not exceed the bounds of their duty, tho' I will affirm nothing.

Hill's wife aſked Prance, Whether he had not been tortured in Newgate, ſince ſeveral had heard him cry out in that place? He anſwered, " That " he had not ——— That captain Richardſon had " uſed him as civilly as any man in England; and " that all the time he was there, he wanted for " nothing." This anſwer, as we ſee, is very contradictory to the aggravated recital of his torments, tho' even in that recital, nothing is ſaid which tends to ſhew, that he was put to the torture. However, the author of the recital, better informed than Prance himſelf, ſcruples not to ſay, " That the " poor man, to ſupport the credit of his evidence, " was forced to diſown all his barbarous uſage."

State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 780.

L'Eſtrange.

Bedloe's evidence.

" Bedloe had already depoſed before the lords, " that le Phaire, Walſh, Pritchard, Keins, &c. had " wheedled ſir Edmundbury Godfrey into Somer- " ſet-houſe court, under pretenſe of taking ſome " ploters, and after a turn or two, and the excuſe " of ſending for a conſtable, they ſhoved him into " a room, preſented a piſtol to him, threatening to " kill him if he made any noiſe, but would do him " no hurt, if he would ſend for his examinations; " which he refuſing to do, they ſtifled him be- " tween two pillows, and after that, upon finding " ſome life in him, they ſtrangled him with a long " cravat."

Some have obſerved, that this firſt evidence of Bedloe, was directly contrary to Prance's. Others have remarked, that Bedloe never ſaid he was preſent at the murder, but only depoſed what he heard from others; conſequently, that there was no real contradiction between the two witneſſes.

In the trial before us, Bedloe depoſed, " That " about a fortnight before the murder, le Phaire, " Pritchard, Keins, and ſome other Romiſh prieſts, " all unknown to Prance, diſcourſed Bedloe about " killing a certain gentleman, not named; and " then ſet him to inſinuate himſelf into ſir Ed- " mundbury Godfrey's acquaintance, which he did " under ſeveral pretenſes. That on the very day " of the murder, le Phaire told him, There was " a gentleman to be put out of the way that night, " and would have him to aſſiſt, and that there " would be four thouſand pounds reward from the " lord Bellaſis, &c. and therefore deſired him to " meet in the cloiſter at Somerſet-houſe that even- " ing, for thereabouts it was to be done; which " he promiſed to do, but wilfully failed them, be- " cauſe he would not have his hands in blood. On " Monday after, le Phaire meeting him, charged " him with breach of promiſe, and appointed him " to come to Somerſet-houſe at nine that night, " where he told the witneſs, ' That he had done " ill, that he did not help in the buſineſs; but if " he would help to carry him off, he ſhould ſtill " have half the reward;' and told him he was " actually murdered. The witneſs aſked, if he " might ſee him; upon which le Phaire led him " thro' a dark entry, into a room where were ſeveral " people, and Prance among them, and only by " the light of a dark-lanthorn he ſaw the face of " the murdered perſon, and knew him to be ſir " Edmundbury Godfrey. The witneſs adviſed to " tie weights about him, and throw him into the " Thames; but they did not approve of that, " but ſaid, they would put it upon himſelf, and " carry him out in a chair, by the help of the " porter Berry, at twelve that night. The wit- " neſs promiſed, upon the ſacrament, which he " had taken the Thurſday before, to come again " and help them; but being got from them, his " conſcience would not permit him to go any far- " ther, tho' he had been promiſed two thouſand " pounds for his labor, but he rather choſe to diſ- " cover the villainy to the King and council, and " accept of a quarter of the ſum in an honeſt way."

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What appears moſt ſurpriſing in this depoſition is, not its contrariety to the firſt, in which he only ſpoke by hearſay; but that Bedloe did not relate theſe circumſtances to the lords, having only ſaid, that he had ſeen Godfrey's body in Somerſet-houſe, and Prance in the ſame room.

The conſtable that viewed the body in the ditch, gave an account, " That the ſword was ſticking " thro' him, but no blood appeared upon the " ground, and he found gold and ſilver in his " pockets." Two ſurgeons ſwore, " That they " verily believed the ſword was run thro' him after " he was dead and cold; but that he died by rea- " ſon of the ſuffocation, and breaking of his neck, " and bruiſes, on his breaſt."

The conſtable's depoſition.

Sir Robert Southwell depoſed, " That Prance " having related the matter to the council; and " being ſent with the duke of Monmouth and the earl " of Offory to ſhew the place he mentioned, did " readily go to them all, and they appeared all to " be ſuch as he had deſcribed them; only as to " the room in the upper court, where the body " was laid one night, having never been there but " once, he ſaid he could not poſitively aſſign it, " but pointing to ſome rooms, ſaid, he was ſure " it was thereabouts."

Sir Robert Southwell's depoſition.

As to the priſoners defenſe, Hill brought ſeveral witneſſes to prove, " That he was never out of his " lodgings after eight o'clock at night, during the " whole time of this tranſaction."

Some have pretended, that theſe depoſitions were not regarded, becauſe the witneſſes were Papiſts. But there is no mention of any ſuch thing in the printed trial, and it is difficult to know the thoughts of the jury, who were the ſole judges of theſe evidences.

Beſide Hill ſhewed, " That when he heard of " Prance's being taken up for the murder, he had " full leiſure to make his eſcape, which he never " indeavoring, was a great preſumption of his in- " nocence." It is to be preſumed, the jury took but little notice of this proof.

Green proved by two witneſſes, James Warrier

(5) To this Richardſon, keeper of Newgate, anſwered, " That Prance had told him, it was fear that made him recant; " and he [Prance] gave a full ſatisfaction, that it was only out of an apprehenſion that his life was not ſecure; that his " trade would be loſt among the Roman Catholics; and in caſe he had his pardon, and was ſaved, he ſhould have been in " danger of being murdered by them." He ſaid himſelf afterwards, That it was for fear of loſing his imployment from the Queen, and the Catholics, which was the moſt of his buſineſs, and becauſe he had not his pardon. State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 765, 780.

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and his wife, "That he was at their houſe in the "Strand from between ſeven and eight, till after "ten, on that very night and time that ſir Ed- "mundbury Godfrey was ſaid to be murdered in "Somerſet-houſe" But unhappily, Warrier willing to corroborate his evidence, added, "That "Green's being apprehended a month after the "murder of Godfrey, recalled to his mind, that "the ſaid Green had been with him on Saturday "the twelfth of October, from eight to ten in "in the evening." But, beſide that Green was not arreſted till the twenty-fourth of December, that is to ſay, two months and twelve days after Godfrey's murder, he was not taken up for this murder, but for refuſing the oaths, which could not cauſe Warrier to remember, that Green had been with him the day Godfrey was murdered. Green added, "That when Prance was taken up, he ſhewed "ſuch a deteſtation of the fact, that he ſaid, "Rather than he ſhould eſcape, if he were guilty, "he would be the executioner himſelf." In all likelihood, this proof had no great weight with the jury. In behalf of Berry the porter, the ſoldiers that were placed centinels at the gate, teſtified, "That no ſedan went out of the gate that night "the body was ſaid to be carried off, tho' one did "come in, and that they could not be miſtaken in "ſo plain a matter." And Berry's maid declared, "That her maſter was in bed by twelve o'clock "that night, and never ſtired out, which made it "impoſſible for him to be upon the whole ex- "pedition."

Burnet, p. 447.

They all indeavored likewiſe to invalidate Prance's evidence; but the court obſerved, "That "it was impoſſible that mr. Prance, a man of that "mean capacity, ſhould invent a ſtory with ſo "many conſiſting circumſtances, if there was no "truth in the bottom of it" But adds the hiſtorian whom I have often quoted, "others obſerved, "That the ſtory was invented by ſome body elſe "of a greater capacity." This inſinuation is ſupported only upon this ſyſtem. But beſide, had the pener of this narrative been ſo able as is ſuppoſed, it would not have been difficult to make it perfectly agree with Bedloe's firſt depoſition, whereas it was different in many reſpects. For when a man is only to invent, and has falſe witneſſes ready to ſupport the invention, he need not be much fatigued about the facts.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 515.

They are condemned. State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 785.

In fine, the jury brought them in all guilty of the murder. Whereupon, the lord chief juſtice Scroggs ſaid, "They had found the ſame verdict "that he would have found, if he had been one "with them."

And executed without making any confeſſion. Echard, Vol. III. p. 516. Burnet, p. 447.

They all three inſiſted on their innocence to the laſt moment of their lives. Berry owned, "That "he was a Proteſtant in his heart, but had for "ſome time diſſembled his religion for his private "advantage."

Hill, to perſuade the ordinary of Newgate of his innocence, gave him this notable proof of it; "That he had wronged one in a twelve- "penny matter, which had ſo troubled his con- "ſcience, that he had made reſtitution ſince his "condemnation, tho' he was in extreme want of "preſent neceſſaries:" And therefore he thus argued with him, "If I have taken ſhame upon my "ſelf, in confeſſing my crime in the caſe of a trifle; "can you think I would deny the murder to main- "tain my reputation?"

Green and Hill were executed the twenty-firſt of February; but Berry was reprieved till the twenty-eighth of May.

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The time drawing near for the meeting of the parliament, the King, after examining the elections, foreſaw a ſtorm gathering againſt the duke of York. Wherefore, to prevent it, and perſuade the new parliament that his counſels were not influenced by his brother, he reſolved to ſend him away (1), and for that purpoſe, the twenty-eighth of February, writ him the following letter:

The duke of York leaves the kingdom. Kennet, p. 356. Burnet. Echard.

A letter from the King to the duke of York.

"I have already given you my reſolves at large, "why I think it fit that you ſhould abſent your- "ſelf for ſome time beyond the ſeas. As I am "truly ſorry for the occaſion, ſo may you be ſure, "I ſhall never deſire it longer than it will be ab- "ſolutely neceſſary for your good, and my ſer- "vice. In the mean time, I think it proper to "give it you under my hand, That I expect this "compliance from you, and deſire it may be as "ſoon as conveniently you can. You may eaſily "believe with what trouble I write; there being "nothing I am more ſenſible of, than the con- "ſtant kindneſs you have ever had for me. I "hope you are as juſt to me, to be aſſured, "That no abſenſe, nor any thing elſe, can ever "change me from being truly and kindly yours,

C. R.

Who withdraws to Bruſſels.

The duke immediately obeyed, and departed for Holland the third of March, with his ducheſs, and the Princeſs Ann his daughter, from whence he went to Bruſſels and reſided there.

Proceedings againſt Danby in State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 734. Burnet.

Mean while the King being apprehenſive that the new parliament would impeach the earl of Danby, and that the earl, to prevent his own deſtruction, would be obliged to reveal ſecrets which he wiſhed to be kept private, granted him, under the great ſeal, as full and compleat a pardon as could be drawn.

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Kennet, p. 306.

The ſixth of March the new parliament meeting, the King made a ſpeech, tending to ſhew how well affected he was to the laws of the land, and the Proteſtant religion. He ſpoke of his care in puniſhing, as well thoſe concerned in the plot, as the murderers of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey, and did not forget mentioning the removal of the duke of York. Laſtly, he demanded money for diſbanding the army, and for paying the fleet. The chancellor inlarged on all theſe points with great exaggerations, according to his cuſtom.

A difference between the King and commons about the choice of a ſpeaker. Ibid. Burnet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 522, &c.

At the opening the parliament there was a warm conteſt between the King and commons, about the choice of a ſpeaker. The commons having choſen mr. Edward Seymour (2), the King who knew Seymour was a particular enemy of the earl of Danby, refuſed his approbation, and ordered the commons to proceed to a new election. The houſe was extremely diſpleaſed with this refuſal, alleging, "That it was never known that a perſon ſhould "be excepted againſt, and no reaſon at all given, "and that the thing itſelf, of preſenting a ſpeaker "to the King, was but a bare compliment." The King, on his ſide, inſiſted on the approbation or refuſal of a ſpeaker when preſented to him, as a branch of his prerogative (3). During a ſix days diſpute, the commons made ſeveral repreſentations to the King, to which he returned very ſhort anſwers. At length, as the commons would not deſiſt from what they thought their right, the King went to parliament, and prorogued it from the thirteenth to the fifteenth; that is, for one days interval between the two ſeſſions. The parliament meeting the fifteenth, the King ordered the commons to proceed to the choice of a ſpeaker: who, to avoid a revival of the diſpute, choſe

A ſhort prorogation.

Another ſpeaker choſen.

(1) It was done by the earl of Danby's advice. Burnet, p. 452.
(2) Who was one of the repreſentatives for the county of Devon, and treaſurer of the navy. Kennet, p. 360.
(3) Without giving any reaſon to the perſons chuſing, or the perſon choſen. Echard, Vol. III. p. 522.

mr.

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mr. William Gregory ſerjeant at law, who was approved by the King (1).

The commons began with appointing a commitee to examine controverted elections, there having been ſixty petitions already preſented.

This affair being put into a way of determination, the commons appeared reſolved to purſue thoſe matters which the late parliament had left undecided. To this end, the twentieth of March, they appointed a ſecret commitee, to take informations, prepare evidence, and draw up articles againſt the lords who were impeached, and to take ſuch farther informations as ſhould be given, relating to the plot againſt his Majeſty and the government, and the murder of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey. At the ſame time, they deſired the lords, by an expreſs meſſage, to remember the impeachment of high-treaſon exhibited againſt Thomas earl of Danby, in the name of the commons of England, and to commit him to ſafe cuſtody. They reſolved alſo, that it ſhould be refered to the commitee of ſecreſy, to draw up farther articles againſt him. The earl of Danby was greatly imbaraſſed; for he could make no defenſe, without producing the letters writ by his Majeſty's particular order, and other papers which the King was willing to conceal. Wherefore he reſolved to adhere to the benefit of his pardon.

A ſecret commitee appointed. Kennet, p. 360. Echard.

The affair of the earl of Danby reſumed.

Next day, the twenty-firſt of March, dr. Tonge, Oates, Bedloe, and a Scotſman, one Edmund Everard, a new diſcoverer, were called before the commons, to give in their informations concerning the plot. Bedloe having delivered in his information, the houſe reſolved, "That an humble addreſs be "preſented to his Majeſty, that the five hundred "pounds promiſed by his proclamation for the "diſcovery of the murder of ſir Edmunbury "Godfrey, may be paid to mr. Bedloe, and that "he would farther be pleaſed to order, that the "twenty pounds reward for the diſcovery of every "prieſt, may be effectually paid to the diſcoverers."

Tonge and Oates examined. Echard, Vol. III. p. 526.

An addreſs to the King.

By another addreſs they deſired, "That the care "of mr. Bedloe's ſafety might be recommended "to the duke of Monmouth." The King anſwered, "That he would take immediate care for "the payment of the five hundred pounds, and "the twenty pounds they deſired: that he had "hitherto taken all the care he could of mr. Bedloe: "that he knew how conſiderable his evidence was: "that he would ſee hereafter, that he ſhould want "for nothing; but that he could not be anſwerable "for him when he went abroad."

Another.

The King's anſwer.

Upon the whole, the commons came to a vote ſomething like that in the laſt parliament, viz. "That the houſe doth declare, that they are "fully ſatisfied that there now is, and for diverſe "years laſt paſt hath been, a horrid and treaſonable "plot and conſpiracy, contrived and carried on by "thoſe of the Popiſh religion, for the murdering "his Majeſty's ſacred perſon, and for ſubverting "the Proteſtant religion, and the ancient and well "eſtabliſhed government of this kingdom." The lords concurred to this vote without heſitation; as alſo to an addreſs to be preſented jointly by both houſes to the King, praying him to appoint a ſolemn day of humiliation and faſting throughout the whole kingdom. The King granted their requeſt, and the eleventh day of April was appointed to be kept as a public faſt.

A vote of the commons relating to the conſpiracy.

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And of the lords.

A faſt appointed. Kennet. p. 361. Echard.

The twenty-ſecond of March, the commons ordered a bill to be brought in, to ſecure the King and kingdom againſt the danger and growth of Popery.

The King going to the parliament the ſame day, ſpoke to both houſes in favor of the earl of Danby. But the commons, unmoved with his ſpeech, were no ſooner returned to their houſe, than they ſent a meſſage to the lords, demanding that the earl might be forthwith commited to ſafe cuſtody. The lords ſeeing the warmth of the commons, offered them, in a conference, the draught of a bill, by which the earl of Danby ſhould be for ever incapable of coming into his Majeſty's preſenſe; and of all offices and imployments; and of receiving any gifts or grants from the crown; and of ſiting in the houſe of peers. But the commons were not ſatisfied with ſuch a bill, probably, for two reaſons. Firſt, that the earl of Danby had among the leading commons implacable enemies. Second, that purpoſing to diſcover the King's ſecrets, by a ſtrict examination of the earl of Danby's affairs, they ſaw that this bill was only an artifice to conceal what they wiſhed to have known and divulged.

The King intereſts himſelf in the earl of Danby's affair.

An offer of the lords,

rejected by the commons.

Mean while, the commons hearing that the King had ſigned a pardon for the earl of Danby, appointed a commitee to repair to the chancellor, and inquire how this pardon was ſealed, and at whoſe ſuit. The chancellor anſwered, "That it was done "very privately, the King having ordered him to "bring the ſeal into his cloſet, and lay it upon "the table; that his Majeſty commanded the ſeal "to be taken out of the bag, and ordered the "perſon who uſually carried the purſe, to affix it "to the pardon." The chancellor added in his juſtification, "That at the very time of affixing "the ſeal to the parchment, he did not look upon "himſelf to have the cuſtody of the ſeal: that the "pardon was paſſed with the utmoſt privacy, at "the deſire of the earl, who gave this reaſon for "it, 'That he did not intend to make uſe of it, "but to ſtand upon his innocence, except falſe wit-"neſſes ſhould be produced againſt him; and then "he would make uſe of it at the laſt extremity:' "That notwithſtanding this reaſon, he adviſed the "earl to let the pardon paſs in the regular courſe; "but after conſulting with the King, his Majeſty "declared, 'He was reſolved to let it paſs with "all privacy (2).

The commons examine into the earl's pardon.

The chancellor's account of it. Kennet. p. 361. Burnet, p. 453. Echard, Vol. III. p. 527.

The houſe were inflamed, upon hearing this report againſt the earl, and one of the members (3), naming the earl of Danby, proceeded thus:

"——The perſon to whom we owe the dangers "and fears of the French King againſt us: the

Speeches againſt the earl of Danby. State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 730. Echard, Vol. III. p. 527.

(1) He was recommended by William lord Ruſſel. Kennet, p. 360. Burnet adds, the point was ſetled, that the right of electing was in the houſe, and that the confirmation was a thing of courſe, p. 453.

(2) The King, in his ſpeech for the earl, ſaid, he had done nothing but by his order, and therefore he had pardoned him; and if there was any defect in his pardon, he would paſs it over and over again, until it ſhould be legal. Upon this a great debate was raiſed; ſome queſtioned whether the King's pardon, eſpecially when paſſed in bar to an impeachment, was good in law: this would incourage ill miniſters, who would be always ſure of a pardon. The King's pardon did indeed ſecure one againſt all proſecution at his ſuit: but, as in caſe of murder an appeal lay, from which the King's pardon did not cover the perſon, ſince the King could no more pardon the injuries done his people, than he could forgive the debts that were owing to them; ſo from a parity of reaſon it was infered, that ſince the offenſe of miniſters of ſtate were injuries done the public, the King's pardon could not hinder a proſecution of parliament, which ſeemed to be one of the chief ſecurities, and moſt eſſential parts of our conſtitution.——When the bill of baniſhment, which paſſed in the houſe of lords, was ſent down to the commons, Winnington fell on it in a moſt furious manner, and inflamed the houſe ſo, that tho' it was offered that the earl ſhould be degraded of his peerage as well as baniſhed, and that no pardon for the future ſhould be pleaded in bar to an impeachment; the bill was thrown out by the commons, and a bill of attainder brought in, as will be ſeen hereafter. Burnet, p. 453.

(3) Mr. Powle, afterwards one of the new council.

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" person to whom we owe the threats and severe " answers to those humble addresses we made the " last session of parliament: the person to whom " we owe the ruin of this nation, and exhausting " the King's revenue: the person to whom we owe " the expense of two hundred thousand pounds a " year, unaccounted for: the person to whom we " owe the raising of a standing army, to be kept " up by the receipt of six millions of livres yearly, " for three years to inslave us and our religion: " the person to whom we owe the late bone that " was thrown in on the siting of the last parliament, " to hinder the good issue that might have come by " their proceedings; who is now laying down his " staff, and making up his accounts in the treasury, " as he pleases, to inrich himself out of the spoils " of the people, and so depart."

A remark upon the plot.

I have several times said, That the people in general were persuaded, not only of the reality of the plot, at least with regard to the government and religion, but that even the King and duke of York were the real authors of it. This speech plainly shews, it was at least the opinion of the speaker, and when a member of the commons advances such propositions, without a reprimand, one may be sure he speaks the general sense of that house. Beside, the removal of the duke of York was a demonstration, that the King was not ignorant of his being suspected to submit too much to the counsels of his brother. It is therefore difficult to conceive, why so many sensible men obstinately labor to shew, there was no real plot, because the article concerning the design of killing the King, may be doubtful. For, the truth of the two other branches, concerning the government and religion, flows from so many circumstances, that a man must be wilfully blind not to see it. Perhaps the word Plot offends some persons, who cannot comprehend how a King can plot against his subjects. But if this is all, there is a way to be soon agreed. Instead of saying there was a plot to subvert the government and Protestant religion, let it be said, there was a project or design on foot, headed by the King and the duke of York, to render his Majesty absolute, and introduce Popery. But this is precisely what is meaned by the plot. For the design of killing the King was only an appendix to the plot, supposing it real, and an effect of the furious zeal of some private persons, who thought they could better accomplish it by placing the duke of York on the throne.

An' 1679. March 25. Echard, Vol. III. p. 528.

I shall not here insert the earl of Shaftsbury's speech in the house of lords, because so much pains has been taken to represent him as the King's greatest enemy, and the first mover of the whole party, that whatever came from him must be suspected. I shall produce, however, one passage of this speech: " Popery, says he, and slavery, like " two sisters, go hand in hand; sometimes one " goes first, sometimes the other; but wheresoever " the one enters, the other is always following close " at hand. In England, Popery was to have " brought in Slavery; in Scotland, Slavery went " before, and Popery was to follow." Thus much is certain, that his observation on the slavery of Scotland was exactly true, and that the duke of Lauderdale, supported by the court, exercised among the Scots a tyranny unknown to their fore-fathers. What therefore could the English imagine, when they saw a neighboring kingdom, invested with no less privileges than England, governed in so absolute a manner, under the same King and the same ministry? Could they expect that the same principles would not be followed in England, if it could be done with the same facility?

The earl of Shaftsbury's speech.

Burnet.

The earl of Danby withdraws.

The same day, the lords sent a message to acquaint the house of commons, that the earl of Danby had withdrawn, and could not be found. Whereupon the commons ordered, " That a bill be " brought in to summon Thomas earl of Danby, " to render himself to justice by a day to be therein " limited, or in default thereof, to attaint him." The third of April articles of impeachment against the five lords in the Tower were drawn up by the commons, and carried to the house of lords, as well as the bill to fix a day for the earl of Danby to render himself to justice. The lords having sent back this last bill with some amendments, the commons were dissatisfied, because the lords were not of opinion, in case the earl refused to surrender himself, to proceed against him by bill of attainder, but to content themselves with inflicting other penalties. The two houses had several conferences upon this subject, in which the commons continued immoveable, without any diminution of their rigor against the earl. At last the lords passed the bill, and appointed the twenty-third of April for the earl's surrendering himself to trial. The earl seeing that his absense could not hinder the bill of attainder from passing against him, resolved at last to surrender himself to the usher of the black-rod, and the same day he was sent to the Tower. The King then found himself plunged in greater difficulties than he had ever struggled with before, as he saw the earl of Danby could not make his defense without divulging his secrets.

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A bill prefered against him by the commons. State Trials, Vol. II. p. 731. Kennet. Echard.

Passed by the lords.

He surrenders himself, and is sent to the Tower.

The King forms a new council. Temple's Mem. Kennet. Echard. Burnet.

If King Charles would have altered his maxims and principles, he might easily have extricated himself out of these troubles. He had only to break his union with France; dismiss those of his ministers who were disagreeable to the parliament; and act with sincerity for the interest of the kingdom and of the Protestant religion; abandoning all the projects he had hitherto formed. But he could not resolve to make this sacrifice, both because he believed his honor concerned; and his design being only to gain time, and amuse the parliament. It was with this view, that by the advice of sir William Temple, he resolved to establish a new council, into which were admited some lords most opposite to him, as the earls of Shaftsbury and Essex. This council consisted of thirty members, fifteen of whom were ever to be the present chief officers of his crown and household. Ten were to be taken out of the nobility, and five out of the commons. But he so managed in the modeling this council, as to have a majority of such as were devoted to him. The earl of Shaftsbury was made president, tho' no man was more hated by the King. His aim was to persuade the public and the parliament, that he was resolved intirely to change his manner of governing, and be guided in all affairs whatsoever, by the advice of the new council. But this was only an amusement. For as it was not possible for the King to depart from his principles, concerning religion or government, so most of his new counsellors were not for sacrificing the Royal authority to the will of the parliament. The earl of Shaftsbury would have been highly pleased with being president of the council, if his authority had been proportionable to his office. But he quickly perceived, he was there only for shew, and to be subservient to the King's designs, while others had his confidence. There were chiefly four who had the direction of affairs commited to them, viz. the earls of Sunderland and Essex, the lord Hallifax, and sir William Temple. These digested and prepared what was to be offered to the council or the parliament.

Acquaints the parliament with it. Kennet, p. 362. Echard, Vol. III. p. 536.

No sooner had the King made this alteration, than he came to the parliament to acquaint them with it. But tho' the city of London, and the rest of the kingdom resounded with joyful acclamations, and were persuaded that things were going to change for

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for the better, the houſe of commons received the news with great coldneſs. They had not ſufficient confidence in his Majeſty, to believe he really intended to govern otherwiſe than he had hitherto done, but thought this was ſome new artifice which would ſoon produce its effects: therefore, by this change, the King gained but little ground in the houſe of commons. I am ſenſible the diſtruſt of the commons is aſcribed to Shaftſbury's intrigues, and ſir William Temple even inſinuates it in ſeveral places. But it is not eaſy to comprehend how a ſingle man ſhould have had credit enough in the country party, to direct them as he pleaſed, if that party had not otherwiſe known what Shaftſbury labored to make them believe. For inſtance, this earl inſinuated that the nation could not be ſecured againſt the duke of York, and that when he ſhould once poſſeſs the crown, all proviſions againſt him would vaniſh. Was he in the wrong? And was there need of ſo great a credit to convince the country party of a thing they were but too well convinced of before? It is therefore a mere artifice ſolely to impute the animoſity of the commons to the earl of Shaftſbury, as if it had no other foundation than his credit and intrigues, in order to remove thereby the juſt and real occaſions of complaint againſt the King's government. The meaſures purſued by the court in the foregoing years, both againſt the eſtabliſhed government and religion, had been ſeen. What had the King done to cauſe them to be forgot? He had iſſued out proclamations againſt the Papiſts, but they were ſo ill executed, that they were not apt to inſpire the parliament with confidence. The King under color that he might be ingaged in a war againſt France, had levied thirty thouſand men, and at the ſame time was negociating a yearly penſion with that crown of ſix millions of livres for their maintenance, as plainly appeared from the letters produced in parliament. What had the King done to remove the fears occaſioned by this army? He had applied to their maintenance the money granted by the parliament for their diſbanding; and if he had conſented to their being diſmiſſed, it was becauſe he applied to another uſe the money received from France. In fine, was it poſſible to forget the tranſactions of the Cabal; the King's indolence with regard to the intereſts of England and of all Europe; the frequent prorogations of parliament at critical times, when vigorous reſolutions were taking againſt the growing power of France; his deſign, in conjunction with that crown, of utterly deſtroying the commonwealth of Holland; a deſign ſo directly oppoſite to the intereſts of England? Could it not be perceived, that the King was without legitimate children, and the duke of York his brother and preſumptive heir, not only a Papiſt, but alſo a bigot to his religion? Could the tranſactions in Scotland be concealed, where arbitrary power was compleatly eſtabliſhed? I do but juſt mention ſome of the principal points, for it would be too tedious to relate all the cauſes of the nation's ſuſpicions and fears. After this, how is it poſſible to believe that Shaftſbury's intrigues and artifices were the ſole cauſe of the commons diſtruſt? I do not doubt but he contributed to them, and that being ſo well informed, as he was, of the King's ſecret deſigns, he opened the eyes of many people, who perhaps would have been deceived by the artifices of the court. But this is not what is meaned by aſcribing the peoples fears and jealouſies to the intrigues of this earl. That he was actuated by a ſpirit of revenge, is no concern of mine, but the event too plainly ſhewed, how agreeable were his advices to the kingdom's intereſt.

An obſervation upon the earl of Shaftſbury. Temple's Mem. Part III. p. 335, &c.

While the alterations the new council was to make in the government's affairs were impatiently expected, the commons were ſuddenly alarmed by an information of a freſh deſign of the Papiſts to burn London a ſecond time. The houſe of one Bird in Fetter-Lane being ſet on fire, his ſervant, Elizabeth Oxley, was ſuſpected of firing it on purpoſe, and ſent to priſon. She confeſſed the fact, and declared, ſhe had been imployed to do it by one Stubbs a Papiſt, who had promiſed her five pounds. Stubbs being taken up, confeſſed, he perſuaded her to it, and that father Gifford his confeſſor, put him upon it, telling him, "it was no "ſin to burn all the houſes of Heretics." He added, that he had frequent conferences on this affair with Gifford, and two Iriſhmen. Moreover Stubbs and the maid ſervant declared, the Papiſts were to make an inſurrection, and expected an army of ſixty thouſand men from France. The commons obtained a pardon for Stubbs and the ſervant, in conſideration of their ready confeſſion. But it was generally infered from this incident, that it was not Gifford's fault that the city of London was not burnt as in the year 1666.

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A deſign diſcovered to burn London. Echard, Vol. III. p. 540.

This diſcovery produced an addreſs from the commons to the King, for the execution of Pickering the jeſuit, and the other condemned prieſts.

But the commons ſtoped not there. They reſolved the ſame day to ſit on the morrow, tho' Sunday, to conſider of means for the preſervation of the King's perſon and the Proteſtant religion, againſt the attempts of the Papiſts, both during the reign of his preſent Majeſty and his ſucceſſor. Accordingly, next morning, they firſt ordered a bill to be brought in to baniſh all Papiſts, or reputed Papiſts, within London and Weſtminſter, twenty miles from the ſame, for ſix months; and then they voted, nemine contradicente, "That the "duke of York being a Papiſt, the hopes of his "coming ſuch to the crown, has given the greateſt "countenance and incouragement to the preſent "conſpiracies and deſigns of the Papiſts againſt the "King and the Proteſtant religion." This vote was ſent to the lords for their concurrence (1).

Vote of the commons againſt the duke of York. Kennet, p. 363. Echard.

The earl of Danby appeared the twenty-fifth of April, at the bar of the houſe of lords, and there produced the King's pardon for all crimes and offenſes whatſoever commited before the twenty-eight day of February laſt: after which he was ſent back to the Tower. The lords having given notice of this to the commons, they appointed a commitee of ſecreſy to examine the nature of the earl's plea, who made their report, "That there was no precedent, "of a pardon granted to any perſon impeached by "the commons of high treaſon, or other high "crimes depending in the impeachment." After this report, the commons deſired the lords to demand of the earl of Danby, "Whether he would "rely upon, and abide by the plea of his pardon." This was the next day, and the earl praying time to anſwer, the lords allowed him four days.

The earl of Danby pleads the King's pardon. State Trials, Vol. II. p. 733.

The ſame day, the King returned this anſwer to the commons addreſs for the execution of Pickering and other prieſts, "Gentlemen, I have always been "tender in matters of blood, which my ſubjects "have no reaſon to take exception at: but this is "a matter of great weight, I ſhall therefore con-"ſider of it, and return you an anſwer."

Kennet, p. 363.

The vote of the commons concerning the duke of York touched the King very ſenſibly, he foreſeeing they did not intend to ſtop there. He therefore went to the parliament the thirtieth of April, and in a ſhort ſpeech recommended to both houſes the diſpatch of three affairs: 1. The proſecution of

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Ibid. Echard.

(1) By William lord Ruſſel; for which he paid dearly afterwards.

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the plot. 2. The disbanding of the army. 3. The providing a fleet for the common security. Then to give them a proof of his care to preserve their religion for the future, he told them, "That he "had commanded his chancellor to mention several "particulars, which he hoped would be an evi- "dence, that in all things that concerned the "public security, he should not follow their zeal "but lead it."

Accordingly, the chancellor made the following speech:

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons.

The lord chancellor's speech.

"THAT Royal care which his Majesty hath "taken for the general quiet and satisfaction "of all his subjects, is now more evident by these "new and fresh instances of it, which I have in "command to open to you. His Majesty had con- "sidered with himself, that it is not enough that "your religion and liberty is secure during his "own reign, but he thinks he owes it to his people "to do all that in him lies, that these blessings may "be transmited to your posterity, and so well se- "cured to them, that no succession in after ages "may be able to work the least alteration. And "therefore his Majesty, who hath often said in this "place, 'That he is ready to consent to any "laws of this kind, so as the same extend not to "alter the descent of the crown in the right line, "nor to defeat the succession,' hath now com- "manded this to be farther explained.

"And to the end it may never be in the power "of any Papist, if the crown descend upon him, "to make any change either in church or state; "I am commanded to tell you, That his Majesty "is willing, that provision may be made, first to "distinguish a Popish from a Protestant successor; "then so to limit and circumscribe the authority "of a Popish successor, in these cases following, "that he may be disabled to do any harm: First, in "reference to th church; his Majesty is content that "care be taken, that all ecclesiastical and spiritual "benefices and promotions in the gift of the crown, "may be confered in such a manner, that we may "be sure the incumbents shall always be of the "most pious and learned Protestants: and that no "Popish successor, while he continues so, may have "any power to controul such presentments. In "reference, to the state, and civil part of the go- "vernment, as it is already provided, 'That no "Papist can sit in either house of parliament;' so "the King is pleased that it be provided too, that "there may never want a parliament, when the "King shall happen to die, but that the parlia- "ment then in being may continue indissolvable "for a competent time; or if there be no parlia- "ment in being, then the last parliament which "was in being before that time, may re-assemble "and sit a competent time, without any new sum- "mons, or elections. And as no Papist can by "law hold any place of trust, so the King is con- "tent that it may be farther provided, That no "lords or others of the privy council, no judges of "the common law, or in chancery, shall at any "time, during the reign of any Popish successor, "be put in or displaced, but by the authority of "parliament: and that care also be taken, "that none but sincere Protestants may be justices "of the peace. In reference to the military part, "the King is willing, that no lord lieutenant, or "deputy lieutenant, nor no officer in the navy, "during the reign of any Popish successor, be put "in or removed, but either by authority of par- "liament, or of such persons as the parliament shall "intrust with such authority.

"It is hard to invent another restraint to be put "upon a Popish successor, considering how much "the revenue of the successor will depend upon "consent of parliament, and how impossible it is "to raise money without such consent. But yet, "if any thing else can occur to the wisdom of the "parliament, which may farther secure religion "and liberty against a Popish successor, without "defeating the right of succession itself, his Ma- "jesty will most readily consent to it. Thus "watchful is the King for all your safeties; and "if he could think of any thing else, that you do "either want or wish to make you happy, he "would make it his business to effect it for you. "God Almighty long continue this blessed union "between the King, and his parliament, and "people."

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A reflection upon the King's offers relating to the duke of York's succession.

The house of commons did not receive these propo- sals with that applause the King had expected. Their distrust was too great for their fears and sus- picions to be removed by such offers. Tho' some authors call this an infatuation in the house of com- mons, I think myself obliged to remark, that the King indeed offered his consent to acts of parlia- ment, but suggested no means to secure the execu- tion. It was an artifice of the court of England, begun in the reign of James I, and continued under Charles I and Charles II, to represent the laws as the impregnable bulwark of the nation's liberties. And yet these three Kings had, on several occa- sions, transgressed them. I shall give here some instances, to which many more might be added. Were the laws inacted for the preservation of re- ligion under James I, punctually executed? Of what benefit could laws made for the security of their liberties be to the subjects, since James I laid down for principle, that tho' in conscience and honor, the King ought to govern his subjects with equity, he might nevertheless, by the extent of his power, govern in an absolute manner, without any controul? Did the petition of right restrain Charles I from levying ship money? Did the laws retard the same King from governing twelve years with- out a parliament, and from raising money in that interval by an absolute authority? Had Charles II been more scrupulous? Was it in virtue of the laws that he shut up the exchequer, and seized the mo- ney there without the consent of the proprietors? Was it for the better execution of the laws, which seem to secure the liberties of the subject, that he received annually from France a pension of six mil- lion of livres? Of what use therefore are laws, the execution whereof no human power can warrant, when the interests of the Prince and people are dia- metrically opposite, which could not fail to happen in the reign of a Popish successor? This suffices to demonstrate, that the King's offer of his assent to the acts he proposed, was incapable of dispelling the peoples fears; because not only no expedient was proposed to secure the execution, but it was not even in his power to give any security. Now it will be asked, what other expedient was there for securing the religion and liberties of the nation, consistent with the right of succession? I confess there was none, and affirm withal, that those offered by the King were insufficient. But to whom was this im- possibility owing? To the duke of York alone, who had openly declared himself a Papist, and from that time incessantly excited both England and France to promote the interests of his religion, as the letters of his secretary Coleman evidently testify. To inable the reader to judge of this matter, being the most material of this reign, I shall here propose some questions which are necessary to be decided before he can determine in favor of the King or par- liament.

Question

CHARLES II. AN' 1679.

Queſtion 1. Whether there was any danger to England in admiting a Popiſh ſucceſſor?

This the King himſelf did not deny, ſince he propoſed expedients to prevent this danger.

Queſtion 2. Whether the expedients propoſed by the King, were capable of preventing this danger?

This is what no perſon can either poſſitively affirm or deny. For if, on one hand, it may be ſuppoſed, that a Popiſh ſucceſſor would have ſincerely complied with the acts propoſed by the King, it may, on the other hand, with equal juſtice be ſuppoſed, that the duke of York, the immediate ſucceſſor, conſidering his principles, his humor, his temper, his zeal for his religion, would never have patiently ſuffered himſelf to be reſtrained by theſe acts of parliament. But this was a contingency which God alone could foreknow.

Queſtion 3. The commons not believing the expedients offered by the King ſufficient to prevent the danger, and the King believing the contrary, who was to yield, the King or the people repreſented by the commons?

This is what I ſhall not pretend to decide.

Queſtion 4. Which evil was greateſt, that of breaking the lineal ſucceſſion in the excluſion of the duke of York, or that of expoſing the eſtabliſhed religion to ruin?

This Queſtion ſuppoſes, that the Kings of England ſucceed by a right purely hereditary. But this ſuppoſition is greatly conteſted. It may at leaſt be affirmed, that ſeveral parliaments have decided the contrary (1). As to the queſtion in itſelf, it may at leaſt be avered, that in France, in a parallel caſe, upon the death of Henry III, the intereſts of the Catholic religion were, without heſitation, prefered to thoſe of Henry IV, who was a Proteſtant, and the next heir: but many pretended, that as the French did ill, ſo the Engliſh parliament was to blame to follow their example.

Queſtion 5. The two evils, viz. the breach in the ſucceſſion, and the expoſing of the Proteſtant religion, being ſuppoſed perfectly equal, which was to ſuffer, the rights of the duke, or the religion of the nation?

Some maintain, that the right of ſucceſſion is not to be violated upon any conſideration, and that the intereſts of religion extend not ſo far as to authorize ſuch a violation. Others on the contrary aſſert, That when things were reduced to ſuch a ſtate, that the duke or the people muſt ſuffer, the duke ought to be the ſufferer, ſince it was he who had brought matters to that condition.

The reader ought to determine theſe queſtions, before he gives a definitive ſentenſe on this affair.

Kennet. Echard.

The day after the King's and the chancellor's ſpeeches to both houſes, the commons, without taking any great notice of his Majeſty's propoſals about the ſucceſſion, proceeded on the bill for preventing the dangers ariſing from Popery, as well in his reign, as his ſucceſſors.

They alſo read the firſt time a "bill for better "prevention of illegal exaction of money from the "ſubject;" and ordered another to be brought in, "That when any member of the houſe was pre-"fered to any office or place of profit, a new writ "ſhould immediately iſſue out for electing a mem-"ber to ſerve in his ſtead."

Judgment demanded againſt the' earl of Danby. Kennet.

The fifth of May they reſolved, "That the "pardon pleaded by the earl of Danby was illegal "and void," and the ſpeaker, with the whole houſe, went up to the lords bar, and demanded judgment againſt him.

They ſhortly after drew up an addreſs againſt the duke of Lauderdale, in the ſtrongeſt terms that could be uſed, which was carried in a full body to his Majeſty. But it ſeems the King could not then part with this miniſter, the laſt of the Cabal, and therefore he coldly anſwered, "That "he would conſider of it, and return an anſwer." Idem. Echard.

CHARLES II. AN' 1679.

An addreſs againſt the duke of Lauderdale.

In the mean time the King ſent a meſſage to the commons by the lord Ruſſel, who acquainted the houſe, "That his Majeſty commanded him to "let the houſe know, that he was willing to com-"ply with their requeſt concerning Pickering; and "that the law ſhould paſs upon him accordingly: "that as to the condemned prieſts, the houſe of "peers had ſent for them, in order, as his Ma-"jeſty conceived, to ſome examinations. That "he repeated his inſtances to them for put-"ing the fleet in a good poſture; for diſpatch-"ing the diſcovery of the plot; the trial of the "lords, and the bill for the ſecurity of reli-"gion."

Pickering ordered for execution. State Trials, Vol. II. p. 721. Kennet. Echard.

After this meſſage, the commons finiſhed the money bill for diſbanding the army, which the King paſſed the ninth of May. By this act a ſupply was granted to his Majeſty of two hundred and ſix thouſand, four hundred ſixty-two pounds, ſeventeen ſhilling and three pence, for paying off and diſbanding the forces raiſed ſince the twenty-ninth of September 1677. The act had a clauſe in it, that for the future, "ſoldiers ſhould not "be quartered in any perſon's houſe againſt their "conſent."

A money bill paſſed. Idem.

The lords alſo, at the ſame time, informed the commons, that the earl of Danby reſolved to adhere to the plea of his pardon; and that the commons having demanded judgment againſt him, as conceiving his pardon illegal and null, the tenth inſtant was appointed for hearing the earl of Danby to make good his plea. The lords likewiſe acquainted the commons, that they had reſolved, the five lords in the Tower ſhould be brought to their trial the fourteenth inſtant.

State Trials, Vol. II. Echard. Burnet.

That part of the meſſage concerning the earl of Danby ſo offended the commons, that they reſolved, "That no commoner whatſoever ſhould "preſume to maintain the validity of the pardon "pleaded by the earl of Danby, without the con-"ſent of the houſe firſt had, and that the perſons "ſo doing, ſhould be accounted betrayers of the "liberties of the commons of England." This vote was poſted up in ſeveral places, that no perſon might pretend ignorance of it. The true reaſon of theſe proceedings was, that by the examination of the ſeveral articles of the earl's impeachment, the commons hoped to diſcover the King's ſecret practiſes with the court of France; whereas the King, by his pardon, had put the affair in ſuch a ſtate, that there would have been no occaſion to examine the earl of Danby's anſwers to the articles againſt him exhibited.

A difference betwixt the two houſes on the earl of Danby's affair. Burnet.

This vote of the commons much inflamed the differences that were already began between the two houſes, about the manner of proceeding againſt the five lords in the Tower. For the lords had addreſſed the King to appoint a lord high-ſteward to preſide in the trials; but the commons, thinking it unneceſſary, propoſed, "That a commitee of both "houſes might be nominated to conſider of the "moſt proper ways and methods of proceeding "upon impeachments." And this is what the lords refuſed, which occaſioned a warm conteſt; but at laſt the lords agreed to the commitee's nomination.

(1) Particularly an act paſſed in Queen Elizabeth's reign, aſſerting the power of the parliament ot limit the ſucceſſion of the crown.

The

Charles II. An' 1679.

The ſame day the lords communicated to the commons, a petition from the earl of Danby, in which he ſet forth, "That he met with informa- "tions ſeverally from his council, that he durſt "not appear to argue the validity of his pardon, "by reaſon of the vote of the houſe of commons." Their lordſhips therefore deſired to know, "Whe- "ther there was any ſuch vote as was alleged in "the petition?"

Addreſs of the commons for the raiſing of the militia. May 10. Kennet. Echard.

By the proceedings of the commons it plainly appears that they only ſought occaſion to drive things to extremity. With this view, they preſented an addreſs to the King, taking notice, "that multi- "tudes of jeſuits, Popiſh prieſts, and Popiſh re- "cuſants, reſorted to the cities of London and "Weſtminſter, in contempt of his Majeſty's laws "and Royal proclamations. Wherefore they hum- "bly beſought his Majeſty, that the militia of "London, Weſtminſter, Southwark, the Tower- "Hamlets of Middleſex and Surrey, might im- "mediately be raiſed, and put in a poſture of de- "fenſe." The next day, tho' Sunday, they or-

A bill brought in againſt the duke of York. Burnet. Kennet.

dered a bill to be brought in (purſuant to their reſolve fourteen days before) "To diſable the duke "of York to inherit the imperial crown of Eng- "land (1)." Immediately after they reſolved nemine contradicente, "That in defenſe of the "King's perſon, and the Proteſtant religion, they "would ſtand by his Majeſty with their lives and "fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhould come "by any violent death, they would revenge it to "the utmoſt upon the Papiſts." This was ſoon

An addreſs to the King. His anſwer. Echard.

after put into the form of an addreſs, and preſented to the King, who thanked them, and ſaid, "That "he would do what in him lay to ſecure the Pro- "teſtant religion, and was willing to do all ſuch "things as might be to the good and benefit of "his ſubjects."

Kennet.

Mean while he ſent them a meſſage the fourteenth of May to remind them of what he had ſaid concerning the fleet; but the conſideration of this meſſage, was adjourned till the next Monday ſevennight.

A difference between the two houſes relating to the biſhops. Burnet. Kennet.

The commitee of both houſes meeting to conſider of the way and method of trying the impeached lords, there was a warm diſpute between the two houſes concerning the biſhops; the commons pretending that the biſhops could not ſit upon the trial of the impeached lords, becauſe it was a caſe of blood. The peers on the other hand maintained, "That the lords ſpiritual have a right to ſtay and "ſit in court, till the court proceed to the vote of "guilty, or not guilty." This affair made a great noiſe, and occaſioned the publication of ſeveral books on both ſides (2).

At length, on the fifteenth of May, the commons read the firſt time their bill, "To diſable the "duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown "of England," now called the 'Excluſion-bill.' After the particulars of the conſpiracy againſt the King, the eſtabliſhed government, and the Proteſtant religion, the bill ſet forth:

Charles II. An' 1679.

The excluſion bill is read.

The ſubſtance of the excluſion bill.

"That the emiſſaries, prieſts and agents for the "Pope, had traiterouſly ſeduced James duke of "York, preſumptive heir to theſe crowns, to the "communion of the church of Rome; and had "induced him to enter into ſeveral negociations "with the Pope, his cardinals, and nuncios, for "promoting the Romiſh church and intereſts; "and by his means and procurement had advanced "the power and greatneſs of the French King, to "the manifeſt hazard of theſe kingdoms, that by "deſcent of theſe crowns upon a Papiſt, and by "foreign alliance and aſſiſtance, they might be "able to ſucceed in their wicked and villanous "deſigns."——Then after another preamble, it run to this effect:

"1. That the ſaid James duke of York, Albany, "and Ulſter, ſhould be incapable of inheriting the "ſaid crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, "with their dependencies; and of injoying any of "the titles, rights, prerogatives, and revenues, be- "longing to the ſaid crowns. 2. That in caſe his "Majeſty ſhould happen to die, or reſign his do- "minions, they ſhould devolve to the perſon next "in ſucceſſion, in the ſame manner as if the ſaid "duke were dead. 3. That all acts of Sovereignty "and Royalty that Prince might then happen to "perform, were not only declared void, but to be "high treaſon, and puniſhable as ſuch. 4. That "if any one, at any time whatſoever, ſhould in- "deavor to bring the ſaid duke into any of the "forementioned dominions, or correſpond with "him, in order to make him inherit, he ſhould be "guilty of high treaſon. 5. That if the duke him- "ſelf ever returned into any of theſe dominions, "conſidering the miſchiefs that muſt inſue, he "ſhould be looked upon as guilty of the ſame of- "fenſe; and all perſons were authoriſed and re- "quired to ſeize upon and impriſon him, and in "caſe of reſiſtance made by him and his adherents, "to ſubdue them by force of arms."

The bill read a ſecond time.

This bill five days after was read a ſecond time, upon which the queſtion being put, whether the bill ſhould be commited, it was carried by a majority of ſeventy-nine (3).

An inquiry into the members of the laſt parliament. Echard, Vol. III. p. 548.

This affair being begun, the commons proceeded to an inquiry after the penſioners in the laſt parliament. Eighteen were diſcovered *, who had received annual penſions from the King, two of one

(1) This bill was ordered to be drawn up by mr. Bennet, mr. Trenchard, ſir Nicholas Carew, ſir Robert Peyton, ſir Thomas Player, mr. Vaughan, ſir Francis Winnington, mr. Boſcawen, mr. Williams, mr. Hampden, colonel Birch, mr. Sacheverell, and mr. Swinſen. Echard, Vol. III. p. 546.

(2) The lords Nottingham and Roberts argued for the biſhops voting. But the lords Eſſex, Shaftſbury and Holles were againſt it. Upon a debate it was carried by the majority that the biſhops had a right to vote. Whereupon the commons declared they would not proceed, unleſs the biſhops were obliged to withdraw during the whole trial. Upon this breach the parliament was prorogued, and ſoon after diſſolved. And the blame was caſt chiefly on the biſhops. It ſeems they deſired to withdraw, but the King would not ſuffer it. He was ſo ſet on maintaining of the pardon, that he would not venture ſuch a point on the votes of the temporal lords. He told the biſhops they muſt ſtick to him and his prerogative, as they would expect that he ſhould ſtick to them if they came to be puſhed at. By this means they were expoſed to the popular fury, and every where cenſured as a ſet of men that, for their own ends, would expoſe the nation and Proteſtant religion to ruin. And in revenge many began to declare openly in favor of the Non-conformiſts, who upon this behaved very indecently, and fell very ſeverely on the body of the clergy. On the other hand, the biſhops and clergy ſet themſelves to write againſt the late times, and to draw a parallel between them and the preſent times; which was not managed decently enough by thoſe who undertook the argument, and who were believed to be ſet on and paid by the court. Particularly ſir Roger l'Eſtrange for four years publiſhed three or four ſheets a week under the title of the Obſervator, all tending to defame the country party, and make the clergy apprehend their ruin was deſigned. Upon this the greateſt part of the clergy delivered themſelves up to much heat and indiſcretion, which was vented both in their pulpits and common converſation. They ſeemed now to lay down all fears of Popery, and nothing was ſo common in their mouths as the year forty one, which, as they hinted, was near being acted over again. Both city and country were full of many indecencies that broke out on this occaſion. Among the worthy and eminent men, whoſe labors did in great meaſure reſcue the church from thoſe reproaches, that the follies of other drew upon her, were Tillotſon, Tenniſon, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, Fowler, Scot, Calamy, Claget, Cudworth, the two Mores, Williams, &c. Burnet, p. 460, 462.

(3) Yeas 207. Noes 128.

* By means of ſir Stephen Fox.

thouſand

thouſand pounds (1); ſix of five hundred pounds (2); two of four hundred pounds (3); four of three hundred pounds (4); four of two hundred pounds (5). Beſide, there were ſix others who had received certain ſums at one time; three more were brought in for ſums upon account; and five for uncertain ſums. Tho' this number appears not very conſiderable, it is however ſo, if it be premiſed, that in the houſe of commons, there are members, who are ſo able, and of ſuch credit, that they diſpoſe of ſeveral votes beſide their own, ſome more, ſome leſs; and that thirty members who receive penſions, may have it in their power, on many occaſions, to turn the reſolutions of the houſe in favor of the court.

The parliament prorogued. Kennet. Echard. Temple's Mem.

In the interim, the King being highly offended with the commons, and hearing morever that they intended to preſent to him a remonſtrance, much like that preſented to the King his father in 1641, and of which the deſign was to inflame the nation againſt him, reſolved to prorogue the parliament. To this end, he went to the houſe of lords the twenty-ſeventh of May, and ſending for the commons, paſſed ſome bills, and particularly one for ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject, called the "Habeas Corpus Act," and then prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of Auguſt. By this the excluſion bill was for a time defeated.

The barbarous murder of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews. Burnet. Echard.

The news of the proceedings of the Engliſh parliament had ſo raiſed the hopes of the Scotiſh malecontents, that they thought the time was come to be revenged of their perſecutors. Sharp, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, was the moſt hated of their enemies. If dr. Burnet, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, is to be credited, Sharp had abundantly merited the hatred of the Preſbyterians. For pretending an extraordinary zeal for their party, he had prevailed to be deputed to London after the reſtoration, to take care of their intereſts, but had baſely betrayed them. This raiſed him to the archbiſhoprick of St. Andrews, and from that time he became their moſt violent perſecutor. Whether Burnet's account of Sharp be exactly true, or aggravated, it is however not to be denied, that the Scots Preſbyterians were extremely incenſed againſt Sharp, and held him as a betrayer. Wherefore, in this juncture, when they expected great alterations, twelve of them reſolved to begin their revenge upon their enemies with the archbiſhop. To this intent, they waited for him about two miles from St. Andrews, where he was going in a coach and ſix, and moſt inhumanly and barbarouſly murdered him, calling him, "Apoſtate; betrayer of the godly; and perſecutor of Chriſt's church." This murder was commited the ſecond of May (6). At the end of the ſame month, eighty Preſbyterians appeared in arms, and in a few days their number increaſed to fifteen hundred. They ſeized Glaſcow, and ſome other towns in the neighborhood, and commited great outrages.

An inſurrection in Scotland. June 1. Burnet. Echard.

Suppreſſed by the duke of Monmouth. Ibid.

His Majeſty hearing of this rebellion, and that it daily gathered ſtrength, ſent the duke of Monmouth at the head of ſome Engliſh forces, who were joined by ſome Scotiſh regiments. The duke diſcharged his commiſſion with ſuch bravery and ſucceſs, that the twenty-ſecond of June he intirely defeated the rebels*, killed eight hundred, and took about twelve hundred priſoners. Several were hanged and the others tranſported.

* At Bothwell bridge.

The trial of five jeſuits. Burnet.

Shortly after the prorogation of the parliament, the five jeſuits, Whitebread, Harcourt, Fenwick, Gawen, and Turner were tried. The thirteenth of June, they were brought to the Old Baily, where their indictment was read, and the witneſſes heard.

Oates's depoſition. State Trials, Vol. II. p. 831.

Oates's evidence was: "1. That the great conſult of the twenty-fourth of April 1678, was "by order of Whitebread the provincial, and "that he, Fenwick, Harcourt, and Turner, did "all in his preſenſe ſign the reſolve for the King's "death.

"That Whitebread, after his return to St. "Omers, did ſay, 'He hoped to ſee the black "fool's head at Whitehall, laid faſt enough; and "if his brother ſhould appear to follow his foot-"ſteps, his paſport ſhould be made too.'

3. That in July, Aſhby a prieſt, brought over "inſtructions from Whitebread, to offer ſir George "Wakeman ten thouſand pounds to poiſon the "King; and alſo a commiſſion to ſir John Gage "to be an officer in the army they deſigned to raiſe, "which the witneſs delivered to ſir John.

p. 831, 832.

"4. As for Gawen, tho' he could not poſi-"tively ſay, he ſaw him at the conſult, yet he ſaw "his hand ſubſcribed to the reſolve: and that in "July 1678, he gave them in London an account "how proſperous their affairs were in Stafford-"ſhire and Shropſhire; that the lord Stafford was "very diligent, and that there was two or three "thouſand pounds, ready there to carry on the de-"ſign; all which he afterwards heard him declare "in father Ireland's chamber."

Dugdale's depoſition. p. 836.

Stephen Dugdale, a new witneſs, depoſed, "1. "Againſt Whitebread, that he ſaw a letter under "his hand to father Evers a jeſuit, and confeſſor "to the witneſs; in which he ordered him to be "ſure to chuſe men that were hardy and truſty, no "matter whether they were gentlemen: and he "ſwore what they were to do; that the words "under his hand were in expreſs terms,——For "killing the King.

"2. Againſt Gawen he ſwore, that he enter-"tained the witneſs to be of the conſpiracy to mur-"der the King, as one of thoſe reſolute fellows de-"ſcribed by Whitebread; and for that end they "had ſeveral conſultations in the country; as at "Boſcobel and at Tixall in September 1678. "And he heard them talk in one of thoſe conſults, "that it was the opinion of the monks at Paris, "who were to aſſiſt in the conſpiracy, 'That as "ſoon as the deed was done, they ſhould lay it on "the Preſbyterians,' and ſo provoke the other "Proteſtants to cut their throats. That he had "intercepted and read above a hundred letters to "the ſame purpoſe, to be delivered by private "marks, known to father Evers.

"3. That the witneſs himſelf was ſo zealous in

(1) Sir Courtney Pool and ſir John Charlton.

(2) Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Robert Roberts, ſir James Smith, ſir Philip Howard, ſir Richard Wiſeman, and Randolph Egerton.

(3) Sir Charles Wheeler and Thomas Price.

(4) Sir John Barnaby, ſir Lionel Walden, Daniel Collingwood, and Robert Philips.

(5) Colonel King, mr. Weſtphaling, Humphrey Cornwal, and mr. Knolls. Echard, Vol. III. p. 548.

(6) Tho' Rapin names Burnet, he follows Echard's account of this murder, which is very different from the biſhop's. Burnet ſays, as a party of furious men were riding thro' a moor near St. Andrew's (without any deſign then upon Sharp) they ſaw the archbiſhop's coach appear. He was coming from a council day, and was driving home, having ſent ſome of his ſervants before to let them know he was coming, and others he had ſent off on compliments; ſo that there were no horſemen about the coach. They ſeeing this, concluded, according to their frantic Enthuſiaſtic notions, that God had now delivered up their greateſt enemy into their hands. Seven of them made up to the coach, and one fired a piſtol at him, which burnt his coat and gown, but did not touch his body. Upon this they drew him out of his coach, and murdered him barbarouſly, p. 471.

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" the cauſe that he had given them four hundred " pounds for carrying on the deſign, which Gawen " had made him believe was not only lawful, but " meritorious; and that he was to be ſent up to " London by Harcourt, there to be inſtructed " about killing the King.

" 4. That the ſame Harcourt did write word to " father Evers of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey's being " diſpatched, that very night it was done; ſo " that they knew of it in Staffordſhire ſeveral days " before it was commonly known in London (1). " And to confirm this teſtimony, he produced mr. " Chetwin a gentleman, who ſwore he did hear it re- " ported as from mr. Dugdale; and that he was not " in town when the murderers of ſir Edmundbury " Godfrey were tried, or elſe he then would have " witneſſed the ſame."

State Trials, Vol. II. p. 840.

5. Againſt Turner he ſwore, " That he ſaw " him, with others, at Evers's chamber; where " they conſulted together to carry on this deſign, of " bringing in Popery by killing the King."

Prance's depoſition. Ibid.

Prance depoſed, " 1. That Harcourt one day " paying him for an image of the Virgin Mary, " told him, there was a deſign of killing the King: " 2. And that Fenwick told him in Ireland's cham- " ber, that there ſhould be fifty thouſand men in " arms, in a readineſs to ſetle their religion, and " that they ſhould be commanded by the lords " Bellaſis, Powis, and Arundel of Wardour."

Bedloe's depoſition. p. 841.

Bedloe depoſed, " 1. That he had ſeen White- " bread and Fenwick at ſeveral conſults about the " plot; and that he had heard Whitebread at " Harcourt's chamber, tell Coleman, the manner " of ſending the four ruffians to Windſor to kill " the King.

" 2. That he ſaw Harcourt take out of a cabinet " about fourſcore or a hundred pounds, to give to " a meſſenger, to be carried to the ſaid ruffians, " with a guinea to the meſſenger, to drink mr. " Coleman's health.

" 3. That Whitebread told him, that Pickering " was to have a great number of maſſes, and Grove " fifteen hundred pounds for killing the King.

p. 842.

" 4. That Harcourt imployed him three ſeveral " times to carry their conſults beyond the ſeas; " and that in Harcourt's preſenſe, he received " Coleman's thanks for his fidelity, and that Har- " court recommended him to the lord Arundel, " who promiſed him great favor when the times " were turned; alſo that he ſaw Harcourt give " Wakeman a bill to receive two thouſand pounds, " in part of a greater ſum; and heard ſir George p. 843. " ſay, 'fifteen thouſand pounds was a ſmall reward " for the ſetling of religion, and preſerving the " three kingdoms from ruin."

A letter produced. Ibid.

Beſide theſe evidences, there was a letter found among Harcourt's papers, from one Petre a jeſuit, which mentioned a meeting deſigned on the twenty-fourth of April 1678. This letter ſerved to fortify Oates's evidence of the grant conſult. But this was explained by the priſoners to ſignify a triennial meeting about the choice of a procurator to be ſent to Rome, tho' not to the full ſatisfaction of the court, who looked upon it as an evaſion.

The priſoners defenſe. p. 835.

The priſoners made a defenſe both long and various. Beſide their frequent aſſeverations and proteſtations of their innocence (2), and their ignorance of any deſigns againſt the King, they much argued againſt the witneſſes, inſiſting: " That " to the making of a credible witneſs, there muſt " be integrity of life, truth of teſtimony, and " probability of matter; but the witneſſes againſt " them, Oates, Bedloe, Prance, and Dugdale, " were men of deſperate fortunes, and flagitious " perſons, and that falſe ſwearing was their liveli- " hood."

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I cannot forbear remarking here by the way, that if this maxim, " That to make a credible " witneſs, there muſt be integrity of life," was received without reſtriction, it would be almoſt impoſſible to prove ſuch plots as this, becauſe commonly, only villains ingage in them, and they are diſcovered by complices. A remark.

" They alleged particularly the great improba- " bility of truſting Oates with ſecrets of the higheſt " importance, when he was turned away from St. " Omers for his miſdemeanors and immoralities, " which were ſo great, that he was denied the " ſacrament. They charged him with contradic- " tions, with relation to his former evidences." Ibid.

Theſe contradictions conſiſted, in what Oates had ſaid before the council, that he knew no more and yet added many things afterwards. I ſhall not here repeat what I have ſaid elſewhere.

They produced about ſixteen witneſſes to prove, " That Oates had been all April, May, and till " the latter end of June 1678, at St. Omers; " and that they ſaw him every day, and con- " verſed and dined with him, and that he was never " out of the college, except two days and one " night he was at Watton, and two or three he " was in the infirmary, &c. and conſequently he " could not be at the conſult the twenty-fourth " of April." Ibid.

And farther they proved, " That ſir John p. 854, 859, " Warner, and ſir Thomas Preſton, whom Oates 863. " had ſworn to come over with him to the conſult, " were all that time beyond the ſeas, one at Wat- " ton, the other at Liege."

And moreover, to ſhew that Oates was not a man to be credited, they produced eleven witneſſes to prove, " That father Ireland, who was exe- p. 859, 860. " cuted, was not at London, and made it appear " directly contrary to what he had ſworn upon his " trial." They added, " That if the evidence " of their ſide ſhould be rejected, becauſe they " were Roman Catholics, all commerce with ſeveral " countries would be deſtroyed."

The chief juſtice replied, that they had no reaſon to complain of the witneſſes being rejected by the court, ſince, on the contrary, their depoſitions were received without any ſcruple, and that it belonged to the jury to determine upon their evidence as they ſaw cauſe. Ibid.

In anſwer to theſe accuſations, Oates alleged, " That his coming to London to the conſult was p. 864, &c. " very private; yet he produced ſix witneſſes to " teſtify they ſaw him there about that time, but " in a ſort of diſguiſe (3)." But none ſpoke ſo much to the purpoſe as one mr. Smith a ſchool-maſter of Iſlington, who afterwards, in the reign of James II, retracted all he had ſaid.

As to Ireland's being in London, Oates produced one witneſs, who did affirm to have ſeen him there at that time.

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(1) Harcourt's letter was received the Monday next after the Saturday, on which the murder was commited; that is three days before the body was found. State-Trials, Vol. II. p. 838.

(2) Gawen made this ſolemn proteſtation; " I do as truly believe there is a God, an heaven, and a hell, as any one here " does: as I hope for ſalvation, as I hope to ſee God in heaven, I never ſaw mr. Oates before the day in January, when " he ſays, I had the perriwig on, and he did not know me: and as for July, I call God to witneſs, I never ſaw him then. Ibid. p. 835.

(3) An old Dominican frier, ſtill of that church and order, ſwore he ſaw Oates in England, and ſpoke with him at that time. By this the credit of the St. Omers ſcholars was quite blaſted. Burnet, p. 464.

Gawen

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Gawen offered to undergo the Ordeal, or fiery-trial over red hot plow-ſhares, as a teſt of his innocence. But, beſide that this way of proving an accuſed perſon's innocence had been laid aſide ſix hundred years, and conſequently was not to be allowed by the court, it is certain that when the trial by Ordeal was practiſed, it was never admited but where evidences failed, which could not be ſaid of Gawen.

State Trials, Vol. II. p. 858.

Harcourt urged in his defenſe, with regard to the letter ſaid to be wrote by him to Evers concerning Godfrey's death, that he muſt have been mad to ſend ſuch a letter by the poſt.

The jeſuits condemned.

The jury returned, after a ſhort conſideration, and brought in all the five priſoners guilty of high-treaſon; but ſentenſe was reſpited till the next day, on which came on the trial of Richard Langhorn a Popiſh counſellor at law of the Temple, and much imployed by the Papiſts. Being brought to the ſame place with the five jeſuits, and before the ſame perſons, with a new jury, Oates appeared and ſwore:

Langhorn's trial. Burnet, p. 465.

State Trials, Vol. II. p. 878, &c.

" 1. That the priſoner held correſpondence " with la Chaiſe and others, that the witneſſes " carried ſeveral letters to perſons beyond the ſeas, " in one of which he ſaw, under his own hand, " words to this purpoſe, 'That the parliament " began to flag in promoting the Proteſtant re- " ligion, and now they had a fair opportunity to " begin and give the blow,' with other expreſſions " plain enough concerning the plot.

" 2. That he had orders from the provincial " Whitebread, to give mr. Langhorn an account " of the reſolve of the great conſult, April the " twenty-fourth 1678, and upon acquainting him " with it, Langhorn lifted up his hands and eyes, " and 'prayed to God to give it good ſucceſs.'

" 3. That he ſaw in his chamber certain com- " miſſions which they called patents; and that he " permited the witneſs to peruſe ſeveral of them: " One was to the lord Arundel of Wardour, to be " lord chancellor; another to the lord Powis, to " be treaſurer; and one to the priſoner to be ad- " vocate of the army; all ſigned Johannes " Paulus de Oliva, by virtue of a brief from the " Pope.

" 4. That being imployed as a ſollicitor for ſeveral " of the fathers of the ſociety, the priſoner pre- " vailed upon the Benedictine monks, to raiſe ſix " thouſand pounds for carrying on the cauſe; and " ſaid in his hearing, 'That he would do his " utmoſt for procuring the money.'

" 5. That he was diſguſted, that ſir George " Wakeman was not contented with ten thouſand " pounds to poiſon the King, and called him, 'a " narrow-ſpirited, and narrow-ſouled phyſician; " who, for ſo public a cauſe, ought to have done " it for nothing.'

6. An inſtrument being produced, ſigned Paulus de Oliva, found in Langhorn's chamber; Oates ſwore, " That the forementioned commiſſions were " ſigned by the ſame hand; but they were all con- " veyed away, and this being only an eccleſiaſtical " buſineſs, and not dangerous, as they thought, was " left behind.".

p. 883.

In the next place Bedloe ſwore, " 1. That go- " ing with Coleman to the priſoner's chamber, the " former gave him his letters to father la Chaiſe, " the Pope's nuncio, and others, open, to read, " and regiſter in a book kept by him for that pur- " poſe; and that ſome of the expreſſions in theſe let- " ters were, 'To let la Chaiſe know they waited " only now for his anſwer, How far he had " proceeded with the French King, for the ſend- " ing money; for they only wanted money, all " other things being in readineſs. That the Ca- " tholics of England were in ſafety; that places " and offices had been diſpoſed to them, and that " all gariſons either were, or ſuddenly would be, " in their hands; and now they had a fair oppor- " tunity, having a King that was ſo eaſy to be- " lieve what was dictated to him by the Catholic " party.'

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" 2. That he brought other letters from Har- " court to Langhorn to be regiſtered; of which let- " ters, one was for the rector of the Iriſh college " at Salamanca, which ſpecified, 'That the lord " Bellaſis, and the reſt of the lords concerned " ſhould be in readineſs, for that they had ſent " ſome Iriſh caſhiered ſoldiers, with many lay- " brothers, under the notion of pilgrims from St. " Jago, who were to take ſhiping at the Groyn, " and to land at Milford haven, and there to join " with the lord Powis."

Mr. Langhorn in his defenſe, beſide the ſolemn proteſtations of his innocence, alleged, that Oates " and Bedloe, the witneſſes againſt him, were " parties in the crime, and deſired to know, whether " they had their pardons." Upon underſtanding that Bedloe had three, and Oates had two under the broad-ſeal; he inſiſted, " That they were ſtill approvers " in the eyes of the law, and therefore not to be " heard; and deſired to know, if they expected " any rewards for their diſcoveries." Oates replied upon oath, " That he had been rewarded " by expending ſix or ſeven hundred pounds out " of his own pocket, without knowing if he ſhould " ever ſee it again." Langhorn then alleged, " He had heard Bedloe had received five hundred " pounds;" but he was anſwered, " That that " was for the diſcovery of ſir Edmundbury " Godfrey's murder, and not for the plot." And Bedloe ſwore, " That he was ſo far from having " any benefit for that diſcovery, that he was ſeven " hundred pounds out of pocket." When the priſoner inſiſted upon the improbability of their aſſertions, by reaſon of their great neceſſities and poverty, when they firſt made their diſcoveries, he was told, " That ſuch inquiries were foreign to " the matter in hand." And ſo he proceeded to prove Oates perjured, with reſpect to the conſult the twenty-fourth of April, and to the buſineſs of father Ireland, by the ſame witneſſes that had been uſed by the five jeſuits the day before. Whereupon the chief juſtice told him, that a witneſs could not be rejected as perjured, unleſs he was declared ſo upon a trial, and therefore his allegation could not be of any ſervice to him.

p. 887.

p. 888, &c.

As Oates had formerly ſworn, that he lay at Grove's houſe about the time of the conſult, he brought mrs. Grove to teſtify, that he never was there about that time; which was confirmed by her maid; and both affirmed, that the houſe was taken up, and that there was no room to lodge him. The court thereupon ſaid, that being diſguiſed he might lodge there without being known.

p. 894.

While this trial was pending, the earl of Caſtlemain * came into the hall, and told the judges, " That the mob uſed violence to the witneſſes " who had depoſed in favor of the priſoners, and " that they were in danger of their lives;" upon this the court ordered immediate inquiry to be made after the authors of theſe violences, in order to puniſh them according to their deſert.

p. 895. * Roger Palmer.

In fine, the jury brought in Langhorn guilty, and he received ſentenſe, together with the five jeſuits, who had been tried the day before.

Langhorn is condemned.

On the twentieth of June, the five jeſuits were executed, proteſting their innocence. Whitebread in particular declared, " That he renounced from his " heart all manner of abſolutions, diſpenſations for " ſwearing, &c. which ſome had been pleaſed to " lay to the jeſuits charge, thinking them un- " juſtifiable and unlawful." Langhorn was reprieved

The jeſuits executed without making any confeſſion.

p. 908, 913.

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prieved for a month (1). He was executed the fourteenth of July, and died, proteſting his innocence of the crimes for which he was condemned. It was aſtoniſhing to many, that ſo able a lawyer, if he was innocent, had made ſo weak a defenſe.

As the death of theſe five jeſuits, and of the three before executed, made a great noiſe; and as to this day they are believed innocent by ſome, and guilty by others, I cannot forbear to make a few reflections upon this topic, to aſſiſt the reader to judge impartially.

A reflection upon theſe trials.

1. The truth will never appear, if men ſuffer themſelves to be ſwayed by religious prejudices. If we believe an accuſed perſon guilty, becauſe he is a Papiſt or Jeſuit, or if for the ſame reaſon we believe him innocent, all examination is vain. The prejudiced perſon always finds reaſon and juſtice in one or other of theſe two opinions, and therefore he muſt, if poſſible, diveſt himſelf of his prejudices.

2. The convicted jeſuits were accuſed of three things; of a deſign to kill the King; to ſubvert the government; to root out the Proteſtant religion. And yet, moſt of the evidences againſt them ran only upon the firſt of theſe three articles, the two others being ſuppoſed. It is nevertheleſs on this ſuppoſition, that the accuſation of deſigning to kill the King is built, becauſe it is pretended, that the aim of the conſpirators was to place the duke of York on the throne, as more proper to advance their deſigns than the King his brother. But this pretenſion is not proved, nor does it appear in the evidences produced againſt them, that this was their aim.

3. But on the other hand, it can hardly be denied, that throughout this whole reign, there was a ſetled deſign to render the King abſolute, and introduce the Popiſh religion. This muſt be the meaning of theſe expreſſions, "To ſubvert the go-"vernment, and deſtroy the Proteſtant religion." This being ſuppoſed, it is not unlikely that the Papiſts and Jeſuits might believe, that their project would be ſooner executed if the King was removed, and the duke of York placed on the throne.

4. It is therefore upon this probability, that the jeſuits have been accuſed of projecting to kill the King. It is ſuppoſed, that being concerned in the general deſign, or plot, they believed the King's death a proper means to haſten the execution, and here the witneſſes were very poſitive.

5. The defenſes of the priſoners chiefly conſiſted, 1. In aſſeverations and proteſtations of their innocence. 2. In the depoſitions of the witneſſes from St. Omers and Staffordſhire, who proved, that Oates was not at London the twenty-fourth of April 1678. 3. On the improbabilities in the evidence given by Oates and Bedloe. Upon theſe three heads I propoſe to make ſome reflections.

1. The proteſtations and aſſeverations of the accuſed during their trial are not to be regarded. But when they are carried to the point of death, they ought to be conſidered. If they are not a poſitive proof, they form at leaſt a preſumption, becauſe Papiſts are not leſs convinced than Proteſtants, that lying is not the way to eſcape the juſt judgments of God, before whom they are ſhortly to appear; and that beſide, theſe proteſtations never prevail for a reverſal of the ſentenſe. I am aware that the jeſuits are accuſed of approving equivocations and mental reſervations. But, without examining how far this charge may be proved, it is certain that father Whitebread, upon the ladder, teſtified an abhorrence of this doctrine, and renounced all pardons and diſpenſations from the Pope, or any other power, for ſwearing or ſpeaking againſt the truth(2). It is not therefore impoſſible, but (without there was paſſion or prejudice in the judges and juries) the jeſuits, tho' innocent, would have been condemned upon falſe evidence. Accordingly this is what many pretend: but there are others who carry the thing farther, and maintain, that the accuſed might have been acquited, if the paſſion and prejudice of the judges and juries had not prevented it. This we ſhall examine in the next article.

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2. I have elſewhere ſpoken of the defenſe, founded upon the proof the Alibi, which obliges the judge to render juſtice by chance, ſince there being a direct contrariety between the evidences, the judges cannot be ſatisfied on which ſide the truth lies. Oates depoſed, That he had aſſiſted at the grand conſult in London, April 1678. He produced ſeven witneſſes, who affirmed, that they ſaw him in London at that time. The jeſuits on their ſide produced ſixteen witneſſes, who affirmed, that Oates was at St. Omers at the ſame time. It muſt be therefore, either that Oates and his witneſſes, or thoſe of the jeſuits, were falſe. Now, that which probably determined the jury to bring in the jeſuits guilty was: Firſt, the priſoners objected only a bare denial to the teſtimonies of Prance, Dugdale and Bedloe, which could not but breed a diſadvantageous prejudice againſt them. Secondly, the witneſſes from St. Omers were all ſcholars, or perſons depending upon the jeſuits college; another conſideration capable to prepoſſeſs the jury. Laſtly, the queſtion was to examine a plot contrived by Papiſts, as ſuch, and in favor of their religion, and not as private perſons, incited by other paſſions. In this caſe, it is not very ſtrange, that the evidences given by Papiſts appeared ſuſpicious. For it is certain, at that time, the opinion, ſupported by the votes of two ſeveral parliaments, that there was a real plot to ſubvert the Proteſtant religion, was generally imbraced throughout the whole kingdom.

As to the ſuperiority of ſixteen witneſſes againſt ſeven, this could occaſion no difficulty. For ſeven witneſſes diſperſed in London, who had only accidentally ſeen Oates, were as credible as the ſixteen ſhut up in one houſe at St. Omers (3). And tho' there had been but two from St. Omers, yet, all other circumſtances being equal, they would have been as credible as the ſeven witneſſes of London.

3. I proceed now to the improbabilties in the depoſitions of Oates and Bedloe. Firſt, it is difficult to conceive the neceſſity of reſolving the King's death in an aſſembly of fifty jeſuits. Secondly, it may with reaſon be imagined that an affair of ſuch importance as the aſſaſſination of a King, paſſes thro' the hands of thoſe only who are moſt diſtinguiſhed in the ſociety, either by their poſts or capacity. But it is ſcarcely credible, that fifty ſuch could be found in England or at St. Omers. Thirdly, I know not that any perſon, to this day, has poſitively

(1) In hopes of his making ſome diſcovery. He offered to declare what eſtates and ſtock the jeſuits had in England; but proteſted he could make no other diſcovery. Burnet, p. 466.

(2) Rapin ſeems not to have taken notice of a paſſage in Burnet on this occaſion. One Serjeant, a ſecular prieſt, a zealous Papiſt in his way, ſome months after theſe executions, appeared before the council upon ſecurity given him, and avered, that Gawen the jeſuit, who died proteſting he had never thought it lawful to murder Kings, but had always deteſted it; had at his laſt being in Flanders, ſaid to a very devout perſon, from whom Serjeant had it, that he thought the Queen might lawfully take away the King's life for the injuries he had done her, but much more becauſe he was a Heretic. Upon that Serjeant ran out into many particulars, to ſhow how little credit was due to the proteſtations made by the jeſuits, even at their death, p. 466.

(3) See note above concerning the Dominican Frier.

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sitively affirmed that Oates was a jeſuit. And yet he not only appears in the grand conſult of the twenty-fourth of April, but has an office in it of great truſt and importance, viz. to carry the reſolution of killing the King, to the ſeveral companies into which the aſſembly was divided. Fourthly, It is not ſaid, at what time Oates turned Papiſt; but 'tis only ſeen, he was firſt imployed in 1677 to carry letters to Spain. He returned about the end of the ſame year, and was ſhortly after ſent to St. Omers, where he continued but three or four months. Now it is not probable, that this ſhort ſtay at St. Omers could have acquired him the confidence of the heads of the ſociety, to ſuch a degree, as to be ſent to London to aſſiſt in a grand conſult, where the King's murder was to be reſolved. Fifthly, Why was Bedloe admited into ſo great a ſecret; he who was to have no ſhare in the execution? And yet he ſpeaks of it as a matter with which he was perfectly acquainted, not only from letters which he might have opened, but it appears even by his depoſitions, that the heads of the conſpiracy, Ireland, Whitebread, Harcourt, Coleman, Langhorn, uſed no caution with him; from whence it may be infered, that they themſelves imparted to him the ſecret. He is at Harcourt's chamber, when the money is ordering for the four Iriſh men who were to aſſaſſinate the King. He is at the ſame chamber when the Queen's phyſician receives a note of two thouſand pounds ſterling, without any apparent neceſſity of his preſenſe in an affair of that nature. Sixthly, Oates and Bedloe were men of mean birth, who had been imployed only as letter-carriers. They were beſide little diſtinguiſhed for their capacity or talents, and yet they are admited into all the moſt important ſecrets of the plot. Laſtly, It appears in the depoſitions of Oates and Bedloe, that the conſpirators talked together, and writ to one another, concerning the King's murder, as if it had been but a trifle, and without even taking the uſual precautions on ſuch occaſions, of diſguiſing their thoughts in ambiguous expreſſions.

Theſe are improbabilities which give but too much occaſion to ſuſpect the credit of theſe two witneſſes. It will perhaps be ſaid, that a thing is not falſe becauſe it is improbable; and that God ſometimes permits the moſt wary villains to ruin themſelves by a too great confidence in others. This may be, and it may alſo be, that this was not the preſent caſe. At leaſt it may be aſſerted that the jeſuits are not wont to proceed with ſo little caution.

Theſe are the improbabilities that have induced many people, tho' perſuaded of the reality of the plot, as far as it concerned the government and religion, to ſuſpend their judgment with regard to the King's murder. The ſame improbabilities likewiſe have furniſhed others with a pretenſe for denying the whole plot, becauſe they are pleaſed to confine it to that ſingle article, in which they impoſe upon themſelves, or elſe are deſirous to impoſe upon their readers.

The King diſſolves the parliament. Kennet. Echard.

The tenth of July the King, contrary to the advice of his new council, which he ſeemed to have reſolved to follow with an intire deference, diſſolved the parliament, and ſummoned another to meet the ſeventeenth of October. He hoped to find the next more tractable, but was very much miſtaken. The people, who no longer regarded what came from the court, affected to ſend ſuch members as were of the country party, as being the moſt proper to oppoſe the King's deſigns. The earl of Shaftſbury was at the head of this party, and without doubt greatly contributed to inflame the paſſions of the people. But it is perhaps ſaying too much, to charge this lord with all the King's late mortifications. If it could be proved, that the King had never given any occaſion of diſcontent to his people, we ſhould be obliged to recur to ſome extraordinary cauſe of the parliament's ill humor, as the intrigues, cabals, and artifices of ſome powerful and popular perſon. But what need is there to ſeek for an extraordinary cauſe, when one ſo naturally offers in the King's whole conduct, who had hitherto ſhewn, that his intereſts and thoſe of his people were intirely different?

Sir George Wakeman and others tried, State Trials, Vol. II. Burnet.

Sir George Wakeman the Queen's phyſician was brought to his trial the eighteenth of June, together with James Corker, William Marſhal, two Benedictine monks, and William Rumley, a lay brother of that order. Oates and Bedloe were the witneſſes againſt them: but, beſide that their depoſitions were imperfect, and the greateſt part upon hearſay, and could paſs for proofs only on the ſuppoſition of the deſign to poiſon the King, which was not well proved, the jury doubtleſs conſidered, that a perſon of ſir George Wakeman's ſenſe, could never truſt ſuch a ſecret to Bedloe, whom he ſcarce knew. Nay, he ſwore that he never ſaw Bedloe before in his life. However this be, the priſoners were acquited, to the great mortification of the two witneſſes, ſince it was eaſy to ſee, that Oates and Bedloe were evidences capable of ſwearing to things of which they had no perfect knowledge (1).

and acquited.

The King's ſickneſs. Kennet. Echard. Temple. Burnet.

About the end of Auguſt, the King being at Windſor, was ſeized with three violent fits of an intermiting fever, which gave great apprehenſion. The earl of Eſſex and the lord Halliſax, two of the four counſellors who then managed his Majeſty's affairs, fearing, if the King died, to fall into the hands of the duke of Monmouth and the earl of Shaftſbury, adviſed him to ſend for the duke of York, which was done with all poſſible ſpeed and ſecreſy; the duke appearing at Windſor the ſecond of September. The King, being then out of danger, pretended to be greatly ſurpriſed at his arrival. But this diſſimulation was not capable of deceiving the duke of Monmouth and the earl of Shaftſbury. On the other hand, the earl of Eſſex and lord Halliſax, finding they had made Monmouth and Shaftſbury their irreconcileable enemies, joined with the duke of York for their deſtruction. They ſucceeded ſo well, that his Majeſty removed the duke of Monmouth from his poſt of captain-general, and ſent him into Holland, to the great ſurpriſe of the whole court, the duke of Monmouth being in the higheſt favor with the King before the duke of York's arrival (2). Shortly after, Shaftſbury alſo was caſhiered from being preſident of the council (3). Thus the court appeared with a new face, and the duke of York was more powerful than ever. He improved this happy juncture to obtain the King's leave to retire to Scotland, repreſenting to him the danger of his being in the Low Coun-

The duke of York returns.

The duke of Monmouth and Shaftſbury in diſgrace. Kennet. Echard.

October 7.

(1) The lord chief juſtice Scroggs, who had been very violent againſt the priſoners hitherto, was obſerved, far contrary to his former practice, to turn againſt the witneſſes in this trial. The Portugal embaſſador went next day with great ſtate to thank Scroggs for his behavior in Wakeman's trial. By which the chief juſtice was expoſed to much cenſure. This was looked on, it ſeems, as the Queen's trial as well as Wakeman's. For Oates and Bedloe had both depoſed, that ſhe was to aſſiſt him in poiſoning the King. Burnet, p. 468.

(2) In his room Chriſtopher Monk, duke of Albemarle, was made captain of the life-guards of horſe, and John Sheffield earl of Mulgrave, governor of Hull, &c. Kennet, p. 368.

(3) He had called a council juſt before while the King was at Newmarket, and repreſented to them the danger the King was in, by the duke's being ſo near him, and preſſed the council to repreſent this to the King; but they did not agree to it. And upon the King's coming to London, he was removed, and lord Roberts then made earl of Radnor, was made preſident. Burnet, p. 477.

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The duke of York goes for Scotland. October 27. Kennet. Burnet.

tries, in caſe of his Majeſty's death. Accordingly, he returned to Bruſſels, to bring home his ducheſs and the Princeſs Anne, and arriving ſhortly after at London, departed for Scotland. If doctor Burnet is to be recited, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, he governed Scotland in an arbitrary manner, and gave manifeſt tokens of his cruelty, and inveterate hatred to the Preſbyterians.

The King, contrary to the advice of his council, prorogues the parliament. Temple's Mem. Echard.

Every one impatiently expected, where the late alterations at court would end, and it was not long before it appeared. The fifteenth of October, the King ſummoning his council, after a ſhort pauſe, told them, "That upon many conſiderations, "which he could not at preſent acquaint them "with, he found it neceſſary to make a longer pro-"rogation of the parliament than he intended: "that he had conſidered all the conſequences ſo "far as to be abſolutely reſolved, and not to hear "any thing that ſhould be ſaid againſt it: That "he would have the meeting put off, till that time "twelvemonth." The counſellors aſtoniſhed at this reſolution, and more ſo at the manner of propoſing it, were moſt of them ſilent. Some however offering to repreſent to the King the dangerous conſequences of this reſolution, were injoined ſilence. But ſir William Temple, more bold than the reſt, ſtood up, and with great freedom told his Majeſty, "That as to the reſolution he had taken, he would "ſay nothing, becauſe he was reſolved to hear no "reaſoning upon it; therefore he would only pre-"ſume to offer him his humble advice as to the "courſe of his future proceedings; which was, "That his Majeſty in his affairs would pleaſe to "make uſe of ſome council or other, and allow "freedom to their debates and advices; after "hearing which, his Majeſty might yet reſolve "as he pleaſed. That if he did not think the "perſons or number of this preſent council ſuited "with his affairs, it was in his power to diſſolve "them, and conſtitute another of any number he "pleaſed, and to alter them again when he would: "but, to make counſellors that ſhould not coun-"ſel, he doubted whether it was in his Majeſty's "power or not, becauſe it implied a contradiction: "and ſo far as he had obſerved, either of former ages, "or the preſent, he queſtioned, whether it was a "thing ever practiſed in England by his Majeſty's "predeceſſors, or were ſo now by any of the "preſent Princes in Chriſtendom: therefore he "humbly adviſed him to conſtitute ſome ſuch "council, as he would think fit to make uſe of, "in the direction of this great and public affairs."

Changes in the council. Kennet. Echard.

This proceeding cauſed ſeveral counſellors to ſurrender their commiſſions to the King, and others to abſent themſelves from the council (1), not thinking proper to incourage the King's ſecret reſolutions by their preſenſe, and thereby give occaſion to ſuſpect they approved them. The earl of Eſſex reſigned his place of firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. The lord Hallifax, ſir William Temple, and ſome others, retired into the country. Thus the council, which the King had appointed to amuſe the people, was almoſt diſſolved, and the direction of the public affairs remained in the hands of the earl of Sunderland, mr. Laurence Hyde, and mr. Sidney Godolphin (2), or rather the duke of York, whoſe intereſt they had imbraced; and who directed their reſolutions, tho' abſent.

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A plot contrived. Dangerfield's Narrat. Burnet, p. 475.

About the latter end of October, in a fortnight after the prorogation of the parliament, a ſham plot was diſcovered, contrived by the Papiſts to bring an odium upon the Preſbyterians, and the heads of the country party. This project had been formed the begining of Auguſt, by the counteſs of Powis; Elizabeth Cellier a midwife; the earl of Caſtlemain, and the five lords in the Tower. The deſign was to make uſe of falſe witneſſes to accuſe Oates of perjury and ſodomy; to aſſaſſinate the earl of Shaftſbury; and to charge the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Eſſex, the duke of Monmouth, the lord Hallifax, and ſeveral conſiderable citizens of London, with being concerned in a conſpiracy againſt the King. One Dangerfield was to be the principal actor in this ſcene (3). He received his inſtructions from the lady Powis, and the lords in the Tower, with a liſt of the perſons whom he was to accuſe (4). Moreover, the lady Powis gave him a model of this plot, which he was to convey into the houſe of ſome pretended conſpirator, and there cauſe it to be diſcovered.

Dangerfield the chief actor in it.

Dangerfield, furniſhed with theſe inſtructions and papers, informed the duke of York of it, after his arrival from Bruſſels. The duke of York made him a preſent of twenty guineas, and introduced him to the King, who, after hearing him, gave him forty more. He then made ſome attempts to aſſaſſinate the earl of Shaftſbury, but was prevented by ſeveral accidents. At length, on pretenſe of ſeeing ſome rooms, which he ſaid he intended to hire, he went to colonel Manſel's lodging (5), and found means to pin ſome dangerous papers behind his bed's head. This done, he informed two of the cuſtom-houſe officers, that there were in thoſe lodgings, prohibited goods to the value of two thouſand pounds. The officers repairing thither the twenty-ſecond of October, ſearched every where in hopes of finding their prey; but as they did not think of ſearching behind the bed, Dangerfield himſelf found the papers. The officers carrying theſe papers to their ſuperiors, had orders to return them to Manſel. Four or five days after, the colonel meeting Dangerfield in the ſtreet, carried him directly to Whitehall, and brought him before the King and council. He was ſtrictly examined, and, after a full hearing, his contrivance being detected, he was ſent to Newgate the twenty-ſeventh of October.

It obtains the name of the Meal-Tub Plot.

Two days after, ſir William Waller, a magiſtrate of London, ſearching Cellier's houſe, found the model of the pretended plot, writ very fair, in a paper book tied with ribbands, and hid in a Meal-tub, which gave it the name of the Meal-Tub-Plot. Dangerfield perceiving himſelf ruined if he perſiſted in a thing which he could not ſupport, applied himſelf to the lord mayor of London, and gave him in writing a large confeſſion upon oath, with a diſcovery of the perſons by whom he was imployed. This confeſſion being tranſmited to the council, ſeveral perſons were apprehended (6), and among the reſt earl of Caſtlemain *. The lady Powis, accuſed by others, beſide Dangerfield, of conſpiring the death of the King, was ſent to the Tower, and ordered to be proſecuted for high-treaſon. This affair greatly contributed to the reſo-

Dangerfield diſcovers the fraud.

* Roger Palmer.

Echard.

(1) Viz. the lord Ruſſel, the lord Cavendiſh, ſir Henry Capel, and mr. Powle. Kennet, p. 368.
(2) This laſt, and Daniel Finch, eſq; firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, were ſworn privy couſellors February 4. Ibid.
(3) Burnet gives him this character: "That he was a ſubtle and dexterous man, who had gone thro' all the ſhapes and "practiſes of roguery, and in particular, was a falſe coiner. He was in jail for debt, and was in an ill intrigue with one "Cellier a Popiſh midwife, who had a great ſhare of wit, and was abandoned to leudneſs," Ibid. p. 475.
(4) They were, the lords Grey, and Howard of Eſcrick, the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, ſir William Waller. colonel Blood, &c. Dangerfield's Narrative, p. 35.
(5) In Ax-yard, King's-ſtreet, Weſtminſter. Dangerfield's Narrative, p. 42..
(6) Particularly mrs. Cellier, and Gadbury the aſtrologer.

lution

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lution taken by the earl of Eſſex and the lord Halifax, to retire from court, becauſe they obſerved, that tho' they were mentioned in the plot, they were left out of the ſecret examinations about it.

The death of Hobbes.

The famous philoſopher Thomas Hobbes died this year, in the ninety-firſt of his age. His writings are, unhappily, but too well known, to need any farther notice (1).

Libels againſt the court. Echard.

In the begining of the year 1680, affairs were in ſuch a ſituation, that the King had need of all his patience and addreſs. There were viſibly two parties in the kingdom, that of the court and that of the country. To the indeavors of the court to gain proſelites, the country party oppoſed ſwarms of libels to irritate the people, by repreſenting the miſchiefs with which England was threatened, if the deſigns of the court and the Papiſts were not prevented (2). For, in theſe libels, there was no ſcruple made of affirming, that the Papiſts were countenanced by the court. The year forty-one ſeemed to be returning, and it was even probable, that the contrary party to the King had no better intentions, than the enemies of Charles I had in 1640. It was a deplorable thing to ſee the kingdom thus divided by the oppoſite intereſts of the King and the ſubject. But when it was known, that the King had reſolved to prorogue the parliament till November, not only anonymous libels were publiſhed, but petitions flowed from all parts, for the ſiting of the parliament the twenty-ſixth of January, according to the laſt prorogation. His Majeſty received theſe petitions with great uneaſineſs, and failed not to return a diſobliging anſwer to thoſe who had the boldneſs to preſent them. Nay, he publiſhed ſeveral proclamations againſt theſe petitions, uſing the ſame reaſons that James I, and Charles I, had alleged on the like occaſions. He ſaid, "He was the head of the government, and "the only judge of what was fit to be done in ſuch "caſes, and that he would do what he thought moſt "for the good of himſelf and his people, deſiring "they would not meddle with a matter, that was "ſo eſſential a part of his prerogative (3)." All this is very true in the ordinary courſe of the government. But when the people imagine the Sovereign is uſing, to the kingdom's deſtruction, a prerogative intended for their welfare, the bare allegation of the Royal prerogative is not capable to ſatisfy them. Whatever color is given to it, the Engliſh would never be convinced, that it ought to turn to their ruin. Accordingly, the proclamations were not able to put a ſtop to the petitions, as on the other hand, the petitions obliged not the King to alter his meaſures.

Addreſſes to the King for the meeting of the parliament. Kennet. Burnet. Echard.

The parliament comes together and is farther prorogued. Echard.

However, his Majeſty reſolved to meet the parliament the twenty-ſixth of January, but it was only to tell both houſes, that the unſetled condition of the nation, rendered a long interval of the parliament abſolutely neceſſary, for compoſing and quieting the minds of the people. That nevertheleſs he would only prorogue them to April, in order to meet them again in that month, if the condition of his allies abroad demanded their aſſiſtance. After this ſhort ſpeech, the chancellor, by the King's command, prorogued the parliament to the fifteenth of April.

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The duke of York returns to court. Kennet, p. 367. Echard.

Two days after, the King declared in council, "That he had ſent for his Royal Highneſs, not "having found ſuch an effect from his abſenſe, as "ſhould incline him to keep him longer from him, "when queſtions were ſtarted of ſuch a nature, "as made it reaſonable that he ſhould be preſent "at the next ſeſſion." Upon this invitation the duke of York appeared at court the twenty-fourth of February, where he was received with great pomp and ſatisfaction by the King his brother.

Two parties formed, called the Addreſſers and the Abhorrers. Kennet. Echard. Burnet.

The duke's arrival, and the King's late firmneſs in proroguing the parliament, notwithſtanding the clamors of the male-contents, greatly incouraged the court party, ſo that multitudes of addreſſes were preſented to his Majeſty, teſtifying an abhorrence of the liberty taken by ſome men to require him to hold the parliament (4), and in that from Norfolk he was thanked for recalling the duke of York. Tho' it is certain, the general ſenſe of the people for or againſt the court, is ſeldom to be known by theſe petitions, it is no leſs certain, they are, for the moſt part, the work of a few popular men, who by intrigue and cabal, procure ſubſcriptions to theſe addreſſes, from thoſe with whom they have intereſt, and who often ſign them without examining the contents. Accordingly, theſe addreſſes are not uſually to be regarded, moſt of the ſubſcribers being ready to ſign the contrary, if they think it for their private advantage. They are however urged as evidence of the peoples being of this or that ſentiment, tho' in the main, it is a very dubious proof. On the preſent occaſion, petitions had been preſented to the King for the parliament's ſiting. As ſoon as the parliament was prorogued, and the duke of York at court, many addreſſes were preſented in abhorrence of the former, ſo that two parties were formed, called the Petitioners and Abhorrers; and as the animoſity between the two parties gradually increaſed, they beſtowed upon each other names of reproach, and from hence aroſe the ſo much famed diſtinction of WHIG and TORY. The petitioners looking on their adverſaries as intirely devoted to the court and the Popiſh faction, gave them the name of Tories, a title given to the Iriſh robbers, villains and cut throats, ſince called Rapparees. Thus the name of Tories, ſerves only now to diſtinguiſh one of the two factions which ſtill divide England. The Abhorrers, on their ſide, conſidering the Petitioners, as men intirely in the principles of the parliament of 1640, and as Preſbyterians, gave them the name of Whig, or Sour-Milk, formerly appropriated to the Scotiſh Preſbyterians, and rigid Covenanters. Theſe two denominations are too well remembered at this time (5).

Riſe of Whig and Tory.

(1) To be a little more large upon the character of this philoſopher. He was the ſon of a clergyman, born at Malmſbury in Wiltſhire, and called from this place of his birth Malmſburienſis. He went out bachellor of arts at Magdalen hall in Oxford, and from thence was taken very young into the earl of Devonſhire's family. With the ſon of that nobleman he traveled into France and Italy, and made an acquaintance with Gaſſendus, and ſome of the greateſt men of the age. In his ſixty-third year he ſetled in England for the remainder of his days, and in the healthful air of Chatſworth, in Derbyſhire, held it out to the ninety-firſt year of his age. The King having learned mathematics of him abroad, allowed him a penſion of one hundred pounds a year. His genius was vaſt and extenſive. But notwithſtanding his pretenſes to philoſophy and the mathematics, young Wallis of Oxford convinced the world, that his ſelf ſufficiency was much greater than his real abilities. He likewiſe aimed at a reputation in poetry, tranſlated Homer, and writ ſome other little things which have only ranked him againſt our Ogilby's in this part of learning. He certainly writ Latin with great purity, and his verſion of Thucydides ſhews him a maſter in his own language. It is ſaid that his years improved his fears of death, and that he did not leave the world with the decency and reſignation of a philoſopher.——This year alſo died Matthew Poole, the compiler of the Synopſis Criticorum on the bible.

(2) Of the libels then publiſhed, that which made moſt noiſe, was "An appeal from the country to the city.

(3) Theſe words were not in the King's proclamations, but in his anſwers to the London and Wiltſhire petitions.

(4) The firſt addreſs of this ſort came from the city of Weſtminſter, and was preſented by Francis Withens, eſq; who was knighted for it. Kennet, p. 370.

(5) See the author's "Diſſertation on Whig and Tory," at the end of the reign of King James II.

The

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A report ſpread of the duke of Monmouth's legitimacy. Sandford, p. 640. Kennet, Echard.

The Whigs were governed by the earl of Shaftſbury, who looking on the duke of York not only as his own, but alſo as the mortal enemy of his party, believed there was no medium between periſhing, or ruining that Prince. To accompliſh this end, he made it his buſineſs to extol the duke of Monmouth, and render him the darling of the people, imagining, that when he had gained the people, the ſupplanting of the duke of York would not be impracticable. With this view it was, at leaſt as it is pretended, that the earl of Shaftſbury found means to ſpread a rumor, that the King was lawfully married to mrs. Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother, and that the marriage contract was in a black box, in the cuſtody of ſir Gilbert Gerard. The King and duke of York readily perceived the tendency of this rumor, and therefore omited nothing to undeceive the people. To this purpoſe, the King called an extraordinary council the twenty-ſixth of April, in which he declared, "That the ſaid report was altogether falſe, "and that he thought himſelf obliged in honor and "conſcience to have the matter thoroughly ex-"amined and ſearched into." Gerald appearing before the council, declared upon oath, "That he "never had any ſuch writing, as was reported, "commited to his charge, nor did he ever ſee or "know of ſuch writing." In fine, after many fruitleſs inquiries after the author of this report, the King was forced to content himſelf with publiſhing, the third of June, a declaration, to confirm one made January the ſixth, and another made March the third, which were entered in the council books, and ſigned by ſixteen privy counſellors, wherein he ſaid, "That to avoid any diſpute which might "happen in time to come, concerning the ſucceſ-"ſion to the crown, he did declare in the preſenſe "of Almighty God, that he never gave, nor made "any contract of marriage, nor was married to "mrs. Barlow, alias Walters, the duke of Mon-"mouth's mother, nor to any other woman what-"ſoever, but to his preſent wife Queen Katherine, "then living (1).

Silenced by the King. Sandford. Echard.

The accomplices of the Meal-Tub-Plot acquitted. State Trials, Vol. III.

There were ſeveral proſecutions and trials this ſummer, and the twenty-third of June, the earl of Caſtlemain, a Papiſt, huſband to the ducheſs of Cleveland *, the King's miſtreſs, was brought to his trial and acquited; Cellier the midwife, who had aſſiſted the lady Powis in the ſham plot, was likewiſe acquited. Shortly after, ſhe publiſhed a narrative of her trial, with ſevere reflections on ſome perſons, then in credit, for which ſhe was tried a ſecond time, and ſentenced to ſtand three times in the pillory, and pay a thouſand pounds fine. The grand jury found not the bill againſt the counteſs of Powis. Thus all the perſons concerned in the Meal-Tub-Plot were acquited. The torrent then run in favor of the court party.

* Barbara Villiers.

Bedloe dies. Echard.

Bedloe, the famous witneſs of the Popiſh plot, died at Briſtol the twentieth of Auguſt. Three or four days before his death, the lord chief juſtice North, then on his circuit, viſiting him, Bedloe, in his preſenſe, ſigned the following depoſition:

His depoſition before the lord chief juſtice North, on his death-bed.

"That the duke of York hath been ſo far in-"gaged in the plot, as he had ſeen by letters in "cardinal Barbarini's ſecretary's ſtudy, that no part "that hath been proved againſt any man already, "that hath ſuffered, but that to the full thoſe let-"ters have made him guilty of it; all but what "tended to the King's death." And at Rome I aſked father Anderton and father Lodge, two jeſuits, "What would the duke do with his brother when "he was King?" And they anſwered me, "they "would find a means for that; they would give "him no trouble about it." Then I told them, "I believed the duke loved his brother ſo well, he "would ſuffer no violence to be done to him." They ſaid, "No: if the duke could be brought to "that, as he had been religiouſly to every thing "elſe, they might do their work; their other buſi-"neſs was ready, and they might do it preſently. "But they knew they could not bring him to that "point; but they would take care for that them-"ſelves: they had not begun with him to leave "him in ſuch ſcruples as that. But they would ſet "him into his throne; and there he ſhould reign "blindfold three or four days; for they had ſetled "ſome they ſhould pitch the action upon, ſhould "clear their party. And then he ſhould fly upon "them with the ſword of revenge."

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And this examinant doth farther add, "That "the Queen is not, to this examinant's knowlege, "nor by any thing he could ever find out, any "way concerned in the murder of the King; but "barely, by her letters, conſenting, and promiſing "to contribute what money ſhe could to the intro-"ducing the Catholic religion. Nay, it was a "great while, and it made her weep before ſhe "could be brought to that."

He alſo declared to the lord chief juſtice, ["That "he looked upon himſelf as a dying man, and "found within himſelf, that he could not laſt long, "but muſt ſhortly appear before the Lord of "Hoſts, to give an account of all his actions. "And becauſe many perſons had made it their buſi-"neſs to baffle and deride the plot, he did, for the "ſatisfaction of the world, there declare, upon the "faith of a dying man, as he hoped for ſalvation,] "That whatever he had teſtified concerning the "plot was true: and that he had wronged no man "by his teſtimony, but had teſtified rather under "than over what was truth;——and, that he had "other things to diſcover, which were of great "importance to the King and the country," with other matters of the like nature. In concluſion, his lordſhip was "deſired to repreſent to his Majeſty "his condition, and that his ſickneſs was very "chargeable, and move his Majeſty in his behalf "for ſome ſupply of money for his ſubſiſtence."

Remarks on this depoſition.

This depoſition merits ſome remarks. The firſt, that it comes from a dying man, and who indeed died three days after. If the proteſtations of thoſe who had been condemned, either for the plot, or Godfrey's murder, may form a preſumption in their favor, I do not ſee why this of dying Bedloe ſhould not form the like, unleſs the point in queſtion is taken for granted, viz. that the condemned perſons were innocent, and Bedloe a villain for ſwearing againſt them. Secondly, Bedloe diſtinguiſhes perfectly the ſeveral articles of the plot, in that he accuſes the duke of York of being ingaged in it, but acquits him from deſigning the King's murder. Now the plot, with regard to the government and religion, is ſo evident, and the part the duke of York had in it ſo clear from Coleman's letters, that nothing can better agree with Bedloe's depoſition. Thirdly, it is really improbable, that two jeſuits at Rome, directors of ſo important an affair, ſhould ſpeak ſo openly to Bedloe. But on the contrary, the manner of the King's death three or four years after Bedloe's, gives but too juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, there was foul play, and cauſes this improbability in part to vaniſh. Laſtly, Bedloe declared in his depoſition, "That whatever he had

(1) Kennet ſays, That the late maſter of the Charter-houſe, who was long in the ſervice of King Charles II abroad, and had the care of mrs. Barlow, and buried her at Paris; ſaid poſitively, the King had never any intention to marry her, and that indeed ſhe did not deſerve it, being a very ill woman, p. 366. Note (b).

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"teſtified concerning the plot was true," and this laſt teſtimony, far from giving room to ſuſpect it of falſehood, may rather create a belief, that it was not an invention, ſince, being ſo near death, he could have no inducement to acquit the duke of York upon one article, and accuſe him upon others, or even to trouble the chief juſtice with any depoſition at all.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 577.

This depoſition a little perplexes a famous hiſtorian, who, in this part of his hiſtory, undertakes to prove the plot to be a fiction. To free himſelf from this difficulty, he ſcruples not to oppoſe his own authority to Bedloe's depoſition. "We know "not, ſays he, how to ſpeak ſoftly of the dying "words of one hardened by many years villanies; "but muſt expreſly declare, that as to his public "oaths he did not only ſwear to the moſt ſhocking improbabilities, but ſometimes changed, "and other times contradicted his own evidence." After this authority no man, doubtleſs, will regard this laſt depoſition of Bedloe, otherwiſe than as a continuation of the crimes he had been guilty of, in falſly ſwearing there was a plot, when in reality there was none.

Two Preſbyterian ſheriffs elected. Burnet, p. 479. Echard.

The city of London was then in the country intereſt, which gave it great reputation. The choice for ſheriffs on Midſummer day, fell upon two famous Preſbyterians, by a majority of voices, both accounted Fanatics by the oppoſite party (1). Theſe were Slingſby Bethel and Henry Corniſh, who had taken care to qualify themſelves by receiving the ſacrament in the church of England, abjuring the covenant, and doing every thing as appointed by act of parliament. While this election was depending, it was pretended, that Bethel's party had commited ſome violence againſt the other, which obliged the King to order a commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, to be iſſued out for the trial of the riot. Mean time, the two ſheriffs, contrary to the King, being choſen, Thomas Papillon, eſq; preſented an addreſs to the lord mayor, in the name of the city, wherein, after diſowning all tumultuous and diſorderly proceedings, and teſtifying an inviolable fidelity to his Majeſty, they deſired his lordſhip, "That he "would, in their names, humbly beſeech his Ma"jeſty, that the parliament might ſpeedily aſſem"ble." Whether the addreſs produced any effect, or the King had already taken his reſolution, a few days after, it was made known by a public proclamation, that the parliament ſhould ſit on the twenty-firſt of October.

The lord mayor addreſſed to petion the King for the ſiting of the parliament.

The duke of Monmouth returns, and takes no notice of the court. Temple. Echard. Burnet, p. 477.

While the time of the meeting of the parliament was yet remote and uncertain, the court party had ſome advantage; but as it approached, the country party gained the ſuperiority. The duke of Monmouth was returned from Holland without leave (2), and inſtead of going to court, made ſeveral progreſſes in the kingdom to incourage his friends and increaſe their number. This party were reſolved to run all riſks and either ruin themſelves or the duke of York, the next ſeſſion of parliament. To this purpoſe, the earl of Shaftſbury attended by twelve lords and gentlemen of note, went publicly to Weſtminſter-hall, and at the King's-Bench-Bar, by a bill in form, preſented the duke of York as a Popiſh recuſant (3). This matter was but too true, and the whole kingdom was ſenſible of it. But till this time no man had dared to take ſuch a ſtep, which was conſidered as a formal deſign to break all meaſures with the duke. This action ſo ſurpriſed the three principal miniſters, that they concluded the contrary party muſt neceſſarily be beforehand aſſured of the reſolutions of the parliament. Wherefore, to ingratiate the King with the parliament; they adviſed him to ſend the duke of York into Scotland, believing it would not be in his power to ſupport him if he left him in England during the inſuing ſeſſion. The King approving their reaſons, obliged the duke to return to Scotland, after repeated aſſurances, that he would never forſake him. So the duke departed the day before the meeting of the parliament, to the great ſatisfaction of his enemies, who hoped in his abſenſe, the more eaſily to accompliſh his ruin.

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The King ſends away the duke of York. Burnet, p. 481. Echard.

At length, the parliament met the twenty-firſt of October, as the King had promiſed in his proclamation. In his ſpeech at the opening, he acquainted both houſes, "That he had made and perfected "an alliance with the crown of Spain, ſuitable to "that which he had before with the States of the "United Provinces, conſiſting of mutual obligations of ſuccor and defenſe. He aſſured them, "that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to "give them the fulleſt ſatisfaction their hearts "could wiſh, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant "religion, conſiſtent with preſerving the ſucceſſion "of the crown in its due and legal courſe of deſcent. In order to this he recommended to them "to purſue the farther examination of the plot, with "a ſtrict and impartial inquiry; neither thinking "himſelf nor them ſafe till that matter was gone "thro' with, and therefore it would be neceſſary "that the lords in the Tower ſhould be brought to "their ſpeedy trial, that juſtice might be done.—— "He told them, it would be impoſſible without "their ſupport to preſerve Tangier, and therefore "deſired their advice and aſſiſtance.——In con"cluſion, he recommended to them a perfect union "with himſelf, and one another, as the only thing "which could reſtore the kingdom to its ancient "ſtrength and vigor, and raiſe it up again to that "conſideration which England had uſually had."

Kennet, p. 371. Echard.

During this whole reign, the King's religion was ſo great a ſecret, that very few were acquainted with it; and therefore he more boldly proteſted his zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and on all occaſions declared, he would maintain it againſt the attempts of the Papiſts. Theſe proteſtations might then have ſome effect, ſince it is very natural for a King to favor his own religion. But ſince it had been certainly known, that Charles II was a Papiſt, had abjured the Proteſtant religion before his reſtoration, and profeſſed, tho' ſecretly, the Popiſh religion, theſe ſo ſolemn and ſo frequent proteſtations muſt be thought very ſtrange, being intended only to deceive his ſubjects.

The duke of York preſented as a Papiſt.

After the ſpeaker (4) was choſen, and approved by the King, the houſe of commons immediately diſcovered what was to be expected from them, by expelling ſome of their members, for having been Abhorrers. But not content with puniſhing their own members, they ordered an addreſs to be preſented to the King, to remove from all public offices ſir George Jefferies, ſerjeant at law, recorder of London, and chief juſtice of Cheſter, as guilty

The commons expel the Abhorrers, and petition againſt Jefferies. Kennet, p. 377. Echard. Burnet, p. 484.

(1) The court was very jealous of this election, and underſtood it to be done on deſign to pack juries. Burnet, p. 481.

(2) He begged the King's leave to return; but when he ſaw no hope of obtaining it, he came over without leave. The King upon that would not ſee him, and required him to go back. But the earl of Shaftſbury adviſed him to make the progreſſes here mentioned. Idem, p. 477.

(3) They that atteſted the bill were the earls of Huntington and Shaftſbury; the lords Grey of Werk, Brandon Gerard, Ruſſel and Cavendiſh; ſir Gilbert Gerard, ſir Edward Hungerford, ſir Scroop How, ſir William Cooper, ſir Thomas Wharton, John Trenchard, Thomas Thynne, and William Forreſter, eſquires. By the ſudden dimiſſion of the grand jury, the matter had no conſequence in the forms of the court. Echard, Vol. III. p. 579.

(4) William Williams, eſq; of Gray's-Inn.

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of the ſame crime, and a betrayer of the rights of the ſubject.

As this was a new parliament, and as the affair of the plot was to be reſumed at the King's own requeſt, the witneſſes who had already depoſed, laid before the houſe their informations, and were joined by Dangerfield, Jenniſon, Dugdale, and one Turberville, a new evidence. Some likewiſe came from Ireland. Upon a report made to the houſe, that dr. Tonge, who had firſt diſcovered the plot to the King, had received no gratuity, he was now recommended to his Majeſty for the firſt good eccleſiaſtical preferment that fell in his gift. But the doctor was diſappointed of the benefit of this recommendation, by leaving the world not long after. The King on this occaſion diſcovered no leſs zeal than the commons, and iſſued out a proclamation, with a promiſe of his pardon to any perſon who ſhould, within two months, give farther information and evidence concerning the horrid and execrable Popiſh plot.

Narrat.

The commons reſume the examination of the plot. Echard.

The King's diſſimulation.

But this diſſimulation was not capable of deceiving the commons. The twenty-ſixth of October, five days after the opening of the parliament, the lord Ruſſel moved, "That they might in the "firſt place take into conſideration how to ſuppreſs "Popery, and prevent a Popiſh ſucceſſor." He was ſeconded by ſir Henry Capel, brother to the earl of Eſſex, who, in a long ſpeech, related what had been done to the prejudice of the kingdom during the preſent reign. He aſcribed the whole to Popiſh counſels. He ſpoke of the firſt Dutch war; of the diviſion of the fleet; of the affair of Chatham: of the fire of London; of the diſcharge of the priſoners concerned in that wicked act, without trial; of the violation of the triple league; of the ſeizing the Dutch Smyrna fleet before war was proclaimed; of the ſecond Dutch war; of the permiſſion to the Iriſh Papiſts to wear arms; of the alteration of the government of Scotland, by lodging it in a commiſſioner and a council, beſide an army of twenty thouſand men. He ſaid, the Papiſts were imboldened to act any thing, by the hopes of having the duke of York for King: that they were moreover incouraged by the French embaſſador, who by his frequency at court, ſeemed to be rather one of the family, and of the King's houſhold, than a foreign embaſſador; and by his free recourſe to his Majeſty, rather a prime miniſter of ſtate of this kingdom, than a counſellor to another Prince: that ſince all theſe irregularities and inormities proceeded from the Popiſh party, ſupported by the duke of York, it was high time to think of ſome effectual expedient to prevent Popery and a Popiſh ſucceſſor.

The commons reſume the excluſion bill. Debates about the excluſion. p. 1. &c. Kennet. Echard. Burnet.

Several other members ſpoke to the ſame effect, ſome more, ſome leſs; and no man offered to vindicate the duke, or ſpeak in his behalf, till the houſe, on the ſecond of November, came to the two following reſolves;

Votes of the commons for the excluſion of the duke of York. Debates, &c. p. 24.

"1. That the duke of York's being a Papiſt, and "the hopes of his coming ſuch to the crown, hath "given the greateſt countenance and incouragement to the preſent deſigns and conſpiracies "againſt the King and the Proteſtant religion.

"2. That in defenſe of the King's perſon and government, and Proteſtant religion, this houſe doth "declare, that they will ſtand by his Majeſty with "their lives and fortunes, and that if his Majeſty "ſhould come to any violent death, which God "forbid, they will revenge it to the utmoſt of their "power on the Papiſts."

Speeches for and againſt it.

Upon theſe two reſolutions, the lord Ruſſel moved for a commitee to bring in a bill to diſable the duke of York from inheriting the crown. This affair was now debated with great warmth in ſeveral eloquent ſpeeches on both ſides the queſtion. The ſubſtance of what was urged for the bill was, that the evils which the kingdom had felt, and ſtill labored under, proceeded from Popiſh counſels, begun and headed by the duke of York. That the danger muſt be extreme, ſhould he ever injoy the crown. That it might be read in ſcripture, "That "one man ought to die for a nation, but not that "three nations ſhould die for one man." The oppoſers of the bill did not offer to ſhew there was no danger in a Popiſh King. This they were willing to ſuppoſe, but pretended that there were other expedients to prevent this danger than that of excluſion. That beſide, it could not be expected that the duke of York, and many others, would ſubmit to this law, the conſequence whereof would be a civil war, in which the duke of York would be ſupported by all the Princes of Europe.

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To this objection it was anſwered, that no expedient could be thought of to ſecure the Proteſtant religion under a Popiſh Prince, who would have a Popiſh council, Popiſh judges, Popiſh magiſtrates, and deputy lieutenants, Popiſh commanders at ſea and land, nay, and Popiſh biſhops too. That the excluding the duke from the ſucceſſion, was no depriving him of his right to the crown, of which he had rendered himſelf incapable, by imbracing a religion contrary to that of the nation. For a Popiſh King and Proteſtant ſubjects were irreconcileable.

The others replied, there was no law which, for a difference of opinion in religion, deprived any man of his right.

The excluſion bill read.

In fine, it was reſolved, "That a bill be brought "in to diſable the duke of York from inheriting "the Imperial crown of this realm."

Hitherto the court party had only ſkirmiſhed, as I may ſay, in hopes that an ingagement might be avoided. But when this vote had paſſed, and the bill was read the firſt time, ſir Leoline Jenkins, ſecretary of ſtate, ſtood up and argued directly againſt it, by alleging:

Secretary Jenkins ſupports the intereſts of the duke of York. Debates, &c. p. 51.

"1. That it was contrary to natural juſtice, to "condemn any man before the conviction, or the "hearing of him.

"2. It was contrary to the principles of our religion, to diſpoſſeſs a man of his right, becauſe "he differs in point of faith.

"3. He was of opinion, that the Kings of England had their right from God alone, and that no "power on earth could deprive them of it.

"4. It was againſt the oath of allegiance, taken "in its own ſenſe, without jeſuitical evaſions; "which binding all perſons to the King, his heirs, "and ſucceſſors, the duke, as preſumptive heir, "muſt be underſtood."

His reaſons anſwered.

The advocates for the bill anſwered to the firſt objection; that not only the duke of York's intereſts were concerned, but thoſe of the whole kingdom; and that if the duke of York had withdrawn at the time the parliament was going to meet, his abſenſe ought not to prevent their providing for the good of the nation. To the ſecond objection it was replied, that in eſtabliſhing for principle, that difference of opinion in religion ought to be no cauſe for diſpoſſeſſing any man of his right, all the acts of parliament made ſince the reformation againſt Papiſts and Sectaries were condemned, who, as ſubjects, had rights in common with the reſt, of which nevertheleſs it was thought expedient to deprive them, on account of the dangers to which the kingdom would be expoſed, if they were left in the injoyment of them. That this was a maxim generally received in all ſtates, Proteſtant or Popiſh. That it was very true, the ſubjects of a different religion might be injured by being deprived of their rights; but that this injury proceeded not from the government's having no right to take this precau-

tion,

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tion, but from taking it unſeaſonably and groundleſly, thro' prejudice, pride, paſſion, revenge or hatred. To the third objection it was anſwered, That allowing the principle, that the Kings of England had their right from God alone, it ſhould at leaſt have been ſpecified wherein conſiſted this right, and it would never be proved, that the Kings of England were inveſted with power from God, to alter the conſtitution, or introduce a new religion at pleaſure. But, if by this right was underſtood only that of the ſucceſſion, the principle was falſe, as might be proved by many inſtances in the Engliſh ſucceſſion; for all the Kings and Queens ſince Henry VII, mounted the throne by virtue of an act of parliament, which had ſetled the ſucceſſion upon the poſterity of that Prince, and had ſince been confirmed by others. It was replied to the fourth objection, that the oath of allegiance, which bound the ſubject to the King's heirs and ſucceſſors, was to be underſtood, when thoſe heirs and ſucceſſors were on the throne, and not while they were yet ſubjects. But ſuppoſing even the oath to be meant of an ingagement to acknowlege for King the next heir, it certainly became void, if that heir rendered himſelf incapable of ſucceeding by his ill conduct. That the laws which impoſed oaths had always in view a certain conſtitution of government, which they ſuppoſed conſtant and unalterable, becauſe all caſes that might happen could not be foreſeen. But that it could not be denied, there were poſſible caſes in which theſe oaths would become intirely null; as for inſtance, if the preſumptive heir ſhould declare openly againſt the conſtitution of the ſtate, and clearly diſcover, that he intended to alter it when on the throne; and if in that caſe it was pretended, the ſubject was ſtill bound by his oath of allegiance to this ſucceſſor, the plain meaning of the oath would be, that the ſubjects bound themſelves to ſlavery, whenever the Prince ſhould think fit to impoſe it, which was abſurd. In fine, that the parliament was the ſole judge of ſuch caſes.

Several other reaſons alleged for the bill.

But the advocates for the bill, not content with replying to Jenkins's objections, added likewiſe other reaſons to demonſtrate the legality, the expedience, the neceſſity of the excluſion of the duke of York. They proved the firſt point by precedents taken from the hiſtory of England, by which they demonſtrated, that, on ſeveral occaſions, the parliament had really diſpoſed of the crown in a manner different from the uſual cuſtom. Edward III was acknowleged King in his father's life-time, and Henry IV while Richard II was ſtill living. The parliament moreover granted the crown to Henry IV, and ſetled the ſucceſſion in his poſterity, contrary to the known and natural right of the earl of March, who was next heir to Richard II. Then they ſetled the crown upon the duke of York, and his poſterity, after the death of Henry VI, tho' Henry had a legitimate ſon living. After the houſe of York had injoyed the crown for three ſucceſſive reigns, tho' that houſe had a numerous iſſue, the parliament transferred the crown to Henry VII and his poſterity. They gave a power to Henry VIII to name his ſucceſſors, and ſetle the ſucceſſion as he ſhould think proper. Laſtly, on the ſucceſſion of James I to the crown, tho' no act was demanded by him to confirm his right, the parliament however made one, in order to preſerve their own. As to the objection, that theſe Princes were poſſeſſed of the crown when theſe acts were made, it ought be obſerved, that tho' they had the power in their hands, and were in poſſeſſion, they thought fit to demand the parliament's confirmation, as a thing abſolutely neceſſary to juſtify their pretenſions. In fine, it was impoſſible for the parliament, conſidered as conſiſting of King, lords and commons, to act any thing contrary to the laws, ſince their power of repealing old and inacting new laws, could not be diſputed. That the ſupreme and abſolute authority reſides in the parliament compoſed of King, and both houſes: for what is the parliament but a body conſiſting of all the members of the ſtate, to which no power on earth hath a right to preſcribe? To ſay therefore, that the parliament can act unjuſtly againſt the laws, is to ſay, that all the members of the ſame body may act unjuſtly to themſelves, and be reſponſible for this injuſtice, which is an abſurdity not to be defended.

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As to the fitneſs and benefit of this bill, it was not neceſſary to uſe many arguments to ſhew, that it was expedient and fit, that the government and religion would be ſecured, and the people delivered from their fears and ſuſpicions. It could not even be denied, that the excluſion of the duke of York would be attended with theſe advantages. But as it could not be ſuppoſed, that the duke of York and his adherents, would ſubmit to this bill, which might occaſion a civil war, wherein the duke might be ſupported by foreign aid; to this objection it was anſwered, that it was better to hazard ſuch a war, than be expoſed to a more certain danger, viz. of ſeeing the laws and religion invaded by a Popiſh Prince.

But it was chiefly to demonſtrate the neceſſity of the excluſion bill, that the advocates for it diſplayed all their wit and eloquence. They maintained, that all precautions to limit the power of a Popiſh Prince, would be fruitleſs, becauſe his promiſes and oaths could not be relied on, from which the Pope, thro' a motive of religion, could abſolve him. That before the reformation, the reign of Henry VII furniſhed very remarkable inſtances, and it did not appear, that Popes, ſince the reformation, had relinquiſhed their principles. That beſide, the duke of York's zeal for his religion, and his principles concerning the government, were well known, ſince the letters of his ſecretary, and his intimate union with France, had clearly ſhewn, he was not only diſpoſed to undertake any thing to ſupport the intereſts of his religion, but had even, for that end, ingaged in meaſures very prejudicial to the ſtate. That it was to Popiſh counſels, and to the duke in particular, that the two Dutch wars, ſo contrary to the intereſts of England, were to be aſcribed. That to him were owing the non-execution of the laws made againſt Popiſh recuſants; the pernicious deſigns of the Cabal; and that Coleman's letters made it as clear as the ſun, that he was the chief author of the frequent adjournments and prorogations of the parliament, at the very time they were imployed in ſeeking out expedients to ſave Europe and the Proteſtant religion from certain deſtruction. Other arguments were alſo alleged to prove, that all the precautions which could be taken, would be to no purpoſe, when the duke ſhould be on the throne. Firſt, it was ſaid, that this union with France would ſupply him with money, without his being obliged to apply to the parliament. That he might thereby maintain what forces he pleaſed, and having an army at his command, would be maſter of the kingdom, and free to perform or not perform the conditions on which he ſhould be raiſed to the throne. That with this army he might influence the elections, and procure ſuch a parliament as would ſubvert all poſſible precautions. That there was too much reaſon to ſuſpect, that the late army had been raiſed with this deſign, ſince, being certain, that it was not intended againſt France, it could only be deſigned againſt the ſubjects. Nay, it was probable, this was the intent of the expedient propoſed, that when the King ſhould happen to die, the parliament then in being,

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being, or the laſt that was in being, ſhould aſſemble and ſit a competent time, without any new ſummons or elections; ſo that after the expiration of this competent time, the kingdom would fall into the inconveniency juſt mentioned. That if the tranſactions ſince the King's reſtoration were conſidered, it would be found, that nothing had been done with relation to the government, but what tended to ſubvert it, and introduce Popery. That the duke of York's influence in the King's counſels was well known: that tho' he was abſent, his adherents and creatures injoyed the principal places in the court and kingdom, and that from him proceeded all the evils wherewith England was afflicted, and all the dangers the nation had to apprehend. That if after ſo manifeſt a diſcovery of his deſigns; after the laſt teſtimony of Bedloe on his death-bed; after all the evidence of an execrable plot againſt the ſtate and religion, the duke's ſincerity and flattering promiſes were to be truſted, the conſequence would be a too late and fruitleſs repentance. From theſe reaſons, and many others, it was infered, that the excluſion bill was abſolutely neceſſary, and that the people juſtly expected from their repreſentatives this extraordinary precaution, to free them from their fears.

Reaſons alleged againſt the bill.

The court party were extremely imbaraſſed. There were facts alleged againſt the duke which could not be anſwered, and there were others which they durſt not directly deny, for fear of farther diſputes, at a time when the torrent ran ſo high againſt the duke. Nay, very few ventured to appear openly for him. Among theſe were ſir Leoline Jenkins ſecretary of ſtate; mr. Hyde a privy counſellor, and one of the three who then managed the duke's affairs; mr. Seymour, and one more. Sir Leoline Jenkins

Debates, &c. p. 87.

deſired the houſe to conſider, "That the duke "of York was the King's brother, and ſon of "Charles I, for whoſe memory the people had a "great veneration; that the duke was inriched "with excellent indowments, which he had im-"ployed in the ſervice of the nation, by fighting "their battles, and defending them from the op-"preſſion of their enemies, and was only guilty of "this one crime, which he hoped, upon a mature "deliberation, would not deſerve ſo great a con-"demnation.——He remembered them, that "there were laws already for the puniſhment of the "crimes he was accuſed of, and therefore humbly "conceived, they ought not to chaſtiſe him, by "making a new law before any hearing." Mr.

Ib. p. 90.

Hyde added——"I do not know that any of "the King's murderers were condemned without "being heard; and muſt we deal thus with the bro-"ther of our King?——It would conſiſt much "better with the juſtice of the houſe, to impeach "him, and try him, in a formal way, and then "cut off his head, if he deſerve it. I will not "(continued he) diſpute the power of parliaments; "but I queſtion whether this law, if made, would "be good in itſelf.——For ought I know, when "you have made this law, it may have a flaw in "it; if not, I am confident there are a loyal "party, which will never obey, but will think "themſelves bound by their oath of allegiance and "duty, to pay obedience to the duke, if ever he "ſhould come to be King, which muſt occaſion a "civil war."——

p. 98.

In the courſe of the debates on this bill, ſir Francis Winnington alleged, "That an act of "the thirteenth of Elizabeth made it treaſon for "any man to ſay, that the parliament could not

p. 103.

"alter the ſucceſſion." To which mr. Finch replied, "I will not ſay that acts of parliament can-"not diſpoſe of the ſucceſſion, becauſe it was made "treaſon by a ſtatute in the thirteenth of Eliza-"beth. But I will deny that the Kings of England "rule by virtue of any ſtatute law, as was ſuggeſted; "for their right is by ſo ancient a preſcription, as "that it may juſtly be ſaid to be from God alone, "and that no power on earth ought to diſpute "it."

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Tho' this queſtion was only accidentally raiſed and carried no farther, I think it ought not to paſs unregarded, becauſe it ſerves to diſcover the two opinions among the Engliſh, concerning the ſucceſſion. Some believe, that in extraordinary caſes the parliament has power to diſpoſe of the ſucceſſion, becauſe the parliament is ſuppoſed to include the whole nation, from the King to the meaneſt ſubject, and it is abſurd to diſpute the power of the whole nation united in one body, to preſcribe what is for their well-being. Others aſſert, that the ſucceſſion is unalterable, and admits not of any change, either by the nation in a body, or by the parliament. That if this be done, it is unjuſt, and the parties concerned are not obliged to ſubmit to the parliament's deciſions. That ſuch changes were never made without creating troubles and inteſtine wars in the kingdom; becauſe, as it is not in the power of the King to deprive the nation or the parliament of their rights, ſo neither is it in the power of the parliament to deprive the next heir of the ſucceſſion to which he is intitled by nature and birth. This queſtion has never been unanimouſly decided, but each party maintain their opinion, and determine according to the ſtrength of their reaſons. In all likelikood this diſpute will ſtill be of long continuance.

Different opinions of the power which the parliament has in relation to the ſucceſſion of the crown.

The commons paſs the excluſion bill. Debates, &c. p. 83.

At length, after ſeveral days debates, the excluſion bill paſſed the commons by a great majority. This bill was much the ſame with the other brought in during the laſt parliament, only it had this additional clauſe, "That, during the life of James duke "of York, the act ſhould be given in charge at "every aſſizes and general ſeſſions, and read "openly in every cathedral, pariſh church and "chapel, twice every year immediately after divine "ſervice, that is to ſay, on the twenty-fifth of "December and on Eaſter-day."

A meſſage from the King. Nov. 10. Ibid. p. 69.

While the commons were proceeding on this bill, the King indeavored to interrupt their debates by two meſſages. By the firſt he deſired them to expedite ſuch matters as were depending before them, relating to Popery and the plot; aſſuring them, that all remedies they could tender to him, conducive to theſe ends, ſhould be very acceptable provided they were ſuch as might conſiſt with preſerving the ſucceſſion of the crown in the legal courſe of deſcent.

An addreſs from the commons. Nov. 11. Ibid. p. 79.

On this meſſage an addreſs was preſented to the King by the houſe in which they ſaid, "That tho' "the time of their ſiting had not much exceeded a "fortnight, yet they had in that time not only "made a conſiderable progreſs in ſome things ab-"ſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of his Majeſty's "perſon; the effectual ſuppreſſion of Popery; and "the ſecurity of the religion, lives, and eſtates of his "Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects; but even in rela-"tion to the trials of the five lords impeached in par-"liament, they had ſo far proceeded, as they "ſhould in a ſhort time be ready for the ſame. "But they could not (without being unfaithful to "his Majeſty and their country) omit humbly to "inform his Majeſty, that their difficulties, even as "to thoſe trials, were much increaſed, by the evil "and deſtructive counſels of thoſe perſons who ad-"viſed his Majeſty, firſt to the prorogation, and "then to the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, "at a time when the commons were prepared for "thoſe trials; as likewiſe by the many and long "prorogations of the preſent parliament, before "the ſame was permited to ſit. That a principal "evidence was unfortunately dead, between the "calling and the ſiting of the parliament. That

"others

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" others had been taken off, or discouraged from " giving their evidence. To prevent the like in- " conveniencies for the future, they made it their " humble request to his Majesty, that he would " not suffer himself to be prevailed upon by the " like counsels, to do any thing which might occa- " sion either the defering a full discovery of the " plot, or the preventing the conspirators from " being brought to speedy and exemplary justice " and punishment."———

The King's message to the house in relation to Tangier. Nov. 17. Debates, &c. p. 106, 115, 117.

His Majesty's other message was concerning Tangier, recommending to the commons the preserving of that place. But the house not being disposed to satisfy the King, instead of offering him money for the relief of Tangier, besieged by the King of Morocco, took occasion from this message to consider some of the court's proceedings in this reign. It was argued, " That they were in- " deed afraid of Tangier, but more afraid of a " Popish successor:———they were unwilling to " give any money, because they remembered, " when eleven hundred thousand pounds was given " for the building of ships, not one ship was " built; and above two millions given to support " the triple league, when it was soon imployed for " the breaking of it; and twelve hundred thou- " sand pounds given for a war with France, when " at the same time we were under private obliga- " tions for peace." These were truths to which the friends of the court had nothing to reply, be- cause they were publicly known. They contented themselves with demonstrating the importance of Tangier to the Levant trade, and representing, that the two millions expended on the Mole would be intirely lost. In fine, as the commons had always in mind the exclusion bill, they took occasion from this message to present to the King a long address, or rather remonstrance, seting forth, in eighteen articles, the dangerous state of the kingdom, with regard to Popery. But this was not so much to inform the King of these dangers, as to represent them to the people, that they might think the ex- clusion bill less strange. The substance of these eighteen articles were as follows:

p. 120.

Nov. 29. Ibid. p. 149.

" 1. That Tangier had been several times under " the command of Popish governors; that the " supplies sent thither, had been in great part made " up of Popish officers and soldiers, and that the " Irish Papists had been most countenanced and in- " couraged.

" 2. That here at home the indeavors and at- " tempts of the Popish party had been so bold " and successful, that it was a matter of admira- " tion to them, and which they could only ascribe " to an over-ruling providence, that his Majesty's " reign was still continued over them, and that " they were yet assembled to consult the means of " their preservation.

" 3. That this bloody and restless party had " found countenance and protection from the laws " made against them: that they had found means " to disgrace their opposers; and if they were " judges, justices of the peace, or other magistrates, " to have them turned out of commission: so that " after some time, they became able to influence " matters of state and government; and thereby to " destroy those that they could not corrupt.

" 4. The continuance and prorogation of par- " liaments, had been accommodated to serve the " purposes of that party.

" 5. Money raised upon the people to supply his " Majesty's extraordinary occasions, had, by the " prevalence of Popish counsels, been imployed to " make war upon a Protestant state, and to advance " and augment the dreadful power of the French " King.

" 6. That great numbers of his Majesty's sub- " jects were sent into, and continued in the service " of that King: and even the ministers of England " were made instruments, to press the States of " Holland to accept of a demand from the French " King, of admiting the public exercise of the Ro- " man Catholic religion.

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" 7. That if ever any command were given for " those laws to be put in execution against Papists, " even from thence they gained advantage to their " party, while the edge of those laws was turned " against Protestant Dissenters, and the Papists es- " caped in a manner untouched.

" 8. That the test act had little effect; for the " Papists, either by dispensations obtained from " Rome, submited to those tests, and held their of- " fices themselves; or those put in their places were " so favorable to their interests, that Popery it- " self had rather gained than lost ground since that " act.

" 9. That a Popish secretary, since executed for " his treasons, had maintained a correspondence at " Rome, and in the courts of other foreign Princes, " 'For the subduing (to use their own words) that " pestilent heresy which had so long domineered " over this northern world.'

" 10. That out of these counsels and correspon- " dencies, was hatched that damnable and hellish " plot, by the good providence of God brought to " light about two years since.

" 11. That when this accursed conspiracy was " first discovered, the Papists began to smother " it, with the barbarous murder of a justice of " the peace, within one of his Majesty's own pa- " laces.

" 12. That amidst these distractions and fears, " Popish officers for the command of forces were " allowed upon the musters, upon special orders " counterSigned by a secretary of state: and in like " manner, above fifty new commissions were " granted about the same time to known Papists.

" 13. That when, in the next parliament, the " house of commons were prepared to bring to " a legal trial the principal conspirators in this plot, " that parliament was first prorogued, and then " dissolved: and the interval between the calling " and siting of this parliament had been so long, " that the Papists had gained time and advantage " of covering their past crimes, and practising them " more effectually.

" 14. That witnesses had been corrupted, not " only by promises of reward, but of the favor of " his Majesty's brother.

" 15. That diverse of the most considerable of " his Majesty's Protestant subjects had crimes of the " highest nature forged against them, the charge " to be supported by subornation and perjury, that " they might be destroyed by forms of law and " justice.

" 16. That a presentment being prepared for " the grand jury of Middlesex, against the duke of " York, the grand jury were, in an unprecedented " and illegal manner, discharged; and that with " so much haste and fear, lest they should finish that " presentment, that they were prevented from de- " livering many other indictments, by them at that " time found against other Popish recusants.

" 17. That because a pamphlet came out weekly, " called, 'The weekly packet of advice from " Rome,' exposing Popery, as ridiculous to the " people as it deserved, a new and arbitrary rule " of court, was made in the King's-Bench (rather " like a Star-Chamber than a court of law) that " the same should not for the future be printed by " any person whatsoever.

" 18. That notwithstanding all the proclama- " tions for the banishing Papists from about this " great city, and residence from his Majesty's

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" court, and the parliament; yet great numbers of " them, and thoſe of the moſt dangerous ſort, did " daily reſort hither, and abide here."

" For all which reaſons, the commons intreated " his Majeſty, that none but perſons of ſincere af- " fection to the Proteſtant religion, might be put " into any imployment civil or military; that while " they gave a ſupply to Tangier, they might be " aſſured they did not augment the ſtrength of their " Popiſh adverſaries, nor increaſe their own dan- " gers. But that if his Majeſty ſhould vouchſafe " to grant their deſires, they ſhould not only be " ready to aſſiſt him in defenſe of Tangier, but " do whatſoever elſe ſhould be in their power to in- " able him to protect the Proteſtant religion and " intereſt at home and abroad."

The lords throw out the excluſion bill. Temple. Kennet, p. 377. Echard. Vol. III. p. 594. Burnet.

On the fifteenth of November (1), two days after this mortifying addreſs, the excluſion bill was ſent up to the houſe of lords (2). It paſſed only by two voices upon the firſt reading. But on the ſecond, it was thrown out by a ſuperiority of ſixty-three, againſt thirty. Of fourteen biſhops that day in the houſe, three only gave their votes for, and eleven againſt the bill (3). The King was preſent at the whole debate, which laſted till near midnight.

Nov. 25. Kennet. Burnet, p. 484.

It was to the commons a great mortification, to ſee their favorite bill thus thrown out by the lords. They grew ſo ſullen and out of humor, that they fell upon ſeveral members of their own houſe, expelling ſome, and impeaching and impriſon others, as well as upon perſons not of their houſe (4), for being Abhorrers, or for having adviſed and aſſiſted in drawing up the proclamation againſt petitioning for the ſiting of the parliament. But this ſerved only to diſcover their rage at being diſappointed concerning the excluſion bill (5).

The trial of the lord Stafford. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 101, &c. Burnet. Echard.

On the thirtieth of November, a new ſcene was opened, viz. the trial of William Howard, lord viſcount Stafford, one of the five Popiſh lords in the Tower, who were accuſed of being concerned in the plot. He was tried before the lords in Weſtminſter-hall, the chancellor being appointed by the King, to perform the office of high-ſteward. The managers for the commons began with the plot in general, and laid open the malice, wickedneſs, and horror, of ſo dreadful, bloody, and helliſh a deſign, they ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the expreſs poſitive oaths of the witneſſes, on whom the credit of the plot depended; they expatiated on Coleman's letters and others, clearly proving the deſigns and activity of the writers; they preſſed home the execrable murder of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey, charged on the Papiſts, as well by the oaths of ſelf-aknowleged partners in the fact, as by a letter ſent from London to Tixall, intimating this very murder, the third day after it was commited; they fully diſplayed the ſham plots, and counter-contrivances, whereby the Papiſts would have ſuborned the King's evidence, and turned all the guilt upon his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects; they urged the firing the city, the burning the navy, and calling in French armies, wild Iriſh, Spaniſh pilgrims, &c. they recapitulated the ſeveral trials of Ireland, Whitebread, Langhorn, &c. and alleged the votes of both houſes of parliament, declaring the plot. To corrobate all which, they repeated the cruelties of Queen Mary, the French and Iriſh maſſacres, the powder plot, &c. And they anatomiſed the wicked principles and practiſes of murdering, lying, equivocating, forſwearing, faith-breaking, &c. imputed to the Papiſts, as held by them lawful and meritorious. In fine, they produced witneſſes to prove the plot in general, but chiefly three appeared againſt the accuſed lord, viz. Dugdale, Oates, and Turberville.

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1. Dugdale ſwore, " That at a certain meeting " held at Tixall in Staffordſhire, about the end of " Auguſt, or begining of September 1678, the " lord Stafford, with lord Aſton, and others, did " in the preſenſe of the witneſſes, give his full " conſent, 'to take away the King's life, and in- " troduce the Popiſh religion.' And that on the " twentieth, or twenty-firſt of September, in the " forenoon, the lord Stafford ſent for the witneſs " to his chamber, while he was dreſſing; and, " turning his ſervant out, offered him five hundred " pounds for his charges and incouragement, to " take away the King's life; and farther told " him, 'He ſhould have free pardon of all his " ſins, and be ſainted; for the King had been ex- " communicated, and was likewiſe a traitor, and " a rebel, and a enemy to Jeſus Chriſt.'

State Trials, Vol. III. p. 123, 124.

Oates ſwore, " That in the year 1678, both in " Spain and at St. Omers, he ſaw ſeveral letters, " ſigned Stafford, wherein his lordſhip aſſured " the jeſuits of his fidelity and zeal, in promoting " the Catholic cauſe; that in 1678, being in " London, his lordſhip came to the chamber of " father Fenwick, ſince executed; and there in " his preſenſe received a commiſſion from him to " be pay-maſter general to the army: whereupon " his lordſhip ſaid, 'He muſt of neceſſity go down " into the country to take account how affairs ſtood " there; and did not doubt, but at his return, " Grove ſhould do the buſineſs.' And, ſpeaking " of the King, he farther added, 'He hath de- " ceived us a great while, and we can bear no " longer."

p. 126.

Turberville gave an account of " diſobliging his " friends, by leaving his Frier's habit at Doway; " and thereupon went into France, in the year " 1675, where at Paris, geting acquaintance with " his lordſhip, he propoſed to the witneſs, a way, " both to retrieve his reputation with his friends, " and make himſelf happy; and this was by 'tak- " ing away the life of the King of England, who " was a heretic, and a rebel againſt God Almighty.' " That when he took leave of him, his lordſhip " appointed to meet him at London; but he ſoon " after returned into France, not being willing to " undertake the propoſals, and was diſcountenanced " by his friends, and reduced to poverty."

p. 127.

(1) The addreſs is dated November 13, but it was not preſented to the King till November 29.

(2) It was carried up by William lord Ruſſel, attended by the lord Cavendiſh, ſir Henry Capel, and indeed by almoſt the whole houſe of commons. Echard, Vol. III. p. 594.

(3) Burnet ſays all the biſhops voted againſt the bill, p. 482.

(4) They agreed to impeach ſir Edmund Seymour the late ſpeaker; and ſir Robert Peyton was brought upon his knees, and expelled the houſe. They alſo voted to proceed for high crimes and miſdemeanors againſt ſir Francis North, chief juſtice of the common pleas, ſir Thomas Jones, one of the judges of the King's Bench, and ſir Richard Weſton one of the barons of the exchequer; and to impeach the lord chief juſtice Scroggs of high treaſon. Kennet, p. 377.

(5) The gentlemen who ſpoke for the excluſion were, lord Ruſſel, ſir Henry Capel, mr. Harbord, colonel Titus, mr. Thomas Bennet, ſir Francis Winnington, ſir Thomas Player, ſir William Jones, mr. Boſcawen, mr. Trenchard, mr. Montague, colonel Sidney.——Againſt the bill, ſir Lionel Jenkins, mr. Laurence Hyde, mr. Edward Seymour, mr. Daniel Finch, mr. Garraway, ſir Richard Graham. Debates, &c. In the houſe of lords the earls of Eſſex and Shaftſbury argued moſt for it: and the earl of Halifax (who was for limitation) was the champion on the other ſide. For which, when the bill was thrown out, the commons voted an addreſs to the King to remove lord Halifax from his counſels and preſenſe for ever, pretending it was for his adviſing the diſſolution of the laſt parliament. Burnet, p. 482.

The

CHARLES II. AN' 1680.

The accuſed lord, in his defenſe, alleged many things to invalidate the credit of the plot, and particularly, the reputation of theſe three witneſſes.

State Trials, Vol. III. p. 145, 146.

Againſt Dugdale he produced evidence, "That "he was a perſon of an infamous life; that he had "cheated the lord Aſton, his maſter, and defrauded "the workmen and ſervants of their wages; that "by his extravagancies and miſdemeanors, he had "run himſelf into ſeveral hundred pounds debt, "for which he was thrown into jail, and deſpaired "of ever geting out from thence, otherwiſe than "by making the pretended diſcoveries. In the next "place, that he had directly perjured himſelf, in "diverſe parts and circumſtances, as to the time "and place, in this and other depoſitions." And farther, he proved, "That he had indeavored to "ſuborn diverſe perſons to make falſe oaths, and "ſo to ſtrengthen his own by other men's per-"jury."

p. 152, &c.

Againſt Oates he inlarged upon the great improbabilities, "That ſo many great and rich conſpi-"rators, who had truſted him with their greateſt "ſecrets, and whoſe lives were at his mercy, ſhould "ſuffer him to be reduced to ſuch a wretched de-"gree of beggary, as he was acknowleged to be "in when he made his firſt diſcoveries. He like-"wiſe inſiſted upon his omiſſions, additions, and "contradictions, that plainly appeared in his ſe-"veral depoſitions about the plot; and alſo upon "his villainous feigning himſelf to be of another "religion, by ſolemn renunciations of his faith, "and by ſuch ſacraments on one ſide, and ſuch "abjurations and execrations on the other, as ren-"dered him unfit to be admited for an evidence "againſt any man living."

As to Turberville, he urged, "That he was "perjured in this, and many other of his depo-"ſitions; and that his narative had many miſtakes "and blunders in it. He denied that he or any "of his ſervants, ever ſaw him at Paris; and "made ſome remarks upon his poverty and want; "his looſe manner of living; his ſhameful curſing "and ſwearing; and particularly his uſing theſe "words, 'God damn me! There is no trade good "now, but that of a diſcoverer."

This defenſe, as is eaſily ſeen, could not well be more weak, and yet it laſted a ſix days, and the account of this trial makes a ſmall volume in folio, containing in ſubſtance, only what I have ſaid. The accuſations and depoſitions were expreſs, and the priſoner's defenſe conſiſted, 1. In an abſolute denial of the crime for which he was impeached: but this denial could be of no ſervice to him, as it is not what the judges go by. 2. In ſeveral allegations againſt the witneſſes: but bare allegations without proofs, are not wont to juſtify the accuſed. 3. In an improbability alleged againſt Oates, that if he had been ſo well acquainted with the ſecrets of ſo many rich men, they would never have ſuffered him to be reduced to ſuch neceſſity. To this the lords doubtleſs paid the regard, they thought it deſerved: but, methinks, ſuch an improbability cannot be ſaid to make a convincing proof in favor of the priſoner. 4. In a witneſs who depoſed, that Dugdale was a perſon of an infamous life, and guilty of ſeveral cheats: on which I cannot forbear repeating what I ſaid on a like occaſion, that if in a plot againſt the King or the ſtate, only witneſſes of honeſty and reputation were to be allowed, there would be danger of always wanting evidence, becauſe ſuch plots are commonly diſcovered by the complices, and ſeldom any but villains are concerned.

The lord Stafford condemned. p. 187, 211, 212.

Notwithſtanding all this, after the lord Stafford had made a long and pathetic ſpeech, and in the preſenſe of God proteſted his innocence, he was found guilty by fifty-five votes againſt thirty-one. The lord high-ſteward aſking him, "What he "had to ſay for himſelf, why judgment of death "ſhould not paſs upon him, according to law? He "replied, my lord, I have very little to ſay; I con-"feſs, I am ſurprized at it, for I did not expect it. "But God's will be done; I will not murmur at "it. God forgive thoſe that have falſely ſworn "againſt me."

CHARLES II. AN' 1680.

Sentence being paſſed upon him, ſeveral of his relations and acquaintance were urgent with him to make diſcoveries of all he knew, as the only means to ſave his life; to which he anſwered, that he was willing, out of a meer ſenſe of duty, without any temporal view, to diſcover the utmoſt of what he knew. Whereupon, he was brought to the bar of the lords, where he declared things known to all the world, but ſaid nothing of what was expected to be known.

Burnet, p. 493.

He ſaid, "That he thought it no crime for "any man to wiſh his neighbor might be of the "ſame religion, wherein he himſelf hoped to be "ſaved; nay, to ſeek and promote it by ſuch "ways as the laws of God and the nation allow. "That there had been, on ſeveral occaſions, in-"deavors uſed to obtain an abrogation, or at leaſt "a mitigation of ſeverities againſt the Catholics; "but no otherwiſe than by legal and parlia-"mentary means. That he himſelf, at Breda, pro-"pounded a hundred thouſand pounds to the "King, for the taking off the penal laws againſt "them. That a bill had been brought into the "houſe of lords in their favor, but was quaſhed "by chancellor Hyde. That the earl of Briſtol "had made ſome propoſals with no better ſucceſs. "That he had offered ſome propoſals to the duke "of York, the chancellor, and the earl of Shafts-"bury, which laſt ſaid, "He doubted not but "that there would come great advantages to the "King by it." But this pretended confeſſion not being ſatisfactory to the lords, he was ſent back to the Tower.

He makes an illuſory confeſſion. Echard, Vol. III. p. 597.

He was beheaded the twenty-ninth of December, being ſixty-eight years of age; proteſting his innocence to his laſt moment.

Is beheaded.

The fifteenth of December the King came to the houſe of lords, and ſending for the commons, made a ſpeech to both houſes, which properly was but a repetition of that made at the opening of this ſeſſion, concerning his alliances with Spain and Holland, for the repoſe of Chriſtendom; and in relation to Tangier. After which he renewed his promiſe of concurring with them in any expedient for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religon, which might conſiſt with preſerving the ſucceſſion of the crown in its due and legal courſe of deſcent.

Debates, &c. p. 150. Kennet, p. 378. Echard.

The commons returning to their houſe, inſtead of taking the King's ſpeech into conſideration, reſolved themſelves into a grand commitee how to ſecure the nation againſt Popery and arbitrary government. After a warm debate, they reſolved:

Several reſolves of the commons. Debates, &c. p. 154.

"That a bill be brought in immediately, to "baniſh all the conſiderable Papiſts out of the "kingdom." And upon a farther debate on the miſchiefs and dangers of Popery, they reſolved, "That it is the opinion of the commitee, that as "long as the Papiſts have any hopes of the duke "of York's ſucceeding the King, the kingdoms of "England and Ireland, and dominions thereunto "belonging; the King's perſon, the Proteſtant "religion, and the lives, liberties, and properties "of all his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects, are in ap-"parent danger of being deſtroyed." Then upon reference made to an act of Queen Elizabeth, for an aſſociation, they came to a like reſolution, "That a bill be brought in for an aſſociation of "all his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects, for the ſafety "of his Majeſty's perſon; the defenſe of the Pro-

p. 169. p. 177. p. 184.

"teſtant

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" teſtant religion, and the preſervation of his Ma-
" jeſty's ſubjects, againſt all invaſions and oppo-
" ſitions; and for preventing the duke of York,
" or any other Papiſt from ſucceeding to the
" crown."

The commons ſtoped not here. After conſider-
ing of ways and means to ſecure the kingdom
againſt Popery and arbitrary government, they
p. 185. came to theſe three reſolves: 1. That it is the opi-
nion of this houſe, that a bill be brought in, " For
" the more effectual ſecuring of the meetings and
" ſitings of frequent parliaments." 2. That it is
the opinion of the houſe, that a bill be brought in,
that the judges may hold their places and ſalaries,
" Quam diu ſe bene geſſerint." 3. That it is the
opinion of this houſe, that a bill be brought in,
" againſt illegal exaction of money from the
" people, making it high-treaſon."

After theſe reſolves, each of which diſcovered
their their extreme diſtruſt of the court, they
thought fit to conſider the King's ſpeech. Many
ſevere reflections were made upon the French em-
baſſador, the French women, the duke, and his
creatures, and indirectly, even on the King him-
Dec. 20. ſelf. At length, they reſolved upon an addreſs to
Id. p. 196. the King, by way of anſwer to his ſpeech, in which
they repreſented:

" That this Proteſtant kingdom can never be
" ſafe, while there is any hopes or expectation of
" a Popiſh ſucceſſor; and they beſeech his Ma-
" jeſty, in his great wiſdom, to conſider, whether,
" in caſe the Imperial crown of this Proteſtant
" kingdom ſhould deſcend to the duke of York,
" the oppoſition which may poſſibly be made to
" his poſſeſſing it, may not only indanger the far-
" ther deſcent in the Royal line, but even Mo-
" narchy itſelf? They therefore became humble
" petitioners to his ſacred Majeſty, that in tender
" commiſeration of his poor Proteſtant people, his
" Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to depart
" from the reſervation in the ſaid ſpeech; and
" when a bill ſhall be tendered to his Majeſty in a
" parliamentary way, 'To diſable the duke of
" York from inheriting the crown,' his Majeſty
" will give his aſſent thereunto; as alſo to another
" act, whereby his Proteſtant ſubjects may be in-
" abled to 'aſſociate themſelves for the defenſe of
" his Majeſty's perſon, the Proteſtant religion,
" and the ſecurity of his kingdom.'——And as
" ſome farther means for the preſervation both of
" their religion and property, they are humble
" ſuitors to his Majeſty, that from henceforth ſuch
" perſons only may be judges, as are men of
" ability, integrity, and known affection to the
" Proteſtant religion, and that they may hold both
" their offices and ſalaries, 'Quam diu ſe bene
" geſſerint.' That no one may bear the office of
" a lord lieutenant, but who is a perſon of integrity
" and known affection to the Proteſtant religion.
" That deputy lieutenants and juſtices of the peace,
" may be in like manner qualified, and men of ability,
" of eſtates, and intereſt in their country. That none
" may be imployed as military officers, but men
" of known experience, courage, and affection to
" the Proteſtant religion. And theſe their hum-
" ble requeſts being obtained, they ſhall, on their
" part, be ready to aſſiſt his Majeſty for the pre-
" ſervation of Tangier, and for puting his Ma-
" jeſty's fleet into ſuch a condition, as it may pre-
" ſerve his Majeſty's ſovereignty of the ſeas, and
" be for the defenſe of the nation." The King gave no anſwer to this addreſs till about a fortnight after.

Charles II. An' 1680.

Intrigues of the Papiſts to ſow diſſentions among the Proteſtants. Burnet, p. 461, 486.

While the King and parliament were united, it was the intereſt of the Papiſts to promote a tolera-
tion of the Non-conformiſts, that they themſelves
might injoy the benefit under that general denomi-
nation. But ſince the King and the parliament
were at variance, the perſecution fell on the Papiſts
alone, who were accuſed of intending by force
to introduce their religion. Wherefore, it was
their intereſt to incenſe the church of England
againſt the Preſbyterians, and thereby cauſe a di-
verſion. It cannot be denied, that many of the
biſhops and clergy fell into this ſnare, and were
pleaſed to ſee the court, which always favored the
Papiſts, inclined to perſecute the Preſbyterians. In-
couraged by the court, the moſt zealous of the
Epiſcopalians failed not to diſcover their hatred of
the Preſbyterians; ſo that at the very time, the
Papiſts were accuſed by the parliament as the au-
thors of all the miſchiefs of the kingdom, the Preſ-
byterians were attacked, as if it were intended to
caſt on them the blame. By this the clergy of the
church of England were cenſured for appearing to
favor the deſigns of the Papiſts. Beſide, it is cer-
tain, that during the conteſts between the King and
the parliament, the clergy in general were attached
to the court, and the duke of York's intereſts.
This was ſufficient to revive the complaints of the
Preſbyterians againſt the church of England, and
to charge her with being Popiſhly affected. More-
over, in the diſpoſition of the court in favor of the
Papiſts, ever ſince the begining of this reign, or
at leaſt, ſince the earl of Clarendon's diſgrace, it
may eaſily be imagined, that care had been taken
to introduce, among the clergy, men of a doubtful
religion, and from whom the court had nothing to
apprehend.

The commons favorable to the Preſbyterians.

On all theſe accounts, the commons thought it
highly ſeaſonable, at this juncture, to ſcreen the Preſ-
byterians from perſecution. They found themſelves
moreover concerned, in that, for the reaſon before
hinted, there being many Preſbyterians in the
houſe, who, to qualify themſelves for their election,
had taken the oaths, and received the ſacrament
in the church of England, but who nevertheleſs
remained ſtanch Preſbyterians: ſo, the twenty-firſt
of December, a bill was read the firſt time, " for
" uniting the King's Proteſtant ſubjects." While
the rigid Epiſcopalians prevailed in the ſecond par-
liament of this reign, they had carefully avoided
diſtinguiſhing the Proteſtant Non-conformiſts from
the others, becauſe it was advantageous to them
to make them but one body under the ſame appel-
lation. But this parliament which had other views,
neglected not to make ſo natural a diſtinction. This
bill, which perhaps was too indulgent to Preſby-
terians, meeting with ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe,
was relinquiſhed for one leſs advantageous, which
exempted the Proteſtant Diſſenters from the pe-
nalty impoſed on the Papiſts by the act of the thir-
ty-fifth of Elizabeth. This bill paſſed both houſes,
but was ſecretly conveyed away, when it was to
be offered to the King for his aſſent (1).

Debates, &c. p. 205. Kennet. Echard.

A bill paſſes both houſes in their favor.

The commons concluded the year with this
vote, " That no member of the houſe ſhould ac-
" cept of any office or place of profit from the
" crown, without leave of the houſe; nor any
" promiſe of any ſuch office or place of profit

A vote of the commons. Debates, &c. p. 220.

(1) On the day of the prorogation, when the bill for repealing the act of the 35th of Elizabeth ought to have been offered to the King, the clerk of the crown, by the King's particular order, withdrew the ſaid bill. The King had no mind openly to deny it: but he had leſs mind to paſs it. So this indiſcreet method was taken, which was an high offenſe in the clerk of the crown. Burnet, p. 495.

during

Charles II. An' 1680.

" during ſuch time as he ſhould continue a mem-
" ber of the houſe (1)."

Different opinions in the council. Temple's Mem. Part III. p. 353.

His Majeſty found himſelf greatly perplexed what anſwer to return to the commons addreſs. His council was divided. Some adviſed him to return no anſwer, and to uſe this pretenſe, that as he had addreſſed his ſpeech to both houſes, he could not conſider the particular addreſs of one houſe as an anſwer to his ſpeech. Others were of opinion, that the King ſhould return a poſitive anſwer, becauſe they little cared to keep any meaſures with the parliament, but on the contrary (knowing their management of the King's affairs, would never be forgiven by the commons) they were indirectly doing all they could to ingage him to diſſolve the parliament, and call no more for the future. The four principal directors of the King's affairs were of this opinion, viz. Sunderland, Halifax, mr. Hyde, and mr. Godolphin. When it is conſidered, that from the begining of this reign, or at leaſt from the earl of Clarendon's diſgrace, there were not only men of theſe principles always in the council, but that alſo they were generally the chief miniſters, it can ſcarcely be doubted, that the King himſelf was likewiſe of the ſame opinion, tho' there ſhould be no other proof. It is therefore certain, that the fears of the commons were not groundleſs. It muſt be farther obſerved, that tho' the council was divided concerning the manner of anſwering the commons addreſs, they were agreed as to the thing itſelf, not one privy counſellor being of opinion, that the King ſhould not conſent to the excluſion of the duke of York.

The King's anſwer to the commons addreſs. Jan. 4. Debates, &c. p. 239.

Tho' the King at firſt ſeemed to approve of the former of theſe two opinions, he ſuffered himſelf to be influenced by the latter, viz. to return a poſitive anſwer to the commons, which he did to the effect following.

" His Majeſty received the addreſs of this houſe,
" with all the diſpoſition they could wiſh to comply
" with their reaſonable deſires, but upon peruſing
" it, he is ſorry to ſee their thoughts ſo wholly
" fixed upon the bill of excluſion, as to determine,
" that all other remedies for the ſuppreſſing of Po-
" pery, will be ineffectual: his Majeſty is con-
" firmed in his opinion againſt that bill, by the
" judgment of the houſe of lords, who rejected it.
" He therefore thinks, there remains nothing more
" for him to ſay, in anſwer to the addreſs of this
" houſe, but to recommend to them the conſidera-
" tion of all other means for the preſervation of
" the Proteſtant religion, in which they have no
" reaſon to doubt of his concurrence, whenever
" they ſhall be preſented to him in a parliamentary
" way: and that they would conſider the preſent
" ſtate of the kingdom, as well as the condition of
" Chriſtendom, in ſuch a manner as may inable
" him to preſerve Tangier, and ſecure his alli-
" ances abroad, and the peace and ſetlement at
" home (2)".

Jan. 7. Debates, &c. p. 221.

This anſwer was not read in the houſe till three days after, becauſe the commons were imployed in drawing up an impeachment againſt chief-juſtice Scroggs, who was accuſed of indeavoring to ſtifle the belief of the plot; diſcouraging the King's evidences; diſmiſſing the grand-jury, that ſhould have preſented the duke of York, and of unjuſtly proſecuting ſeveral authors and publiſhers of pamphlets. In this interval the lords ſent the following vote to the commons; " That they declared, and were " fully ſatisfied, that there now was, and for di-
" verſe years laſt had been, a horrid and treaſon-
" able plot, continued and carried on by the Iriſh
" Papiſts, for maſſacring the Engliſh, and ſub-
" verting the Proteſtant religion, and the ancient
" eſtabliſhed government of that kingdom." The commons readily concurred to this vote, and added, " That the duke of York's being a Papiſt, and " the expectation of his coming to the crown, " had given the greateſt countenance and incou-
" ragement thereto, as well as to the horrid Popiſh
" plot in the kingdom of England."

Jan. 6. Ib. p. 230. A vote of the lords. p. 238. Kennet. Echard.

Charles II. An' 1680.

Approved by the commons.

When the houſe of commons read the King's anſwer, it raiſed great heats and complaints againſt the lords, for throwing out the bill of excluſion, in complaiſance to his Majeſty, or becauſe they were awed by his preſenſe. At length, after great debates, they came to theſe three reſolutions:

Reſolutions of the commons upon the King's anſwer. Debates about the excluſion. p. 265. Kennet. Echard.

" 1. That it is the opinion of this houſe, that
" there is no ſecurity nor ſafety for the Proteſtant
" religion, the King's life, or government of this
" nation, without paſſing a bill for diſabling James
" duke of York, to inherit the Imperial crown of
" this realm, and the dominions and territories
" thereunto belonging: and to rely upon any other
" means and remedies, without ſuch a bill, is not
" only inſufficient but dangerous.

" 2. That his Majeſty, in his laſt meſſage, hav-
" ing aſſured this houſe, of his readineſs to concur
" in all other means for the preſervation of the
" Proteſtant religion, this houſe doth declare, that
" until a bill be likewiſe paſſed for excluding the
" duke of York, this houſe cannot give any ſup-
" ply to his Majeſty, without danger to his Ma-
" jeſty's perſon, extreme hazard of the Proteſtant
" religion, and unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom
" the houſe is intruſted.

" 3. That all perſons who adviſed his Majeſty
" in his laſt meſſage to this houſe, to inſiſt upon an
" opinion againſt the bill for excluding the duke
" of York, have given pernicious counſel to his
" Majeſty, and are promoters of Popery, and
" enemies to the King and kingdom."

An addreſs from the commons to the King Debates, &c. p. 267. A vote againſt him. p. 268. Kennet.

In purſuance of this laſt vote, the houſe came to a reſolution of preſenting to the King an addreſs, to remove from his perſon and councils, George earl of Halifax; Laurence Hyde, eſq; * the marquis of Worceſter; † the earl of Clarendon; and ‖ the earl of Feverſham. Moreover they voted, That whoſoever ſhould hereafter lend, or cauſe to be lent, by way of advance, any money upon the branches of the King's revenue ariſing by cuſtom, exciſe, or hearth-money, ſhould be judged a hinderer of the ſiting of parliament.———And that whoſoever ſhould accept or buy any tally, or anticipation, upon any part of the King's revenue, ſhould be in like manner adjudged.

* Henry Somerſet. † Henry Hyde. ‖ Lewis Duras.

The King is in vain preſſed to forſake the duke of York.

The houſe of commons had carried things to that height that they ſeemed to intend ingaging the King in ſome violent action, which might give an advantage againſt him. Thus had the parliament of 1640 behaved to Charles I. But Charles II had one advantage which his father wanted, viz. That he had not, like him, deprived himſelf of the power to prorogue or diſſolve the parliament, and ſo could put an end to the mortifications which were given him whenever he pleaſed. It is true, in ſuch a caſe he muſt have contented himſelf with his ordinary revenue, which, to a Prince ſo prodigal as he, was not eaſy. It was this which made his enemies hope, he would come at laſt to their terms, and conſent to the bill of excluſion. Indeed, if father Orleans may be credited, the ducheſs of Portſmouth threw herſelf at his feet, and prayed

Echard, Vol. III. p. 60.

(1) This year died John Wilmot, the witty earl of Rocheſter; Samuel Butler, author of Hudibras; Harry Marten, one of the regicides; and the famous painter ſir Peter Lely. Echard.

(2) This anſwer was brought by ſir William Temple. See his Mem. Part III. p. 352.

him not to ruin himſelf for the ſake of his brother (1). Fagel, Penſionary of Holland, ſent mr. Sidney, the King's envoy at the Hague, a memorial, repreſenting, that the King could not ſupport the duke of York, without relinquiſhing the intereſts of all Europe.

Welwood. Temple's Mem. p. 355.

However this argument made no great impreſſion on the King's mind. On the other hand, theſe difficulties ſerved only to provoke him the more, ſo that he reſolved to prorogue the parliament. The commons having private notice of this, aſſembled more early than uſual, and, before the King came to the houſe of lords, the tenth of January, had time to paſs the following votes:

Kennet, p. 379. Echard, Vol. III. p. 607.

Votes of the commons.

" 1. That whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty to " prorogue the parliament, to any other purpoſe, " than in order to paſſing a bill for the excluſion " of James duke of York, is a betrayer of the " King, the Proteſtant religion, and of the king- " dom of England; a promoter of the French in- " tereſt, and a penſioner of France.

" 2. That it is the opinion of this houſe, That " the acts of parliament made in the reign of " Queen Elizabeth and King James, againſt Po- " piſh Recuſants, ought not to be extended againſt " Proteſtant Diſſenters.

" 3. That it is the opinion of this houſe, That " the proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the " penal laws, is at this time grievous to the ſubject, " a weakening the Proteſtant intereſt, an incou- " ragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace " of the kingdom."

The King prorogues the parliament.

They had ſcarce paſſed theſe votes, when the King came to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the commons, gave the Royal aſſent to two or three acts of little importance (2), and then the chancellor, by his order, prorogued the parliament to the twentieth of January.

Addreſſed by the city of London. Echard, Vol. III. p. 607.

Three days after, the lord mayor and common-council of London, preſented to the King an addreſs, for the ſiting of the parliament on the day appointed, that they might effect the great affairs before them. This addreſs ſerved only to exaſperate the King farther. Wherefore, by a proclamation, the eighteenth of January, he diſſolved the parliament. At the ſame time he ſummoned another to meet at Oxford the twenty-firſt of March, being offended with the city of London.

He diſſolves the parliament, and calls one at Oxford.

The miniſters and privy counſellors in great difficulties. Temple's Mem. Part III. p. 354, 355.

During theſe conteſts, the miniſters and privy-counſellors were not a little imbarraſſed. They ſaw the houſe of commons ſo attached to the bill of excluſion, that nothing elſe could ſatisfy them. On the contrary, they knew by experience, that on other important occaſions, the King had not ſhown that firmneſs which his miniſters could have wiſhed, but had abandoned them, and come into the meaſures of the parliament. This made them fear, the ſame thing might happen on the preſent occaſion, and therefore * the earl of Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate, went off the firſt, and, contrary to the King's expreſs order, voted for the excluſion bill in the houſe of lords. The earls of Eſſex and Saliſbury, privy counſellors, did the ſame; and ſir William Temple ſufficiently teſtifies his fear of being expoſed to the houſe of commons. This conduct of ſome of the privy counſellors, gave the country party hopes, that the King would at laſt comply if he was warmly preſſed.

The King perſiſts in ſtanding by his brother. Ibid.

But that party was diſappointed in their expectations. For, tho' the King had diſcovered no great firmneſs in all his difficulties, yet in the affair of his brother he was ever immoveable (3). Immediately after the parliament's diſſolution, he removed the earl of Sunderland from being ſecretary, and gave the place to the earl of Conway. He likewiſe ſtruck out of the council book, the names of the earls of Eſſex, Saliſbury, Sunderland, and ſir William Temple, and in their room put men whoſe principles were more agreeable to his own (4). He likewiſe made ſome alteration among the judges. In ſhort, by the men whom he advanced, he ſufficiently diſcovered his intention to ſupport the duke of York his brother, let what would be the event.

New promotions among the privy counſellors and judges. Temple. Kennet, p. 381. Echard.

London chuſes the old members. Echard, Vol. III. p. 610.

The contrary party to the court, on the other hand, were not idle. The magiſtracy and common council of London, being of that party, haſtened the elections of members to ſerve in the inſuing parliament, and on the fourth of February re choſe their old repreſentatives (5). The election was no ſooner over, than the new members were preſented with a paper, in the name of the citizens of London then aſſembled in the common hall, containing a " return of their moſt hearty thanks for their faith- " ful and unwearied indeavors in the two laſt par- " liaments, to ſearch into and diſcover the depth " of the Popiſh plot; to preſerve his Majeſty's " Royal perſon, the Proteſtant religion, and the " well eſtabliſhed government of this realm; to " ſecure the meeting and ſiting of frequent parlia- " ments; to aſſert their undoubted rights of peti- " tioning, and to puniſh ſuch as have betrayed thoſe " rights; to promote the long-wiſhed for union of " his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects; to repeal the " thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, and the corporation act; " and more eſpecially for their aſſiduous indeavors in " promoting the bill of excluſion of James duke " of York." In fine, they concluded, " That " being confidently aſſured, that they [the ſaid " members for the city] will never conſent to the " granting any money ſupply, till they have ef- " fectually ſecured them againſt Popery and ar- " bitrary power, they reſolved, by God's aſſiſtance, " to ſtand by their ſaid members with their lives " and fortunes." The example of London was followed by moſt places in the kingdom, and not only the old members were re-elected (6), but papers of addreſſes, like that of London, were preſented

Burnet, p. 496

* Robert Spencer.

(1) The true reaſon, according to Burnet, why the ducheſs of Portſmouth openly declared for the houſe of commons, and was ſo hearty for the excluſion, was this: It was propoſed to her, that if ſhe could bring the King to the excluſion, the parliament would next preſs the King to declare the ſucceſſor to the crown; and as ſhe was abſolute miſtreſs of the King's ſpirit, ſhe might reckon the King would be prevailed on to declare her ſon his ſucceſſor. The duke of Monmouth, who had the ſame view, ioined with her to carry on the excluſion; and they thought they were making tools of one another to ſerve their own ends, p. 487.

(2) One was, an addition to the act for burying in woollen.

(3) He at firſt came in to the bill of excluſion, or ſeemed to do ſo. The ducheſs of Portſmouth and others perſuaded him to wave the duke of York's right, and accept of an act of parliament in his own favor, like that made in the reign of Henry VIII. by which he ſhould have a power veſted in him to diſpoſe of the crown at his death, under ſuch reſtrictions and limitations as ſhould be agreed on. Whether ſuch act was really intended is hard to determine; but it is certain ſuch an offer was made to the King, with a promiſe of a conſiderable ſum of money, towards the ſupplying his preſſing wants. It is likewiſe certain, that King Charles ſeemed willing to accept of it, till the French court, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport the duke of York, ſtruck up a bargain with the King, to give him more money for refuſing, than had been offered him for conſenting to the bill of excluſion. Welwood, p. 114, 115.

(4) Aubrey de Vere earl of Oxford, Philip Stanhope earl of Cheſterfield, and Robert Bruce earl of Aliſbury, were ſworn privy counſellors, on January the twenty-ſixth. The lord Craven was likewiſe made privy counſellor, March 9. Kennet. p. 381.

(5) Sir Robert Clayton, ſir Thomas Player, Thomas Pilkington, and William Love. This was the third time of their being choſen.

(6) There were a hundred and ten new members choſen. See Debates about the excluſion, p. 381.

to

CHARLES II. AN' 1680.

to them. So, when the elections were over, the King with grief saw, he was going to meet a parliament like that he had dissolved.

Mean time, the King's precaution to call his new parliament at Oxford, gave great uneasiness to the country party. They were desirous that the parliament should sit at Westminster, by reason, in case of need, they were sure of the Londoners assistance. And who knows, whether some did not propose to use, for passing the bill of exclusion in the house of lords, the same means formerly taken to extort from the peers their consent to the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford? However this be, they resolved to use their utmost indeavors to have the place altered, and the parliament removed to Westminster. To this end, the earl of Essex, attended by fifteen lords (1), delivered a petition to the King, which he introduced with the following speech:

Kennet, p. 383. Echard, Vol. III. p. 611.

May it please your Majesty,

The earl of Essex's speech to the King.

"THE lords here present, together with diverse other peers of the realm, taking notice, that by your late proclamation, your Majesty had declared an intention of calling a parliament at Oxford; and observing from history and records, how unfortunate many assemblies have been, when called at a place remote from the capital city; as particularly the congress in Henry the second's time at Clarendon; three several parliaments at Oxford in Henry the third's time, and at Coventry in Henry the sixth's time; with diverse others which have proved very fatal to those Kings, and have been followed with great mischief on the whole kingdom: and considering the present posture of affairs, the many jealousies and discontents which are among the people, we have great cause to apprehend, that the consequences of a parliament now at Oxford, may be as fatal to your Majesty and the nation, as those others mentioned have been to the then reigning Kings. And therefore we do conceive, that we cannot answer it to God, to your Majesty, or to the people, if we, being peers of the realm, should not, on so important an occasion, humbly offer our advice to your Majesty; that, if possible, your Majesty may be prevailed with to alter this (as we apprehend) unseasonable resolution. The grounds and reasons of our opinion are contained in this our petition, which we humbly present to your Majesty."

Kennet, p. 383.

The petition contained in substance, an enumeration of the mischiefs attending the many late adjournments, prorogations, and dissolutions of parliaments, at a time when his Majesty's person, and the whole nation were in such imminent danger from the Papists. "And now his Majesty had been "prevailed with to call another parliament at Oxford, where neither lords nor commons could be "in safety, but daily would be exposed to the sword "of the Papists, and their adherents, of whom too "many have crept into his Majesty's guards: the "liberty of speaking, according to their consciences, would be thereby destroyed, and the validity of their acts and proceedings left disputable: "the straitness of the place no ways admited of "such a concourse of persons, as now followed "every parliament; and the witnesses which were "necessary to give evidence upon the commons "impeachment, were unable to bear the charges of "such a journey, and unwilling to trust themselves "under the protection of a parliament, that was "itself evidently under the power of guards and "soldiers. In conclusion, they prayed, that the "parliament might, as usually, sit at Westminster, "where they might consult and act with safety and "freedom."

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To this address the King returned no answer, but contented himself with frowning upon the lords who presented it.

During these transactions, the two parties were skirmishing in so hot, or rather so violent a manner, with their pens, that no measures were kept. Libels swarmed with impunity. Some pretend, this was a court artifice, to prevent the union of the Protestants, and that ill language thrown out against the King and the duke of York, was patiently suffered, in order to cast the blame on the Presbyterians, and give the Episcopal party occasion to return the imputation of being too much attached to the court. Thus much is certain, this division, which was carefully fomented, turned to the King's advantage, as will hereafter appear. On this subject I shall relate an affair which then made a great noise.

Echard.

The affair of Fitz-Harris. Kennet, p. 386. Echard, Vol. III. p. 612. R. Coke. Burnet, p. 497.

One Fitz-Harris, an Irish Priest, who had free access to the duchess of Portsmouth, and kept a correspondence with her favorite woman mrs. Wall, and with the confessor of the French embassador, having received several presents, and particularly one of two hundred and fifty guineas, undertook to prevail with one Edmund Everard, to write a libel against the King. Everard feigned to consent, and appointed a meeting to receive informations, by which his pamphlet was to be framed. But at the same time he communicated the affair to sir William Waller, and mr. Smith, and caused them to be concealed in a place where they might hear what passed between Fitz-Harris and him. The next day being both together in a room, Fitz-Harris told Everard, that he should write a libel against the King upon the following heads:

Febr. 21.

1. That the King and Royal family were Papists, and arbitrarily affected from the begining.

2. That Charles I had a hand in the Irish rebellion, and that Charles II did countenance the same, by prefering Fitz-Gerald, Fitz-Patrick, and Mount Garret, who were ingaged in the said rebellion.

3. That the act, forbiding to call the King a Papist, was to stop men's mouths when he should incline to promote Popery; which appeared by his adhering so closely to the duke of York's interest, and retarding him from being proceeded against by the parliament, and hindering the officers put in by the duke, from being turned out; and for that the privy counsellors and justices of the peace, who were for the Protestant interest, were turned out of all places of trust.

4. That it was as much in the power of the people to depose a Popish possessor, as a Popish successor; and seeing there was no hopes that the parliament, when they met at Oxford, could do any good, the people were bound to provide for their own safety.

Everard afterwards received these instructions in writing, and drew up his libel, which was full of sedition, and injurious to the King (2). This pamphlet was to be dispersed by the penny post, to the Protestant lords, and particularly to the leading Presbyerians, whose houses were to be searched in order to find this libel, and which was to serve as a proof of a conspiracy formed by the Presbyterians against the

(1) Viz. The duke of Monmouth; the earls of Kent, Huntington, Bedford, Salisbury, Clare, Stanford, Shaftsbury; the lords Mordaunt, Evers, Paget, Grey, Herbert, Howard, De la Mere. Kennet, p. 384.

(2) It was intitled, The true Englishman speaking plain English.

government

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government. This is what Everard affirmed, and that the whole came from the court. At laſt, Waller having informed the King of the affair, his Majeſty ordered ſecretary Jenkins to iſſue out a warrant for apprehending Fitz-Harris, and that Waller ſhould execute it. Yet he was no ſooner gone, but ſir William declared, he was informed by two worthy gentlemen, "That the King "was highly offended with him, ſaying, he had "broken all his meaſures." However, Waller arreſted Fitz-Harris, and ſent him to Newgate (1).

He is ſent to Newgate. Echard, Vol. III. p. 614.

Here, as in the former affair concerning the plot, it is pretended, that Fitz-Harris was gained by promiſes or threats, to depoſe what has been ſaid (2). But before this affair could be fully diſcovered, Fitz-Harris was taken out of Newgate, and ſent to the Tower by the King's expreſs order. I ſhall enter no farther into the particulars of this affair, but content myſelf with briefly ſaying, that ſhortly after the diſſolution of the Oxford parliament, when the court began to ſail with a proſperous gale, without being controlled by the parliament, Fitz-Harris was brought to his trial; that the ducheſs of Portſmouth owned ſhe had given him money, but merely out of charity; that Fitz-Harris continually inſinuated, that what he did was by the order of his ſuperiors, and that, after his death, his wife conſtantly affirmed that the libel was a court trick. In ſhort, he was condemned and executed, while the public could not conceive for what reaſon an Iriſh Papiſt had publiſhed a libel againſt the King, if it was not an artifice of the court. This affair began in February, and the laſt parliament had taken notice of it, ſo that the commons had ordered an impeachment againſt him, and when he was ſent to the Tower, declared; that for any inferior court to proceed againſt him, or any other perſon lying under an impeachment of parliament, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament. Nevertheleſs, he was tried, condemned and executed, to the great diſappointment of the Whigs, who hoped, by his means, to diſcover the artifices of the court. The King and his party thought it for their advantage to be rid of a man, who might throw them into difficulties. He was not executed till June, after the diſſolution of the Oxford parliament.

The King ſends him to the Tower. March 11. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 226.

He is condemned and executed. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 224, 226.

The meeting of this parliament was univerſally expected with the utmoſt impatience, and with the greateſt uneaſineſs by the King, who foreſaw the ſtorm that was gathering. He repaired to Oxford ſeven or eight days before the opening, and as the jealouſies and fears of the Whig party were then at the utmoſt height, it was thought, the King went thus early to Oxford, on purpoſe to take meaſures beforehand, for rendering himſelf maſter of the parliament. Accordingly, the members manifeſtly ſhewed their fears of ſome violence, by going thither attended with armed retinues. Thoſe for the city of London in particular came with a numerous body of well armed horſe, having ribbands in their hats, with theſe words woven in them, "No "Popery! No Slavery!" The parliament meeting the twenty-firſt of March, the King made the following ſpeech to both houſes (3).

The King comes to Oxford before the time. March 14. Kennet, p. 384. Mutual ſuſpicions. Echard, Vol. III. p. 616.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Charles II. An' 1680.

The King's ſpeech to the parliament. Kennet, p. 384. Echard.

"THE unwarrantable proceedings of the laſt "houſe of commons, were the occaſion of "my parting with the laſt parliament; for I, who "will never uſe arbitrary government myſelf, am "reſolved not to ſuffer it in others. I am unwilling "to mention particulars, becauſe I am deſirous to "forget faults; but whoſoever ſhall calmly conſider what offers I have formerly made, and "what aſſurances I renewed to the laſt parliament; "how I recommended nothing ſo much to them "as the alliances I had made, for the preſervation of the general peace in Chriſtendom, and "the farther examination of the Popiſh plot, and "how I deſired their advice and aſſiſtance concerning the preſervation of Tangier; and ſhall "then reflect upon the ſtrange unſuitable returns made to ſuch propoſitions, by men that "were called together to conſult; perhaps may "wonder more, that I had patience ſo long, than "that at laſt I grew weary of their proceedings. "I have thought it neceſſary to ſay thus much "to you, that I may not have any new occaſion "given me to remember more of the late miſcarriages: it is much my intereſt, and it ſhall be "as much my care as yours, to preſerve the liberty of the ſubject; becauſe the crown can "never be ſafe when that is in danger: and I "would have you likewiſe be convinced, that "neither your liberties nor properties can ſubſiſt "long, when the juſt rights and prerogatives of "the crown are invaded, or the honor of the government brought low, and into diſ-reputation.

"I let you ſee, by my calling this parliament "ſo ſoon, that no irregularities in parliament ſhall "make me out of love with them; and by this "means, offer you another opportunity of providing for our ſecurity here, by giving that countenance and protection to our neighbors and allies, which you cannot but know they expect "from us, and extremely ſtand in need of at this "inſtant; and at the ſame time give one evidence "more, that I have not neglected my part, to give "that general ſatisfaction and ſecurity, which, by "the bleſſing of God, may be attained, if you, "on your parts, bring ſuitable diſpoſitions towards "it: and that the juſt care you ought to have of "religion, be not ſo managed and improved into "unneceſſary fears, as to be made a pretenſe for "changing the foundation of the government. "I hope the example of the ill ſucceſs of former "heats, will diſpoſe you to a better temper; and "not ſo much to inveigh againſt what is paſt, as "to conſider what is beſt to be done in the preſent conjuncture, the farther proſecution of the "plot; the trial of the lords in the Tower; the "providing a more ſpeedy conviction of recuſants; "and, if it be practicable, the ridding ourſelves "quite of that party, that have any conſiderable "authority or intereſt among them, are things, "tho' of the higheſt importance, that hardly need "to be recommended to you, they are ſo obvious "to every man's conſideration, and ſo neceſſary

(1) Burnet ſays, Fitz-Harris framed the libel himſelf, and only ſhewed it to Everard, who believing he intended to trapan him, placed witneſſes to overhear all that paſt; Fitz-Harris having the libel with him, all writ with his own hand, Everard went with the paper and informed againſt him, p. 497.

(2) Corniſh, one of the ſherifs of London, going to ſee him, he deſired he would bring him a juſtice of the peace. Corinſh went and acquainted the King with it. Whereupon the ſecretaries and ſome privy counſellors were ſent to examine Fitz Harris; to whom he gave a long relation of a deſign to kill the King; in which the duke of York was concerned, with many other particulars; but it was all a fiction. The ſecretaries came to examine him farther a ſecond time: he boldly ſtood to all he had ſaid: and deſired that ſome juſtices of the city might be brought to him. So Clayton and Treby came; to whom he made in all points the ſame pretended diſcovery over again. So that there was no color for what was afterwards advanced, viz. that Clayton and Treby had practiſed on him. Idem, p. 498.

(3) The lords ſat in the gallery of the public ſchools, and the commons in the convocation houſe.

"to

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" to our ſecurity. But I muſt needs deſire you, " not to lay ſo much weight upon any one expe- " dient againſt Popery, as to determine, that all " other are ineffectual; and among all your cares " for religion, remember, that without the ſafety " and dignity of the Monarchy, neither religion " nor property can be preſerved.

" What I have formerly and ſo often declared, " touching the ſucceſſion, I cannot depart from. " But to remove all reaſonable fears that may ariſe " from the poſſibility of a Popiſh ſucceſſor's com- " ing to the crown, if means can be found, that " in ſuch a caſe, the adminiſtration of the govern- " ment may remain in Proteſtant hands, I ſhall " be ready to hearken to any ſuch expedient, by " which the religion may be preſerved, and the " Monarchy not deſtroyed. I muſt therefore " earneſtly recommend to you, to provide for the " religion and the government together, with " regard to one another, becauſe they ſupport " each other: and let us be united at home, that " we may recover the eſteem and conſideration " we uſed to have abroad. I conclude with this " one advice to you, 'That the rules and mea- " ſures of all your votes may be the known and " eſtabliſhed laws of the land;' which neither " can, or ought to be departed from, nor changed, " but by act of parliament: and I may the more " reaſonably require, that you make the laws of " the land your rule, beeauſe I am reſolved they " ſhall be mine."

The commons returning to their houſe, choſe for ſpeaker, William Williams of Gray's-Inn, who had been ſpeaker the laſt parliament, and the King approved of the choice.

A reſolution to print the votes. Debates about the Excluſion, p. 297. Kennet, p. 386. Echard.

After the commons had ſpent three days in chuſing their ſpeaker, and taking the uſual oaths, a motion was made for printing the votes, and approved, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſecretary Jenkins. As the ſecret deſign of the commons was to let the people ſee the neceſſity of the bill of excluſion, they were deſirous to acquaint them with their proceedings in that affair, that they might not be deceived by general accounts of it. For a contrary reaſon, the King was unwilling the people ſhould know all the circumſtances. But his party was not ſtrong enough to prevent it, and from that time the votes of the commons have been printed, to the great profit of the ſpeaker.

Debates, &c. p. 300, 307.

In the ſecond place, a motion was made to inquire into the miſcarriage of the bill for the repeal of the act of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, how it came to be ſlipt over in the late parliament, and not preſented for the Royal aſſent? " Which, " ſaid the mover, I look upon as a breach of the " conſtitution of the government." But the farther debate of this matter was adjourned to the next day.

Id. p. 301.

Thirdly, a motion was made to bring in a bill to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion. Secretary Jenkins warmly oppoſed it, becauſe as he ſaid, the King had given his vote againſt it. But he was anſwered, that his Majeſty had as ſtrongly declared, that he would never depart from his declaration for liberty of conſcience; and yet upon reaſons given him by the houſe, he was perſuaded to revoke it. Tho' the debates on this ſubject were very warm, the houſe came to that temper, as to agree, that in order to pay the King all the reſpect that might be, they would ſet a-part a time to conſider of expedients, and accordingly they appointed Saturday the twenty-ſixth for the debate of them.

Fourthly, they examined the affair of Fitz-Harris, and his libel, and thought the matter ſo full of knavery and ſubtilty, and of that conſequence to the public, that they reſolved to impeach Fitz-Harris of high treaſon, in order to diſcover the bottom of this myſtery, and lay open the artifices of the court. Secretary Jenkins, the King's man in that houſe, was ordered to carry up the impeachment to the lords. He refuſed at firſt, but being threatened by the houſe, at laſt complied. At the ſame time it was ordered, that ſir William Waller ſhould have the thanks of the houſe for his diſcovery of Fitz-Harris.

Charles II. An' 1680. Ib. p. 310, &c.

An' 1681. Expedients to prevent the bill of Excluſion. Expedients propoſed inſtead of the bill of excluſion. Echard, Vol. III. p. 620.

The twenty-ſixth of March, the day fixed for examining the expedients which ſhould be propoſed to prevent the excluſion bill, a paper was read in the houſe, the ſubſtance of which is as follows (1).

" 1. That the duke of York be baniſhed, dur- " ing his life, five hundred miles from England, " Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and " territories to them belonging. 2. That the whole " government both eccleſiaſtical and civil, ſhall, " upon the demiſe of the King, be veſted in a " regent, for ſuch time as the duke of York ſhall " ſurvive. 3. That the regent be the Princeſs of " Orange; and in caſe of her deceaſe without iſſue, " or with iſſue in minority, then the lady Ann. " 4. That if the duke have a ſon educated a Pro- " teſtant, then the ſaid Princeſſes reſpectively, ſhall " ſucceed in the regency, during the minority of " ſuch ſon, and no longer. 5. That the regent " do nominate the privy council, and they to be, " or not to be approved by parliament, as " ſhall be judged ſafeſt, upon directing the " drawing up of this intended act. 6. That not- " withſtanding theſe kingdoms (out of reſpect to " the Royal family and Monarchy itſelf) may be " governed by the ſaid regent, in the name and " ſtile of James the ſecond, &c. yet it ſhall be " made capital for any to take up arms on his be- " half, or by his commiſſion, not ſigned by the " ſaid regent, or granted by lawful authority, de- " rived from, and under ſuch regent; or to main- " tain an opinion, that the retaining the ſaid name " and ſtile, ſhall in this caſe purge the diſabilities " impoſed by this act, or elude the force thereof. " 7. That commiſſioners be forthwith ſent to the " Prince and Princeſs of Orange, to take their " oaths, That they will take upon them the exe- " cution of this act, and that their oaths be here " recorded. 8. That all officers, civil or mili- " tary, forthwith take oaths to obſerve this act, " from time to time, as in the act for the teſt. " 9. That his Majeſty would graciouſly declare " to call a parliament in Scotland, in order to paſ- " ſing the like act there, and recommending the " ſame, and the like to be done in Ireland, if " thought neceſſary. 10. That in caſe the ſaid " duke ſhall come into any of theſe kingdoms, then " ſhall he be ipſo facto excluded, and ſhall ſuffer " as in the former bill, and the Sovereignty ſhall " be forthwith inveſted in the regent, upon ſuch his " coming into any of theſe kingdoms. 11. That " all conſiderable Papiſts be baniſhed by name. " 12. That all their fraudulent conveyances be " defeated. 13. That their children be educated " in the Proteſtant religion.

Rejected.

The houſe was ſo little inclined to the expedients for preventing the excluſion bill, that they found in them, however rigorous they were againſt the duke, more difficulties than in the bill itſelf. So, after diverſe fruitleſs debates, permited only for formſake, the houſe reſolved to adhere to the bill of ex-

(1) It is to be obſerved, that the duke and his party declared themſelves more againſt the limitations than againſt the excluſion itſelf. Burnet, p. 468.

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cluſion, which had paſſed the commons in the laſt parliament, and this bill was ordered to be brought in the next Monday.

A difference between the two houſes. Debates, &c. p. 345.

The commons had ſcarce concluded on this great affair, when they were told, the lords had rejected Fitz-Harris's impeachment, and ordered that he ſhould be proſecuted at common law. Several members exclaimed againſt this pretended injuſtice, and its conſequences, and the houſe at length voted;

Votes of the commons. Kennet, p. 389. Echard, Vol. III. p. 622.

"1. That it is the undoubted right of the commons in parliament aſſembled, to impeach before the lords in parliament, any peer or commoner, for treaſon, or any other crime or miſdemeanor. And that the refuſal of the lords to proceed in parliament upon ſuch impeachment, is a denial of juſtice, and a violation of the conſtitution of parliaments.

"2. That in the caſe of Edward Fitz-Harris, who by the commons had been impeached of high-treaſon before the lords, with a declaration, 'That in convenient time, they would bring up the articles againſt him for the lords to reſolve, that the ſaid Fitz-Harris ſhall be proceeded with according to the courſe of common law, and not by way of impeachment at this time, is a denial of juſtice, and a violation of the conſtitution of parliaments, and an obſtruction to the farther diſcovery of the Popiſh plot, and of great danger to his Majeſty's perſon, and the Proteſtant religion.'

"3. That for any inferior court to proceed againſt Edward Fitz-Harris, or any other perſon lying under an impeachment in parliament, for the ſame crimes for which he or they ſtand impeached, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament (1)."

The bill of exclusion read. Debates, &c. p. 351.

March the twenty-eighth, the excluſion bill was brought into the houſe and read. After the reading, ſir Leoline Jenkins alone ſpoke againſt it. He repeated ſome of his former reaſons, as that this bill condemned a man unheard; was directly contrary to the wiſdom and juſtice of the nation, and tended to introduce a new form of government. "If, "continued he, the duke will try to cut this law "with his ſword, if he overcome, he will have the "ſame power to ſet aſide all laws, both for re"ligion and property; the power will be in the "hands of the conquerer, &c." Some railleries paſſed upon him for not being ſeconded, after which the bill was ordered a ſecond reading.

The parliament diſſolved. Burnet. Debates, &c.

The houſe of commons was reſuming the debate about Fitz-Harris, when on a ſudden, the uſher of the black-rod commanded their attendance in the houſe of lords, where they found the King in his robes, who told them. —— "He perceived there "were great heats between the lords and com"mons, and their beginings had been ſuch as he "could expect no good ſucceſs of this parliament, "and therefore thought fit to diſſolve them." Accordingly, the chancellor declared the parliament diſſolved.

Kennet, p. 387. Echard, Vol. III. p. 623.

His Majeſty, who was beforehand prepared for what he had done, immediately took coach, and drove with all ſpeed to Windſor, and the next morning to Whitehall, ſeeming extremely pleaſed that he had thus extricated himſelf from the deſigns of the commons. This parliament, which ſat but ſeven days, was the fifth and laſt of this reign.

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The King governs arbitrarily. Burnet.

From this time, the King, during the reſt of his life, governed not only without a parliament, but with an abſolute power. When he found himſelf out of the reach of the parliament, he intirely threw away the maſk of diſſimulation, and ſhewed, that the Popiſh plot, the proſecution whereof he had lately recommended ſo earneſtly to the parliament, appeared to him but a mere chimera, or at leaſt, he did not think it near ſo dangerous as he would have had it believed. The four lords, priſoners in the Tower, whom he would have ſacrificed to the parliament, appeared innocent to him. But what was ſtill more remarkable, even to the end of this reign, was, that the King grew as ſanguinary, as he had hitherto appeared merciful, and that no ſooner had he got the power in his hands, but he made his enemies feel the moſt terrible effects of his vengeance. In ſhort, he clearly diſcovered, by his conduct, that he was intirely in the principles of deſpotic power, and had only diſſembled his ſentiments in his ſpeeches to his parliament, becauſe he judged ſuch diſſimulation proper to conduct himſelf to the end propoſed, from the begining of his reign.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 223.

The reader muſt be amazed to ſee a King, who had received ſo many mortifications from his parliaments; who had been ſo often obliged to comply, and feign opinions he had not, on a ſudden become abſolute maſter of his kingdom, without fleet, without army, without foreign aſſiſtance, without money, but that of his ordinary revenue, after many years fruitleſs labors to accompliſh his deſigns. It is therefore abſolutely neceſſary to unfold the cauſes of ſo ſurprizing a revolution.

The cauſes which put the King in poſſeſſion of abſolute power.

By the artifices of the court, and the natural inclination of many Engliſhmen, the kingdom was divided into Whigs and Tories. This diviſion was ſo carefully fomented by the court, and the Popiſh party, that at laſt it became very extenſive. To render the two parties irreconcileable, it was inſinuated to the Epiſcopalians, of whom the majority were Tories, that both church and monarchy were in danger, and that the ſcene of Forty-one was going to be revived. That the Preſbyterians, under color of providing for the preſervation of liberty, really intended the deſtruction of the church, and the introduction of Preſbyterianiſm, in order to which, they were purſuing the ſame courſe they had taken in 1640, and the following years, by undermining the foundations of the monarchy, for the more eaſy ſubverſion of the church. Theſe inſinuations had the greater effect, as what had once happened, might happen again, the memory whereof was ſtill freſh; and I know not, whether it may not juſtly be doubted, that ſome of the Preſbyterians had ſuch a thing in view. This was ſufficient to awaken the old animoſities between the church of England and Preſbyterianiſm. The Epiſcopalians, terrified with the proſpect of falling into the ſame ſtate from which they had been almoſt miraculouſly delivered, conſidered the introduction of Popery, with which they were alarmed, as a diſtant and uncertain evil, and the eſtabliſhment of Preſbyterianiſm, as certain and preſent. It is even very probable, that many, whoſe paſſions were violent,

(1) The commons, it ſeems, reſolving to take the management of Fitz-Harris's affair out of the hands of the court, carried to the lords bar an impeachment againſt him, which was rejected by the lords, on a pretenſe that the lord Nottingham furniſhed them with. It was this: Edward III, had got ſome commoners to be condemned by the lords, of which when the houſe of commons complained, an order was made, that no ſuch thing ſhould be done for the future. Now that related only to proceedings at the King's ſuit: but it could not be meant, that an impeachment from the commons did not lie againſt a commoner. Judges, ſecretaries of ſtate, and the lord keeper were often commoners: ſo, if this was good law, here was a certain method offered the court to be troubled no more with impeachments, by imploying only commoners. In ſhort, the peers ſaw the deſign of the impeachment, and were reſolved not to receive it. So they made uſe of this color to reject it. Burnet, p. 498.

looked

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looked upon Popery as the leſs evil. In this belief, they threw themſelves as it were deſperately into the court party, without conſidering, that the duke of York, whoſe cauſe they eſpouſed, was no better affected to them than to the Preſbyterians. Paſſion made them forget the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion, in order not to be once more under the Preſbyterian yoke. On the contrary, the three laſt parliaments, compoſed, as I obſerved, of men well-affected to Preſbyterianiſm, proceeded with too little circumſpection, and diſcovered too haſtily or too openly their deſigns with regard to religion. By that they gave the court party an opportunity of uniting with the Epiſcopalians, and of joining together the intereſts of religion and the monarchy. From that time, the Tories were ſo well pleaſed with this union, that they would never hear of ſeparating theſe two intereſts, but once, under James II, when there was no poſſibilty of keeping them united, without indangering the conſtitution in church and ſtate. The Whigs, on their ſide, having ſince perceived, what advantages the Tories received from this union, ſeem to have moderated their pretenſions with reſpect to religion, contenting themſelves with procuring the Preſbyterians a bare liberty of conſcience. But the Tories not confiding in this moderation, conſidered it as a ſnare and an artifice to ſeparate the intereſts of religion from thoſe of the ſtate; for in this union the ſtrength of the Tory party wholly conſiſted. I have perhaps wandered a little too far from my ſubject, in ſpeaking of theſe two parties, with regard to what has happened ſince the reign of Charles II. But I hope the reader will not be diſpleaſed with this geneal idea. I return now to the tranſactions after the diſſolution of the Oxford parliament.

The Preſbyterians being thus divided, and the court ſtrengthened with the church, the Tory party was compoſed of all the rigid Epiſcopalians, mortal enemies of the Preſbyterians; of all the Papiſts, and thoſe to whom all religions were indifferent, and whoſe expectations were centered in the court. It may be affirmed, that the number of theſe laſt was never greater in England, the King having inceſſantly labored to increaſe it, whether thro' inclination, or becauſe he depended on ſuch as his firmeſt friends. The Whig party conſiſted of all the Preſbyterians, and of ſome churchmen, who were more attached to the intereſts of the ſtate, and the Proteſtant religion in general, than to the church of England in particular. But the city of London was the chief ſtrength of this party, whoſe magiſtrates were intirely devoted to it. Things ſtanding thus, the King believed he ſhould run no great hazard in diſſolving the Oxford parliament, concluding, he had a party in the kingdom ſtrong enough to reſiſt, and even ſubdue his adverſaries, when they ſhould be no longer ſupA declaration of the reaſons for diſſolving the two laſt parliaments. April. Kennet, p. 388. Echard, Vol. III. p. 624. Burnet.
ported with the authority of a parliament. Mean time, not to alarm the nation by too haſty a diſcovery of his intention as to his future government, he contented himſelf at preſent with publiſhing a declaration, containing reaſons for diſſolving the two laſt parliaments. I ſhall not here inſert this declaration, becauſe every reader, who remembers what has been ſaid, will eaſily comprehend wherein conſiſted the King's complaints. I ſhall only briefly ſay, that the King ſuppoſed, as undeniable, that he had no other aim than to procure the good of his people, and that the commons, actuated by a ſpirit of cabal and ſedition, only ſought to ſhake the foundations of the monarchy, and inveſt themſelves with abſolute power, by all their proceedings, which he largely ſet forth. He poſitively declared, that no irregularities in parliaments ſhould ever make him out of love with them: and therefore he was reſolved to have frequent parliaments, and both in and out of parliament, to uſe his utmoſt indeavors to extirpate Popery (1).

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Several pamphlets were publiſhed, as well againſt the diſſolution of the parliament, as againſt the declaration. It was ſaid upon the firſt, that tho' the King pretended, that he diſſolved the parliament on account of the votes paſſed the ſame day about Fitz-Harris, yet the ducheſs of Mazarine publiſhed the news at St. James's many hours before it was done. As to the declaration, it was ſaid to be of no validity, of French extract (2), and to have ſeveral manifeſt galliciſms in it, particularly that expreſſion, "It was a matter ex-"tremely ſenſible to us," a form of ſpeech peculiar to the French, and unknown to any other nation: but his Majeſty took little notice of ſuch libels (3).

Pamphlets. Vindication of the laſt parliament, by ſir W. Jones. p. 393, 394.

The declaration having been publiſhed and read in the churches (4) according to the King's order, addreſſes flowed from all parts, approving the diſſolution of the parliament, and in general the King's whole conduct. Not content with thanking the King, theſe addreſſes were even filled with invectives againſt the late houſes of commons. One of theſe addreſſes (5) being preſented at the King's-Bench, by the grand jury of Middleſex, as a public libel, the court paid no regard to it. It may eaſily be judged who preſented theſe addreſſes, by what has been ſaid. They became ſo much in vogue, that the ſmalleſt corporations feared the reſentment of the court if an addreſs was neglected. The King received them all very graciouſly, and diſtinguiſhed thoſe who brought them with particular marks of his favor. But as ſome of the other party ventured to preſent addreſſes of a very different ſtile, the King either refuſed, or received them, with evident ſigns of diſpleaſure. Some of the aldermen and common council of London preſenting an agreeable addreſs, were received very kindly: but the lord mayor, recorder, and ſome others of the common council, waiting on him at Windſor, with a very different petition, were denied admitance, and ordered to attend the council at Hampton-court, where, from the lord chancellor, they received a reprimand. It was however pretended, that theſe loyal addreſſes, as they were called, expreſſed the ſentiments of the people in general, tho' they came but from one of the parties. But what may make it preſumed,

Flattering addreſſes. Echard, Vol. III. p. 627. Burnet, p. 500.

Favorably received by the King:

Who diſcourages any other.

(1) This declaration, however ſmooth and fair, was by no means popular. Some thought it nothing but a torrent of words. Others had a worſe opinion of it, as a ſtretch of prerogative, and a profeſſed inſult upon the late members of both houſes. Kennet, p. 389.

(2) Tho' the King did not communicate this declaration to the council till April 8, yet mr. Barillon, the French embaſſador, did not only read it to a gentleman the 5th of April, but adviſed with him about it, and demanded his opinion of it. Vindicat. &c. by ſir William Jones, p. 394.

(3) The anſwer to the King's declaration, intitled, "A juſt and modeſt vindication of the proceedings of the two laſt par-"liaments." was writ with great ſpirit and true judgment. It was at firſt pened by Algernoon Sidney: but a new draught was made by John Somers, eſq; and corrected by ſir William Jones. Burnet, p. 500.

(4) When this declaration paſſed in council, the archbiſhop of Canterbury moved, that an order ſhould be added to it, requiring the clergy to publiſh it in all the churches of England. Accordingly, ſuch an order came out, dated April 8. This was looked upon as a moſt pernicious precedent, by which the clergy were made the heralds to publiſh the King's declarations, which in ſome inſtances might come to be not only indecent but miſchievous. Burnet, p. 500.

(5) That from Norwich, which ran the higheſt for the prerogative. Echard, Vol. III. p. 627.

that

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that the King did not much depend on the people, notwithſtanding theſe numerous addreſſes which weekly filled the Gazettes, is, that he never after dared to call a parliament to the end of his reign, a ſure ſign, that he feared the elections would not prove favorable to him; for if theſe addreſſes had expreſſed the general ſenſe of the people, what could have hindered the King from calling a parliament, which, to judge by theſe addreſſes, muſt have been devoted to him.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 627.

The King was not ſatisfied with diſcouraging thoſe who would have preſented diſagreeable addreſſes to him, but alſo ſilenced and impriſoned the news-writers who were not of his party (1), while others had liberty to publiſh daily invectives againſt the Whigs, and the late parliaments.

Promotions at court. April 7, 27. May 14. Kennet, p. 391.

Shortly after the diſſolution of the parliament, the King made Charles Lenos, duke of Richmond, his ſon by the ducheſs of Portſmouth, knight of the Garter at nine years of age; Laurence Hyde eſq; was created viſcount Hyde of Kennelworth; and lord chancellor Finch earl of Nottingham.

Fitz-Harris tried and executed. June 9. July. 1. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 261. Echard, Vol. III. p. 622.

Burnet, p. 497, 504.

Notwithſtanding the vote of the commons in relation to Fitz-Harris, he was indicted of high-treaſon at the King's-bench bar, tried, condemned and executed. It is pretended, that he confeſſed to the chaplain of the Tower, that there was a deſign laid by the Proteſtant party to ſeize the perſon of the King, and impriſon him, till he had conſented to what ſhould be deſired of him, and that he mentioned many particulars. Others inſinuate, this confeſſion was forged (2), or only made to ſave his life. Indeed it is not eaſy to imagine, that ſo many Proteſtants, ingaged, as was pretended, in this plot, would communicate their deſigns to an Iriſh Papiſt. Nor is it leſs difficult to conceive, why his execution was haſtened, ſince he might have ſerved for evidence of this plot, about which, however, there was no farther inquiry.

And Oliver Plunket. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 291. Echard. Burnet.

The ſame day Fitz-Harris was executed, Oliver Plunket, the Popiſh titular primate of Ireland, ſuffered the like puniſhment for contriving, with the court of France, to raiſe an inſurrection in Ireland. Some pretend, he was condemned unjuſtly, and upon falſe evidence (3). I know not what there is in it, but from this time forward no agreement is to be expected among the hiſtorians, in relating the ſame facts. It is always with ſome addition, which plainly diſcovers the party they eſpouſe.

The earl of Shaftſbury ſent to the Tower. July 2. Burnet. Kennet, p. 390. Echard, Vol. III. p. 634. and others.

Thus much is certain; that the King delayed not to be revenged of ſome of thoſe who had appeared againſt him. The earl of Shaftſbury was ſent to the Tower the begining of July. He had now given him the title of The Protestant Earl, in deriſion of his having appeared more zealous than any other lord in ſupport of the Proteſtant party, and from hence it may be eaſily judged, who gave him that name. The ſame day, the King alſo ſent to the Tower ſome perſons of a much inferior rank, as Rouſe, Hayns, White, and one Colledge a joiner of London, who had been very ſtrenuous for the Whigs, while that party was ſupported by the parliament. He was alſo called the Protestant Joiner, for the name of Proteſtant was become the nick-name of thoſe who had moſt oppoſed the King and the Papiſts. The adherents of the court, pretend, on the other hand, that the Whig party in London, perceiving the court began to be revenged on their enemies, had found means, with the aſſiſtance of Corniſh and Bethel, ſherifs of London, and zealous Whigs, to ſecure grand juries intirely at their devotion, ſo that, to defeat the efforts of the oppoſite party, theſe juries were to return Ignoramus upon all bills brought againſt any of the Whigs, and therefore obtained the name of Ignoramus. But we are not to require any proofs of this ſuppoſition. The hiſtorians of the court party content themſelves with affirming, as a matter out of queſtion, that the grand jury of London was reſolved to return Ignoramus upon all bills againſt their friends, and we muſt take their word for it tho' it ſeems to be ſupported only by the rumors of their own party.

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The grand jury of London favorable to Proteſtants. Ibid.

Ibid.

Colledge indicted of high-treaſon. Acquited.

However, the court began their ſpleen with Colledge the joiner, and for that end, a bill of indictment of high treaſon was delivered againſt him to the grand jury of London, who, not finding it well grounded, threw it out with an Ignoramus (4). This cauſed an univerſal joy in London, and was looked upon as a ſort of triumph. But the court was reſolved to proceed againſt Colledge with the utmoſt ſeverity. For this purpoſe, on pretenſe of certain words ſaid to be ſpoken by Colledge at Oxford, he was removed to that city, and there tried and condemned. The court fearing to be diſappointed, as they had been at London, the King's council came to Oxford, and were ſhut up with the grand jury, till they had perſuaded them to find the bill. This at leaſt is a fact which has been often objected, and publicly and openly maintained, without having been denied. But not to enter into this; Colledge was carried to Oxford, and tried at the aſſizes, upon the evidence of Dugdale and Turberville, who had been the witneſſes in the trial of the lord Stafford. It is impoſſible to read the particulars of this trial, the partiality of the judges (5), and the depoſitions of the witneſſes, without diſcovering a ſetled deſign for the deſtruction of this man, who was condemned and executed as a traitor (6). He died, proteſting his innocence and ignorance of any plot but the Popiſh. The court's reſentment againſt this man ſhewed itſelf ſo evidently, that he was conſidered as the firſt martyr for the Proteſtant cauſe. The writers, even the moſt devoted to the court, do not poſitively affirm, he was guilty. They content themſelves with leaving the thing doubtful, after indeavoring however, by the turn they give to their account, to inſinuate a belief that he was not innocent.

Removed to Oxford. Kennet, p. 389. Echard, Vol. III. p. 634. Hawles, p. 20. Burnet.

Tried. Aug. 17. State Tria's, Vol. III. p. 342.

Aug. 31. Hawles.

Echard.

Oates turned out of Whitehall. Echard, Vol. III. p. 637.

The ſame day that Colledge was executed, dr. Oates was, by order of council, turned out of Whitehall, with a command not to come within the verge of the council chamber. Indeed he was no longer wanted, at a time when not only the Popiſh plot was ridiculed, but a deſign formed of

(1) Particularly the publiſhers of the paper called Domeſtick Intelligence, &c. The other papers here mentioned, containing invectives againſt the Whigs, were L'Eſtrange's Obſervators, and Heraclitus Ridens. Echard, Vol. III. p. 627.

(2) Fitz-harris was prevailed upon, thro' the management of dr. Hawkins miniſter of the Tower, to make this confeſſion. Hawkins was, for this good piece of ſervice done the court, rewarded with the deanery of Chicheſter. Burnet, p. 504.

(3) The witneſſes againſt him were brutal and profligate men, who had been cenſured by him for their leudneſs. Burnet, p. 502.

(4) Mr. Wilmore, the foreman, was April 16, examined before the council, ſent to the Tower, and afterwards forced to fly beyond ſea. Kennet, p. 389. Hawles, p. 20.

(5) The judges were chief juſtice North, juſtice Jones, juſtice Raymond, and juſtice Levinz. Rapin ſays by miſtake, that Jefferies was one of the judges, but he was only one of the King's counſel.

(6) The greateſt hardſhip put upon him, was the taking away from him his memorandums and inſtructions for his defenſe, juſt as he was coming to his trial. See his Trial.

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being revenged on thoſe who had been moſt zealous to ſupport the belief of it, and of improving a new Proteſtant plot.

New ſherifs and a lord mayor. Kennet, p. 391. Echard.

The time for electing the ſherifs of London being at hand, Thomas Pilkington and Samuel Shute, both Whigs, were choſen in the room of Bethel and Corniſh, which was very diſagreeable to the court: but on Michaelmas-day they had the ſatisfaction to ſee ſir John Moor, an addreſſer, choſen lord mayor.

At the ſeſſions for London, Rouſe, one of thoſe ſent to the Tower by the King, was indicted of high treaſon, and the grand jury found the bill Ignoramus.

The lord Shaftſbury's bill not found. Nov. 24. State-Trials, Vol. III. Echard. Kennet.

It was the ſame with the earl of Shaftſbury. The King paſſionately wiſhed to be revenged of this lord, who for ſome time had ſhewn him no reſpect. To this end, he granted a ſpecial commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer to all the judges of the kingdom to ſit, the twenty-fourth of November, with the lord mayor and aldermen, at the Old Bailey, on the earl's trial. Eight witneſſes were produced againſt him, who depoſed upon oath many things from his own mouth, which diſcovered pernicious deſigns againſt the King's perſon. But the greateſt crime objected againſt him was, the copy of an aſſociation (found in his ſtudy) againſt the enemies of the King, of the Proteſtant religion, and of their country (1). But notwithſtanding the hopes conceived by the court, of being freed from this enemy, the grand jury, conſiſting of twenty-one of the principal citizens of London, conſidering that the paper, containing the aſſociation was only a copy, and not writ by the earl of Shaftſbury's hand, and obſerving very great improbabilities in the depoſitions of the witneſſes, found no ſufficient ground for the bill, and returned it Ignoramus. Immediately the whole city teſtified their joy for the earl's deliverance, by bonfires in all the ſtreets, and other marks of ſatisfaction, and the witneſſes againſt him were in great danger of being torn in pieces by the rabble (2).

Burnet, p. 506.

The earl of Shaftſbury acquited.

Great joy.

Affairs of Scotland. Kennet, p. 391. Burnet, p. 510. Echard, Vol. III. p. 645. Acts in favor of the King and royalty. Life of James II.

Before we conclude this year, it will be neceſſary to mention the tranſactions in Scotland, where the duke of York, as the King's high-commiſſioner, had opened the parliament the twenty-eighth of July. This parliament, very different from the two laſt held in England, took a quite contrary courſe, and paſſed ſeveral acts ſuch as the King required.

They acknowleged by the firſt, that the crown of Scotland is by inherent right; by the nature of monarchy; by the fundamental and unalterable laws of the kingdom, tranſmited and devolved by lineal ſucceſſion, according to proximity of blood; and that no difference in religion, no law, no act of parliament, can alter or divert the right of ſucceſſion, and lineal deſcent of the crown to the neareſt and lawful heirs. This act made it high treaſon, either by word or writing, to indeavor to ſuſpend, or alter, the right of ſucceſſion.

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By the ſecond act, "all former laws for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion preſently profeſſed "in that realm, were ratified;" by which all the laws made by James I, Charles I, and Charles II, againſt Popery, were confirmed. To this act was annexed a teſt and oath to be taken by all officers in church and ſtate (3). This oath was drawn after ſuch a manner, that it impoſed a neceſſity of ſwearing directly againſt conſcience, or of being, as I may ſay, debared the ſociety of men. Accordingly, it was refuſed by moſt of the miniſters, and a great number of the laity. But this was what the contrivers of the oath wanted, in order to have opportunity to perſecute and deſtroy thoſe, who, it was foreſeen, would obſtruct the deſigns of the court. Scotland was almoſt reduced to ſlavery, with regard to its government. There was nothing wanted, but an introduction of the Popiſh religion, and for this the oath was intended, becauſe it was thereby hoped to have an opportunity of diſabling the greateſt enemies of Popery from oppoſing this deſign.

An oath impoſed. R. Coke.

Life of James II. p. 53.

Archibald Campbel earl of Argyle, ſon of him beheaded at Edinburg, was one of the refuſers of this oath, unleſs he might take it with a reſerve of his own explanation (4). But this the duke of York abſolutely denied him. Indeed theſe ambiguities had been purpoſely inſerted to keep the rigid Preſbyterians from taking it. At length, he was arreſted, impriſoned, and brought to a ſolemn trial, not only for refuſing the oath, but for having diſſuaded others from taking it; and for this new kind of treaſon, was condemned to loſe his head. It is pretended, the King would have pardoned him; but this can only be ſaid by conjecture. However, he found means to eſcape out of the caſtle of Edinburg, and withdrew into Holland (5).

The earl of Argyle refuſes it. Burnet, p. 512 &c. R. Coke, p. 274, &c. Echard, p. 646.

Is impriſoned, tried, and condemned. State-Trials, Vol. III.

Makes his eſcape.

From what has been ſaid it appears, that the Whig party moſtly conſiſted of profeſſed Preſbyterians, or of men inclined to Preſbytery, tho' they profeſſed the eſtabliſhed religion. That is to ſay, the times of James I and Charles I, were returned, when every man who was not of the court party, and a furious Tory, was a Preſbyterian. The King finding his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed ſince the diſſolution of the Oxford parliament, reſolved intirely to ruin his enemies the Whigs, and conſequently the Preſbyterians. To this purpoſe, he ordered, that the Non-conformiſts ſhould be rigorouſly proſecuted, which diſcovered his motive for conveying away, in the houſe of lords, the bill to repeal the act of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, at the very time it was about being paſſed into a law. For if this bill had not been ſecreted, no advantage could have been taken againſt the Preſbyterians. This order of the King occaſioned a violent perſe-

The Diſſenters are perſecuted. Burnet. Kennet, p. 392, 393. Echard, Vol. III. p. 649.

(1) This aſſociation was neither writ, nor marked in any place with the earl's hand. Burnet, p. 506.

(2) A medal was ſtruck upon this occaſion, having on one ſide the earl's effigies; and on the reverſe, the ſun behind a cloud, darting his beams on the city of London, See Evelyn's Numiſm. It was upon this occaſion that Dryden wrote his poem called, The Medal.

(3) And by all that ſhould be capable of electing, or being elected members of parliament. Burnet, p. 515. See this teſt in the life of King James II. 8vo. p. 53; and R. Coke, p. 276.

(4) See the caſe of the earl of Argyle in relation to the teſt or oath impoſed by the Scots parliament, p. 151, &c. of State Tracts, Vol. II. R. Coke, p. 276, and Life of James II. p. 55.

(5) When the teſt was in debate, Argyle ſpoke zealouſly againſt the clauſe, whereby all the Royal family were excepted out of it. He ſaid, the only danger we could apprehend as to Popery was, if the Royal family ſhould happen to be perverted: therefore he thought it was better to have no act at all than ſuch a clauſe in it. For this reaſon, when he came to explain himſelf concerning the taking the teſt in his own ſenſe, his words were conſtrued as a defaming and a ſpreading of lies of the proceedings of parliament, which was capital. Accordingly he was tried and condemned. No ſentenſe, ſays Burnet, in our age, was more univerſally cried out upon than this. All ſpoke of it, and the duke who drove it on, with horror. All that was ſaid to leſſen the horror was, that duke Lauderdale had reſtored the family with ſuch an extended juriſdiction, that he was really the maſter of all the Highlands. This, as the duke wrote to the King, was all he intended by it, as lord Halifax aſſured Burnet. Tho' a perſon of quality, whom lord Argyle never named, affirmed to him, on his honor, that he heard one in great favor ſay to the duke, the thing muſt be done, and that it would be eaſier to ſatisfy the King about it after it was done, than to obtain his leave for doing it. For which reaſon lord Argyle made his eſcape out of the caſtle in a diſguiſe. Burnet, p. 516, 520, 521.

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cution againſt the Diſſenters. Since the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, all the magiſtrates, judges, juſtices of the peace, governors, and lord lieutenants, had been changed, and the moſt violent Tories put in their places. It may eaſily be imagined, with what joy and zeal theſe men executed the laws againſt the Preſbyterians, which had for ſome years been ſuſpended. The clergy particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſhowing their attachment to the principles and maxims of the court.

Paſſive-obedience every where preached up.

The pulpits reſounded with the doctrine of Paſſive-obedience and Non-reſiſtance, which had been eſpouſed by a few in the reign of Charles I, but was now univerſally preached. They ſeemed earneſtly buſy in ſurrendering to the King, all the liberties and privileges of the ſubjects, and to leave themſelves only an unlimited obedience. According to the principles publicly preached, no Eaſtern Monarch was more abſolute than the King of England. This doctrine was ſupported in the courts of juſtice, by all the judges and lawyers, to the utmoſt of their abilities. All this was followed with numberleſs petitions and addreſſes, wherein the aſſociation, and the principles from which it flowed, were utterly deteſted. This aſſociation, which had occaſioned the perſecution againſt the Diſſenters, was but a chimera, and intirely grounded on the paper found in the earl of Shaftſbury's cloſet, without even a poſſibility of knowing whether it was an original, or a copy. But any man's thinking of aſſociating the ſubjects againſt the King, was ſufficient, according to the current principles, to charge the whole Whig party, as guilty of the greateſt crime imaginable. I ſhall not tranſcribe theſe addreſſes. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that they ſuppoſed the King of England as abſolute as it is poſſible to deviſe. Thus the violent Tories, who then prevailed in the corporations, were not ſatisfied with perſecuting the Preſbyterians, but alſo made King Charles an arbitrary and abſolute Monarch, as if there had been no other expedient to ſave the church of England from the attempts of the Preſbyterians.

The duke of York returns. Kennet, p. 392. Echard, Vol. III. p. 653, 656.

The begining of March, the duke of York returned from Scotland, and was received by the King with all poſſible ſigns of affection. At the ſame time, a letter came to the King from Scotland, ſubſcribed by ſeven biſhops, full of the duke of York's praiſes, and of the happineſs injoyed by the church of Scotland under his adminiſtration. So that it was not the fault of theſe prelates, that the duke, tho' moſt zealous for the Popiſh religion, was not reſpected as the principal ſupport and protector of the Proteſtant church.

An' 1682. Goes back into Scotland, and runs a great danger. May 5. Burnet, p. 523. Kennet, p. 395. Echard. Life of James II. p. 67.

After two months ſtay in England, the duke returned to Scotland to bring his family from thence. He went by ſea; but by an unexpected accident, the ſhip, tho' the weather was fair, ſtruck upon the ſand *, and in a ſhort time had above ſeven foot water in the hold. This obliged him to put off in his pinnace, with as many perſons as it would hold, and to ſave himſelf on board the Mary yatch. It is pretended, he himſelf named the perſons whom he would have in the boat with him, and that ſome prieſts and jeſuits were prefered to ſeveral perſons of quality, who were unfortunately drowned, with a hundred and thirty ſeamen, the ſhip ſinking ſoon after the duke put off. But I will not warrant this circumſtance, which perhaps is only a report ſpread by his enemies (1). The duke made but a ſhort ſtay in Scotland. He departed within a few days for England, where he continued the reſt of this reign, with great influence over the actions and counſels of the King his brother. To him is generally aſcribed the rigor with which the King treated his enemies the remaining part of his life. It is ſaid, the King being one day importuned by the duke to undertake things which he thought very dangerous, told him, "Brother, I am reſolved never "to travel again; you may do ſo, if you "pleaſe."

* Called the Lemon and Oar.

Charles II. An' 1682. Returns back to England, where he grows very powerful. Echard Vol. III. p. 657.

Tho' the Tory party had the advantage, being ſupported by the court and the magiſtrates, the Whigs however were not diſcouraged, in the expectation of cauſing ſome turn, by informing the people in pamphlets of their danger from the court. Theſe pamphlets were numberleſs, and new ones daily appeared, to attack or defend. That which made the greateſt noiſe was, "The life of Julian "the Apoſtate," in which a parallel was drawn between that Prince and the duke of York. The neceſſity of the excluſion was ſhown, and Paſſive-obedience exploded as a Mahometan doctrine. This book did but exaſperate the advocates of Paſſive-obedience. They took occaſion from thence to carry the doctrine ſo high, that when, in the reign of James II, reſtrictions became neceſſary, they knew not how to make them, and many even perſiſted in ſupporting this tenet, rather than own they had been in the wrong to carry it to ſuch extremity.

Pamphlets againſt the court. Id. p. 638.

A remark upon the doctrine of Paſſive-obedience.

To make it appear, that to this time the date of the birth, or at leaſt of the great progreſs of the doctrine of Paſſive-obedience muſt be fixed, it needs only to be conſidered, that the ſecond parliament of this reign, tho' chiefly compoſed of rigid church of England men, devoted intirely to the King, after having, by acts, eſtabliſhed ſuch principles as led to this doctrine, readily departed from it, when the court, as they believed, intended thereby to introduce a deſpotic government. This ſhows their deſign was not to eſtabliſh ſuch a government. But in 1682, the time I am ſpeaking of, theſe principles were not only preached, but practiſed, and the King was thanked in public and ſolemn addreſſes, for having eſtabliſhed an abſolute power. The pulpits rang with Paſſive-obedience, which was inforced from the poſitive declarations of God; and all the magiſtrates emulouſly ſtrove to reduce this doctrine to practiſe. The Whigs on their part in their attacks of theſe ſtrange opinions, threw themſelves into the other extreme, and thereby gave their enemies room to accuſe them as ſubverters of Monarchy. In ſhort, a kind of infatuation ſeized the kingdom, and one party, inſtead of moderating themſelves, violently imbraced whatever was moſt contrary to the other.

Great rage againſt the Whigs. Echard, Vol. III. p. 658.

The animoſity againſt the Whigs was then ſo exceſſive, that even in the adminiſtration of juſtice, the judges forgot common decenſy. The earl of Shaftſbury having brought his action of Scandalum Magnatum againſt one mr. Cradock, the defendant's counſel alleged, "That there was no pro-"bability of a fair trial by a London jury, by "reaſon that the earl was of the Skinners company, "of which ſherif Pilkington was maſter, and that "therefore the jury ought to be taken from ſome "other place." The court of King's-bench found this exception ſo juſt, that it was ordered, "That "unleſs the earl would conſent to try his cauſe by a "country jury, it ſhould not be tried in London." I know not whether ſuch an exception had ever been known or admited before. Party rage appeared in

(1) Burnet ſays, the duke got into a boat, and took care of his dogs, and ſome unknown perſons, who were taken, from that earneſt care of his, to be his prieſts. The long boat went off with very few in her, tho' ſhe might have carried off above eighty more than ſhe did, p. 523. What makes this account probable in the main, is, that the following perſons periſhed with the reſt, the earl of Roxborough, the lord Obryan, the laird of Hopton, ſir Joſeph Douglaſs, lieutenant Hyde the duke's brother-in-law. Echard, Vol. III. p. 657. The duke, ſays Burnet, took no notice of this cruel neglect, which was laid chiefly to Legg's charge, p. 523.

all

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all private matters, ſo that judgments were formed not according to the right, but on the principles of thoſe concerned.

The mayor and ſheriffs of London elected by the influence of the court. June 24. Kennet, p. 395. Burnet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 660.

Tho' the Whigs had a great diſadvantage in the kingdom, they ſtill preſerved their ſuperiority in London, where almoſt all the magiſtrates were of their party; but they were not ſuffered long to injoy them. Moor, the lord mayor, who had been an abhorrer, and was in the intereſts of the court, objected againſt the election of the ſheriffs, and afterwards of the lord mayor, who was to ſucceed him; and being ſupported by the privy council, prevailed, partly by force, and partly by conſent, to have new ſheriffs (1), and a new mayor elected of the King's party. This was a triumph for the court, and the earl of Shaftſbury was ſo ſenſible of it, that ſeeing himſelf like to be deprived of the city of London's protection, avoided the impending ſtorm, by a retreat into Holland. It was remarked, that he was forced to ſhelter himſelf under the protection of a Republic, to which, when he was chancellor, and one of the cabal, he had applied that ſaying of Cato, 'Delenda eſt Carthago. —— He died ſix weeks after his arrival in Holland.

The earl of Shaftſbury eſcapes into Holland. Id. p. 664.

A deſign againſt London and other corporations.

The court having got a lord mayor and ſheriffs at their devotion, improved the advantage, and relying on the compliance of the magiſtrates, reſolved to annul the charter of London, and afterwards thoſe of all the other corporations in the kingdom. But this deſign was not executed till the next year.

Mean while, the lord mayor and the ſheriffs of London, were very active againſt the Preſbyterians, and executed the laws with great ſeverity. Moreover, to recommend themſelves the more to the court, they prevented the burning of the Pope, as had been cuſtomary on the ſeventeenth of November (2).

Pilkington fined for words ſpoken againſt the duke of York Nov. 24. Echard, Vol. III. p. 665. Burnet, p. 535.

The duke of York imbracing ſo favorable a juncture, brought his action againſt the late ſherif Pilkington, for theſe words, ſpoken by the defendant, "The duke of York has fired the city, "and is now come to cut our throats." The jury found for the duke, and gave him one hundred thouſand pounds damages. To ſuch extravagance was party rage carried.

Before we finiſh the events of this year 1682, which was memorable only for the progreſs of the court and the Tories; the downfal of the Whigs, and the perſecution of the Preſbyterians; I ſhall relate ſome other things which happened this year.

Mr. Thynne murdered.

Firſt, the murder of mr. Thynne, almoſt in the heart of the city, by count Coningſmark, for which his footman was hanged. As this is a private affair, I ſhall ſay no more of it.

Embaſſies.

This year the King received two extraordinary embaſſies, one from the King of Fez and Morocco, the other from the King of Bantam in the iſle of Java.

Deaths.

This year died Prince Rupert, count palatine of the Rhine, ſo often mentioned in the foregoing reign, ſixty-three years of age; John Maitland duke of Lauderdale; Heneage Finch earl of Nottingham and lord high chancellor; and Anthony Aſhley Cooper earl of Shaftſbury.

Promotions.

On the other hand the King created ſeveral peers (3), among the reſt, the duke of Ormond, an Iriſh duke, was promoted to the ſame dignity in England.

Laſtly, the earl of Sunderland was reſtored to the office of ſecretary; upon the reſignation of the earl of Conway.

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Burnet, p. 531.

His Majeſty having had no extraordinary ſupplies from the parliament for ſome years, it would be aſtoniſhing that he ſhould at once become ſo good an œconomiſt, as to live on his revenues, if it had not afterwards appeared, that he had contracted many debts, and thereby ſupplied in ſome meaſure the aids of money, which, on one pretenſe or other, he had uſed to receive from the parliament. The court purſued the ſame courſe, without any appearance of intending to uſe their new power for raiſing money upon the ſubject. It might appear ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that the King, in his preſent ſituation, did not ſummon a parliament, as well to repeal what had been inacted againſt him, as to get a ſupply of money. Pretenſes would not have been wanting. That was not the thing. But it ſeemed, that notwithſtanding the multitude of addreſſes, which were ſtill daily preſented, he did not confide in the affection of his people, and feared, that the elections would not prove favorable to him. Theſe addreſſes indeed came but from one party, and the King knew, it was very poſſible to receive addreſſes from all the corporations in England, without being aſſured, that the people in general were well affected. But as foreigners may not underſtand this, I ſhall give it a brief explanation.

The King runs in debt.

Reaſons which hindered the King from calling a parliament.

England is almoſt all divided into communities, called corporations, which have each their privileges, obtained from the Sovereigns on certain conditions. There is ſcarce a town which has not its magiſtrates and laws as a corporation. The mayor, or head of the corporation, the aldermen, the recorder, and other principal officers, are elected either by the whole community, or by a certain number of townſmen. It is eaſy therefore to apprehend, that the prevailing party may, without great difficulty, form a common council of their own principles, and it is this common council which manages the addreſſes preſented to the King, in the name of the whole corporation. Provided the ſuperiority of voices in the common council be for one of the parties, that ſuffices, if an addreſs be ordered, to ſay, it is in the name of the town or community, tho' all the other members ſhould be of a contrary opinion. But in chuſing repreſentatives, another method is taken. For then every burgeſs, every freeholder, has a right to give his vote, and conſequently repreſentatives of a contrary party to the magiſtrates and common council may very poſſibly be elected. This, probably, hindered the King from venturing to call a new parliament, fearing he ſhould not find his account in it. For the ſame voters who had choſen the members of the two laſt parliaments, would have had a right to vote for the members of a new one, which could not be advantageous to his Majeſty. The court therefore came to a reſolution of reſuming the charters of the corporations, and to grant others drawn in ſuch manner, that the King ſhould be almoſt inabled to cauſe ſuch repreſentatives to be elected, as he pleaſed. It may be affirmed, there was no readier or more effectual way to invade at once the liberties of the nation, and cauſe the parliament itſelf to approve of the ſame.

Till affairs ſhould come to maturity for the exe-

(1) The two ſheriffs the court was for, were mr. North and mr. Box. And thoſe ſet up by the majority of the city, were mr. Papillon and mr. Dubois. Some conteſts aroſe upon this occaſion, for which the late ſheriffs and others were afterwards tried as guilty of a riot. See State Trials, Vol. II. p. 541, &c.

(2) Queen Elizabeth's inauguration day.

(3) Henry Somerſet marquis of Worceſter was created duke of Beaufort; Conyers lord Darcy earl of Holderneſs; Thomas lord Windſor earl of Plymouth; Horatio lord Townſhend viſcount Townſhend; ſir Thomas Thynne viſcount Weymouth; George Legg earl of Dartmouth; John Churchill (late duke of Marlborough) lord Churchill; and James Bertie earl of Abington, &c. Kennet, p. 396.

cution

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The King goes to Newmarket. A fire obliges him to return to London. Sprat's Hiſt. p. 74. Echard, Vol. III. p. 669.

cution of this deſign, or ſome favorable occaſion offer itſelf, the King reſolved to take the diverſions of New-market. He had ſcarce been there ſix days, when a fire broke out in the town with ſuch violence, that he was obliged to return to London ſome days ſooner than he deſigned. It was pretended afterwards, that there was, at this time, a plot againſt his life, to be executed at New-market, and which was prevented by his ſudden return, occaſioned by the fire. This accident was aſcribed to a particular providence preſerving the King, when he was in ſo great danger.

An' 1683. Several aldermen tried for a riot. May 8. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 541.

His Majeſty intending to be revenged on the old magiſtracy of London, which had oppoſed him for ſeveral years, iſſued out a commiſſion for trial of the authors of the diſorder at the election of ſherifs the laſt year. This diſorder, in the commiſſion, was called a "riotous and unlawful aſſembly," and aggravated as much as a thing of ſuch little moment could admit. Fourteen aldermen and ſubſtantial citizens, leaders of the Whigs, were all tried and condemned in great fines (1).

A Quo Warranto brought againſt the charter of London. Kennet, p. 399. Echard, Vol. III. p. 671. Burnet, p. 530, 533.

But the King ſtoped not here; tho' the new magiſtrates and common council were aſſiduous in giving him marks of their reſpect and loyalty, by repealing ſeveral acts of the court of common council, made during the late troubles (2). They likewiſe replaced, in its nich in the Royal Exchange, the ſtatue of Charles I, which had been taken down after his death. Nevertheleſs, this did not prevent his Majeſty's iſſuing a Quo Warranto againſt the city, that is, an order to ſhow by what warrant they pretended to be a corporation, and injoy the privileges mentioned in the writ. On ſuch occaſions, the corporation, againſt whom the Quo Warranto is ſent, produces the charter of their privileges, and the queſtion is to know, whether they have exactly obeyed the conditions and articles of their charter. If they have been faulty in any eſſential article, the court, before whom the affair is brought, may declare their privileges and charter forfeited. This rarely happens, becauſe a corporation is not wont to break their charter in eſſential articles, for fear of loſing it; and if it is in a point of little importance, the court is ſatisfied with a fine to the King. This is the practiſe where juſtice, and a maintenance of the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom are only deſigned. But, in the preſent caſe, the King's intention was not to maintain juſtice and the laws, but to take occaſion from the breach of ſome article of the charter, to ſeize the liberties of London into his hands, and render himſelf abſolute maſter of the government of that city. The preſent juncture was very favorable to his deſign, becauſe, ſince the diſſolution of the Oxford parliament, he had taken care to fill the courts of juſtice with judges devoted to him, and to theſe judges were commited the deciſion of this affair.

R. Coke, p. 313.

The King alleged two violations of the charter by the corporation of London. The firſt was the illegal exaction of tolls in the market, and particularly the raiſing money to rebuild Cheapſide conduit. The ſecond was the framing and printing a ſcandalous petition, wherein they charged the King with obſtructing the juſtice of the nation, by proroguing the laſt Weſtminſter parliament. This affair was learnedly argued on both ſides; but at laſt the judges of the King's-Bench declared, that

The charter declared forfeited. June 12. Burnet. Kennet, p. 399.

the liberties and privileges of the city of London were forfeited, and might be ſeized into the King's hands. Nevertheleſs, it was declared, by the expreſs command of the King, "That judgment "ſhould not be entered until his Majeſty's plea-"ſure ſhould be further known."

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The city ſubmits to the King.

On this judgment ſeveral reflections were then, and ſtill are made, which are not to the honor either of the King or the court. However, the inhabitants of London were extremely ſurpriſed at this procedure, and the common council aſſembled to conſult how to proceed in this exigency. Some were for having the judgment entered till an opportunity offered to procure a reverſal: but the court party inſiſted upon an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the King before judgment was entered, which was in effect a voluntary ſurrender of the privileges of the city into the King's hands, and a depriving it of the means to cauſe the ſentenſe one day to be reverſed. This opinion was carried by a majority, and the King was waited on with a petition agreeble to ſuch a reſolution. The King anſwered by the lord keeper North, That he would reſtore the charter if the city would ſubmit to the following regulations:

June 18. Kennet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 673.

Conditions offered by the King.

1. That no lord mayor, nor any officer of the corporation, or ſteward of the borough of Southwark, ſhould be capable of, or admited to the exerciſe of their reſpective offices, before his Majeſty ſhould have approved them under his ſign Manual.

2. That if his Majeſty ſhould diſapprove the choice of any perſon to be lord mayor, &c. the citizens ſhould, within one week, proceed to a new choice: and if his Majeſty ſhould in like manner diſapprove the ſecond choice, his Majeſty might if he pleaſed, nominate a perſon to be lord mayor for the year inſuing.

3. The ſame with regard to the ſherifs.

4. The lord mayor and court of aldermen might alſo, with the leave of his Majeſty, diſplace any alderman, recorder, &c.

5. Upon the election of any alderman, if the court of aldermen ſhould judge and declare the perſon preſented to be unfit, the ward ſhould chuſe again; and upon a diſapproval of a ſecond choice, the court might appoint another in his room.

6. The juſtices of the peace were to be by the King's commiſſion; and the ſetling of theſe matters to be left to his Majeſty's attorney and ſollicitor general, and council learned in the law.

By theſe articles, it is evident, the King was abſolute maſter of the government of the city, and by reſtoring their charter, effectually deprived them of their principal privileges.

The city accepts them. Echard.

Two days after, the common council met, and reſolved on ſubmiting to his Majeſty, by a majority of eighteen voices (3). The hiſtorians of the King's party ſpeak of this affair very ſlightly, pretending the city was juſtly puniſhed for their great provocations to the King of late years. But as to the conduct of the King and court, which occaſioned theſe provocations, they do not think proper to mention it, and ſo the whole blame lies on the city.

The Ryehouſe plot. Burnet. Sprat.

At length we are come to the pretended Proteſtant plot, that is to ſay, a plot form'd by the Proteſtants againſt the King and the duke. But as it is difficult to conceive the agreement of this term

(1) Pilkington 500 l. Shute 1000 marks. Corniſh the ſame. Lord Grey of Werk the ſame. Player 500 marks. Bethel 1000. Jenks 300. Deagle 400. Freeman 300. Goodenough 500. Keys 100. Wickham 100. Swinock 500. And Jekyl 200. Kennet, p. 398.

(2) Particularly the lord mayor and court of aldermen's negative vote was reſtored, and the lord mayor had power of chuſing one ſherif, which is done at the bridge-feaſt, by the ceremony of drinking to the perſon deſigned.

(3) Yeas 104. Noes 86. Echard, Vol. III. p. 674.

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in a Proteſtant country, with deſigns framed by Proteſtants againſt Papiſts, and as ſome gladly remove the idea of the King and duke of York's being Papiſts, they rather chuſe to give it the name of the Rye-houſe-plot, from a houſe ſo called, in the road to Newmarket (1), where, it is pretended, the conſpirators had projected to murder the King and duke. I muſt not conceal, that as the former conſpiracy, called the Popiſh plot, did then, and ſtill does, paſs for an invention, with the adherents of the court; ſo this had the ſame fate among thoſe who were, or ſtill are, of the contrary party. The hiſtory of this conſpiracy muſt therefore be read with great caution, ſince the authors are intirely divided; the one repreſenting as falſe, what the others aſſert as true. Were they both content with relating the bare facts, giving for true thoſe that may be proved, as for falſe thoſe whoſe contrary cannot be proved, and for doubtful ſuch as are doubtful, the reader might be able to form ſome judgment. But their accounts are artfully labored to prepoſſeſs the reader. A thouſand things are inſinuated which have no foundation but in their ſyſtem. The witneſſes are either knaves or honeſt men, as is moſt for their advantage. The conſpiracy in their recitals is ſuppoſed true or falſe at pleaſure. Numberleſs circumſtances are inſerted to ſerve their purpoſe, without the leaſt proof or authority. So the reader, who is in ſearch of truth, finds himſelf at a loſs, it being impoſſible to enter into a particular examination of ſo many oppoſite things. Impartial readers content themſelves with leaving the matter undecided, becauſe they ſee no proofs ſtrong enough to determine their aſſent either way. Others thro' prejudice in favor of one of the parties, or thro' lazineſs or indifference, implicitly follow the ſentiments of the hiſtorian, or reject them abſolutely.

Sprat. Echard.

Therefore to avoid as much as poſſible the errors which I condemn, I ſhall ſuppreſs all inſinuations of the hiſtorians of both parties, and confine myſelf to the depoſitions and defenſes of the accuſed, without adding any circumſtance which is not owned by both ſides.

On the twelfth of June this year, Joſiah Keeling diſcovered the conſpiracy, real or pretended, to the lord Dartmouth and ſecretary Jenkins, before whom he made open confeſſion of the whole affair, and ſubſcribed his depoſitions. But afterwards, conſidering that his ſingle intelligence was not ſufficient, he prevailed upon Goodenough, that his brother John Keeling might be admited into the next meeting of the conſpirators. This was done, and thereupon both the brothers gave in their joint teſtimony upon oath on the fourteenth of June.

Keeling's information in Sprat, 8vo. Burnet, p. 544. Sprat's Hiſt. p. 89.

It muſt be obſerved, that this circumſtance of the admiſſion of John Keeling into the ſecrets of the plot, manifeſtly ſuppoſes a conſpiracy. Accordingly it is only produced by thoſe hiſtorians who believe the reality of the plot.

In the next place, the diſcovery of the plot being made by Joſiah Keeling the twelfth of June, and the depoſition of the two brothers being given on the fourteenth, it follows that, according to the firſt ſuppoſition, John Keeling had but one day to be informed of the ſecrets of this plot.

Burnet, p. 543, &c.

According to the depoſitions of the two Keelings, the plot conſiſted of three articles. 1. The conſpirators deſigned to ſecure the King's guards (but how this was to be executed does not appear) then to block up or beſiege Whitehall, and ſeize the perſons of the King and duke of York. 2. To aſſaſſinate the King and the duke in a hollow way near the Rye-houſe, in their return from Newmarket. 3. To cauſe inſurrections in London, and other parts of the kingdom (2). But Keeling depoſed only againſt perſons of no note.

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Upon this depoſition, the King iſſued a proclamation for apprehending, colonel John Rumſey, Richard Rumbold, maſter (3), Richard Nelthorpe, eſq; Edward Wade, gent. Richard Goodenough, gent. capt. Walcot, William Thompſon, James Burton, and William Hone; for either of which a hundred pounds was offered to the diſcoverer. Upon this proclamation, colonel Rumſey ſurrendered himſelf the next day; and being examined by ſecretary Jenkins, he confeſſed all he knew; which confeſſion was next day confirmed by two others, mr. Weſt and mr. Sheppard: ſo that on the twenty-eight of June, there came out a ſecond proclamation, for apprehending James duke of Monmouth, Ford lord Grey, ſir Thomas Armſtrong, knight, and Robert Ferguſon. It is pretended, that when the warrants were delivered to Legat the meſſenger, to ſeize Ferguſon with the reſt of the offenders, ſecretary Jenkins gave Legat a ſtrict command, not to take him, but to ſhun him wherever he met him. Shortly after, the lord Howard of Eſcrick alſo ſurrendered himſelf, and upon his information, warrants for high treaſon were iſſued out againſt the earl of Eſſex, the lord Ruſſel, and others, who were taken up accordingly.

Sprat, p. 94. Burnet, p. 545. Kennet, p. 399. Idem.

Addreſſes flowed from all parts to congratulate the King on this diſcovery. The embaſſadors of foreign Princes paid the ſame compliment; and the King of France offered five hundred piſtoles for the apprehending of Monmouth, Grey, Armſtrong, or Ferguſon.

Addreſſes. Echard, Vol. III. p. 682.

The priſoners were not ſuffered long to languiſh. Walcot was firſt brought to his trial the twelfth of July, and againſt him,

Walcot's trial.

Rumſey ſwore, "That the priſoner came to a "meeting at Weſt's chamber, where the depo- "nent was preſent, when a liſt was brought of "the aſſaſſines, and agreed to join with them, in- "tending to command a party that ſhould charge "the guards: that he undertook to go and view "Rumbold's houſe, and bought a horſe for that "purpoſe; that he was preſent at the dividing "London into twenty parts, in order to an inſur- "rection; and at the conſult for buying of arms "after the diſappointment at the Rye-houſe; that "he was at the meeting for carrying on the con- "ſpiracy on Thurſday before the diſcovery; and "that, after it, they met at captain Tracy's, "Walcot's own lodging, the deponent being pre- "ſent."

Rumſey's evidence. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 600. Sprat, p. 140.

Keeling depoſed, "That Walcot was at the "traiterous aſſembly at the Salutation-Tavern, "where the deponent was called Culing, and a "health drank to the Engliſh Culing; Weſt de- "claring, that Culing in Dutch was Keeling in "Engliſh, adding, he hoped to ſee Keeling at the "head of as good an army in Wapping, as they "heard one Culing was then at Cologn."

Keeling's. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 606.

Bourn ſwore, "That Walcot uſed to come to "Ferguſon when he lodged at his houſe; and that "he and ſeveral others met at the Dragon on Snow- "hill, and often at other places, in order to raiſe "men, and divide the city into twenty parts, for

Bourn's. p. 607.

(1) Rye-houſe lies within two miles of Hoddeſdon in Hertfordſhire, and was then inhabited by Richard Rumbold.

(2) And to maſſacre the magiſtrates of London, and the officers of ſtate. King's Declaration, p. 6.

(3) Rumſey and Rumbold had ſerved in Cromwell's army. Rumſey going afterwards into Portugal, with the forces that ſerved there under the brave Schomberg, behaved courageouſly; and by Schomberg's recommendation, got a place here in England. Burnet, p. 542.

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State Trials, Vol. III. p. 608.

" ſecuring the King and the duke; That almoſt " every time they met, at leaſt three times, the " priſoner at the bar was there; that he was at the " laſt meeting at Tracy's, where they debated of " ſtanding with ſword in hand, and of killing Keel- " ing for making the diſcovery."

Weſt's. Ibid.

Weſt teſtified, " That the priſoner, upon the " election of the London ſherif, aſked him, 'Will " the people do nothing to ſecure themſelves?' " And acquainted him with the inſurrection then " deſigned within three weeks or a month; that " the earl of Shaftſbury was in the deſign, and " had ingaged the priſoner; that he had an expec- " tation of being a colonel of horſe; aſking the " deponent, 'Whether he would have any com- " mand under him?' That upon his refuſal, he de- p. 610. " ſired him to lend him a ſuit of ſilk armor; that " the ſaid Walcot told him of ſeveral deſigns to " attack the King and the duke; that in the " buſineſs of the Rye-houſe, he undertook to com- " mand the party that was to ſet on the guards."

Walcot's letter produced. p. 613. Sprat. Appendix. p. 126.

Beſide theſe witneſſes, there was a letter pro- duced, under Walcot's own hand, to ſecretary Jenkins, in which he ſaid, " That if his Majeſty " deſired it, he would diſcover to him all that he " knew in England, Scotland, or Ireland, which " might be ſomething more than the original diſ- " coverer could acquaint him with, eſpecially as " to Ireland; that his intimacy with a Scotiſh " miniſter, thro' whoſe hands much of the buſineſs " went, occaſioned his knowing very much, &c."

Walcot's defenſe. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 615.

Walcot's defenſe conſiſted, firſt, of a plain denial of having any hand in the aſſaſſination; ſaying, " He knew well enough, if he had undertaken to " charge the guards, while others killed the King, " he was equally guilty with thoſe that killed " him; but that he was ſick of the gout during " the meetings, while the King was at Newmar- " ket." To this Weſt replied, " That he re- " membered it well, by a good token, that the " the priſoner himſelf ſaid, 'He was afraid when " the time came, he ſhould not be able to draw on " his boots." Walcot added, " That he came ac- " cidentally to their meetings only to hear news. " That what he had promiſed to diſcover, he had He is con- demned. " only heard from Ferguſon." In concluſion, he was brought in guilty of high treaſon by the jury.

A remark upon this trial.

Thoſe who believe this plot was only an artifice of the court to deſtroy their chief enemies obſerve, that the depoſitions of the witneſſes againſt Walcot, and the other pretended conſpirators, are all founded on the ſuppoſition, that there was really a deſign to ſeize the King's guards, aſſaſſinate him and the duke, and raiſe an inſurrection, and on a previous narrative of this pretended conſpiracy, ſuppoſed to be undeniable, to which the ſeveral depoſitions were adjuſted, before the reality of the deſign was approved.

In the ſecond place, they ſay, that theſe depoſi- tions are incoherent: for the conſpirators muſt have had, at the ſame time, two contrary deſigns, one to ſecure the King's perſon, and oblige him to conſent to their propoſals; and the other to aſſaſſi- nate him; two deſigns which can hardly ſubſiſt together.

Their adverſaries reply, it being proved by the depoſitions of the witneſſes, that the accuſed had aſſiſted at ſuch and ſuch meetings, where the King's aſſaſſination was mentioned, and having diſcourſed concerning the deſign, the ſuppoſition was ſuffi- ciently proved.

Trial of the lord Ruſſel. p. 629. Burnet, p. 553.

I ſhall not relate the trials of the other priſo- ners of little note, but confine myſelf to the lord Ruſſel's, ſon to the earl of Bedford. This lord, being one of thoſe againſt whom the court was moſt incenſed, becauſe he had propoſed the bill of excluſion in the houſe of commons, and carried it up to the lords, was tried the twelfth of July at the Old-Bailey, before eight judges. He was very urgent for one day longer before his trial, becauſe, as he ſaid, he had witneſſes that might come be- fore night; but he was over-ruled. He then urged to have his trial defered to the afternoon; but with no better ſucceſs. Three witneſſes depoſed againſt him, colonel Rumſey the evicence againſt Walcot, mr. Sheppard, and the lord Howard of Eſcrick.

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Rumſey's depoſition. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 636, 637.

1. Rumſey depoſed, " That in the end of Octo- " ber, or in the begining of November 1682, there " met at mr. Sheppard's houſe in Abchurch-lane, " the duke of Monmouth, the lord Grey, the lord " Ruſſel the priſoner, ſir Thomas Armſtrong, and " Robert Ferguſon; that the earl of Shaftſbury " deſired him to go to them thither, to know what " reſolution they were come to about the riſing of " Taunton; that he did go, and mr. Sheppard car- " ried him up where they were, and he delivered " his meſſage. That the anſwer was, mr. " Trenchard had failed them, and there would " be no more done in the matter at that time; " that there was at the ſame time a diſcourſe " by all the company, about ſeeing what poſture " the guards were in, that they might know how " to ſurpriſe them; that ſome of them undertook " to go and ſee: that the lord Ruſſel in particular p. 638. " did ſpeak about the riſing, and gave his conſent " to it."

Sheppard's depoſition. p. 638, 639.

2. Mr. Sheppard teſtified, " That in October " laſt, Ferguſon deſired of him, in the duke of " Monmouth's name, the conveniency of his houſe, " for the meeting of ſome perſons of quality; and " that the ſame day in the evening, the duke of " Monmouth, the lord Grey, the lord Ruſſel, ſir " Thomas Armſtrong, colonel Rumſey, and Fer- " guſon came; that they deſired to be private, and " none of his ſervants to come up; that their " diſcourſe was how to ſurpriſe the guards; that " the duke of Monmouth, the lord Grey, and ſir " Thomas Armſtrong, went one night to the " Mews to view them; that the next time they " came (1), Armſtrong ſaid, the guards were very " remiſs, and the thing was feaſible; that they " had two meetings of this kind at his houſe; that " in one of them ſomething was read by Ferguſon " in the nature of a declaration, ſeting forth the " grievances of the nation in order to a riſing; " that he could not poſitively ſay, that the lord " Ruſſel was there when it was read; but the ſaid " lord, the priſoner, was there when it was diſ- " courſed of ſeizing the guards."

The lord Howard's depoſition. p. 639, 642.

The lord Howard began his teſtimony, with a long ſtory about the plot in general, which ſeemed to be deſigned only to exaſperate the jury; after which he depoſed to this effect: " That after the " earl of Shaftſbury's flight, the chief perſons con- " cerned in the conſpiracy, in his time, began to " conſider, they had gone ſo far, that it was unſafe " for them to make a retreat; and that in ſo " great an affair, conſiſting of ſuch infinite par- " ticulars, to be managed with ſo much fineneſs, " it would be neceſſary to have ſome general coun- " cil; and that therefore they reſolved to erect a " Cabal among themſelves, which uſually conſiſted " of ſix perſons, the duke of Monmouth, the earl " of Eſſex, the lord Ruſſel, colonel Sidney, mr. " Hampden junior, and the deponent; and this " was about the middle of January laſt. They " met at mr. Hampden's houſe, where it was pre-

(1) The lord Ruſſel was never there but once. See Burnet, p. 537, 553.

" ſently

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" ſently agreed, their proper province was to take " care of the inſurrection; that the chief things " they debated were, 'Whether that inſurrection " ſhould begin firſt in London, or the country;' " then, 'What counties and towns were the fiteſt, " and moſt diſpoſed to action;' then, 'What arms " were to be got, and how to be diſpoſed;' then, " 'That it was neceſſary to have a common bank " of twenty-five or thirty thouſand pounds, to " anſwer the occaſions of ſuch an undertaking;' but " that the greateſt point was, to order it ſo, as to " draw in Scotland into a conſent with them;' " becauſe it was requiſite, that all kinds of diverſion " ſhould be given to the King's forces. That " about ten days after, every one of the ſame " perſons met again at the lord Ruſſel's houſe; " that they then came to a reſolution of ſending " ſome perſons to the earl of Argyle, to ſetle a " correſpondence with him, and that ſome meſ- " ſengers ſhould be diſpatched into Scotland, to " invite ſome Scotſmen hither, who beſt under- " ſtood the ſtate of Scotland, to give an account of
King's declaration, p. 18. " it; that the perſons determined to be ſent for, " were ſir John Cockram, the lord Melvil, and " one of the name of Campbel; that colonel Sidney " was intruſted to take care of a meſſenger; and " he told the deponent, he had ſent Aaron Smith; " then they agreed not to meet again till the return
State Trials, Vol. III. p. 643. " of the meſſenger, who was gone about a month " before they heard any thing of him; that all " this debate at the lord Ruſſel's went without con- " tradiction, all there preſent giving their conſent: " that as for raiſing of money, every one was put " to think of ſuch a way, that money might be " collected without giving cauſe of jealouſy. That, " after all this, the deponent met no more with " them; but, when he returned out of the country, " he was informed, that Aaron Smith was come " back, and that ſir John Cockram was alſo come " to town."

p. 644. To all this the lord Ruſſel made anſwer, " That " he could not but think himſelf mighty unfor- " tunate, to ſtand charged with ſo high a crime, " and that intermixed with the treaſons, horrid " practiſes and ſpeeches of other people, while the " King's counſel took all advantages, and heigh- " tened things againſt him. That he was no lawyer, " a very unready ſpeaker, and altogether a ſtranger " to things of this nature; that he was ſenſible he " was not ſo provided to make his defenſe, as " otherwiſe he ſhould do; but he thought the " gentlemen of the jury were men of conſcience, " that valued innocent blood, and hoped they " would conſider the witneſſes, that they ſwore to
p. 643. " ſave their own lives. That the two times they " met, was upon no formed deſign, only to talk " of news and things in general; that the lord " Howard had a voluble tongue, they delighted " to hear him diſcourſe; that he knew of no ſuch " council as ſix choſen, for who ſhould chuſe
p. 644. " them?" As to colonel Rumſey, " He was no- " toriouſly known to have been highly obliged to " the King and the duke; and it was ſtrange he " ſhould be capable of ſuch a deſign as to murder " the King. That the time was elapſed, by the " thirteenth of the King, which limits proſecu- " tion to ſix months. Neither was the deſign of " levying war, treaſon, unleſs it appeared by ſome " overt-act." And aſking upon what ſtatute he was indicted, he was told, " The ſtatute of the " twenty-fifth of Edward the third." Upon which he inſiſted on a matter of law, and particularly,
p. 645. " That the buſineſs at mr. Sheppard's houſe was " ſworn to only by one witneſs." To which he was anſwered, " That if there were one-witneſs of " one act of treaſon, another of a ſecond, and an- " other of a third, that manifeſted the ſame " treaſon, it was ſufficient."

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For a farther defenſe of his lordſhip, there ap- p. 646. peared for him the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Angleſey, mr. Edward Howard, the lord Cavendiſh, the lord Clifford, doctor Tillotſon, doctor Burnet, doctor Cox, doctor Fitz-Williams, mr. Luton Gore, mr. Spencer. Some of theſe teſtified, Burnet, p. 546, 554. that the lord Howard, before he was taken, declared, " He believed the lord Ruſſel inno- " cent, and knew nothing againſt him." Others ſpoke to his lordſhips private character, and declared his great worth and probity; his virtuous and ſober life, and conſequently the improbability of his being thus ingaged. But this was turned againſt him by the King's counſel, who ſaid, there could not be any more dangerous enemies to a ſtate, than ſuch as come ſober to indeavor its deſtruction.

As to what concerned the lord Howard's ſay- State Trials, Vol. III. p. 648. ing, he believed the priſoner innocent, it was anſwered by that lord himſelf, who confeſſed, " He " had ſaid ſo, being then himſelf not accuſed, ſo " that he intended to out-face the thing both for " himſelf and the party; but now, his duty to " God, the King, and his country required it, he " muſt ſay the truth; and that tho' the council of " ſix were not choſen by any community, yet they " did erect themſelves by mutual agreement one " with another into that ſociety."

In fine, the jury brought him in guilty of high- He is condemned. July 14. treaſon. This ſentenſe was conſidered by all, who had any ſenſe of ſhame left, as the moſt crying injuſtice ever known in England. For the lord Ruſſel was condemned for words ſpoken in his hearing, which in England can never paſs for treaſon. The lord Howard ſo loſt his reputation, for being acceſſary to this injuſtice, that he was looked on with horror by honeſt men, who avoided his company, as aſhamed or afraid to be ſeen with him. Some ſay, he had made his peace with the King a little before, by the mediation of the ducheſs of Portſmouth, and by an ingagement to ſerve as a witneſs againſt the pretended conſpirators.

But that which was believed to have very much The earl of Eſſex found with his throat cut in the Tower. influenced the jury againſt the lord Ruſſel, was, that in the very time of his trial, the earl of Eſſex, priſoner in the Tower, was found dead in his chamber, with his throat cut from ear to ear with a razor. The news was immediately brought to the Old-Bailey, and communicated to the judges and the King's counſel, who from thence took occaſion to inſinuate to the jury the reality of the plot (1), ſince the earl of Eſſex rather choſe to lay violent hands on himſelf, than ſtand a trial.

Burnet, p. 553, 554. Kennet, p. 400. Echard, Vol. III. p. 688.

Tho' the coroner's inqueſt, after an examination The King and the duke ſuſpected of this murder. Speke's Inquiry. Burnet, p. 569. of the dead body, found the earl Felo de ſe, this was not capable of removing the ſuſpicion entertained by moſt people, that this fact was commited by the order of the King and duke, who were in the Tower that very morning, where they had not been for twelve years before. It was beſide urged, that it was not poſſible for a man to cut his own throat from ear to ear. Several other circumſtances were added, of which it is not eaſy to diſcover the truth. It was reported, that in the blood ſprinkled on the floor of the room, were diſcovered the marks of a ſtrange foot; and that after the deed was done, the razor was thrown out of the window, and picked up by a little girl. That be-

R. Coke, p. 315.

(1) The evidence againſt my lord Ruſſel being very defective, that accident was to help it out, as mr. Hawles rightly obſerves. Remarks, p. 63.

fore

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fore the coroners came to inſpect the body, care was taken to ſtrip and leave it naked, and to waſh the room. That the coroner demanding to ſee the cloaths, was anſwered, it was his buſineſs to examine the body, and not the cloaths. What has been moſt plauſibly urged, in vindication of the King and duke from this horrid action, is, that perſons of credit have teſtified their frequent hearing the earl of Eſſex declare, that ſelf-murder was no ſin. It is farther urged, that his counteſs, and ſir Henry Capel his brother, owned the juſtice of the coroner's verdict. But had they believed the contrary, this was no proper time to diſcover their ſuſpicions. I am very certain, the laſt earl of Eſſex, his ſon, was of another opinion, and have heard him ſay, he believed his father was murdered; and that a French footman, who then ſerved his father, was ſtrongly ſuſpected, and diſappeared immediately after the fact. However this be, the general opinion then was, and ſtill is, that this unfortunate nobleman fell a ſacrifice to the revenge of the King and the duke: this ſeems the leſs ſtrange, as among thoſe who declared moſt openly for their country, againſt the King and duke, the earl of Eſſex was not the only perſon who felt the effects of their reſentment. The King however publicly declared in print, that he was deeply afflicted for the earl of Eſſex's death, becauſe he was thereby deprived of an opportunity to exerciſe his clemency, and teſtify how highly he valued the memory of the lord Capel. But inſtead of convincing the public by this external demonſtration, it was by many imagined, that the King mentioned only the lord Capel, to inſinuate, how much the earl, his ſon, had deviated from his ſteps.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 689.

Idem. Kennet, p. 400.

Beſide the lord Ruſſel condemned for this plot, two others alſo met with the ſame fate, viz. Hone a joiner, and John Rouſe. This laſt had been indicted for treaſonable words, and eſcaped by an Ignoramus jury. But he was re-taken, and tried for the ſame crime, which did not properly belong to this plot, but to his having talked of the King in treaſonable terms. Hone and Rouſe were both condemned as traitors, and executed with Walcot, the twentieth of July. They confeſſed, they had heard of a plot in general, but deſcended not to particulars. At leaſt, it did not appear, that the lord Ruſſel had any correſpondence with them.

Walcot, Hone, and Rouſe executed.

Next day, the lord Ruſſel was alſo executed (1). he was ſo univerſally eſteemed, that it could not be thought, the King would refuſe his pardon, which was beged by ſo many powerful relations. It is even ſaid, the earl of Bedford his father, offered a hundred thouſand pounds for his life; but his offer was rejected. The King would not ſo much as grant a reprieve of ſix weeks to his lady, tho' daughter of the earl of Southampton, but made her this anſwer: "Shall I grant that man ſix weeks, "who, if it had been in his power, would not "have granted me ſix hours?" Every one however was perſuaded, that if there was a deſign to kill the King, the lord Ruſſel was not concerned in it. Beſide, that he denied it with his laſt breath, he was not condemned for that crine, and the witneſſes which depoſed againſt him ſaid nothing like it. And yet the King, to have an excuſe for refuſing a ſhort delay, ſuppoſed that this crime was fully proved. It cannot be denied, that tho' the lord Ruſſel had been guilty of the crime for which he was condemned, viz. of giving a tacit conſent to the deſign of an inſurrection, the King could never have had an opportunity of exerciſing his clemency with more applauſe, to a man of ſo known virtue, nearly related to the greateſt families in the kingdom. But all theſe conſiderations were weak, againſt the paſſion of revenge with which the King and the duke of York were actuated. The lord Ruſſel had been one of the warmeſt oppoſers of the duke of York, had joined the earls of Shaftſbury and Eſſex, and carried up the bill of excluſion to the houſe of lords. Theſe were crimes not to be forgiven by the King and his brother. But perhaps moſt of my readers, after having peruſed the tranſactions of this reign, will not think it ſo enormous a crime to indeavor to oppoſe an arbitrary power, which was begining to be introduced. He died with great reſolution, proteſting his innocence, and ignorance of any deſign againſt the King's perſon, or of any contrivance to alter the government. As it was expected that he would be interrupted, he ſpoke but little on the ſcaffold, leaving in the hands of the ſheriffs a paper in which he proteſted his innocence, and ſaid, "That he died "a true and ſincere Proteſtant, and in the com-"munion of the church of England, tho' he could "nevet yet comply with, or riſe up to all the "heights of ſome people."

Lord Ruſſel executed. Echard, Vol. III. p. 667, 691. Burnet, p. 555, 560.

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Kennet, p. 400.

For a concluſion to this melancholy ſcene, it remains only to ſpeak of the condemnation and execution of colonel Algernoon Sidney, who was accuſed of the plot, and of the deſign to kill the King. He was brother to the earl of Leiceſter, and, in the late troubles, had been deeply ingaged in the republican party. At the reſtoration he thought not fit to accept perſonally of the indemnity, whether in diſtruſt of the King, or for ſome other reaſon. At length, in 1677, he obtained a particular pardon of the King, and returned to England, where he joined the country party, at which the King was highly offended.

Trial of Algernoon Sidney. Burnet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 697. State Trials, Vol. III p. 710.

Four witneſſes were produced againſt him, Rumſey, Weſt, Keeling, and the lord Howard of Eſcrick. The three firſt contented themſelves with giving a particular account of the plot, but ſaid nothing directly againſt the priſoner. He complained of it as a great hardſhip, as prepoſſeſſing the jury. The lord Howard depoſed, as before at the trial of the lord Ruſſel, that colonel Sidney was of the council of ſix, and had ſent Aaron Smith into Scotland, to ingage the Scots in a rebellion.

Depoſitions againſt him. Nov. 21. p. 715, 716.

His defenſe was, firſt a great improbability of erecting a council of ſix; and that perſons ſo little knowing one another, ſhould preſently fall into ſo great and intimate a friendſhip. As to the duke of Monmouth, he ſaid, he never ſpoke with him above three times in his life; and one time was, when lord Howard brought him to his houſe and cozened them both; for he told the duke, that colonel Sidney had invited him, and he told the colonel, that the duke invited himſelf, and neither of them was true. He inlarged upon the ill reputation of the lord Howard, and his deviating in his evidence with reſpect to the lord Ruſſel's, and the preſent trial. He alleged the lord Howard's indigence, and his owing him money, which debt might probably be cancelled by his conviction. He proved, by the teſtimonies of the earls of Clare and Angleſey, of mr. Philip and mr. Edward Howard, dr. Burnet, mr. Ducas, and mr. Blake, that the lord Howard had confeſſed, "That he could

His defenſe. p. 721.

Burnet, p. 539.

State Trials, Vol. III. p. 722.

p. 724.

(1) He was beheaded, July 21, on a ſcaffold erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. There were ten companies of the King's guards, and a troop of horſe drawn up, to prevent any diſturbances that might ariſe at the ſight of ſo moving and melancholy a ſpectacle, Echard, Vol. III. p. 693.——In the duke of Monmouth's journal, it is ſaid, that the King told him, "He inclined to have "ſaved the lord Ruſſel, but was forced to conſent to his death, otherwiſe he muſt have broke with his brother, the duke of York." See Kennet, p. 406.

"not

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" not get his pardon untill he had done ſome " other jobs, till he was paſt the drudgery of " ſwearing."

Partiality of the judges.

During this whole trial, the judges themſelves undertook to anſwer the reaſons of the accuſed, without leaving any thing for the King's counſel to do. But they anſwered not the objection drawn from the confeſſion of lord Howard, nor did he himſelf make any reply. So that the court's deſign to furniſh the jury with reaſons to condemn the priſoner, evidently appeared.

One of his own manuſcripts produced againſt him. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 719.

But the moſt urgent proof againſt him, was a manuſcript found among his papers. It was an anſwer to a book, compoſed by ſir Robert Filmer, to prove, that, by the laws of God and nature, Kings, and particularly thoſe of England, were inveſted with abſolute and unlimited power. Sidney, in his anſwer to this book, had aſſerted a quite contrary doctrine, and carried his Republican principles to a very great height.

p. 721, 723, 728.

He ſaid firſt, that the manuſcript was not writ by him, and he could ſee no reaſon why it ſhould be aſcribed to him. That tho' he was the author, it might be writ many years ago, in anſwer to Filmer's book, with no intention of publiſhing it, but diſputandi gratia, only for private diverſion, and the exerciſe of his pen. In fine, he inſiſted very much upon the neceſſity of two evidences to the ſame fact. The court, as I ſaid, anſwered all his objections, but it plainly appeared, it was with wretched cavils and ſubtilties. To the manuſcript it was anſwered, that ſcribere eſt agere, and that there was ſufficient in it to prove the malice of his heart, and his treaſonable deſigns. I know not whether the Engliſh lawyers are agreed in this maxim (1). However, he was brought in guilty by the jury. It is pretended, this was the firſt time a man was accuſed of treaſon, and condemned to die, for writing any thing without publiſhing it.

p. 733.

He is condemned,

and beheaded. p. 738. Kennet, p. 404. Burnet.

The ſeventh of December, he was beheaded without diſcovering the leaſt weakneſs. Inſtead of a ſpeech on the ſcaffold, he delivered a writing to the ſherif, in which he complained bitterly of the injuſtice done him. He repreſented the infamous life of the lord Howard, and the judges, as men corrupted, and only promoted to ſerve the deſigns of the court.

July 21.

While theſe pretended conſpirators were vigorouſly proſecuted, the univerſity of Oxford diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a particular manner, among the advocates for the court, by a condemnation in form of twenty-ſeven propoſitions, collected out of ſeveral modern authors, concerning the Regal power. This decree was preſented to the King with great ſolemnity, and very graciouſly received. In the decree itſelf will appear the ſentiments of the univerſity at that time.

July 24.

The Oxford decree. Kennet, p. 411, &c.

The judgment and decree of the univerſity of Oxford, paſſed in the convocation, July twenty-one, 1683, againſt certain pernicious books, and damnable doctrines, deſtructive to the ſacred perſons of Princes, their ſtate and government, and of all human ſociety (2).

" ALthough the barbarous aſſaſſination lately " enterprized againſt the perſon of his ſa- " cred Majeſty and his Royal brother, ingage " all our thoughts to reflect with the utmoſt de- " teſtation and abhorrence on that execrable vil- " lany, hateful to God and man, and pay our due " acknowlegments to the divine providence, which " by extraordinary methods brought it to paſs, " that the breath of our noſtrils, the anointed of " the Lord, is not taken in the pit which was " prepared for him; and that under his ſhadow we " continue to live, and injoy the bleſſings of his " government; yet notwithſtanding, we find it to " be a neceſſary duty at this time to ſearch into, " and lay open thoſe impious doctrines, which " having of late been ſtudiouſly diſſeminated, " gave riſe and growth to theſe nefarious at- " tempts; and paſs upon them our ſolemn public " cenſure, and decree of condemnation.

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" Therefore, to the honor of the holy and un- " divided Trinity, the preſervation of Catholic " truth in the church, and that the King's Majeſty " may be ſecured both from the attempts of open " bloody enemies, and machinations of treacherous " heretics and ſchiſmatics: We the vice-chancellor, " doctors, proctors, and maſters, regent and non " regent, met in convocation, in the accuſtomed " manner, time and place, on Saturday the one " and twentieth day of July, in the year 1683, " concerning certain propoſitions contained in di- " verſe books and writings, publiſhed in the Eng- " liſh, and alſo the Latin tongues, repugnant to " the holy ſcriptures, decrees of councils, writings " of the fathers, the faith and profeſſion of the " the primitive church, and alſo deſtructive of " the Kingly government, the ſafety of his Ma- " jeſty's perſon, the public peace, the laws of " nature, and bonds of human ſociety; by our " unanimous aſſent and conſent, have decreed and " determined in manner and form following:

" I. All civil authority is derived originally " from the people.

" II. There is a mutual compact, tacit or ex- " preſs, between a Prince and his ſubjects; and " that if he perform not his duty, they are diſ- " charged from theirs.

" III. That if lawful governors become tyrants, " or govern otherwiſe than by the laws of God " and man they ought to do, they forfeit the " right they had unto their government. Lex Rex. " Buchan. de Jure Regni. Vindiciæ contra Ty- " rannos. Bellarm. de Conciliis, de Pontifice. " Milton. Goodwin. Baxt. H. C.

" IV. The ſovereignty of England is in the " three eſtates, viz. King, lords and commons. " The King has but a co-ordinate power, and " may be over-ruled by the other two. Lex Rex. " Hunton. Of a limited and mixed monarchy. " Baxter's H. C. Polit. Catechiſ.

" V. Birth-right and proximity of blood give no " title to rule or government; and it is lawful to " preclude the next heir from his right and ſucceſ- " ſion to the crown. Lex. Rex. Hunt's Poſtſcript. " Doleman's Hiſtory of Succeſſion. Julian the " Apoſtate. Mene Tekel.

" VI. It is lawful for ſubjects, without the " conſent, and againſt the command of the ſu- " preme magiſtrate, to enter into leagues, cove- " nants and aſſociations, for defenſe of themſelves " and their religion. Solemn League and Cove- " nant. Late Aſſociation.

" VII. Self-preſervation is the fundamental law

(1) Finch aggravated the matter of the book, as a proof of his intentions, pretending it it was an Overt-act, for he ſaid Scribere eſt agere. Burnet, p. 572.

(2) This decree was drawn up by dr. Jane of Chriſt-Church, who upon it was made dean of Gloceſter. He joined in the revolution, which gave occaſion to this epigram.

Decretum figis ſolenne, Decanus ut eſſes,
Ut fieres Præſul, Jane, regis idem.

Charles II. An' 1683.

" of nature, and ſuperſedes the obligation of all " others, whenſoever they ſtand in competition " with it. Hobbes, de Cive; Leviathan.

" VIII. The doctrine of the goſpel, concerning " patient ſuffering of injuries, is not inconſiſtent " with violent reſiſting of the higher powers, in " caſe of perſecution for religion. Lex Rex. " Julian the Apoſtate. Apologet. Relat.

" IX. There lies no obligation upon Chriſtians " to paſſive obedience, when the Prince commands " any thing againſt the laws of our country; and " the primitive Chriſtians choſe rather to die than " reſiſt, becauſe Chriſtianity was not ſetled by the " laws of the empire. Julian the Apoſtate.

" X. Poſſeſſion and ſtrength give a right to " govern; and ſucceſs in a cauſe or enterprize, " proclaims it to be lawful and juſt: to purſue it, " is to comply with the will of God, becauſe it is " to follow the conduct of his Providence. Hobbes. " Owen's Sermons before the Regicides, Jan. 31. " 1648. Baxter. Jenkins's Petition, Octob. " 1651.

" XI. In the ſtate of nature there is no dif- " ference between good and evil, right and wrong: " the ſtate of nature is the ſtate of war, in which " every man hath a right to all things.

" XII. The foundation of civil authority is this " natural right, which is not given but left to the " ſupreme magiſtrate, upon men's entering into " ſocieties: and not only a foreign invader, but a " domeſtic rebel, put himſelf again into a ſtate of " nature, to be proceeded againſt, not as a ſub- " ject, but an enemy; and conſequently acquires, " by his rebellion, the ſame right over the life of " his Prince, as the Prince for the moſt heinous " crimes has over the life of his own ſubjects.

" XIII. Every man, after his entering into a " ſociety, retains a right of defending himſelf " againſt force; and cannot transfer that right to " the commonwealth, when he conſents to that " union whereby a commonwealth is made: and " in caſe a great many men together have already " reſiſted the commonwealth, for which every one " of them expected death, they have liberty then " to join together to aſſiſt and defend one another: " their bearing of arms, ſubſequent to the firſt " breach of their duty, tho' it be to maintain " what they have done, is no new unjuſt act; and " if it be only to defend their perſons, it is not " unjuſt at all.

" XIV. An oath ſuperadds no obligaion to " pacts, and a pact obliges no farther than it is " credited: and conſequently, if a Prince gives " any indication, that he does not believe the pro- " miſes of fealty and allegiance made by any of " his ſubjects, they are thereby freed from their " ſubjection; and notwithſtanding their pacts and " oaths, may lawfully rebel againſt, and deſtroy " their Sovereign. Hobbes de Civ. Leviathan.

" XV. If a people, that by oath and duty are " obliged to a Sovereign, ſhall ſinfully diſpoſſeſs " him, and, contrary to their covenants, chuſe " and covenant with another; they may be ob- " liged by their latter covenant, notwithſtanding " their former. Baxter's H. C.

" XVI. All oaths are unlawful, and contrary " to the word of God. Quakers.

" XVII. An oath obligeth not in the ſenſe of " the impoſers, but the takers. Sherif's Caſe.

" XVIII. Dominion is founded in grace.

" XIX. The powers of this world are uſurpa- " tions upon the prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt; and " it is the duty of God's people to deſtroy them, " in order to the ſeting Chriſt upon his throne. " Fifth-Monarchy-Men.

" XX. The Preſbyterian government is the " ſcepter of Chriſt's kingdom, to which Kings as " well as others are bound to ſubmit, and the " King's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs, aſſerted " by the church of England, is injurious to Chriſt, " the ſole King and head of the church. Altare " Damaſcenum. Apologet. Relat. Hiſt. of Indul- " gences. Cartwright. Travers.

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" XXI. It is not lawful for ſuperiors to impoſe " any thing in the worſhip of God that is not an- " tecedently neceſſary.

" XXII. The duty of 'not offending a weak " brother', is inconſiſtent with all human authority " of making laws concerning indifferent things. " Proteſtant reconciler.

" XXIII. Wicked Kings and tyrants ought to " be put to death; and if the judges and inferior " magiſtrates will not do their office, the power " of the ſword devolves to the people: if the " major part of the people refuſe to exerciſe this " power, then the miniſters may excommunicate " ſuch a King: after which it is lawful for any of " his ſubjects to kill him, as the people did Atha- " liah; and Jehu, Jezabel. Buchanan. Knox. " Goodman. Gilby. Jeſuits.

" XXIV. After the ſealing of the ſcripture- " canon, the people of God, in all ages, are to " expect new revelations for a rule of their actions; " and it is lawful for a private man, having an in- " ward motion from God, to kill a tyrant. Qua- " kers, and other Enthuſiaſts. Goodman.

" XXV. The example of Phineas, is to us in- " ſtead of a command: for what God hath com- " manded or approved in one age, muſt needs " oblige in all. Goodman. Knox. Napthali.

" XXVI. King Charles the firſt, was lawfully " put to death; and his murderers were the bleſſed " inſtruments of God's glory in their generations. " Milton. Goodwin. Owen.

" XXVII. King Charles the firſt made war " upon his parliament: and in ſuch a caſe, the " King may not only be reſiſted, but he ceaſeth " to be King, Baxter.

" We decree, judge and declare, all and every " of theſe propoſitions to be falſe, ſeditious and " impious; and moſt of them to be alſo heretical " and blaſphemous; infamous to the Chriſtian re- " ligion, and deſtructive of all government in " church and ſtate.

" We further decree, that the books which " contain the aforeſaid propoſitions and impious " doctrines, are fited to deprave good manners; " corrupt the minds of uneaſy men; ſtir up ſe- " ditions and tumults; overthrow ſtates and king- " doms; and lead to rebellion, murder of Princes, " and Atheiſm itſelf. And therefore we interdict " all members of the univerſity from the reading " of the ſaid books, under the penalties in the " ſtatutes expreſſed. We alſo order the before- " recited books to be publicly burnt by the hand " of our marſhal, in the court of our ſchools.

" Likewiſe we order, that in perpetual memory " hereof, theſe our decrees ſhall be entered into " the regiſtry of our convocation; and that copies " of them being communicated to the ſeveral col- " leges and halls within this univerſity, they be " there publicly affixed in the libraries, refectories, " or other fit places where they may be ſeen and " read of all.

" Laſtly, we command, and ſtrictly injoin all " and ſingular the readers, tutors, catechiſts, and " others, to whom the care and truſt of initiating " youth is commited, that they diligently inſtruct " and ground their ſcholars in that moſt neceſſary " doctrine, which, in a manner, is the badge and " character of the church of England, 'of ſub- " miting to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's

" ſake

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" ſake; whether it be to the King. as ſupreme; or " unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by " him, for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for " the praiſe of them that do well.' Teaching that " this ſubmiſſion and obedience is to be clear, " abſolute, and without any exception of any ſtate " or order of men: alſo, that they, according to " the Apoſtle's precept, ' Exhort, that firſt of all, " ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving " of thanks, be made for all men; for the King, " and all that are in authority, that we may lead " a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs and " honeſty, for this is good and acceptable in the " ſight of God our Saviour.' And in eſpecial " manner, that they preſs and oblige them, " humbly to offer their moſt ardent and daily " prayers at the throne of grace, for the preſerva- " tion of our Sovereign Lord King Charles, from " the attempts of open violence, and ſecret ma- " chinations of perfidious traitors; that the Defen- " der of the Faith, being ſafe under the defenſe of " the moſt High, may continue his reign on earth, " till he exchange it for that of a late and happy " immortality."

Marriage of the Princeſs Anne. Kennet, p. 407.

The marriage of the Princeſs Anne, ſecond daughter of the duke of York, with Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark, celebrated the twenty-eighth of July, gave ſome, but no long interruption to the proſecutions of the conſpirators.

The King revokes the conditions accepted by the city of London, and names a lord mayor and other magiſtrates. Phillips. Kennet, p. 407. Burnet, p. 568.

I have ſhewn that the city of London complied with the King's pleaſure in relation to their charter. But the King it ſeems repented his being ſo favorable. The election of a lord mayor, which is uſually on the twenty-ninth of September, having been defered to the ſixth of October, the King, on pretenſe that the city had not tendered him a formal ſubmiſſion, ordered the judgment upon the Quo Warranto to be entered. By this the city being without a charter, the government was ſeized by the King, who ſent a commiſſion to ſir William Pritchard to continue in the execution of his office during pleaſure. He confirmed likewiſe the two ſherifs with the ſame reſtriction, and diſplaced the recorder, naming another in his ſtead (1). Shortly after, on St. Simon and Jude's day, on which it is cuſtomary for the new lord mayor to take the oaths in the court of Exchequer, the King appointed a new lord mayor during his pleaſure. Thus the city of London ſaw itſelf without charter or privileges, and intirely dependent on the King's will.

The duke of Monmouth reconciles himſelf with the King. Sprat's Hiſt. p. 162, and Appendix, p. 201. Kennet, p. 406. Burnet, p. 573.

His Majeſty, as I ſaid, publiſhed a proclamation for apprehending all the conſpirators againſt his life, among whom was his natutal ſon, the duke of Monmouth. The duke had hitherto kept himſelf concealed. But at laſt weary of his uneaſy ſituation, he wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the King his father, wherein, after poſitively denying his ever having any deſign againſt his life, he owned however, that many people had made him believe his own was in danger, and thereby cauſed him to commit things contrary to his duty to the King and the duke of York, and aſked both their pardons with great earneſtneſs and ſubmiſſion. He added, that if his Majeſty would grant him his pardon, he would deliver himſelf into the hands of the duke, that he might introduce him into his preſenſe. This was accompanied with proteſtations and aſſurances of reſpect, ſubmiſſion, and fidelity for the future. He concluded with ſaying, " That " he would never aſk to ſee the King's face more, " if ever he did any thing againſt the duke, which " was the greateſt curſe he could lay upon him- " ſelf."

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The King could not diſſemble his joy at the receipt of this letter, for he tenderly loved the duke of Monmouth. Nevertheleſs, with his own hand he wrote the following anſwer: " If the duke of " Monmouth deſires to make himſelf capable of " my mercy, he muſt render himſelf to the ſecre- " tary, and reſolve to tell me all he knows, re- " ſigning himſelf intirely to my pleaſure."

This drew from the duke a ſecond letter more ſubmiſſive than the former; in which he confeſſed his offenſe againſt the King and the duke, but in general terms, and without mention of particulars (2). But in aſſuring the King of an unreſerved ſubmiſſion to his pleaſure, he intreated him, that he would not expoſe him to the ignominy of a trial, nor ſend him to the Tower, nor force him to be witneſs againſt any perſon.

Sprat's Hiſt. p. 162. and Appendix, p. 204.

His Majeſty, ſatisfied with this letter, very readily admited his beloved ſon to aſk forgiveneſs. He was introduced by ſecretary Jenkins, who withdrew, and left him alone with the King and the duke of York. What paſſed between them, can only be known from the report of the King and the duke his brother. It is however affirmed, that he threw himſelf at the King's feet, acknowleging his guilt (3), and aſking his pardon; that he confeſſed himſelf faulty to the duke, aſking his pardon alſo. All this is very probable, but what is added admits of ſome doubt, viz. that he confirmed whatever had been depoſed againſt the lord Ruſſel, and colonel Sidney, and thereby corroborated the lord Howard's evidence. It is alſo added, that he aſſured, all the conſiderable Nonconformiſt miniſters knew of the conſpiracy. As this could only come from the King, or duke of York, and as it was the intereſt of both, that the earl of Eſſex, lord Ruſſel, and colonel Sidney ſhould be thought guilty, all do not think themſelves obliged to credit their teſtimony.

Ibid. p. 164, 165.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 703.

See Burnet, p. 574.

and obtains pardon. Sprat. p. 166.

However this be, the King ordered his pardon to be diſpatched with all expedition. But afterwards, upon a report, " That the duke of Mon- " mouth had made no confeſſion, but had aſſerted " the innocency of ſome that had ſuffered," the King required him to write over, and ſubſcribe the following letter:

The King requires a letter from him. Sprat's Hiſt. p. 167. Appendix. p. 207.

" I Have heard of ſome reports of me, as if I " ſhould have leſſened the late plot, and gone " about to diſcredit the evidence given againſt " thoſe who have died by juſtice. Your Majeſty " and the duke know, how ingenuouſly I have " owned the late conſpiracy; and tho' I was not " conſcious of any deſign againſt your Majeſty's " life, yet I lament the having had ſo great a ſhare " in the other part of the ſaid conſpiracy. Sir, I " have taken the liberty to put this in writing for " my own vindication; and I beſeech you to look " forward, and indeavor to forget the faults you " have forgiven me, I will take care never to

(1) Sir George Treby was diſplaced, and ſir Thomas Jenner, who was knighted at the ſame time, was made recorder. Eight aldermen were likewiſe turned out, and as many new ones named in their ſtead. Kennet, p. 407.

(2) He only ſaid, " ——— I confeſs, ſir, I have been in fault, miſled, and inſenſibly ingaged in things of which the " conſequence was not enough underſtood by me: yet I can ſay I never had a criminal thought towards your Majeſty."—— Sprat's Hiſt. Append. p. 204.

(3) He did fully and freely acknowlege his having been conſcious of the conſpiracy, ——— but perſiſted to the laſt in renouncing any the leaſt knowlege or thought of the aſſaſſinating part. Sprat's Hiſt. p. 164. See the duke's Journal in Kennet, p. 406.

" commit

" commit any more againſt you, or come within
" the danger of being again miſled from my duty,
" but make it the buſineſs of my life to deſerve
" the pardon your Majeſty hath granted to,

Your dutiful Monmouth.

He demands it back; Sprat's Hiſt. p. 167, 169. Burnet, p. 575.

It is certain, the duke wrote, or at leaſt ſubſcribed this letter, which, as it appears, was expreſſed in general terms, without deſcending to particulars. And yet, ſhortly after, he repented of what he had done, and with great importunity preſſed the King to return him the paper he had ſubſcribed. His Majeſty anſwered him, he would not keep it againſt his will, that he might not have occaſion to ſay, he had been forced to write it. But withal, he warned him to conſider, what ill conſequences might follow upon this obſtinacy, and therefore gave him time till the next morning to deliberate with himſelf. The next day the duke demanded his letter with ſtill greater importunity, and the King reſtored it, but from that moment baniſhed him from his preſenſe at court.

has it reſtored and is baniſhed from the King's preſenſe. Dec. 7.

A conjecture upon this affair. Sprat's Hiſt. p. 168.

It is eaſy to perceive, that the motive which induced the duke to demand his letter again, is a ſubject for conjectures, and difficult to be diſcovered. Some pretend, the duke of Monmouth's friends repreſented to him, that by writing this letter, he had thrown himſelf upon an unavoidable precipice, ſince at ſome other time it might be turned to his ruin. Others maintain, that he was ſo troubled in conſcience, for having aſſerted in this letter a thing which he knew to be falſe, that he was not eaſy till it was returned him. Each follows the opinion which is moſt agreeable to his ſyſtem; but no proof is produced on either ſide. Laſtly, there are thoſe who pretend, it was a contrivance between the King and the duke of Monmouth, and that the King, not to diſoblige the duke of York, told, or ordered the duke of Monmouth to be told, to demand his letter again, in order to have an opportunity to reſtore it, for fear the duke of York might one day make an ill uſe of it. They confirm their conjecture from the King's behavior to the duke of Monmouth in his abſenſe. The duke withdrawing into Holland, and the Prince of Orange receiving him with great reſpect and civility, the King could not forbear teſtifying his ſatisfaction. He writ frequently to the duke of Monmouth, received letters from him, unknown to the duke of York, and privately ſupplied him with money.

Burnet, p. 575. Kennet, p. 407. Echard, Vol. III. p. 705.

A great froſt. Phillips. Echard, Vol. III. p. 705.

The winter of this year was very remarkable for a violent froſt, which began about the begining of December, and laſted till the fifth of February. The Thames was ſo frozen, that there was another city, as it were, on the ice, by the great number of booths erected between the Temple and Southwark, in which place was held an abſolute fair, for above a fortnight, of all ſorts of trades. An ox was likewiſe roaſted whole, bulls baited, and the like.

Tangier demoliſhed. Ibid. p. 706. Burnet, p. 592.

In September or October this year, the King commiſſioned the lord Dartmouth to go with about twenty ſail of ſhips, and utterly demoliſh the town, caſtle, and mole of Tangier. The mole had coſt the King vaſt ſums, but for want of money or for ſome other cauſe was left unfiniſhed. The lord Dartmouth had alſo orders to choak up the haven. Six months were ſpent in executing this commiſſion. The King was thereby freed from a conſiderable annual expenſe for the preſervation of this place, and moreover, the gariſon, moſtly conſiſting, as I obſerved, of Popiſh ſoldiers and officers, ſerved to augment the King's forces at home, and keep in awe thoſe who were impatient of the yoke.

The Siege of Vienna. Burnet, p. 563. Echard, Vol. III. p. 706.

This year 1683, was memorable for the famous ſiege of Vienna, formed by the Grand Viſier Kara Muſtapha, the ninth of July, with an army of an hundred and thirty thouſand men, and raiſed by the King of Poland, the ſecond of September, when the city was reduced to the laſt extremity.

Means to confirm the King's abſolute power.

The year 1684 was almoſt wholly ſpent in eſtabliſhing the King's acquired abſolute power. This was done chiefly by three expedients. The firſt was the augmentation of the forces by the gariſon of Tangier: The ſecond by the rigorous puniſhment of thoſe who were not only accuſed of the Proteſtant plot, but had, during the quarrels between the King and the late parliaments, taken the liberty to ſpeak of the King and the duke of York, with too much warmth and paſſion. Theſe ſpeeches, at a time when the King and the duke were obliged to diſſemble, for fear of farther exaſperating the parliament, were now remembered, when they were in a more favorable ſituation, and the authors made to ſuffer. The third expedient was, the perſuading indirectly all the corporations in the kingdom to ſurrender their charters to the King. I have already ſaid what I had to ſay concerning the gariſon of Tangier.

Condemnations of ſeveral perſons. State Trials, Vol. III.

As to the ſecond expedient, I mean, the proſecutions againſt the King's and duke's enemies, it would be tedious to enumerate all the trials and ſentenſes given againſt thoſe who were accuſed either of the laſt plot, or of having ſpoken too freely of the King and the duke. Nothing elſe almoſt occurs in the events of the year 1684. Since the city had loſt their privileges, the King had nominated ſheriffs (1) intirely devoted to him, who took care in all criminal trials to impannel juries, diſpoſed to follow the ſuggeſtions of the court. To facilitate the condemnation of thoſe whoſe proſecutions were reſolved, his Majeſty, in December laſt, had made ſir George Jefferies lord chief juſtice of the King's-Bench. He was a man fit for the purpoſes of the court, without honor or conſcience, impudent to the laſt degree, and ever ready to betray his duty and the intereſts of juſtice and the kingdom to recommend himſelf to thoſe who were in power. Theſe great qualities advanced him at laſt to the chancellorſhip of England. The King had alſo made other alterations among the judges; ſo that he was in a manner aſſured of the compliance of all the courts of juſtice. The court party had made a great noiſe ſome time before, concerning the Ignoramus returned by the London juries upon all bills prefered againſt the Whigs, and theſe complained no leſs of the rigor exerciſed this year by the Tories. Books were publiſhed to ſhew the paſſion, the partiality, and the crying injuſtices of the judges and juries, in favor of the court. But I cannot deſcend to theſe particulars, however proper they may be to demonſtrate, with what zeal the court promoted the execution of their deſigns, and to ſhow the characters of the perſons imployed. I ſhall therefore omit many trials of perſons little known, and confine myſelf to ſome particular caſes, by which of the reſt an idea may be eaſily formed.

Kennet, p. 407.

Character of ſir George Jefferies. Burnet, p. 567.

The earl of Danby diſcharged. Feb. 12. Kennet, p. 405. Phillips. Burnet, p. 591.

Upon an impeachment from the commons, the houſe of lords had ſent the earl of Danby to the Tower. He had often demanded to be diſcharged upon bail; but the judges had always refuſed his requeſt, declaring that it was not in their

(1) Peter Daniel and Samuel Daſhwood, Eſquires. Kennet, p. 407.

power

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power to admit to bail a peer of the realm impriſoned by parliament. This was the law of the kingdom. But the alterations among the judges had likewiſe produced great alterations in the maxims and principles of the courts of juſtice. The judges who had been in office ſome time, believed it lawful to releaſe the earl upon bail, which was accordingly taken, the earl being bound in a ten thouſand pound recognizance.

The Popiſh lords admited to bail. Feb. 12. Kennet, p. 406. Echard, Vol. III. p. 709.

The earl of Danby's releaſe was a precedent for the liberty of the Popiſh lords, priſoners in the Tower. The lord Petre one of thoſe lords, dying about a month before, on his death-bed ſent a letter to the King, diſowning, in his laſt words, and upon his ſalvation, the matters of which he ſtood accuſed. After a declaration ſo expreſs, the King not doubting the innocence of the other four, told the court by his attorney general, that he conſented to whatever the court ſhould think fit to be done with regard to the Popiſh lords. Whereupon they were admited to bail the ſame day with the earl of Danby. It muſt be that the former judges were very ignorant, not to know that an inferior court had power to releaſe men impriſoned by the ſupreme court of the kingdom, or that the preſent judges were more bold than their predeceſſors.

Kennet, p. 405. Echard, Vol. III. p. 709.

But the perſons accuſed of the laſt conſpiracy, and thoſe who had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the King and the duke, did not meet with ſo great humanity. Among the great number proſecuted for theſe two offenſes, I ſhall only relate the trials of three or four.

The trial of mr. Hampden. Burnet. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 740, &c.

The ſixth of February, mr. Hampden was tried for a conſpirator. The lord Howard depoſed againſt him, That the council of ſix meeting at mr. Hampden's houſe, mr. Hampden made an introductory ſpeech to open the aſſembly, and that he was concerned in ſending Aaron Smith into Scotland. Mr. Hampden's counſel inſiſted upon lord Howard's ill reputation, and ſcandalous life, and repreſented him as little better than an Atheiſt. But ſuch objections were of force only againſt Oates and Bedloe. For how was it poſſible that the lord Howard ſhould be an ill man, ſince he only depoſed againſt Proteſtants? On the other hand, p. 753. mr. Hampden produced witneſſes who teſtified his virtue, his piety, his morality. But theſe teſtimonies were ineffectual. Jefferies, in a long ſpeech, ſpeaking of religion and virtue, turned it upon the p. 767. priſoner in theſe words, "was it not (ſaid he) under the ſhape of religion that the bleſſed martyr, "King Charles I, came to the block? Nay ſome "men were at a loſs to know which way they "ſhould put a ſpirit into the common people to "oppoſe the King; and ſome among them [mr. "Hampden the firſt] bid them 'be ſure to put "religion to be the pretenſe, and that would make "them run headlong to what they would have "them." By this excellent argument, to be virtuous and religious, was a ſign of a man's being ingaged in the plot. But an artifice made uſe of to caſt mr. Hampden is worthy remarking. It is certain, that, ſuppoſing the truth of lord Howard's teſtimony, mr. Hampden was not leſs guilty than lord Ruſſel or colonel Sidney. Nevertheleſs he could not be condemned as a traitor, ſince there was but one evidence againſt him, and all laws divine and human require two witneſſes to the taking away a man's life. He was therefore indicted of a miſdemeanor, and the jury finding him guilty on the teſtimony of lord Howard, the court was ſatisfied with fining him forty thouſand pounds, and obliging him to find ſureties for his good behavior during life. This was thought to be a very ſurpriſing and ſevere ſentence. But the King diſpelled all doubts concerning this affair, by aſſuring the public, in a large declaration, "That if he had not granted the "duke of Monmouth's requeſt, 'That he would "not make him a witneſs,' neither mr. Hampden, "nor ſcarce any one man of thoſe that were freed "upon bail, had eſcaped death."

Who is fined forty thouſand pounds. p. 771. Kennet, p. 405. Echard, Vol III. p. 710.

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AN' 1684. Scandalum Magnatum brought againſt Dutton Colt. May 3. Kennet, p. 414.

John Dutton Colt, eſquire, a member of the three laſt parliaments, was accuſed of ſpeaking theſe words, "The duke of York is a Papiſt, and before "any ſuch Papiſt dog ſhall be ſucceſſor to the "crown of England, I will be hanged at my own "door." Theſe and other injurious words being proved againſt him, the jury brought in their verdict for the duke of York, and gave him for damages a hundred thouſand pounds.

And againſt Titus Oates. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 899. Kennet. Burnet.

The duke of York alſo brought his action of Scandalum Magnatum againſt Titus Oates, for directly calling him traitor. For this offenſe the court gave the duke of York a hundred thouſand pounds damages. Shortly after, he was indicted for perjury, in relation to father Ireland's being in London at the time Oates ſwore to, at his trial. Shortly after another indictment for perjury was prefered againſt him, relating to his being preſent at the ſuppoſed conſult of the jeſuits at the White-horſe tavern in 1678. But theſe indictments not being tried this reign, Oates continued in priſon.

Hollaway executed. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 855. Burnet, p. 576. Kennet, p. 413. Echard, Vol. III. p. 713.

Theſe three, and ſome others (1), omited for brevity ſake, eſcaped with life, tho' properly condemned to perpetual impriſonment, as not being able to pay their exorbitant fines. But two others, who were out of the kingdom, did not come off ſo eaſy. James Holloway having ſeen his name in the Gazette among the conſpirators, who were to be apprehended by the King's proclamation, fled to the Weſt-Indies. Upon his flight, he had ſuffered an outlawry for high-treaſon, and this year the court hearing he was in the Weſt-Indies, cauſed him to be apprehended and brought to London, where he was executed upon the attainder of outlawry for treaſon. April 30.

and ſir Thomas Armſtrong. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 895. Kennet, p. 414. Burnet, p. 577.

The ſame thing happened to ſir Thomas Armſtrong, who had been conſidered as one of the principal authors of the laſt plot, and named in the King's proclamation with a reward of five hundred pounds. He had made his eſcape into Holland, and was outlawed as well as Holloway. The court hearing he was at Leyden, obtained an order from the States to apprehend him, and accordingly before he had notice, was apprehended and brought to Rotterdam, and from thence to London. When he appeared at the King's Bench-bar, he alleged that he was beyond ſea at the time of the outlawry, and begged that he might be tried. But his requeſt was abſolutely rejected, and the rather, as the attorney general told the court, from the King, that Armſtrong was one of the peſons who were to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty on his return from Newmarket, which the priſoner poſitively denied. He was executed the twentieth of June, and his head and quarters ſet up in ſeveral parts of the city. Only one was reſerved to be ſent down to Stafford, for which town he had been a burgeſs in parliament.

I do not think it needful to mention the trials, this year, of a great number of libellers, and perſons who had ſpoken againſt the King, the duke of York, or the government. In Echard's hiſtory I

(1) February 7, Laurence Braddon and Hugh Speke were tried for a miſdemeanor in ſuborning witneſſes to prove the earl of Eſſex was murdered by his keepers, for which the firſt was fined two thouſand pounds and the latter one thouſand pounds. —— February 14, ſir Samuel Barnadiſton was fined ten thouſand pounds for writing ſome letters about the plot. State Trials, Vol. III. p. 771, 845. ——And Samuel Johnſon five hundred marks, for writing Julian the Apoſtate. Kennet, p. 405.

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find thirty-two condemned in great fines, and ſome put in the pillory. The hiſtory of this year properly conſiſts of ſuch tranſactions only.

The King prevails to have the charters of the principal boroughs ſurrendered to him. Kennet, p. 415. R. Coke, p. 317. Echard, Vol. III. p. 720.

The whole nation being ſtruck with terror, the King believed he ought to improve it, to the eſtabliſhment of his abſolute power, ſo as to have nothing to fear from any future oppoſition. This was by depriving at once all the corporations, and conſequently all his ſubjects of their privileges. It was not proper to uſe abſolute power, but to proceed in a manner more politic and more dangerous to the people, by ingaging them to make a voluntary ſurrender of their charters in order to receive ſuch new ones as the King ſhould pleaſe to grant. To this end, courtiers and emiſſaries were ſent to the more conſiderable corporations, to inſpire them with terror, and intimate to them, that ſcarce one could eſcape, ſhould the King exerciſe ſtrict juſtice. This chiefly concerned the Whigs and Non-conformiſts, for the Tories were generally willing blindly to obey the pleaſure of the court. Jefferies particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his northern circuit at the ſummer aſſizes. He neglected nothing capable of terrifying the people, aſſuring them, that a ſurrender of their charters was the only way to avert the miſchiefs which hung over their heads. Other judges and emiſſaries did the ſame, and at length, the larger corporations being thus gained, the leſſer neceſſarily followed. So, a ſudden and great change was ſeen in England, viz. the Engliſh nation without rights or privileges, but ſuch as the King would vouchſafe to grant; and what is more ſtrange the Engliſh themſelves ſurrendered to Charles II, thoſe very rights and privileges which they had defended with ſo much paſſion, or rather fury, againſt the attempts of Charles I.

The King muſters his army. Octob. 1. p. 716.

To make the people in ſome meaſure ſenſible of their new ſlavery, the King affected to muſter his forces, which from one regiment of foot, and one troop of horſe guards (raiſed by himſelf, with the murmurs of many of his ſubjects) were increaſed to four thouſand compleatly trained and effective men. It might then be perceived that the members of parliament who oppoſed the raiſing, or at leaſt the eſtabliſhment of theſe guards, were not altogether in the wrong. But the zeal of the Tory party was now arrived to ſuch a pitch, that they looked on every thing which contributed to render the King abſolute, as a ſure means to ruin the Whigs, and conſequently as a triumph for them. They prepoſterouſly imagined, that the court only aimed at the deſtruction of that odious party, and was ſolely laboring for the Tories. Accordingly, we find ſtill ſome authors of this laſt party who repreſent the year 1684 as the moſt peaceable, the moſt quiet, and, in a word, the happieſt year England had ſeen for ſome ages. Nothing was capable to open the eyes of theſe paſſionate men, who, againſt all probability, believed the court well-affected both to the ſtate and the Proteſtant religion.

The Tories in raptures on the elevation of the King's power. Id. p. 721.

The King vacates the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. p. 716. Phillips.

Nevertheleſs, the King did a thing this year by which they had reaſon to be undeceived. He diſſolved the commiſſion, granted in the year 1681, for the diſpoſal of all eccleſiaſtical preferments. As the eſtabliſhing this commiſſion was in order to perſuade his ſubjects, that he had the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion at heart, he could not avoid appointing ſuch commiſſioners as were believed to have the ſame ſentiments. But finding himſelf at length in the ſituation he had wiſhed for, this commiſſion was too great a reſtraint, and therefore he revoked it to fill the vacant benefices agreeably to his own inclinations.

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It muſt not be concealed, that moſt hiſtorians aſcribe all the rigors exerciſed this year, and all the meaſures taken by the King for the advancement of his abſolute power, to the counſels of the duke his brother. That Prince had gained ſo great an aſcendant over his Majeſty, that he held him in a kind of ſubjection, and led him into meaſures productive of others, and ſo hurried him farther than the King intended. Beſide, that the King was naturally indolent, and loved his eaſe too much to ingage in any affairs capable of diſturbing his repoſe, he knew the genius and temper of the Engliſh, much better than the duke of York, and was ſenſible of the great difficulty in long preſerving a power acquired in ſo extraordinary a manner. But, on the contrary, after ſo many proceedings to ſecure this power, he knew not how to retreat, and could not alter his conduct, without breaking intirely with the duke, which muſt have extremely imbaraſſed him. He could not change his principles and maxims, without an intire alteration in his court and council, and without puting himſelf into the hands of men of very different principles. Beſide, his inclination did not lead him to it, and it was only this fear of doubting his quiet, which cauſed him to conſider the danger of his preſent proceedings. Mean time, as this danger was not yet near, and as all the kingdom appeared ſubmiſſive, he kept off the evil day, and delayed coming to any determination.

The duke of York blamed for the King's actions. Burnet, p. 582. Kennet, p. 415.

A ſtatute erected to the King. Stryp's Survey of London. The inſcription.

However this be, the Hamborough company, to gain the good will of a Prince, inveſted with ſuch power, erected a marble ſtatue to him in the middle of the Royal Exchange, with this pompous inſcription on the pedeſtal:

" CAROLO II, Cæſari Britannico, Patriæ " Patri, Regum Optimo, Clementiſſimo, Auguſt- " iſſimo, Generis humani Deliciis, Utriuſque For- " tunæ Victori, Pacis Europæ Arbitro, Maris " Domino & Vindici, Societas Mercatorum Ad- " ventur. Angliæ quæ per CCCC jam prope " Annos Regia Benignitate floret, Fidei inte- " meratæ, Gratitudinis Æternæ, hoc Teſtimo- " nium Venerabunda poſuit, Anno ſal. Humanæ. " MDCLXXXIV. (1)

The King abſolute.

Almoſt the whole month of January of the new year 1685, was ſpent either in proſecuting delinquents againſt the King and the duke, or in receiving the charters of the corporations, not yet ſurrendered, or in granting new ones on ſuch conditions as the court thought moſt proper. It may well be imagined, that theſe conditions were not prejudicial to the power acquired by the King. All complaints were ſuppreſſed, and the whole kingdom intirely ſubdued, the city of London not excepted, which had always oppoſed deſpotic power.

In a declaration he thanks the corporations for the ſurrender of their charters. Echard, Vol. III. p. 721.

The King now finding himſelf at the height of his wiſhes, was willing to do a popular act, and publiſhed a declaration, drawn up by dr. Sprat, in which, " he affectionately thanked his ſubjects for " their great confidence in him, chiefly for their ſo " freely reſigning their local immunities and charters " into his hands, leſt the abuſe of any of them " ſhould hereafter prove dangerous to the juſt pre- " rogatives of the crown. This, he declared, he " eſteemed as the peculiar honor of his reign, being " ſuch as none of the moſt popular of all his late " Royal predeceſſors could ever have hoped for. " Wherefore he thought himſelf more than ordi- " narily obliged to continue, as he had hitherto be- " gun, to ſhew the greateſt moderation and be- " nignity, in the exerciſe of ſo great a truſt: reſolv- " ing upon this occaſion, to convince the higheſt

(1) This year, April 14, Sir Leoline Jenkins reſigned his place of ſecretary of ſtate, wherein he was ſucceeded by Sidney Godolphin, who was created a baron. Kennet, p. 415.

" pretenders

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" pretenders to the commonweal, that as the crown " was the firſt original, ſo it was ſtill the ſureſt " guardian of all the peoples lawful rights and pri- " vileges."

He forms new projects. Burnet, p. 604. Welwood, p. 416.

Notwithſtanding all this, it is inſinuated, he had formed a project for an extraordinary change in the government: that he deſigned to recall the duke of Monmouth, to ſend the duke of York beyond ſea, and call a free parliament. This ſeems to have been founded on ſome paſſages in the duke of Monmouth's pocket book, ſeized with his perſon in the following reign. We are farther told, that the King had intimated, that if he lived but a month longer, he would find a way to make himſelf eaſy for the reſt of his life (1). But he lived not to execute this deſign. He died the ſixth of February, fifty-four years of age, and twenty-five ſince his reſtoration. The cauſe of his death being variouſly reported, ſome thinking it natural, others violent, I believe what dr. Welwood ſays of it, is moſt inſtructive to the reader, who ſeems to have ſpoken of it with moſt impartiality.

He dies.

Extract out of dr. Welwood upon this ſubject, p. 121, &c.

" It is confeſſed, few Princes come to die a " ſudden death, but the world is apt to attribute " it to foul play; eſpecially if attended with un- " uſual circumſtances in the time and manner of " it.

" King Charles had a healthful conſtitution " beyond moſt men, and took great care to pre- " ſerve it, by diet and exerciſe, which naturally " promiſe a long life: and it was more extraordi- " nary to ſee ſuch a man die before threeſcore, " than another in the bloom of youth. Now, if " he died a natural death, it is agreed by all, that " it muſt have been an apoplexy. This diſeaſe " ſeizes all the vital faculties at once; and yet, for " the moſt part, does not only give ſome ſhort " warnings of its approach, by unuſual affections of " the head, but many times is occaſioned by ſome " evident preceding cauſe. In King Charles's " caſe, there appeared no viſible cauſe, either near " or remote, to which, with any certainty of " reaſon, his diſeaſe could be aſcribed; and the " fore-runners of it were rather to be found in his " ſtomach and bowels, than in the head. For, " after he was a bed, he was overheard to groan " moſt of the night: and both then, and next " morning, before he fell into the fit, he com- " plained firſt of a heavy oppreſſion in his ſtomach " and about his heart, and afterwards of a ſharp " pain in thoſe parts; all which ſymptoms had but " little relation to an apoplexy. That morning, " there appeared to every body about him, a ghaſt- " lineſs and paleneſs in his looks: and when he ſat " down to be ſhaved, juſt before the fit took him, " he could not ſit ſtrait, as he uſed to do, but " continued in a ſtooping poſture, with his hand " upon his ſtomach, till the fit came. After he " had been brought out of it, by opening a vein, " he complained of a racking pain in his ſtomach, " and of no indiſpoſition any where elſe: and " during the whole time of his ſickneſs, and even " when he ſeemed moſt inſenſible, he was ob- " ſerved to lay his hand, for the moſt part, upon " his ſtomach, in a moaning poſture, and conti- " nued ſo to his death: and ſo violent was the " pain, that when all hopes were gone, the phyſi- " cians were deſired to uſe all their art to procure " him an eaſy death. CHARLES II. AN' 1684.

" So much for the diſtemper itſelf. There re- " mains ſome things to be taken notice of, that fell " out before and after his death. A few days be- " fore he was taken ill, King Charles being in " company where the preſent poſture of affairs was " diſcourſed of, there eſcaped him ſome warm " expreſſions, about the uneaſy circumſtances he " was plunged into, and the ill-meaſures had been " given him: and how, in a certain particular " affair, he was pleaſed to mention, 'He had been " abuſed', adding in ſome paſſion, 'That if he " lived but a month longer, he would find a way " to make himſelf eaſy for the reſt of his life.' " This paſſage was whiſpered abroad next day; " and the rumor of recalling the duke of Mon- " mouth, and ſending away the duke of York, " came to take air about the ſame time. Indeed, " all things were making ready, to put the latter " in execution; and there is reaſon to believe, the " King had intimated as much to the duke himſelf; " for ſome of his richeſt furniture was put up, and " his chief ſervants ordered to be in readineſs to " attend their maſter upon an hours warning; and " yachts were waiting, to tranſport ſome perſons " of quality, without mentioning who it was, or " whither bound. The Romiſh party that ma- " naged about court, were obſerved to be more " then ordinary diligent and buſy up and down " Whitehall and St. James's, as if ſome very im- " portant affair was in agitation; and a new and " unuſual concern was to be ſeen on their counte- " nances. Nor was it any wonder, for in this ſuſ- " ſpected change, they were like to be the only " loſers, and all their teeming hopes were in a fair " way to be diſappointed. How far the principles " of ſome of that party might leave them at liberty " to puſh on their revenge for this deſigned affront, " as well as to prevent the blow that threatened " them, tho' without the privity, much leſs the " conſent of the duke of York, is left to the reader " to judge.

" There was a foreign miniſter, that ſome days " before the King fell ill, ordered his ſteward to " buy a conſiderable parcel of black cloth, which " ſerved him and his retinue after for mourning: " and the late embaſſador Don Pedro Ronquillo, " made it no ſecret, that he had a letter from Flan- " ders the week before King Charles died, that " took notice of his death, as the news there. But " both theſe might fall out by mere accident.

" There remain two things more that deſerve " ſome conſideration in this matter. When his body " was opened, there was not ſufficient time given " for taking an exact obſervation of his ſtomach and " bowels; which, one would think, ought chiefly " to have been done, conſidering the violent pains " he had there: and when a certain phyſician " ſeemed to be more inquiſitive than ordinary about " the condition of thoſe parts, he was taken aſide,

(1) Of this new ſcheme Burnet gives this account. There was at this time a new ſcheme formed, that very probably would have for ever broken the King and duke.——It was laid at the lady Portſmouth's. Barillon, lord Sunderland, and lord Godolphin were in it. The duke of Monmouth came over ſecretly. And tho' he did not ſee the King, yet he went back very well pleaſed with his journey.——The deſign was to begin with the ſending the duke of York to Scotland.——The King ſpoke to the duke concerning his going to Scotland: and he anſwered, there was no occaſion for it. Upon which the King replied, that either the duke muſt go, or that he himſelf muſt go thither.——The King was obſerved to be colder and more reſerved to the duke than ordinary. But what was under all this was ſtill a deep ſecret. Lord Hallifax was let into no part of it. He complained in council againſt lord Rocheſter, that there were many razures in the books of the treaſury, and moved the King to go to the treaſury chamber. So the King named the next Monday And mr. May was ſent for from Windſor, to come to court that day, which it was expected would prove a critical day. And it proved ſo indeed, tho' in a different way; the King being taken ill in the mean while. p. 604, 606.

" and

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" and reproved for his needleſs curioſity. In the " next place, his body ſtunk ſo extremely, within " a few hours after his death, notwithſtanding the " coldneſs of the ſeaſon, that the people about " him were extremely offended with the ſmell: " which is a thing very extraordinary, in one of " his ſtrong and healthful conſtitution; and is not " a proper conſequence of a mere apoplectical diſ- " temper.

" There was ſome weight laid upon an accident " that fell out at Windſor ſome years before his " death: for the King drinking more liberally than " uſual, after the fatigue of riding, he retired to " the next room, and wrapping himſelf up in his " cloak, fell aſleep upon a couch. He was but a " little time come back to the company, when a " ſervant belonging to one of them, lay down upon " the ſame couch in the King's cloak, and was " found ſtabbed dead with a poynard. Nor was " it ever known how it happened, but the matter " huſhed up, and no inquiry made about it.

" To conclude, dr. Short, who was a man of " great probity and learning, and a Roman Ca- " tholic, made no ſcruple to declare his opinion to " ſome of his intimate friends, that he believed " King Charles had foul play done him: and " when he came to die himſelf, expreſſed ſome " ſuſpicion that he had met with the ſame treat- " ment, for opening his mind too freely in that " point.

" So much for the circumſtances of King " Charles's death, that ſeem to have an ill aſpect; " there are others, that ſeem to deſtroy all ſuſpi- " cion of treachery in the matter.

" As, firſt, He had lived ſo faſt, as might ener- " vate, in a great meaſure, the natural force of " his conſtitution, and exhauſt his animal ſpirits; " and therefore he might be more ſubject to an " apoplexy, which is a diſeaſe that weakens and " locks up theſe ſpirits from performing their uſual " functions. And tho', in his later years, he had " given himſelf up more to the pleaſures of wine, " than of women; that might rather be the effect " of age than of choice.

" Next it is known, he had been once or twice " attacked before, with fits that much reſembled " thoſe of which he afterwards died: and yet, as " the manner of them is told, they look rather to " have been convulſive motions, than an apoplexy; " ſeeing they were attended with violent contor- " ſions of his face, and convulſions of his whole " body and limbs. This is the more confirmed, " by a paſſage, that happened during the heat of " the Popiſh plot. King Charles had ſome ſecret " matters to manage at that time, by the means " of a Romiſh prieſt then beyond ſea, whom he " ordered to be privately ſent for: and the gentle- " man imployed betwixt the King and him (from " whom I had the ſtory) was directed to bring him " in a diſguiſe to Whitehall. The King and the " prieſt were a conſiderable time together alone " in the cloſet, and the gentleman attended in the " next room: at laſt, the prieſt came out, with " all the marks of fright and aſtoniſhment in his " face; and having recovered himſelf a little, he " told the gentleman, that he had run the greateſt " riſque ever man did; for while he was with the " King, his Majeſty was ſuddenly ſurpriſed with " a fit, accompanied with violent convulſions of " his body, and contorſions of his face, which " laſted for ſome moments; and when he was " going to call out for help, the King held him " by force till it was over, and then bid him not " be afraid, for he had been troubled with the like " before; the prieſt adding, what a condition he " ſhould have been in, conſidering his religion, " and the preſent juncture of affairs, if the King " had died of that fit, and no body in the room " with him beſide himſelf. Charles II. An' 1684.

" But leaving this ſtory to the credit of the " prieſt, there might be another natural cauſe " aſſigned for King Charles's falling into ſuch a fit " as that of which he died, which is this; he had " for ſome time an iſſue in his leg, which ran " much, and conſequently muſt have made a great " revulſion from his head; upon which account, it " is probable, it was made. A few weeks before " his death, he had let it be dried up, contrary to " the advice of his phyſicians, who told him it " would prejudice his health. Their prognoſtic " was partly true in this, that there came a pain- " ful tumor upon the place where the iſſue had " been, which proved very obſtinate, and was not " thoroughly healed up when he died.

" In fine, it is agreed on all hands, that King " Charles expreſſed no ſuſpicion of his being poi- " ſened, during all the time of his ſickneſs: tho' " it muſt be alſo obſerved, that the fits were ſo " violent, that he could not ſpeak while they were " upon him, and ſhewed an averſion to ſpeaking " during the intervals. And there was not any " thing to be ſeen, upon opening his body, that " could reaſonably be attributed to the force of " poiſon. Yet, to allow theſe conſiderations no " more weight than they can well bear, this muſt " be acknowleged, that there are poiſons which " affect originally the animal ſpirits, and are of ſo " ſubtle a nature, that they leave no concluding " marks upon the bodies of thoſe they kill."

Let us now ſee what dr. Burnet ſays upon this ſubject, in his Hiſtory of his own Times. As this hiſtory is not yet tranſlated, or at leaſt publiſhed in French, I believe it will not be unacceptable to foreigners, to inſert here that famous prelate's account of the death of Charles II.

" All this winter the King looked better than " he had done for many years. He had a humor " in his leg, which looked like the begining of the " gout: ſo that for ſome weeks he could not " walk, as he uſed to do generally, three or four " hours a day in the park; which he did com- " monly ſo faſt that as it was really an exerciſe " to himſelf, ſo it was a trouble to all about him " to hold up with him. In the ſtate the King was " in, he not being able to walk, ſpent much of his " time in his laboratory, and was runing a proceſs " for the fixing of Mercury. On the firſt of Fe- " bruary, being a Sunday, he eat little all day, and " came to lady Portſmouth at night, and called for " a porringer of ſpoon meat. It was made too " ſtrong for his ſtomach; ſo he eat little of it: " and he had an unquiet night. In the morning " one dr. King, a phyſician and a chymiſt, came, " as he had been ordered, to wait on him. All " the King's diſcourſe to him was ſo broken, that " he could not underſtand what he meaned. And " the doctor concluded, he was under ſome great " diſorder, either in his mind, or in his body. " The doctor, amazed at this, went out, and " meeting with lord Peterborough, he ſaid, the " King was in a ſtrange humor, for he did not " ſpeak one word of ſenſe. Lord Peterborough " deſired he would go in again to the bed-chamber, " which he did. And he was ſcarce come in, " when the King, who ſeemed all the while to be in " great confuſion, fell down all of a ſudden in a fit " like an apoplexy: he looked black, and his eyes " turned in his head. The phyſician, who had " been formerly an eminent ſurgeon, ſaid, it was " impoſſible to ſave the King's life, if one minute " was loſt: he would rather venture on the rigor " of the law, then leave the King to periſh; and " ſo he let him blood.——The King came out " of that fit, yet the effects of it hung ſtill upon " him Extract of dr. Burnet's Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 606. &c.

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" him, ſo that he was much oppreſſed. And the " phyſician did very much apprehend the return of " another fit, and that it would carry him off: ſo " they looked on him as a dead man. The biſhop " of London ſpoke a little to him, to diſpoſe " him to prepare for whatever might be before " him; to which the King anſwered not a word. " But that was imputed partly to the biſhop's " cold way of ſpeaking, and partly to the ill opi- " nion they had of him at court, as too buſy in " oppoſition to Popery. Sancroft made a very " weighty exhortation to him; in which he uſed " a good degree of freedom, which he ſaid was " neceſſary, ſince he was going to be judged by " one who was no reſpecter of perſons. To him " the King made no anſwer neither; nor yet to " Ken, tho' the moſt in favor with him of all " the biſhops. Some imputed this to an inſenſibi- " lity, of which too viſible an inſtance appeared, " ſince lady Portſmouth ſat in the bed, taking " care of him as a wife of a huſband. Others " gueſſed truer; that it would appear he was of " another religion. On Thurſday a ſecond fit re- " turned. And then the phyſicians told the duke, " that the King was not like to live a day to an end.

" The duke immediately ordered Hudleſton, " the prieſt that had a great hand in ſaving the " King at Worceſter fight (for which he was ex- " cepted out of all ſevere acts that were made " againſt prieſts) to be brought to the lodgings " under the bed chamber: and when he was told " what was to be done, he was in great confuſion, " for he had no Hoſtie about him. But he went " to another prieſt that lived in the court, who gave " him the Pix with an Hoſtie in it. But that poor " prieſt was ſo frightened, that he ran out of " Whitehall in ſuch haſte, that he ſtruck againſt a " poſt, and ſeemed to be in a fit of madneſs with " fear. As ſoon as Hudelſton had prepared every " thing that was neceſſary, the duke whiſpered " the King in the ear, upon that the King ordered, " that all who was in the bed chamber ſhould with- " draw, except the earls of Bath and Feverſham; " and the door was double locked. The company " was kept out half an hour: only lord Feverſham " opened the door once, and called for a glaſs of " water. Cardinal Howard told me at Rome, " that Hudelſton, according to the relation that he " ſent thither, made the King go thro' ſome acts " of contrition, and, after ſuch a confeſſion as he " could then make, he gave him abſolution, and " the other ſacraments. The Hoſtie ſtuck in his " throat: and that was the occaſion of calling for " a glaſs of water. He alſo gave him Extreme Un- " ction. All muſt have been performed very ſuper- " ficially, ſince it was ſo ſoon ended. But the " King ſeemed to be at great eaſe upon it. It was " given out, that the King ſaid to Hudelſton, " that he had ſaved him twice, firſt his body and " now his ſoul; and that he aſked him, if he " would have him declare himſelf to be of their " church. But it ſeems, he was prepared for this, " and ſo diverted the King from it; and ſaid, he " took it upon him to ſatisfy the world in that " particular. But tho' by the principles of all re- " ligions whatſoever, he ought to have obliged him " to make open profeſſion of his religion; yet, it " ſeems, the conſequence of that was apprehended; " for, without doubt, that poor prieſt acted by the " directions that were given him. The company " was ſuffered to come in. And the King went " thro' the agonies of death, with a calm and a " conſtancy, that amazed all who were about him, " and knew how he had lived. This made ſome " conclude, he had made a will, and that his quiet " was the effect of that. Ken applied himſelf " much to the awaking the King's conſcience.

" He ſpoke with a great elevation, both of " thought and expreſſion, like a man inſpired, as " thoſe who were preſent told me. He reſumed " the matter often, and pronounced many ſhort " ejaculations and prayers, which affected all that " were preſent, except him that was the moſt " concerned, who ſeemed to take no notice of " him, and made no anſwer to him. He " preſſed the King ſix or ſeven times to receive " the ſacrament; but the King always declined it, " ſaying, he was very weak. A table with the " elements upon it, ready to be conſecrated, was " brought into the room, which occaſioned a " report to be then ſpread about, that he had re- " ceived it. Ken preſſed him to declare, that he " deſired it, and that he died in the communion " of the church of England. To that he anſwered " nothing. Ken aſked him, if he deſired abſolu- " tion of his ſins. It ſeems the King, if he then " thought any thing at all, thought that would do " him no hurt. So Ken pronounced it over him: " for which he was blamed, ſince the King ex- " preſſed no ſenſe, or ſorrow for his paſt life, nor " any purpoſe of amendment. It was thought to " be a proſtitution of the peace of the church, to " give it to one, who, after a life led as the King's " had been, ſeemed to harden himſelf againſt every " thing that could be ſaid to him. Ken was alſo " cenſured for another piece of indecency: he " preſented the duke of Richmond, lady Portſ- " mouth's ſon, to be bleſſed by the King. Upon " this, ſome that were in the room cried out, the " King was their common father. And upon that " all kneeled down for his bleſſing, which he gave " them. The King ſuffered much inwardly, and " ſaid, he was burnt up within; of which he com- " plained often, but with great decency. He ſaid " once, he hoped he ſhould climb up to heaven's " gates, which was the only word ſavoring of re- " ligion that he was heard to ſpeak.

" He gathered all his ſtrength to ſpeak his laſt " words to the duke, to which every one heark- " ened with great attention. He expreſſed his " kindneſs to him, and that he now delivered all " over to him with great joy. He recommended " lady Portſmouth over and over again to him. " He ſaid, he had always loved her, and he loved " her now to the laſt; and beſought the duke, in " as melting words as he could fetch out, to be " very kind to her and to her ſon. He recom- " mended his other children to him: and con- " cluded, let not poor Nelly ſtarve, that was mrs. " Gwyn. But he ſaid nothing of the Queen nor " any one word of his people, or of his ſervants: " nor did he ſpeak one word of religion, or concern- " ing the payment of his debts, tho' he left behind " him about ninety thouſand guineas, which he had " gathered either out of the privy purſe, or out of " the money which was ſent him from France, or " by other methods, and which he had kept ſo ſe- " cretly, that no perſon whatſoever knew any " thing of it.

" He continued in the agony till Friday about " eleven o'clock, being the ſixth of February " 1684-5; and then died in the fifty-fourth year " of his age, after he had reigned, if we reckon " from his father's death, thirty-ſix years and " eight days; or if we reckon from his reſtoration, " twenty-four years, eight months, and nine days. " There were many very apparent ſuſpicions of his " being poiſoned: for tho' the firſt acceſs looked " like an apoplexy, yet it was plain in the progreſs " of it, that it was no apoplexy. When his body " was opened, the phyſicians, who viewed it, " were, as it were, led by thoſe, who might ſuſ- " pect the truth, to look upon the parts that " were certainly ſound. But both Lower, and

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" Nedham, two famous phyſicians, told me, they " plainly diſcerned two or three blue ſpots on the " out ſide of the ſtomach. Needham called twice " to have it opened, but the ſurgeon ſeemed not " to hear him. And when he moved it the ſecond " time, he, as he told me, heard Lower ſay to " one that ſtood next him, Needham will undo " us, calling thus to have the ſtomach opened; for " he may ſee they will not do it: they were di- " verted to look to ſomewhat elſe: and when they " returned to look upon the ſtomach it was carried " away: ſo that it was never viewed. Le Fevre " a French phyſician, told me, he ſaw a blackneſs " in his ſhoulder: upon which he made an inciſion, " and ſaw it was all mortified. Short, another " phyſician, who was a Papiſt, but after a form of " his own, did very much ſuſpect foul dealing. And " he had talked more freely of it, than any of the " Proteſtants durſt do at that time. But he was " not long after taken ſuddenly ill, upon a large " draught of wormwood wine, which he had drank " in the houſe of a Popiſh patient that lived near " the Tower, who had ſent for him, of which " he died; and, as he ſaid to Lower, Millington, " and ſome other phyſicians, he believed that he " himſelf was poiſoned for his having ſpoken ſo " freely of the King's death.

" The King's body was indecently neglected; " ſome parts of his inwards, and ſome pieces of " the fat, were left in the water in which they " were waſhed: all which were ſo careleſly looked " after, that the water being poured out at a ſcul- " lery hole, that went to a drain, in the mouth of " which a grate lay, theſe were ſeen lying on the " grate many days after. His funeral was very " mean. He did not lie in ſtate; no mournings " were given: and the expenſe of it was not equal " to what an ordinary nobleman's funeral will riſe " to. Many upon this ſaid, that he better deſerved " from his brother, than to be thus ungratefully " treated in ceremonies that are public, and that " make an impreſſion on thoſe who ſee them, and " who will make ſevere obſervations and inferences " upon ſuch omiſſions.

" But ſince I have mentioned the ſuſpicions of " poiſon as the cauſe of his death, I muſt add, that " I never heard any lay thoſe ſuſpicions on his " brother. But his dying ſo critically, as it were " in the minute in which he ſeemed to begin a turn " of affairs, made it to be generally the more be- " lieved, and that the Papiſts had done it, either " by the means of ſome of lady Portſmouth's ſer- " vants, or, as ſome fancied, by poiſoned ſnuff: " for ſo many of the ſmall veins of the brain were " burſt, that the brain was in great diſorder, and " no judgment could be made concerning it. To " this I ſhall add a very ſurpriſing ſtory, that I " had in November 1709, from mr. Henly of " Hampſhire. He told me, that when the ducheſs " of Portſmouth came over to England in 1699, " he heard, that ſhe talked as if King Charles had " been poiſoned; which he deſiring to have from " her own mouth, ſhe gave him this account of " it: ſhe was always preſſing the King to make " both himſelf and his people eaſy, and to come to " a full agreement with his parliament: and he " was come to a final reſolution of ſending away " his brother, and of calling a parliament; which " was to be executed the next day after he fell " into that fit of which he died. She was put upon " the ſecret, and ſpoke of it to no perſon alive but " to her confeſſor: but the confeſſor, ſhe believed " told it to ſome, who ſeeing what was to follow, " took that wicked courſe to prevent it. Having " this from ſo worthy a perſon, as I have ſet it " down, without adding the leaſt circumſtance to it: " I thought it too important not to be mentioned " in this hiſtory. It diſcovers both the knavery " of confeſſors, and the practiſes of Papiſts ſo evi- " dently, that there is no need of making any far- " ther reflections on it."

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Theſe two accounts of the death of King Charles II, agree in the principal circumſtances, particularly in the ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned. Several other relations have been given of his death, in which are inſerted circumſtances not to be met with here, and others omited which are here ſpecified. It is ſaid, that at the perſuaſion of biſhop Ken, the King at length reſolved to diſmiſs the ducheſs of Portſmouth, and ſending for the Queen, aſked her pardon for the injury he had done her. It is added, that he received the ſatisfaction of her particular forgiveneſs. This directly contradicts dr. Burnet's account of the ducheſs of Portſmouth. Some ſay, Hudleſton was not brought to the King till he had loſt all ſenſe, and that he received the ſacrament of Extreme Unction, without giving the leaſt ſign either of his approbation or refuſal. It is pretended, he adviſed the duke his brother, not to think of introducing Popery into England, becauſe it was an undertaking impracticable. Laſtly, ſome ſay only, that the phyſicians and ſurgeons inſpecting the body, diſcovered no marks of poiſon, and intirely omit the circumſtances of the ſtomach, mentioned in the two foregoing relations, tho' they own the ſuſpicion of the King's being poiſoned, but repreſent this ſuſpicion as coming from the enemies of the duke, and of the Papiſts.

Other particulars relating to the death of King Charles II.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 722.

Kennet, P. 418.

Id. p. 416, 440.

Remark.

It is univerſally agreed, that no man had the boldneſs to accuſe the duke of poiſoning his brother: but it is not to be concluded from thence, that no man believed it. Thoſe who might have entertained this ſuſpicion, took care not to expoſe themſelves to a danger ſo great as that of accuſing the ſucceſſor, without being able to prove it. The Papiſts in general are accuſed, but this is ſo undeterminate a word, that one knows not to whom to apply it, when they are ſeparated from the duke of York their head. Beſide, the inſpection of the dead body was managed in a proper way to diſpel all ſuſpicions of poiſon; but who directed the phyſicians or ſurgeons is a ſecret, at leaſt the brother of the deceaſed does not appear to have concerned himſelf much in this inſpection, tho' the ſuſpicions of poiſon were very violent. All this creates ſuch an obſcurity which leaves every man room to judge as he pleaſes. Thus much is certain, there is no formal proof that King Charles II was poiſoned; or if he was, the authors of his death remain hitherto concealed.

A remark on the character of Charles II.

It is not very ſurpriſing that the hiſtorians, or others, ſhould diſagree in their character of Charles II, when it is conſidered, that he was the head and protector of one of the two parties, and the perſecutor of the other. This muſt have neceſſarily produced a diverſity of characters, according as they are given by Tories or Whigs. When we read ſucceſſively the writers of the two parties, who have ſpoken of this Prince in general, or given his character, we are almoſt apt to think, they ſpeak of two different Kings bearing the ſame name. The one by ſeveral omiſſions indeavor to cover all his faults, or, if they are mentioned, it is very ſlightly, and never without ſome addition or inſinuation tending to juſtify them. The others inſiſt chiefly upon what may blacken his character, and ſhow, that he acted on very ill motives, and on principles directly contrary to the good of the kingdom. If they ſpeak of his good qualities, it is only to render him more criminal, and demonſtrate that he tranſgreſſed not thro' ignorance, but with premeditation. Which way ſoever I take to draw the character of this Prince, I cannot avoid the cenſure of one or the other party, if I ſpeak as from myſelf; and I ſhould not gain much in going upon the teſtimony

of

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of either party. However, as the reader, doubtleſs, expects to know ſomething more of the character of this King, than could be learned from the hiſtory of his reign, I chuſe to inſert dr. Burnet's account in the Hiſtory of his own Times. I own this, of all the characters of Charles II, ſeems to me, in the whole, to be moſt like, and moſt agreeable to the hiſtory of his life. I could wiſh however, this illuſtrious prelate had omited, or at leaſt ſoftened ſome ſtrokes, which appear to me a little over-charged, and ſeem to diſcover ſome paſſion in the author. However that be, he concludes the hiſtory of this Prince in the following manner:

Vol. I. p. 611.

"Thus lived and died King Charles the ſecond. "He was the greateſt inſtance in hiſtory of the va- "rious revolutions of which any one man ſeemed "capable. He was bred up the firſt twelve years "of his life with the ſplendor that became the heir "of ſo great a crown. After that he paſſed thro' "eighteen years in great inequalities, unhappy in "the war, in the loſs of his father, and of the "crown of England. Scotland did not only re- "ceive him, tho' upon terms hard of digeſtion, "but made an attempt upon England for him, tho' "a feeble one. He loſt the battle of Worceſter "with too much indifference: and then he ſhewed "more care of his perſon than became one, who "had ſo much at ſtake. He wandered about "England for ten weeks after that, hiding from "place to place. But under all the apprehenſions "he had then upon him, he ſhewed a temper ſo "careleſs, and ſo much turned to levity, that he "was then diverting himſelf with little houſhold "ſports, in as unconcerned a manner as if he had "made no loſs, and had been in no danger at all. "He got at laſt out of England. But he had "been obliged to ſo many, who had been faith- "ful to him and careful of him, that he ſeemed "afterwards to reſolve to make an equal return to "them all. And finding it not eaſy to reward "them all as they deſerved, he forgot them all "alike. Moſt Princes ſeem to have this pretty "deep in them; and to think that they ought ne- "ver to remember paſt ſervices, but that their "acceptance of them is a full reward. He of all "in our age, exerted this piece of prerogative "in the ampleſt manner: for he never ſeemed to "charge his memory, or to trouble his thoughts "with the ſenſe of any of the ſervices that had been "done him. While he was abroad at Paris, "Colen, or Bruſſels, he never ſeemed to lay any "thing to heart. He purſued all his diverſions "and irregular pleaſures in a free career; and "ſeemed to be as ſerene under the loſs of a crown "as the greateſt philoſopher could have been. Nor "did he willingly hearken to any of thoſe pro- "jects, with which he often complained that his "chancellor perſecuted him. That in which he "ſeemed moſt concerned was, to find money for "ſupporting his expenſe. And it was often ſaid, "that if Cromwell would have compounded the "matter, and have given him a good round pen- "ſion, that he might have been induced to reſign "his title to him. During his exile he de- "livered himſelf ſo intirely up to his pleaſures, that "he became incapable of application. He ſpent "little of his time in reading, or ſtudy, and yet "leſs in thinking. And in the ſtate his affairs "were then in, he accuſtomed himſelf to ſay to "every perſon, and upon all occaſions, that which "he thought would pleaſe moſt: ſo that words "or promiſes went very eaſily from him. And "he had ſo ill an opinion of mankind, that he "thought the great art of living and governing was, "to manage all things and all perſons, with a depth "of craft and diſſimulation. And in that, few "men in the world could put on the appearances "of ſincerity better than he could: under which "ſo much artifice was uſually hid, that in con- "cluſion he could deceive none, for all were be- "come miſtruſtful of him. He had great vices, "but ſcarce any virtues to correct them. He had "in him ſome vices that were leſs hurtful, which "corrected his more hurtful ones. He was, during "the active part of his life, given up to ſloth and "leudneſs to ſuch a degree, that he hated buſineſs, "and could not bear the ingaging in any thing "that gave him much trouble, or put him under "any conſtraint. And tho' he deſired to become "abſolute, and to overturn both our religion and "our laws, yet he would neither run the riſk, nor "give himſelf the trouble, which ſo great a de- "ſign required. He had an appearance of gentle- "neſs in his outward deportment: but he ſeemed "to have no bowels nor tenderneſs in his nature: "and in the end of his life he became cruel. He "was apt to forgive all crimes even blood itſelf: "yet he never forgave any thing that was done "againſt himſelf, after his firſt and general act of "indemnity, which was to be reckoned as done "rather upon maxims of ſtate, than inclinations "of mercy. He delivered himſelf up to a moſt "enormous courſe of vice, without any ſort of "reſtraint, even from the conſideration of the "neareſt relations; the moſt ſtudied extravagan- "cies that way ſeemed to the very laſt to be much "delighted in, and purſued by him. He had the "art of making all people grow fond of him at "firſt, by a ſoftneſs in his whole way of converſa- "tion, as he was certainly the beſt bred man of "the age. But when it appeared how little could "be built on his promiſe, they were cured of the "fondneſs that he was apt to raiſe in them. When "he ſaw young men of quality, who had ſome- "thing more than ordinary in them, he drew them "about him, and ſet himſelf to corrupt them both "in religion and morality; in which he proved "ſo unhappily ſucceſsful, that he left England much "changed at his death, from what he had found "it at his reſtoration. He loved to talk over all the "ſtories of his life to every new man that came "about him. His ſtay in Scotland, and the ſhare "he had in the war of Paris, in carrying meſſages "from the one ſide to the other, were his com- "mon topics. He went over theſe in a very grace- "ful manner; but ſo often, and copiouſly, that all "thoſe who had been long accuſtomed to them "grew weary of them: and when he entered on "thoſe ſtories, they uſually withdrew: ſo that he "often began them in a full audience, and before "he had done, there were not above four or five "left about him; which drew a ſevere jeſt from "Willmot earl of Rocheſter. He ſaid, 'He "wondered to ſee a man have ſo good a memory, "as to repeat the ſame ſtory without loſing the "leaſt circumſtance, and yet not remember that he "had told it to the ſame perſons the very day be- "fore.' This made him fond of ſtrangers; for "they hearkened to all his often repeated ſtories, "and went away as in a rapture, at ſuch an un- "common condeſcenſion in a King.

"His perſon and temper, his vices as well as his "fortune reſemble the character that we have given "us of Tiberius, ſo much, that it were eaſy to "draw a parallel between them. Tiberius's ba- "niſhment, and his coming afterwards to reign, "makes the compariſon in that reſpect come pretty "near. His hating of buſineſs, and his love of "pleaſures; his raiſing of favorites, and truſting "them entirely, and his pulling them down, and "hating them exceſſively; his art of covering "deep deſigns, particularly of revenge, with an "appearance of ſoftneſs, brings them ſo near a

"likeneſs,

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" likeneſs, that I did not wonder much to obſerve " the reſemblance of their face and perſon. At Rome " I ſaw one of the laſt ſtatues made for Tiberius " after he had loſt his teeth. But, bating the al- " teration which that made, it was ſo like King " Charles, that Prince Borgheſe and Signior " Dominico to whom it belonged, did agree with " me in thinking that it looked like a ſtatute made " for him.

" Few things ever went near his heart; the duke " of Gloceſter's death ſeemed to touch him " much. But thoſe who knew him beſt thought " it was, becauſe he had loſt him, by whom only " he could have balanced the ſurviving brother, " whom he hated, and yet imbroiled all his affairs " to preſerve the ſucceſſion to him.

" His ill conduct in the firſt Dutch war, and " thoſe terrible calamities of the plague, and fire " of London, with that loſs and reproach which " he ſuffered by the inſult at Chatham, made all " people conclude, there was a curſe upon his go- " vernment. His throwing the public hatred at " that time upon lord Clarendon, was both unjuſt " and ungrateful. And when his pleople had " brought him out of all his difficulties, upon his " entering into the triple alliance, his ſelling that " to France, and his entering on the ſecond Dutch " war with as little color as he had for the firſt; " his begining it with the attempt on the Dutch " Smyrna fleet; the ſhuting up the Exchequer; " and his declaration for toleration, which was a " ſtep for the introduction of Popery; make ſuch " a chain of black actions flowing from blacker " deſigns, that it amazed thoſe who had known " all this, to ſee with what impudent ſtrains of " flattery addreſſes were pened during his life, and " yet more groſly after his death. His contri- " buting ſo much to the raiſing the greatneſs of " France, chiefly at ſea, was ſuch an error, that it " could not flow for want of thought or of true " ſenſe. Rouvigny told me, he deſired that all " the methods the French took in the increaſe and " conduct of their naval force might be ſent him. " And, he ſaid, he ſeemed to ſtudy them with " concern and zeal. He ſhewed what errors they " commited, and how they ought to be corrected, " as if he had been a viceroy to France, ra- " ther than a King that ought to have watched " over, and prevented the progreſs they made, as " the greateſt of all the miſchiefs that could hap- " pen to him or to his people. They that judged " the moſt favorable of this, thought it was done " out of revenge to the Dutch, that, with the " aſſiſtance of ſo great a fleet as France could " join to his own, he might be able to deſtroy " them. But others put a worſe conſtruction on " it; and thought, that ſeeing he could not quite " maſter or deceive his ſubjects by his own ſtrength " and management, he was willing to help for- " ward the greatneſs of the French at ſea, that by " their aſſiſtance he might more certainly ſubdue " his own people; according to what was gene- " rally believed to have fallen from lord Clifford, " 'That if the King muſt be in a dependence, it " was better to pay it to a great and generous " King, than to five hundred of his own inſolent " ſubjects.' No part of his character looked " wickeder as well as meaner, than that he, all " the while that he was profeſſing to be of the " church of England, expreſſing both zeal and " affection to it, was yet ſecretly reconciled to the " church of Rome: thus mocking God, and de- " ceiving the world with ſo groſs a prevarication. " And his not having the honeſty or courage to " own it at the laſt: his not ſhewing any ſign of " the leaſt remorſe for his ill led life, or any ten- " derneſs either for his ſubjects in general, or for " the Queen and his ſervants: and his recommend- " ing only his miſtreſſes and their children to his " brother's care, would have been a ſtrange con- " cluſion to any other life, but was well enough " ſuited to all the other parts of his.

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" The two papers found in his ſtrong-box con- " cerning religion, and afterwards publiſhed by his " brother, looked like ſtudy and reaſoning. Ten- " niſon told me, he ſaw the original in Pepy's " hand, to whom King James truſted them for " ſome time. They were interlined in ſeveral " places. And the interlinings ſeemed to be writ " in a hand different from that in which the papers " were writ. But he was not ſo well acquainted " with the King's hand, as to make any judgment " in the matter, whether they were writ by him or " not. All that knew him when they read them, " did, without any ſort of doubting, conclude, that " he never compoſed them: for he never read the " ſcriptures, nor laid things together, further " than to turn them to a jeſt, or for ſome lively " expreſſion. Theſe papers were probably writ " either by lord Briſtol, or lord Aubigny, who " knew the ſecret of his religion, and gave him " thoſe papers, as abſtracts of ſome diſcourſes " they had with him on thoſe heads, to keep him " fixed to them. And it is very probable, that " they apprehending their danger, if any ſuch pa- " pers had been found about him writ in their " hand, might prevail with him to copy them out " himſelf, tho' his lazineſs that way made it cer- " tainly no eaſy thing to bring him to give him- " ſelf ſo much trouble. He had talked over a " great part of them to myſelf: ſo that as ſoon as " I ſaw them, I remembered his expreſſions, and " perceived that he had made himſelf maſter of " the argument, as far as thoſe papers could carry " him. But the publiſhing them ſhewed a want of " judgment, or of regard to his memory in thoſe " who did it: for the greateſt kindneſs that could " be ſhewn to his memory, would have been, to " let both his papers and himſelf be forgotten."

After ſeeing in this character, all that can be ſaid to the diſadvantage of Charles II, the reader doubt- leſs will not be diſpleaſed to behold the picture of the ſame Prince, drawn a little differently by a very able hand, I mean * the earl of Mulgrave, who was no enemy to the King, or Royal family. He has labored this deſcription with all poſſible care, I omit a ſhort introduction concerning the author, to come at once to the character of the King.

* John Sheffield.

" As to the King's religion, it was more Deiſm " than Popery; which he owed more to the live- " lineſs of his parts and careleſſneſs of his temper, " than either to reading, or much conſideration; " for his quickneſs of apprehenſion, at firſt view, " could diſcern thro' the ſeveral cheats of pious " pretenſes; and his natural lazineſs confirmed " him in an equal miſtruſt of them all, for fear " he ſhould be troubled with examining which re- " ligion was beſt. If in his early travels, and late " adminiſtration, he ſeemed a little biaſſed to one " ſort of religion; the firſt is only to be imputed " to a certain eaſineſs of temper, and a com- " plaiſance for that company he then was forced " to keep; and the laſt was no more than his be- " ing tired (which he ſoon was in any difficulty) " with thoſe bold oppoſitions in parliament, which " made him almoſt throw himſelf into the arms of " a Roman Catholic party, ſo remarkable in Eng- " land for their loyalty, who imbraced him glad- " ly, and lulled him aſleep with thoſe enchanting " ſongs of abſolute Sovereignty, which the beſt " and wiſeſt of Princes are often unable to reſiſt. " And tho' he ingaged himſelf on that ſide more " fully, at a time when it is in vain and too late " to diſſemble, we ought leſs to wonder at it, than

Buckingham's works. Vol. II. p. 75.

" to

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" to conſider that our very judgments are apt to " grow in time as partial as our affections: and " thus, by accident only, he became of their opinion " in his weakneſs, who had ſo much indeavored " always to contribute to his power. He loved " eaſe and quiet; to which his unneceſſary wars " are ſo far from being a contradiction, that they are " rather a proof of it, ſince they were made chiefly " to comply with thoſe perſons, whoſe diſſatisfac- " tion would have proved more uneaſy to one of " his humor, than all that diſtant noiſe of cannon, " which he would often liſten to with a great deal " of tranquillity. Beſide, the great and almoſt " only pleaſure of mind he appeared addicted to, " was ſhiping and ſea affairs; which ſeemed to be " ſo much his talent both for knowlege as well as " inclination, that a war of that kind was rather an " entertainment, than any diſturbance to his " thoughts. If he did not go himſelf at the head " of ſo magnificent a fleet, it is only to be imputed " to that eagerneſs of military glory in his brother; " who, under the ſhew of a decent care for preſerv- " ing the Royal perſon from danger, ingroſſed all " that ſort of honor to himſelf, with as much jealou- " ſy of any other's interpoſing in it, as a King of an- " other temper would have had of his, tho' without " reaſon———It is certain, no Prince was ever " more fited by nature for his country's intereſt, " than he was in all his maritime inclinations; " which might have proved of ſufficient advantage " to this nation, if he had been as careful in depreſ- " ſing all ſuch improvements in France, as of ad- " vancing and incouraging our own: but it ſeems " he wanted jealouſy in all his inclinations, which " leads us to conſider him in his pleaſures: where " he was rather abandoned than luxurious; and like " our female libertines, apter to be debauched for " the ſatisfaction of others, than to ſeek with choice " where moſt to pleaſe himſelf. I am of opinion " alſo, that in his latter time, there was as much " of lazineſs as of love, in all thoſe hours he paſſed " among his miſtreſſes; who after all, ſerved only " to fill up his ſeraglio, while a bewitching kind of " pleaſure, called Santering, and talking without " any conſtraint, was the true Sultana Queen he " delighted in.

" He was ſurely inclined to juſtice; for nothing " elſe would have retained him ſo faſt to the ſucceſ- " ſion of a brother, againſt a ſon he was ſo fond of, " and the humor of a party which he ſo much " feared. I am willing alſo to impute to his juſtice, " whatever ſeems in ſome meaſure to contradict the " general opinion of his clemency; as his ſuffering " always the rigor of the law to proceed, not only " againſt all highwaymen, but alſo ſeveral others, " in whoſe caſes the lawyers (according to their " wonted cuſtom) had uſed ſometime a great " deal of hardſhip and ſeverity. His underſtand- " ing was quick and lively in little things, and " ſometimes would ſoar high enough in great ones, " but unable to keep it up with any long attention " or application. Witty in all ſorts of converſa- " tion; and telling a ſtory ſo well, that not out " of flattery, but for the pleaſure of hearing it, we " uſed to ſeem ignorant of what he had repeated to " us ten times before, as a good comedy will bear " the being ſeen often. Of a wonderful mixture; " loſing all his time, and till of late ſeting his " whole heart on the fair ſex, yet neither angry with " rivals, nor in the leaſt nice as to their being be- " loved; and while he ſacrificed all things to his " miſtreſſes, he would uſe to grudge and be uneaſy " at their loſing a little of it again at play, tho' " never ſo neceſſary for their diverſion: nor would " he venture five pounds at Tennis to thoſe ſer- " vants, who might obtain as many thouſands,

" either before he came thither, or as ſoon as he " left off. Not falſe to his word, but full of diſſi- " mulation, and very adroit at it, yet no man " eaſier to be impoſed on; for his great dexterity " was in cozening himſelf, by gaining a little one " way, while it coſt him ten times as much an- " other; and by careſſing thoſe perſons moſt, " who had deluded him the oftener; and yet the " quickeſt in the world at ſpying ſuch a ridicule in " another. Familiar, eaſy, and good natured; " but for great offenſes ſevere and inflexible: alſo " in one week's abſenſe, quite forgeting thoſe ſer- " vants, to whoſe faces he could hardly deny any " thing. In the midſt of all his remiſſneſs, ſo " induſtrious and indefatigable on ſome particular " occaſions, that no man would either toil longer, " or be able to manage it better.

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" He was ſo liberal, as to ruin his affairs by it; " for want in a King of England, turns things juſt " upſide down, and expoſes a Prince to his peoples " mercy. It did yet worſe in him, for it forced " him alſo to depend on his great neighbor of " France; who played the brother with him ſuffi- " ciently in all thoſe times of extremity. Yet this " profuſeneſs of his did not ſo much proceed from " his over valuing thoſe he favored, as from his " under valuing any ſums of money which he did " not ſee; tho' he found his error in this, but I " confeſs a little of the lateſt. He had ſo natural " an averſion to all formality, that with as much " wit as moſt Kings ever had, and with as majeſtic " a mein, yet he could not on premeditation act " the part of a King for a moment, either at par- " liament, or at council, either in words or geſture; " which carried him into the other extreme, more " inconvenient of the two, of leting all diſtinction " and ceremony fall to the ground, as uſeleſs and " foppiſh. His temper, both of body and mind, " was admirable, which made him an eaſy generous " lover, a civil obliging huſband, a friendly bro- " ther, an indulgent father, and a good natured " maſter. If he had been as ſollicitous about im- " proving the faculties of his mind, as he was in " the management of his bodily health; tho', alas! " the one proved unable to make his life long, the " other had not failed to have made it famous. " He was an illuſtrious exception to all the com- " mon rules of phyſiognomy: for, with a moſt " Saturnine harſh ſort of countenance, he was both " of a merry and merciful diſpoſition; and in the " laſt thirty years of his life, as fortunate, as thoſe " of his father had been diſmal and tumultuous.

" If his death has been by ſome ſuſpected of " being untimely, it may be partly imputed to his " extreme healthy conſtitution, which made the " world as much ſurpriſed at his dying before three- " ſcore, as if nothing but an ill accident could " have killed him. I would not ſay any thing on " ſo ſad a ſubject, if I did not think ſilence itſelf " would in ſuch a caſe ſignify too much; and there- " fore, as an impartial writer, I am obliged to " obſerve, that the moſt knowing, and moſt " diſcerning of his phyſicians* did not only be- " lieve him poiſoned, but thought himſelf ſo too " not long after, for having declared his opinion a " a little too boldly. But here I muſt needs take " notice of an unuſual piece of juſtice, which yet " all the world has almoſt unanimouſly agreed in; " I mean, in not ſuſpecting his ſucceſſor of the leaſt " connivance in ſo horrid a villany; and perhaps " there was never a more remarkable inſtance of " the wonderful power of truth and innocence: " for it is next to a miracle, that ſo unfortunate a " Prince, in the midſt of all thoſe diſadvantages he " lies under, ſhould be yet cleared of this, even by " his greateſt enemies; notwithſtanding all thoſe

* Dr. Short.

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"circumſtances that uſe to give a ſuſpicion, and "that extreme malice which has of late attended "him in all his other actions." (1).

A compariſon between the two foregoing characters.

After reciting theſe different characters of King Charles II, drawn by ſuch able hands, I think myſelf obliged to make a ſort of parallel, in order to aſſiſt the reader in the diſcovery of the truth. Dr. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, was a Scotſman. He had been educated among the Epiſcopalians, but however, was always accuſed of preſerving a tincture of Preſbyterianiſm, the religion of his country, when free to purſue his inclination. He is likewiſe accuſed of having been intirely in the Whig party. In fine, he had no reaſon to be pleaſed with either Charles II, or James II, and therefore we muſt read with caution whatever he ſays, not reconcileable with the known actions of Charles II, or by others expreſly contradicted.

It is eaſy to perceive, that Burnet's picture of Charles II is very much charged. The painter has ſtrongly drawn all the lines, which he thought might beget a likeneſs between the picture and the original, without any regard to the reputation of this Prince. It is even ſeen, that poſſibly he ſpoke with prejudice, and by this prejudice, was led to credit too lightly what he had received upon hearſay to the King's diſadvantage. For inſtance, what he affirms, that Charles, after the battle of Worceſter, ſhewed a temper ſo careleſs, that he was then diverting himſelf with trifles in as unconcerned a manner, as if he had ſuſtained no loſs, and been in no danger at all, appears to me a little aggravated. It is not even probable, that the biſhop could be informed of the King's actions at that time, by eye witneſſes. When he ſays, the King had great vices, but ſcarce any virtues to correct them, this plainly appears to be the language of paſſion and prejudice. When he ſays again, the King never forgave any thing that was done againſt himſelf, this muſt be aggravated: for if he was mercileſs to the lord Ruſſel, colonel Sidney, ſir Thomas Armſtrong, and ſome others, it cannot from thence be infered, that he never forgave. Such expreſſions excepted, which diſcover ſome paſſion in the author, the reſt of Charles II's character is true in general. This I believe, becauſe I find it agreeable to the hiſtory of his reign, and becauſe the earl of Mulgrave has in his picture drawn the ſame lines with dr. Burnet, to expreſs his likeneſs. All the difference between theſe two authors, is, that in the biſhop's picture, the principal lines are ſtrongly expreſſed, and much ſoftened in the earl's.

The earl of Mulgrave, afterwards marquis of Normandy, and then duke of Buckinghamſhire, was intirely in the Tory party, and if any regard may be had to common report, his religion, like that of Charles II, was Deiſm. In his deſcription of this Prince, he denies not the general ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned. Burnet ſays alſo the ſame thing. The earl inſiſts that the duke of York was not ſuſpected of the leaſt connivance at ſo horrid a villany. The ſame is likewiſe to be found in Burnet. If the laſt ſays, King Charles was a Papiſt, this is not denied by the earl. He only imputes it to two cauſes, firſt, to a complaiſance for the company he was forced to keep in his exile; and ſecondly, to the oppoſition he met with in parliament, which threw him into the arms of the Papiſts. If the firſt of theſe cauſes be true, the ſecond cannot be ſo, ſince the King was not twice a Papiſt. Beſide, the oppoſitions in parliament were partly owing to a belief, that he deſigned to introduce Popery.

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Burnet ſays, Charles was incapable of any application. The earl ſays the ſame. The biſhop ſays, the King was for rendering himſelf abſolute. If the earl ſays it not in expreſs terms, he ſufficiently intimates it, by ſaying, "That the Roman Catholic "party lulled him aſleep with the inchanting ſong of "Sovereignty and Prerogative." Burnet ſays, the King was apt to forgive all crimes, but never forgave any thing that was done againſt himſelf. The earl praiſes his clemency, and ſays, "he was "eaſy and good natured in trifles, but in great "affairs ſevere and inflexible." This may be the biſhop's meaning expreſſed in other words.

The ſtories which the King loved to talk over, are in both characters. The only difference is, that Burnet ſays, the company grew weary of them, and the earl ſays, the hearers were pleaſed with the repetition. But the raillery of the earl of Rocheſter turns the balance for the biſhop.

Burnet ſays, Charles ingaged in two wars againſt Holland, without any color, and the earl calls theſe wars unneceſſary.

Burnet ſays he contributed to the raiſing of the greatneſs of France at ſea, and the earl ſays, he was not ſufficiently careful to "depreſs the maritime "improvements of France," and that here he wanted jealouſy. Is not this much the ſame thing?

In ſhort, let theſe two pictures be compared with all poſſible exactneſs, and they will both be found very like; but that the two painters had different views, and purſued different methods. The one propoſed to expreſs ſtrongly the lines which might moſt contribute to a reſemblance with the original, without regarding the beauty of the picture in itſelf. The other, without omiting the ſame lines, which could not be done and the likeneſs preſerved, has taken all poſſible care to ſoften them, in order to hide, as much as lay in his power, the deformities of the original. In fine, the one has given us an ugly, and the other a beautiful likeneſs. This doubtleſs, induced the earl to ſuppreſs ſeveral ſtrokes of his pencil, which might have improved the reſemblance, but would have been prejudicial to the end he propoſed in his work. (2)

(1) R. Coke ſays, That King Charles left the nation more vitiated and debauched in their manners, than ever it was by any other King; having not only ſquandered away the ancient revenues of the crown, which were eſteemed ſacred, and which ſhould have ſupported it againſt foreign force and inteſtine diſcord, but left ſuch debt upon it as never before was heard of, nor contracted by ſuch means. Vol. II. p. 320.

(2) King Charles II, left no iſſue by his Queen, Donna Catherine, daughter of John IV, King of Portugal. But by his ſeveral miſtreſſes he had the following children:

1. By mrs. Lucy Walters, daughter of Richard Walters, eſq; James duke of Monmouth, born at Rotterdam, April 9, 1649. beheaded on Towerhill, July 15, 1685. He married in 1665, Anne Scot, daughter of Francis earl of Bucleugh in Scotland.

2. By mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew, viſcounteſs Shannon, daughter of ſir William Killigrew, Charlot-Jemia-Henrietta-Maria-Fitz-roy, who died in 1684. Her huſbands were, James Howard, and ſir William Paſton earl of Yarmouth.

3. By mrs. Catharine Peg, daughter of Thomas Peg, eſq; Charles Fitz-Charles earl of Plymouth, commonly called Don Carlos, born 1658, killed October 17, 1680, at Tangier. He married Bridget, daughter of ſir Thomas Oſborne, duke of Leeds, who married afterwards dr. Biſs the late biſhop of Hereford.

4. By mrs. Barbara Villiers, heireſs of William viſcount Grandiſon in Ireland, and wife of Roger Palmer, earl of Caſtlemain, created lady Nonſuch, counteſs of Southampton, and ducheſs of Cleveland, who died in 1709, he had three ſons, and three daughters, 1. Charles Fitz-Roy, born 1662, created 1675, duke of Southampton, and after his mother's death duke of Cleveland. His wives were Mary, daughter of ſir Henry Wood, and Alice daughter of ſir William Poulteney. 2. Henry Fitz-Roy, duke of Grafton, born September 20, 1663, and killed October 9, 1690, at the ſiege of Cork in Ireland. His wife was Iſabella daughter of Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, married after his death to ſir Thomas

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Drawn & Engrav'd by Geo: Vertue from an Original Painting done for Secretary Pepys; and painted from the Life by Sr. Godfrey Kneller An.o Dn.i 1688.

Thomas Hanmer, baronet. 3. George Fitz-Roy, duke of Northumberland, born December 28, 1665, who died July 8, 1716, without children. 4. Ann Fitz-Roy, born February 29, 1661, married in 1674, to Thomas Lennard earl of Suſſex. 5. Charlotte Fitz-Roy, born September 5, 1664, married February 20, 1676-7, to ſir Edward Henry Lee, earl of Lichfield. 6. Barbary, born July 16, 1672, who became a nun at Pontoiſe in France.

5. By mrs. Eleanor Gwin, 1. Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans, born May 8, 1670, who married Diana Vere, eldeſt daughter and coheireſs of Aubrey de Vere, the twentieth and laſt earl of Oxford. 2. James Beauclerk, born Dec. 25, 1671. He died in 1680 in France.

6. By Louiſe de Querouaille, ducheſs of Portſmouth, Charles Lenos, duke of Richmond and Lenox, born July 29, 1672, who died May 27, 1723. His wife was Ann, eldeſt daughter of Francis, lord Brudenel.

7. By mrs. Davis, Mary Tuder, born October 16, 1673, married in Auguſt, 1687, to Francis lord Ratcliff, earl of Derwentwater. See Sandford, p. 639, &c.

END of the TWENTY-THIRD BOOK.

BOOK XXIV.

The Reign of King JAMES II, from his Acceſſion to the Throne, to the Eſtabliſhment of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY; containing the ſpace of four years and ſeven days.

JAMES II, TWENTY-SEVENTH King of ENGLAND ſince the Conqueſt.

JAMES II. AN' 1684.

The duke of York is proclaimed King. Feb. 6. Gazette No. 2006. Echard.

CHARLES had not reſigned his breath many hours, before his brother the duke of York was proclaimed King in London, by the name of JAMES the ſecond. Having ſeen how the government was ſetled for ſome years paſt, we muſt not think it ſtrange, there was no indeavors, either in London or any other part of the kingdom, to oppoſe the new King. Of the two parties in England, that againſt the bill of excluſion was triumphant, and the other intirely broken and oppreſſed. The acceſſion of James II to the crown, was a freſh motive of triumph to the former, and notwithſtanding the fears expreſſed by the other party, about a Catholic ſucceſſor, they who had ſupported his intereſt, indeavored to repreſent the late change, as the greateſt of bleſſings to the Engliſh nation. The King, on his part, omited nothing that lay in his power to confirm the good opinion his friends had of his virtue and ſincerity. As ſoon as the lords were returned to Whitehall, from proclaiming the King, he aſſembled the privy council, and made the following ſpeech:

The King's declaration to the council. Gazette No. 2006. Kennet, p. 420.

My Lords,

"BEfore I enter upon any other buſineſs, I think fit to ſay ſomething to you. Since it hath pleaſed Almighty God to place me in this ſtation, and I am now to ſucceed ſo good and gracious a King, as well as ſo very kind a brother, I think it fit to declare to you, that I will indeavor to follow his example, and moſt eſpecially in that of his great clemency and tenderneſs to his people. I have been reported to be a man of arbitrary power; but that is not the only ſtory has been made of me; and I ſhall make it my indeavor to preſerve this government both in church and ſtate, as it is now by law eſtabliſhed. I know the principles of the church of England are for Monarchy, and the members of it have ſhewed themſelves good and loyal ſubjects, therefore I ſhall always take care to defend and ſupport it. I know too, that the laws of England are ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wiſh; and as I ſhall never depart from the juſt rights and prerogative of the crown, ſo I ſhall never invade any man's property. I have often heretofore ventured my life in defenſe of this nation, and I ſhall ſtill go as far as any man in preſerving it in all its juſt rights and liberties."

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Every body is pleaſed with the ſpeech. Gazettes. Kennet. Burnet.

This ſpeech being addreſſed to a council wholly compoſed of perſons devoted to the King, was received with great applauſe. His Majeſty was deſired that it might be printed, and diſperſed among the people, which was immediately done. Moreover, great care was taken to extol the King's extreme affection for his ſubjects; and above all, his ſtrict obſervance of his word and faith was ſo induſtriouſly propagated, that ſome counting it impoſſible for the King to promiſe what he did not intend to perform, began to give him the name of JAMES THE JUST, as if to ſay and to do, were in him one and the ſame thing.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 729.

Every one retains his place. Gazette No. 2006. Kennet. Burnet.

Next day, the King publiſhed a proclamation, declaring, that all perſons who, at the late King's deceaſe, were poſſeſſed of any office, ſhould be continued in the ſame, till the King's pleaſure was farther known. He declared, moreover, that all orders and directions given by the late King's privy council, ſhould be obeyed and performed, as if he was ſtill alive. This is a clear evidence of the great influence that the King, when duke of York, had in the counſels of the King his brother. Upon his

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his coming to the crown, he made no changes, either in the council, or in the chief places of truſt, a plain ſign he looked on the poſſeſſors as his creatures. And indeed, ſince his return from Scotland, he had properly governed the kingdom in the name his brother. This being known to all, might have demonſtrated with what intention he promiſed to preſerve the Proteſtant religion, and the rights of the ſubject, ſince no man could be ignorant, that he was the principal author of the plots in the late reign, againſt religion, and the liberties of the nation. But the Tories, who were then highly exalted, willingly ſhut their eyes, and would not ſee the danger to which the Proteſtant religion was expoſed, under a King who was ſo zealous a Papiſt. His Majeſty's bare word was ſufficient to calm all their uneaſineſs on that account As for arbitrary power, which began to be introduced in the late reign, far from being frighted at it, they rather conſidered it as effectual means to keep their adverſaries, the Whigs, in ſubjection. Had they known or foreſeen to what height James was reſolved to carry his power, they would, doubtleſs, have imployed their thoughts otherwiſe; but they imagined, things would always remain as they were, that is, in a ſituation to them very advantageous.

The King makes no alterations.

The Tories conceive a great opinion of the King.

He goes publicly to maſs. Echard, Vol. III. p. 731. R. Coke, p. 326.

Moſt of the hiſtorians ſpeak of the King's going publicly to maſs two days after his acceſſion to the crown as of a thing very ſurpriſing: but I cannot ſee any reaſon for it. Since the year 1670, no man had been ignorant, that the duke of York was a Catholic. On this account he had reſigned the office of lord high admiral, and in the following years, the bill of excluſion, which cauſed three parliaments to be diſſolved, had ſufficiently taught the Engliſh this truth. Where then could the wonder be, to ſee him go to maſs, being King, ſince, for the laſt fourteen years, he had not concealed his religion, tho' he had run the riſque of forfeiting his right to the crown?

Cuſtoms and duties continued before they are granted. Febr. 16. Gazette No. 2009. Welwood. Burnet, p. 621. R. Coke.

But what gave more juſt cauſe of aſtoniſhment was his requiring by proclamation the ſame week, that the cuſtoms, and other duties which had been granted to the King his brother, only for life, ſhould be continued to be collected (1). This was a manifeſt invaſion of the rights and liberties of the nation (2). He could not be ignorant, that an incroachment of the ſame nature had occaſioned a great conteſt between the King his father and the parliament, and that this conteſt produced the petition of right. And yet, he not only undertook the ſame thing, but uſed alſo the ſame reaſons with Charles I, which were ſo little ſatisfactory to the parliament. His proceedings were the more ſurpriſing, as he affected to take by authority, what he knew would not be refuſed by the parliament, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the kingdom. Tho' his friends indeavored to excuſe this conduct, it made impreſſion upon many of both parties, who had no good opinion of a reign which began in ſuch a manner. This gave occaſion to fear, that the new King's promiſes were not ſo firmly to be relied on, as was pretended.

James II. An' 1684.

The King at the ſame time took another ſtep, and, as it ſeems, without any neceſſity, which was to cauſe it to be publiſhed, and atteſted by father Huddleſton a prieſt, that Charles II died a Catholic, and that the ſame prieſt gave him the Euchariſt and Extreme Unction. Huddleſton publiſhed withal a little treatiſe, called "a ſhort and plain way to "the faith and church;" which treatiſe, the author affirms, made great impreſſions upon the mind of King Charles, in the year 1651, immediately after the battle of Worceſter, ſo that he declared, "he "had not ſeen any thing more plain and clear upon "the ſubject; and the arguments drawn from ſuc-"ceſſion were ſo concluſive, he did not conceive "how they could be denied." Moreover, at the ſame time, James ordered two papers to be publiſhed, found in the King his brother's ſtrong box, writen with his own hand, both tending to prove the neceſſity of a viſible church and guide, in matters of faith (3). To confirm that Charles II was really a Catholic, mr. William Chaffinch, keeper of the King's cloſet, made no ſcruple to ſhew a little chapel annexed to the cloſet, where the King went ſecretly to maſs. It is hard to conceive, what great advantage it could be to James, to divulge ſuch a ſecret, conſidering the injury he did the late King's reputation, who had ſo frequently and ſolemnly affirmed in full parliament that he was a good Proteſtant, and had poſitively promiſed to maintain the Proteſtant religion to the utmoſt of his power. As James thereby manifeſtly ſhewed his brother's inſincerity, he ſhould, it ſeems, have feared, it would be infered, that there was as little reaſon to rely on what he himſelf had promiſed.

He publiſhes that the late King was a Papiſt. Kennet, p. 423. Burnet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 731.

p. 732.

The funeral of Charles II was ſolemniſed on the fourteenth of February at night. It may eaſily be judged, it was not very expenſive, ſince eight days were ſufficient for the preparations. It is obſervable, that Charles II had neglected, after his reſtoration, to ſolemniſe his father's funeral, on pretenſe that his body could not be found in Windſor chapel, the place where it was intered, as the lord Clarendon ſays in his hiſtory. But as it would have been eaſy to ſearch the whole chapel, it is more likely, the reaſon of that neglect was the charges of a funeral, tho' Charles II had received for that purpoſe from the parliament the ſum of ſeventy thouſand pounds. For the ſame reaſon, probably, James cauſed his brother to be buried with little ſplendor, tho' Charles left him ninety thouſand guineas in a box.

The late King's funeral. Sandford. Gazette No. 2008. Burnet.

James fills the vacant places. Feb. 9, 16. Gazettes. Kennet, p. 421.

Two days after the King ordered the privy counſellors and great officers of the crown and houſhold to be ſworn, and at the ſame time filled the vacant places. The office of lord treaſurer, vacant ſince the year 1679, by the reſignation of the earl of Danby, was confered on Laurence Hyde, earl of Rocheſter, the King's brother in law; Henry earl of Clarendon elder brother to the earl of Rocheſter, was made lord privy ſeal; and George Savil, marquiſs of Hallifax, preſident of the council (4).

Great number of addreſſes. Gazettes.

Mean while, the counties, cities, boroughs, and univerſities were imployed in preparing congratula-

(1) Another proclamation was put out for levying the additional exciſe, which had been given to the late King only for life. There was a clauſe in this act, that impowered the treaſury to make a farm of it for three years, without adding a limiting clauſe, in caſe it ſhould be ſo long due. And it was thought a great ſtretch of the clauſe, to make a fraudulent farm, by which it ſhould continue to be levied three years after it was determined, according to the letter and intent of the act. A farm was now brought out, as made during the King's life, tho' it was well known, that no ſuch farm had been made, for it was made after his death, but a falſe date put to it. Burnet, p. 622.

(2) It was an open violation of our fundamental conſtitution, by which no money can be levied on the ſubject, but by their conſent in parliament, as dr. Welwood rightly obſerves, p. 138.

(3) The duke of Ormond, beſide the King's atteſtation, declared the papers to be King Charles's own hand.

(4) The duke of Beauford was made lord preſident of Wales; the lord Arlington, lord high chamberlain; the duke of Ormond, lord ſteward of the houſhold; the lord Godolphin, lord chamberlain to the Queen; the lord viſcount Newport, treaſurer of the houſhold; the lord Maynard, comptroller; Henry Savil, vice-chamberlain; Henry Bulkley, maſter of the houſhold; ſir Stephen Fox, ſir William Boreman, ſir Winſton Churchill, and ſir Richard Maſon, clerks and comptrollers of the green-cloth. Kennet, p. 421.

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tory addreſſes to the King, upon his acceſſion to the crown. Theſe addreſſes, for the moſt part, took notice of the King's poſitive declaration to the privy council, to maintain the church of England and the liberties of the nation. But there were two among others very remarkable. The firſt from the bariſters and ſtudents of the Middle-Temple, wherein, "with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude they "acknowleged his Majeſty's great goodneſs, in "extending his Royal care of the government to "the preſervation of the cuſtoms, which had been "continually received by his Royal predeceſſors "for ſome hundreds of years, and never queſtioned "by any parliament, unleſs in that wherein were "ſown the ſeeds of rebellion againſt the King his "father (1)." They concluded with ſaying, "May there never want millions as loyal as we "are, to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in defenſe "of your ſacred perſon and prerogative in its full "extent:" And promiſed that they would indeavor the choice of ſuch repreſentatives for the inſuing parliament, as would not only concur in ſetling a revenue to ſupport the government as formerly, but alſo ſhew an intire confidence in his Majeſty. The addreſs from the county of Suffolk had theſe words: "We are every day making ſteps towards your Majeſty's grandeur, by our care for "ſending fit repreſentatives to a parliament, that "we hope will no more indure Excluders than a "late one did Abhorrers." The Quakers alſo preſented an addreſs to the King, wherein they ſaid: "Whereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God (by whom "Kings reign) to take hence the late King Charles "the ſecond, and to preſerve thee peaceably to ſuc-"ceed; we thy ſubjects heartily deſire, that the "giver of all good and perfect gifts, may pleaſe "to indue thee with wiſdom and mercy in the uſe "of thy great power, to his glory, the King's "honor, and the kingdom's good. And it being "our ſincere reſolution, according to our peace-"able principles and converſations (by the aſſiſ-"tance of Almighty God) to live peaceably and "honeſtly, as becomes true and faithful ſubjects, "under the King's government, and a conſcien-"tious people that truly fear and ſerve God: we "do humbly hope, that the King's tenderneſs will "appear and extend with his power to expreſs the "ſame (2)."——

That of the Middle-temple. Kennet, p. 420. Gazette No. 2015.

Another from Suffolk. Gazettes.] Echard, Vol. III. p. 733.

That of the Quakers.

AN' 1685. The King and Queen crowned. Gazette No. 2028. Echard. Vol. III. p. 734. Kennet. Burnet, p. 628.

The King's and Queen's coronation was celebrated the twenty-third of April, St. George's day, patron of the Order of the Garter. Tho' ſuch a ceremony cannot be ſolemniſed without pomp, it was obſerved, the King retrenched ſeveral things which cauſed a needleſs expenſe, as for inſtance, the cavalcade from the Tower to Weſtminſter, which was wont to be performed the day before the coronation, ſaving thereby a charge of ſixty thouſand pounds. But if ſome authors are to be credited, the moſt conſiderable retrenchment was in the words of the coronation oath, out of which, they pretend, ſeveral material things were ſtruck, without ſpecifying the particulars. Others maintain, it is an aſperſion on archbiſhop Sancroft, who is ſuppoſed, without foundation, to have conſented to the abridging of the oath. As I have ſeen no proof of either, I forbear to decide. Thus much is certain, the crown not being fit for the King's head, was often in a tottering condition and like to fall off. Mr. Henry Sidney ſupporting it once with his hand, pleaſantly told the King, "This is not the firſt "time our family has ſupported the crown (3)." The people reckoned this an ill omen to the King, as well as another thing which happened the ſame day. In one of the churches in London, the King's arms, painted in a glaſs window, ſuddenly fell down and broke in pieces, while the reſt of the window was ſtanding, without a poſſibility of diſcovering why that part ſhould fall ſooner than the reſt (4).

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Echard, Vol. III. p. 734.

The ſame day that the King was crowned at London, the parliament of Scotland met at Edinburg, William Douglaſs, duke of Queenſborough being lord high commiſſioner. This lord was intirely in the King's party, but not in ſuch a manner as to ſacrifice to him the Proteſtant religion and his country's liberties. Before he left London, in order for Scotland, he told the King plainly, he could not ingage to ſerve him in any thing but what ſhould be agreeable to the laws; whereupon the King proteſted to him, he had no intention to make any breach either in the eſtabliſhed religion or the laws.

Proceedings of the parliament of Scotland. Gazette No. 2031. Burnet, p. 635. Echard, Vol. III. p. 735, &c. Boyer.

The King's letter to the Scotiſh parliament ran, "That the many experiences he had of the loyalty "and exemplary forwardneſs of that ancient king-"dom, by their repreſentatives aſſembled in par-"liament in the reign of his brother, made him de-"ſirous to call them together in the begining of his "reign, to give them an opportunity not only of "ſhewing their duty, but alſo to be exemplary to "others in their demonſtrations of their affection "to his perſon, and compliance with his deſires. "That which he had to propoſe to them at this "time, was what was as neceſſary for their ſafety "as his ſervice, and had a greater tendency to ſe-"cure their own privileges and properties, than the "aggrandizing his power, 'which however he was "reſolved to maintain in its greateſt luſtre, that "he might be the more inabled to defend and pro-"tect their religion as eſtabliſhed by law, and their "rights and properties, againſt fanatical (5) con-"trivances, murderers, aſſaſſins (6), which had "brought them into ſuch difficulties, as only the "ſteady reſolutions of his brother, and thoſe im-"ployed by him, could have ſaved them from the "moſt horrid confuſions and inevitable ruin. That

Gazette. Ibid.

(1) The reaſon of thanking the King for ſeizing the cuſtoms, alleged by thoſe gentlemen, was, "That thouſands "would be ruined that had paid cuſtom in the late King's time, if the cuſtoms were not levied, and by an exceſſive "exportation and importation cuſtom free, that branch of the revenue would be rendered unprofitable for ſome years to "come." Not conſidering that entries might be made and bonds taken, to be ſued when the act for granting them ſhould paſs.

(2) This is the true addreſs from Sewell's Hiſtory of the Quakers. Rapin has wrongly followed Echard, and given it as follows, "We are come to teſtify our ſorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. "We are told thou art not of the perſuaſion of the church of England no more than we; therefore we hope that thou wilt grant "us the ſame liberty which thou alloweſt thyſelf."

(3) Mr. Sidney, who was afterwards earl of Rumney in King William's reign, was one of the principal inſtruments in the downfal of King James, and one of the firſt that went and joined the Prince of Orange. Rapin.

(4) The crown was not well fited to the King's head: it came down too far, and covered the upper part of his face. The canopy carried over him did alſo break. But to take ſuch things for omens is ridiculous. Turner preached the coronation ſermon, in which he ſet forth that part of Conſtantinus Chlorus's hiſtory, wherein he tried who would be trueſt to their religion, and reckoned that thoſe would be faithfulleſt to himſelf who were trueſt to their God. The King and Queen reſolved to have all done in the Proteſtant form, and to aſſiſt in all the prayers: only the King would not receive the ſacrament. In this certainly his prieſts diſpenſed with him, and he had ſuch ſenſes given him of the oath, that he either took it as a ſin, with a reſolution not to keep it, [or he had a reſerved meaning in his own mind. Burnet, p. 628.

(5) The rigid Covenanters and Preſbyterians were called Fanatics by the court. Rapin.

(6) Among the ſewere the perſons that murdered the archbiſhop of St. Andrews. Idem.

"nothing hath been left unattempted by thoſe in-
"human traitors, to overturn their peace; and
"therefore he hoped they would be wanting in
"nothing to ſecure themſelves and him."——

The lord commiſſioner's ſpeech. Gazette, No. 2031.

The high commiſſioner ſeconded the King's letter with a ſpeech, wherein he gave them aſſurance of his Majeſty's reſolutions to protect and maintain the religion and government of their church as by law eſtabliſhed (1); and alſo the ſubjects rights and properties, in ſuch manner, that no perſon ſhould be injured by any arbitrary oppreſſions of ſoldiers, or others; and he would condeſcend as much in the buſineſs of the exciſe and militia as could be juſtly expected. And, on the other ſide, his Majeſty expected from them, to aſſert the rights and prerogatives of the crown, and to eſtabliſh the revenue as amply upon him and his ſucceſſors, as it was injoyed by the King his brother. In the laſt place, the lord commiſſioner deſired in very pathetic terms, that effectual means might be found to deſtroy the fanatical party, who were wretches of ſuch monſtrous principles and practices, as paſt ages never heard, nor thoſe to come will ſcarcely believe.

Theſe fanatical murderers and aſſaſſins could be no other than the Preſbyterians of Scotland, who were properly the body of the nation, to whom was imputed the murder of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, as if it had been commited by the determination of the whole Preſbyterian party.

Ibid. James Drummond, earl of Perth, lord chancellor, made a ſpeech likewiſe, in which he inlarged on the King's great virtues. I do not know whether he was yet a Papiſt, but at leaſt, preſently after, he imbraced the Catholic religion, and by that infallible means ſupplanted the duke of Queenſborough.

Ibid. The parliament returned a very humble and ſubmiſſive anſwer to the King, promiſing to do whatever he had deſired. To perform which promiſe they forthwith paſſed the three following acts:

No. 2032. By the firſt act were ratified all ſtatutes paſſed in the late reign for the ſecurity of religion as at preſent profeſſed within the kingdom.

By the ſecond, they annexed the exciſe of foreign and inland commodities to the crown of Scotland for ever.

By the third, they ordained, that all ſuch perſons, as being cited in caſe of high treaſon, field or houſe conventicles, or church irregularities, ſhould refuſe to give teſtimony, ſhould be liable to be puniſhed as guilty of thoſe crimes reſpectively, in which they refuſed to be witneſſes.

Trial of Titus Oates. State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 1. Burnet, p. 637. Echard. R. Coke. Kennet, p. 437.

Before the meeting of the parliament of England, which was called for the nineteenth of May, three perſons odious to the King, the Papiſts, and the prevailing party, were brought to their trials. The firſt was the notorious Titus Oates, diſcoverer of the Popiſh plot, and one of the witneſſes againſt the condemned jeſuits. He was accuſed of perjury on two points of his evidence, viz. for affirming on oath, that he was preſent at the grand conſult held at London the twenty-fourth of April 1678, where, as he pretended, the reſolution of killing the King was taken. Secondly, for ſaying, that father Ireland, an executed jeſuit, was at London ſuch a day. To convict him of theſe two real or pretended crimes, he was brought before chief juſtice Jefferies at the King's-bench bar, the eighth and ninth of May 1685. As I have amply ſpoken of this matter in the reign of Charles II, I ſhall not repeat here what has been already ſaid, but confine myſelf to ſhew the partiality wherewith Oates was tried and condemned.

State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 1.

In the firſt place, immediately after the indictment was read, and before any witneſs was heard, the attorney general * made a ſpeech declaring, "Oates was one of the greateſt impoſtors that ever "did appear upon the ſtage, either in this king-"dom or any other nation." It muſt be obſerved, this attorney general had been one of the counſel for the King in 1678, to ſupport and improve Oates's evidence.

* Sir Robert Sawyer.

2. Twenty witneſſes from St. Omers were produced, who ſwore, that Oates was at that place the twenty-fourth of April 1678, at the very time that he ſaid he was preſent at the grand conſult. It is obſervable, that theſe very witneſſes had depoſed the ſame thing in 1678, and that the jury had not regarded their evidence. But in 1685, there was not the leaſt reaſon to reject their depoſitions.

3. Oates deſired it might be obſerved, that the King's counſel who were now againſt him, had been for him in the trials of the five jeſuits, and particularly the attorney and ſollicitor general: That lord chief juſtice Jefferies, before whom his cauſe was pleading, was among the King's counſel in 1678, and did then expreſly declare, "That the verdict "againſt the five jeſuits was a juſt verdict." As he laid great ſtreſs upon the verdicts given upon his depoſitions, he was told, that theſe verdicts had been diſbelieved ſeveral times, as well as believed. Moreover, the records of the trials of ſir George Wakeman and the earl of Caſtlemain were produced, who being accuſed of the pretended plot, had been acquited, and depoſed upon oath, that Oates had not ſaid one word of truth. p. 26, &c. p. 29.

4. Oates demanded, whether a 'Papiſt in caſe 'of religion might be believed?' It was replied, 'He might.' And as if the queſtion had been impertinent and foreign to the purpoſe. Juſtice Withens aſked him, 'Whether he was come there 'to preach?' p. 50. Ibid.

5. Oates urged the lord Coke's practiſe, who would not allow of a Popiſh recuſant for a witneſs, even between party and party. To which it was anſwered in general, that this practiſe was contrary to law.

6. He ſaid, that the witneſſes againſt him were brought up in a ſeminary, againſt law. Jefferies replied, ſo was a Diſſenter. p. 51.

7. He inſiſted upon the ſtatute of the twenty-ſeventh year of Elizabeth againſt ſeminary prieſts and jeſuits. Whereupon Jefferies aſked him, 'whether the witneſſes owned themſelves to be prieſts 'and jeſuits?' Ibid.

8. He pleaded the ſtatute of the third of Charles I, to which Jefferies anſwered, 'It was nothing to 'the purpoſe.' Ibid.

9. Laſtly, he repreſented, that the lord Shaftſbury, upon his trial, moving that he might have liberty to bring an indictment of perjury againſt the witneſſes that accuſed him, the court over-ruled the motion, and would not ſuffer the King's evidence to be indicted of perjury, nor the Popiſh plot called in queſtion. He infered from thence, that having been himſelf evidence for the King, he could not for that reaſon be indicted of perjury. Jefferies told him, all this was nothing to the purpoſe. Then ſumming up the evidence, he concluded with theſe words: "There does not re-"main the leaſt doubt, but that Oates is the "blackeſt and moſt perjured villain that ever ap-"peared upon the face of the earth." p. 52.

(1) The ſame as in England, none other being then tolerated in Scotland. Rapin.

The

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The jury withdrawing about a quarter of an hour, brought him in guilty of the perjury he was accuſed of.

State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 66.

Next day, he was tried upon the ſecond indictment of perjury concerning father Ireland. Above forty witneſſes were produced againſt him, nine of whom were Proteſtants, who ſwore, that Ireland was in Staffordſhire when Oates ſaid he was in London (1), and he was alſo found guilty of this indictment. What is moſt ſurpriſing, ſome pretend, there is not the leaſt appearance of injuſtice or partiality in the verdict againſt Oates, but on the contrary, the partiality is evident in the verdict againſt the five jeſuits. I leave it to the unbiaſſed reader to compare them and judge. But it cannot be denied at leaſt, there was a great deal of paſſion in the ſentenſe againſt Oates, and much more in the execution of it. The ſentenſe was as follows:

May 16. p. 104.

1. That he ſhould pay for a fine one thouſand marks upon each indictment.

2. That he ſhould be ſtriped of all his canonical habits.

3. That he ſhould ſtand in the pillory before Weſtminſter-hall-gate on Monday next, for an hour's time, with a paper over his head (which he muſt firſt walk with round about to all the courts in Weſtminſter-hall) declaring his crime; and that on the firſt indictment.

4. That for the ſecond indictment he ſhould on Tueſday ſtand in the pillory at the Royal Exchange in London, for an hour, with the ſame inſcription

5. On Wedneſday he ſhould be whiped from Aldgate to Newgate.

6. On Friday he ſhould be whiped from Newgate to Tyburn.

7. And for annual commemorations, upon every twenty-fourth of April, as long as he ſhould live, he was to ſtand in the pillory at Tyburn, juſt oppoſite to the gallows, for an hour.

8. That, upon every ninth of Auguſt, he was to ſtand in the pillory at Weſtminſter-hall-gate, becauſe he had ſworn that Ireland was in town between the eighth and twelfth of Auguſt. The like on every tenth of Auguſt at Charing-Croſs, and over againſt the Temple-gate every eleventh of Auguſt. And upon every ſecond of September he was to do the ſame at the Royal-Exchange. All this he was to do every year during his life: and be commited a cloſe priſoner as long as he lived.

After pronouncing this ſentenſe, Jefferies added, that if it had been in his power, Oates ſhould have been condemned to die.

It muſt be obſerved, that ſtanding in the pillory, which only expoſes to ſhame, is in England ſomething more; for it is permited to pelt thoſe that ſtand there, with dirt, and all ſorts of naſtineſs, and it often happens that the mob abuſe this liberty, and throw rotten eggs and even ſtones at the priſoner.

But what was thought moſt barbarous in this ſentenſe was, the ordering a man to be whiped twice in three days. Some charitable perſons uſed their indeavors to beg off part of this wretched man's puniſhment, and made application to the Queen, intreating her to intercede for him, at leaſt with regard to the ſecond ſcourging. But in vain was all interceſſion. The ſentenſe was executed with all imaginable rigor and barbarity. The firſt day he was tied to a cart, and as the hangman no doubt was commanded not to ſpare him, he executed the order with ſuch cruelty, as was unknown to the Engliſh nation. Oates ſwooned away ſeveral times the firſt day, with the extremity of the anguiſh. We may judge what he indured the ſecond day, when his wounds were yet freſh. In ſhort, his ſuſtaining ſuch great torments, and eſcaping with life, was looked upon as ſomething miraculous. Every one was ſenſible, that, both in the ſentenſe and in the execution, revenge had a greater ſhare than juſtice, and that he was made a ſacrifice to the manes of the five jeſuits executed in the late reign.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 741.

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Trial of Dangerfield. Burnet, p. 537. Kennet, p. 438. Echard.

The next victim to the Catholics, not long after Oates, was Thomas Dangerfield, who diſcovered the pretended Meal-Tub-Plot, which he had laid to the charge of the Proteſtants. But afterwards, not being able to maintain before the council what he had depoſed, he confeſſed, he was perſuaded to invent it by the counteſs of Powis, and the Popiſh lords in the Tower. Moreover, he had publiſhed a narrative of all the ſecret practices uſed as well to corrupt him, as to render the plot probable. As he owned, he had received money from the late King and the duke of York, the laſt would never ſuffer ſuch an offenſe to go unpuniſhed, when he came to be King. Dangerfield therefore was commited to priſon, and indicted for publiſhing a ſcandalous libel. He was tried and brought in guilty by the jury, after which he received judgment at the King's-bench bar, "That he ſhould "ſtand twice in the pillory; that he ſhould be "whiped from Aldgate to Newgate on one day, "and from Newgate to Tyburn on another, and "ſhould pay a fine of five hundred pounds." The ſcourging was executed with rigor, tho' with leſs cruelty than on Oates. The ſecond day, Dangerfield, after the whiping was over, being in a coach againſt Hatton-Garden, Robert Frances, a barriſter of Grey's-Inn, came to the coach ſide, and uſing ſome inſulting expreſſions, Dangerfield returned a reproachful anſwer (2). Frances having a ſmall cane in his hand, thruſt it into his eye with all his force, which in two hours put an end to his life. Frances was condemned to be hanged, and was executed accordingly, the King, tho' ſtrongly ſollicited for a pardon, not thinking proper to leave ſuch a crime unpuniſhed (3).

He is condemned to be whiped.

He is killed.

Baxter's Trial. May 30. Kennet. p. 443. Echard, Vol. III. p. 743.

Richard Baxter, a Preſbyterian miniſter, famous for his voluminous writings during the troubles, in favor of his religion, againſt the church of England, was a third inſtance of the mildneſs of the new government. As he could not be proceeded againſt for his books publiſhed during the troubles, by reaſon of the act of indemnity, occaſion was taken to proſecute him for a late book, intitled, A Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, wherein it was pretended, there was ſeveral ſeditious paſſages, and highly reflecting on the biſhops. Baxter being brought before Jefferies at the King's-bench bar, and moving, that farther time might be allowed him for his trial, Jefferies, with his uſual moderation, cried out, "I will not give him a minute's time more to "ſave his life: we have had to do with other ſort "of perſons, but now we have a ſaint to deal "with; and I know how to deal with ſaints as "well as ſinners. Yonder, ſays he, ſtands "Oates in the pillory, and ſays, he ſuffers for the "truth, and ſo ſays Baxter; but if Baxter did but "ſtand on the other ſide of the pillory with him,

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(1) It undeniably appeared from the books of one Hinton, a goldſmith in Lombard-ſtreet, that Ireland was in London at that time. See R. Coke, p. 330.

(2) Frances ſaid to him, "How now friend, have you had your heat this morning?" Upon which the other, with "two or three curſes called him, Son of a Whore. Echard, Vol. III. p. 742.

(3) Some ſay that Frances was a virulent Papiſt: and others, that he was a Proteſtant: but others obſerve, that he was only inſtructed to die in the profeſſion of being of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed. Kennet, p. 438. Echard. Vol. III. p. 742.

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" I would ſay there ſtood two of the greateſt rogues " and raſcals in the kingdom." After this manner did the judge prepare the jury, before any evidence was heard. It would be needleſs to inſert the particulars of the charge and Baxter's defenſe. The point was only to know, whether certain paſſages of his late book could be applied to the prelates of the church of England, or ſolely to thoſe of the church of Rome. Baxter's counſel (1) urged, that without a forced conſtruction, none of the paſſages could be applied to the biſhops of the church of England. The whole proceſs turned on this point. But it will not be improper to ſhew the paſſion and partiality of Jefferies in this, as in all other affairs. Baxter alleged in his defenſe, " That he had been " ſo moderate with reſpect to the church of Eng- " land, and had ſpoken ſo honorably of the bi- " ſhops, that he had incured the cenſure of many " of the Diſſenters upon that account." Jefferies, laying aſide on this occaſion the office of a judge to turn evidence, affirmed, " That Baxter was an " enemy to the name and thing, the office and " perſons of biſhops;" and ſeverely reprimanded the counſel, probably for defending their cauſe too well. Then, ſpeaking to Baxter, he ſaid, " Richard, " thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou " haſt writen books enough to load a cart, every " one as full of ſedition, I might ſay treaſon, as " an egg is full of meat. Hadſt thou been whip- " ped out of thy writing trade forty years ago, " it had been happy. Thou pretendeſt to be a " preacher of the goſpel of peace, and thou haſt " one foot in the grave; it is time for thee to " begin to think what account thou intendeſt to " give. But leave thee to thyſelf, and I ſee thou'lt " go on as thou haſt begun; but by the grace of " God I will look after thee. I know thou haſt a " mighty party, and I ſee a great many of the " brotherhood in corners, waiting to ſee what will " become of their mighty don; and a doctor of
* Dr. Bates. " the party * at your elbow; but by the grace of " Almighty God I will cruſh you all."

The chief juſtice in ſumming up the evidence ſaid; " It is notoriouſly known, that there has " been a deſign to ruin the King and the nation; " and this has been the main incendiary: he is " as modeſt now as can be; but time was, when " no man was ſo ready at binding your Kings in " chains, and your nobles in fetters of iron; and " to your tents, O Iſrael! Gentlemen, for God's " ſake do not let us be gulled twice in an age."

It evidently appears from theſe laſt words of Jefferies, that Baxter's book was only a pretenſe to puniſh him for what he had done during the troubles. However this be, ſuch was the impartial manner in which this judge directed the jury. There is ſcarce a man who will deny, that, as well during this reign, as in the latter part of the former, all the juries were packed, and had ingaged beforehand to be guided by the court. In concluſion, Baxter being found guilty, judgment was given againſt him, to be fined five hundred marks; to lie in priſon till he paid it; and to be bound to his good behavior for ſeven years.

The parliament meets. Kennet, p. 424. Echard, Vol. III. p. 745. Burnet.

On the nineteenth of May the parliament met, but the King was pleaſed that the commons ſhould firſt chuſe their ſpeaker, before he made his ſpeech to both houſes. The choice fell upon ſir John Trevor, who was recommended by * one of the ſecretaries of ſtate; after which, the King came to the parliament the twenty-ſecond of May, and made the following ſpeech to both houſes. As he had that morning received advice of the earl of Argyle's arrival in Scotland, it gave him occaſion to add ſomething to his ſpeech.

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* Lord Middleton.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both houſes. Gazette, No. 2036.

" AFter it pleaſed Almighty God, to take to " his mercy the late King my deareſt bro- " ther, and to bring me to the peaceable poſſeſſion " of the throne of my anceſtors, I immediately " reſolved to call a parliament, as the beſt means " to ſetle every thing upon thoſe foundations, as " may make my reign both eaſy and happy to " you: towards which, I am diſpoſed to con- " tribute all that is fit for me to do. What I ſaid " to my privy council, at my firſt coming there, " I am deſirous to renew to you; wherein I fully " declared my opinion concerning the principles of " the church of England, whoſe members have " ſhewed themſelves ſo eminently loyal in the " worſt of times, in defenſe of my father, and " ſupport of my brother, of bleſſed memory, " 'that I will always take care to defend and " ſupport it: I will make it my indeavor to pre- " ſerve this government both in church and ſtate, " as it is now by law eſtabliſhed; and as I will " never depart from the juſt rights and prero- " gatives of the crown, ſo I will never invade any " man's property': And you may be ſure, that " having heretofore ventured my life in the de- " fenſe of this nation, I will ſtill go as far as " any man in preſerving it in all its juſt rights " and liberties.

" And having given you this aſſurance con- " cerning the care I will have of your religion " and property, which I have choſen to do in " the ſame words, I uſed at my firſt coming to " the crown, the better to evidence to you, that " I ſpoke them not by chance, and, conſequently, " that you may the more firmly rely upon a pro- " miſe ſo ſolemnly made; I cannot doubt, that " I ſhall fail of ſuitable returns from you, with " all imaginable duty and kindneſs on your part; " and particularly, in what relates to the ſetling " of my revenue, and continuing it during my " life, as it was in the time of the King my " brother. I might uſe many arguments to in- " force this demand, from the benefit of trade, " the ſupport of the navy, the neceſſity of the " crown, and the well-being of the goverment it " ſelf; which I muſt not ſuffer to be precarious: " but I am confident, your own conſideration of " what is juſt and reaſonable, will ſuggeſt to " you whatſoever might be inlarged upon this " occaſion. There is one popular argument, " which I foreſee may be uſed againſt what I " aſk of you, from the inclination men may " have for frequent parliaments, which ſome may " think will be the beſt ſecured, by feeding me " from time to time, by ſuch proportions as they " ſhall think convenient: and this argument, it " being the firſt time I ſpeak to you from the " throne, I will anſwer once for all, that this " would be a very improper method to take with " me, and that the beſt way to ingage me to " meet you often, is always to uſe me well (2). " I expect therefore that you will comply with me

(1) Baxter's counſel were Wallop, Williams, Rotheram, Atwood and Phipps, all retained by ſir Henry Aſhurſt, who had a particular reſpect for Baxter. It may be noted of Baxter, that ſoon after the reſtoration he refuſed the biſhoprick of Hereford, and when turned out of his living with the reſt, ſent back a penſion of a hundred pounds a year offered him by the King. He frequently attended divine ſervice in the church of England, went to the ſacrament, and perſuaded others to do the ſame. Echard. Vol. III. p. 743.

(2) The King's aim, in this latter part of his ſpeech, was to prevent a motion, which was talked of abroad, tho' none ventured to make it in the houſe, " That it was ſafeſt to grant the revenue only for a term of years." Burnet, p. 638.

" in

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" in what I have desired, and that you will do it " speedily; that this may be a short session, and " that we may meet again to all our satisfactions.

" My Lords and Gentlemen, I must acquaint " you, that I have had news this morning from " Scotland, that Argyle is landed in the West- " Highlands, with the men he brought with him " from Holland; and that there are two declara- " tions published, one in the name of all those in " arms there, the other in his own; it would be " too long for me to repeat the substance of them; " it is sufficient to tell you, I am charged with " usurpation and tyranny: the shorter of them I " have directed to be forthwith communicated to " you. I will take the best care I can, that this " declaration of their own treason and rebellion " may meet with the reward it deserves: and I will " not doubt, but that you will be the more zealous " to support the government, and give me my re- " venue, as I have desired it, without delay."

Remarks on this speech.

I shall make three remarks on this speech, the importance whereof will hereafter appear. The first is, that when the King renewed to his parliament the promise he had made to the council, to preserve the government both in church and state, as by law established, nothing was farther from his thoughts than the performance of it. This will very clearly appear in the sequel. Wherefore this promise was only a lure used by the King to ingage the parliament to inable him to proceed without them. This happened accordingly, for this parliament, which had but two short sessions, was the only one the King called in his reign.

The second remark is, that when the King said, he would not suffer the government to be precarious (that is to depend upon the supplies the parliament should grant him from time to time) he plainly intimated, he meaned to govern in a different manner from his predecessors, since among all the Kings of England, there was never any whose government was not supported by the aids of the parliaments.

The third is, that the objection, which he foresaw would be made to his desire concerning his revenue, was so strong, that he could find no other reason to answer it than a menace, which ought rather to induce the parliament to guard against it. For if the King, in case of refusal, thought himself powerful enough to make the parliament repent, how much greater reason was there to fear, if he should be inabled to proceed without the parliament, and to execute his threat.

Various opinions of the present parliament. Echard, Vol. III. p. 744.

According to some historians, this parliament was better composed than any for many years past. All the members were rich; zealous for their country; good churchmen; averse to all Republican or Anti-monarchial principles; faithful to the King, and of so wonderful harmony among themselves, that the like had never been seen. The meaning of all which in short is, that they were Tories without any mixture of Republicans, Presbyterians, or Whigs. This parliament consisted indeed of persons prepossessed in favor of the King, who imagining, that, according to his promises, he would never meddle with the laws or religion, believed it a signal service to the kingdom, to inable the King to oppose effectually the attempts of the Whigs. They were mistaken in their supposition: but it cannot be infered from their conduct, that they intended to betray the nation's interests, as they plainly afterwards shewed.

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Other historians do not give the same idea of this parliament. They pretend, the members for the most part, being elected by the intrigues of the court, were Tories, and most violent for the doctrine of passive-obedience, and for that reason surrendered the liberties of the people, and paved the way for the King to become absolute, by granting him such a revenue as inabled him to govern without a parliament (1). Burnet, p. 625. R. Coke, p. 338.

Tho' these two assertions with respect to this parliament, seem to be opposite, it is however easy to reconcile them, on supposition of a thing which is very true, viz. the parliament was deceived by the King's promises. So, the only difference between these two opinions, is, that the Whigs accuse the Tories of betraying the interest of their country, with premeditated design; and the Tories, without denying that they acted indeed against the interests of the kingdom, maintain that they did so, thro' a too great confidence in the King's word, given from the throne in the most solemn manner. It will hereafter be seen, that the parliament had no such intention, as is imputed to them: but I cannot say their imprudence may be so easily vindicated.

Both houses thank the King.

His answer. Gazettes. Echard, Vol. III. p. 747.

However this be, both houses satisfied with the King's speech, waited on him the same day with an address of thanks; to which the King answered, " That he was very well pleased with their thanks; " and could repeat no more than what he had said " in the morning, and they should find that he " would be as good as his word."

Vote for granting the same revenue as Charles II injoyed.

This confirmation was so agreeable to the commons, that when they returned to their house, they voted immediately, nemine contradicente, " That " all the revenue injoyed by the late King at his " death, should be granted to his present Majesty, " and setled upon him during life." Thus the constant and ordinary revenue of the late King, which according to the intent of the first parliament, held in his reign, was to be twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, but which amounted to above double that sum; this revenue I say, which two parliaments had spent about two years in setling, was granted to James II, in the space of two hours. They who speak most moderately of this revenue, compute it at more than two millions. But an historian (2) pretends, that including the one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, injoyed by the King while duke of York, and annexed to the crown, the whole amounted to above two millions five hundred and fifty thousand pounds. This liberality was not founded on the services the King had done the nation when duke of York, but solely on his promises to support the government of the church and state. But, thro' extreme prejudice, the parliament was not aware, that by granting the King for life such an immense revenue, they inabled him R. Coke, p. 337.

(1) Burnet says of this parliament, that all arts were used to manage elections, so that the King should have a parliament to his mind. Complaints came up from all parts of England, of the injustice and violence used in elections beyond what had ever been practised in former times. In the new charters that had been granted, the election of the members was taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and restored to the corporation men, all those being left out, who were not acceptable at court. In some boroughs they could not find a number of men to be depended upon: so the neighboring gentlemen were made corporation men: and in some places, persons of other counties, not so much as known in the borough, were named. This was practised in the most avowed manner in Cornwall by the earl of Bath, who put the officers of the guard's name in almost all the charters of that county; so that the King was sure of forty four votes on all occasions. There were not above forty but what were thus chosen. Burnet, p. 625.

(2) Roger Coke, who says that the customs, and other branches of the revenue, amounted to two millions and four hundred thousand pounds, beside the hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Vol. II. p. 337.

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to maintain an army and fleet without the aſſiſtance of parliament, and conſequently to ſubdue thoſe that ſhould dare to oppoſe his will, as he did accordingly.

The Popiſh lords are diſcharged together with the earl of Danby. Echard, Vol. III. p. 747.

The commons having given the King ſo real a demonſtration of their zeal and affection, the lords were willing likewiſe to ſhew how much they were devoted to him in whatever lay in their power. To this purpoſe, the King having ſent a warrant to the attorney-general to enter a Noli Proſequi upon the indictments againſt the Popiſh lords, who had been priſoners in the Tower for the plot, and againſt the earl of Danby, the houſe of peers annulled their order of the nineteenth of March 1678-9, and intirely diſcharged thoſe lords who had been releaſed only upon bail.

Bill in the houſe of lords to reverſe the lord Stafford's attainder. Kennet, p. 441. Echard, Vol. III. p. 748.

Theſe proceedings in favor of the Popiſh lords, made way for a bill to reverſe the attainder of the lord viſcount Stafford in 1680. The ſole reaſon alleged in the bill for this reverſal was in theſe words: "Whereas it is now manifeſt, that the "ſaid William late viſcount Stafford was innocent "of the treaſon laid to his charge, and the teſti-"mony whereupon he was found guilty was falſe. "Be it inacted, &c." Thus, the preparers of the bill founded the lord Stafford's innocence upon Oates's being condemned for perjury, tho' in Oates's trial there was not a word of his teſtimony againſt Stafford. Nevertheleſs, the bill was paſſed by a majority of voices. But ſuch of the lords (1) as oppoſed it, entered their diſſents for the following reaſons:

1. Becauſe the aſſertion in the bill of its "being "now manifeſt, that the late viſcount Stafford "died innocent, and that the teſtimony by which "he was convicted was falſe," which are the ſole grounds and reaſons given to ſupport the bill, are deſtitute of all proof, warrant, or teſtimony, or matter of record before us.

2. That the record of the King's-bench read at the commitee, concerning the conviction, laſt term, of one of the witneſſes for perjury, in collateral points of prooſs, of no affinity to the lord Stafford's trial, and given ſeveral years before, it is conceived, can be no ground to invalidate the teſtimony upon which the ſaid viſcount was convicted, which could never legally be by one witneſs, and was in fact by the judgment of his peers, on the evidence of at leaſt three.

3. It is conceived, the ſaid judgment in the King's-bench was unprecedented, illegal, and highly derogatory to the honor, judicature, and authority of this court, who have power to queſtion and puniſh perjuries of witneſſes before them, and ought not to be impoſed upon by the judgments of inferior courts, or their attainder of a peer invalidated by implication; and the Popiſh plot, ſo condemned, purſued, and puniſhed by his late Majeſty and four parliaments, after public ſolemn devotion thro' the whole kingdom, by authority of church and ſtate, to be eluded to the arraignment and ſcandal of the government; and only for reſtoring the family of one Popiſh lord. And all this being without any matter judicially appearing before us to introduce the ſame; and the records of the trial not ſuffered to be read, for the information of the truth, before the paſſing of the bill.

4. For many other weighty reaſons, offered and given by diverſe peers in the two days debate of this bill, both at the commitee and in the houſe.

Kennet, p. 442.

Theſe reaſons plainly ſhew, in my opinion, that the lords, in paſſing this bill, deſigned rather to oblige the King than do juſtice to the memory of the lord Stafford. But the commons had not the ſame complaiſance, ſince it was droped after the ſecond reading, and never heard of more, they having no intention to ſtrengthen or incourage the Popiſh party (2).

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Act of parliament in Scotland. Kennet, p. 426. Echard, Vol. III. p. 749.

The Scotiſh parliament was ſtill extremely zealous for the King's intereſt. Beſide the acts before mentioned, they paſſed one for granting the King, during life, the yearly ſum of two hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds; and another declaring, That the giving or taking the national covenant, or the ſolemn league and covenant, or owning them as lawful or obligatory, ſhould incur the crime of high treaſon.

Project of the earl of Argyle and the duke of Monmouth. Ibid. Burnet, p. 629.

Since the earl of Argyle's eſcape, after his condemnation in 1681, he had kept himſelf concealed at Amſterdam, very few perſons in Scotland knowing where he was. He waited there for a favorable opportunity either to make his peace with the King, or to raiſe an inſurrection in Scotland, where he thought he had many friends, and which would put him again in poſſeſſion of his eſtate. He believed a fair occaſion offered to put this project in execution after the death of Charles II, knowing that the duke of York, who was to ſucceed, was beloved neither in Scotland nor England. For tho', in both kingdoms, the government, and all the public offices were in the hands of the Tories, the earl of Argyle imagined, that if by his credit he could raiſe an army in Scotland, all the Preſbyterians would liſt under his banner, and then his party would be much ſuperior to the King's.

Ib. p. 624.

While he was full of theſe thoughts, the Prince of Orange foreſeeing, the King his father-in-law would ſpeedily deſire the States to deliver up the duke of Monmouth, adviſed him to retire elſewhere. The duke followed his advice and withdrew to Bruſſels. But fearing he was not ſafe there, and that the court of Spain would think proper to ſacrifice him to King James, he repaired privately to Amſterdam, where he had frequent conferences with Argyle. They had nothing in readineſs to make an attempt, which might have the leaſt appearance of ſucceſs. They were both without money, and not ſure of friends in England or Scotland to ſecond their projects. Mean time, the earl of Argyle, meeting at Amſterdam with a rich widow who lent him ten thouſand pounds, he was ſo incouraged by this unexpected ſupply, that he reſolved to make a deſcent in Scotland, where he hoped, that his name, his credit, and the cauſe he intended to ſupport, would procure him friends enough. But the duke of Monmouth was not in ſo favorable a ſituation. He flattered himſelf, that the enmity of the Whigs againſt the duke of York would revive, when they ſhould ſee one at the head of their party: but he had yet no private correſpondence with ſuch of the nobility and gentry, whoſe credit would be able to ſupport him, and moreover he he wanted money. However, the earl of Argyle perceiving how advantageous it would be to him, that the duke of Monmouth ſhould make an invaſion in England, while he himſelf ſhould do the like in Scotland, ſo managed that at length he perſuaded him to try the ſame fortune, tho' not till after the duke had long reſiſted his ſollicitations. Indeed, as the duke's affairs then ſtood it was a raſh undertaking, eſpecially as it was to be executed when the parliament was ſiting. But ſome of his friends, very unfit to manage ſuch a deſign, and who were tired

Id. p. 629.

Argyle perſuades Monmouth to invadeEngland. Ibid. p. 630.

(1) The earls of Angleſey, Radnor, Stamford, Clare, and the lord Eure. Kennet, p. 441, 442.

(2) Burnet ſays the bill ſtuck with the lords and would not go down, they having no mind to reverſe and condemn paſt proceedings, p, 640,

with

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with living in excile, did all they could to incourage him (1). He therefore promiſed Argyle, that as ſoon as he ſhould hear of his landing in Scotland, he would not fail to make a deſcent in England.

He lands in Scotland. Burnet, p. 631. Gazettes. Echard, Vol. III. p. 749.

On this poſitive promiſe, the earl of Argyle ſailed with three ſmall ſhips laden with arms for five thouſand men, having with him ſome German officers, and ſome ſoldiers liſted in Holland. He arrived the fifth of May before Orkney in the North of Scotland, and ſent his ſecretary on ſhore for intelligence how the country ſtood affected. But the ſecretary being ſeized and brought to Edinburg, the earl found nothing was to be done in thoſe parts. Wherefore he put to ſea again, and landed in the Weſt-Highlands, at a place called Dunſtafnage, a ruinous caſtle formerly his own. Here he left his arms and ammunition, and then publiſhed two declarations mentioned by the King in his ſpeech to both houſes. Whereupon the parliament of Scotland now ſiting, paſſed an act, That all the ſubjects of Scotland ſhould take the oath of allegiance anew, and aſſert the Royal prerogatives whenever they ſhould be required, upon pain of baniſhment or impriſonment.

May 20.

He publiſhes two declarations. Kennet, p. 425, 426. Acts of the Scotiſh parliament. Echard, Vol. III. p. 751.

The King, as we have ſeen, communicated to the parliament of England but one of Argyle's declarations: however preſently after he imparted alſo the other. Whereupon both houſes came to this reſolution, That they would aſſiſt his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes, againſt the earl of Argyle and his adherents, and all other traitors whatſoever. The King very graciouſly thanked them, and in his anſwer to the lords, renewed his former promiſes.

The parliament of England reſolve to ſtand by the King. Kennet, p. 425.

The King confirmes his promiſes. p. 427.

The commitee appointed by the houſe of commons to manage religious affairs, and which, no doubt, conſiſted of the moſt zealous churchmen, conſidered the earl of Argyle's invaſion in Scotland, as an outrage commited by all the Preſbyterians of both kingdoms. Tho' the particulars of this invaſion could not yet be known, except only that the earl of Argyle was landed in Scotland, and had publiſhed two declarations, the commitee took occaſion to draw up two votes, viz. firſt, That it is the opinion of the commitee, that this houſe will ſtand by his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes, in defenſe of the reformed religion of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed. Secondly, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, deſiring him to iſſue out a proclamation, to cauſe the penal laws to be put in execution againſt all Diſſenters whatſoever. This laſt vote was the pure effect of the commitee's prejudice, founded on the King's promiſe, that he would ſupport and preſerve the church of England to the utmoſt of his power. Probably, they imagined, the King, tho' a Papiſt, was ready to proceed with vigor againſt all the enemies of that church. But the previous queſtion being, whether the queſtion ſhould then be put for the houſe to agree with the commitee? it was carried in the negative. It was conſidered, it would not be agreeable to the King to cauſe the penal laws to be executed againſt all Diſſenters, and conſequently againſt thoſe of his own religion. On the other hand, it was not proper to confine the order to the Preſbyterians in particular, without mention of the Papiſts. For theſe reaſons, the houſe, after mature deliberation, came to the following reſolution, nemine contradicente, That this houſe doth acquieſce, and intirely rely, and reſt wholly ſatisfied on his Majeſty's gracious word, and repeated declaration, to ſupport and defend the religion of the church of England, as it is now by law eſtabliſhed, which is dearer to us than our lives.

Project of the commitee of religion againſt the Preſbyterians, is rejected. Echard, Vol. III. p. 751. May 27. Kennet, p. 441.

This vote cleary ſhews, that tho' the commons and Tories in general expreſſed a very great zeal for the King's intereſt, they had no intention to countenance the Romiſh religion, tho' ſome of their enemies have been pleaſed to draw ſuch an inference.

JAMES II. AN' 1685.

Agreeably to this reſolution, when the revenue bill was ready, and the King come to the houſe of peers to give the Royal aſſent, the ſpeaker of the commons made the following ſpeech:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

The ſpeaker's ſpeech to the King. May 30. Kennet, p. 427. Echard, Vol. III. p. 752.

"WE the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of "the houſe of commons aſſembled in par- "liament, do preſent to your Majeſty the revenue "you was pleaſed to demand at the opening of this "parliament, wherein we proceeded with as much "ſpeed, as the forms of paſſing bills of that nature "would admit. We bring not with it any bill for "the preſervation or ſecurity of our religion, which "is dearer to us than our lives. In that we ac- "quieſce intirely, and reſt wholly ſatisfied in your "Majeſty's gracious and ſacred word, repeated de- "clarations, and aſſurance to ſupport and defend "the religion of the church of England, as it is "now by law eſtabliſhed. We preſent this revenue "to your Majeſty, without the condition of any "additional, appropriating, or tacking clauſes what- "ſoever. And we humbly beſeech your Majeſty "to accept of it, and along with it our hearty "prayers, that God Almighty would bleſs you with "a long life, and happy reign to injoy it."

Upon the paſſing this bill, his Majeſty was pleaſed to make this ſpeech to both houſes: Gazette No. 2039.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Thank you very heartily for the bill you have "preſented me this day; and I aſſure you, the "readineſs and chearfulneſs that hath attended the "diſpatch of it, is as acceptable to me as the bill "itſelf. After ſo happy a begining, you may be- "lieve I would not call upon you unneceſſarily for "an extraordinary ſupply: but when I tell you, "that the ſtores of the navy and ordnance are ex- "tremely exhauſted; that the anticipations upon "ſeveral branches of the revenue are great and bur- "denſome; that the debts of the King my brother, "to his ſervants and family, are ſuch as deſerve "compaſſion; that the rebellion in Scotland, with- "out puting more weight upon it than it really "deſerves, muſt oblige me to conſiderable expenſe "extraordinary: I am ſure ſuch conſiderations will "move you to give me an aid to provide for thoſe "things, wherein the ſecurity, the eaſe, and the "happineſs of my government are ſo much con- "cerned. But above all I muſt recommend to "you the care of the navy, the ſtrength and glory "of this nation, that you would put it into ſuch a "condition, as may make us conſidered and re- "ſpected abroad. I cannot expreſs my concern "upon this occaſion more ſuitable to my own "thoughts of it, than by aſſuring you, I have a "true Engliſh heart, as jealous of the honor of the "nation as you can be; and I pleaſe myſelf with "the hopes, that by God's bleſſing, and your aſ- "ſiſtance, I may carry the reputation of it yet "higher in the world than ever it has been in the "time of any of my anceſtors. And as I will not "call upon you for ſupplies, but when they are of "public uſe and advantage, ſo I promiſe you, "that what you give me upon ſuch occaſions,

(1) Particularly Wade, Ferguſon, but chiefly the lord Grey, and the lady Wentworth who followed him to Bruſſels deſperately in love with him. And both he and ſhe came to fancy, that he being married to his ducheſs while he was indeed of the age of conſent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: ſo they lived together. Burnet, p. 630.

ſhall

James II. An' 1685.

" ſhall be managed with good huſbandry; and I " will take care it ſhall be imployed to the uſes " for which I aſk them."

Remarks on this ſpeech.

If ever there was occaſion to repeat his promiſes concerning religion, and the nation's liberties, it was doubtleſs immediately after receiving from the houſe of commons ſo real a proof of their zeal, founded, as the ſpeaker ſaid, upon their confidence in the King's word. But it was by no means proper for the King to renew a promiſe he did not intend to perform. When this promiſe had procured him what he deſired, it was intirely forgot; and if it was ſometimes mentioned among the King's adherents, it was only to palliate the violation of it, as will appear hereafter.

The very moment the King thanked the commons for their noble preſent, they had occaſion to perceive their error, in not appointing the uſes to which ſuch an immenſe revenue ſhould be applied. It plainly appeared by the King's ſpeech, that he did not pretend to imploy this revenue ſolely in the uſual expenſes of the government, ſince, at that very time, he demanded a great and extraordinary aid, for all the other things enumerated by him, and even for the maintenance of the navy, as if his revenue had been too inconſiderable to ſupply his occaſions.

In fine, it muſt appear ſtrange, that James, for having gained one naval victory, ſhould affect to exalt himſelf above all his predeceſſors. This was a vanity which did not ſeem to become him. Beſide, it will hereafter be ſeen, that nothing was farther from his thoughts than the deſign of promoting the honor and reputation of the Engliſh nation. Nevertheleſs, the commons, highly pleaſed with the King's ſpeech, granted him an additional duty of exciſe upon wines and vinegar, with a further impoſition upon ſugar and tobacco.

Statute-b. 1 James II.

The earl of Argyle's proceedings. Burnet, p. 631, &c. Kennet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 753.

While theſe things paſſed in England, the earl of Argyle was indeavoring to ſtrengthen himſelf in Scotland, diſperſing declarations, and ſending letters upon letters to his relations and friends. But tho' he was in his own county of Argyle, and the inhabitants had been formerly his vaſſals, all he could do was to aſſemble two or three thouſand men. With this little army he croſſed over, and landed in the iſle of Bute. But within few days, having notice that a great number of forces, under the command of * the duke of Gordon, the marquiſs of Athol, the earl of Arran, and others, were advancing towards him from ſeveral parts, in order to ſurround him, he was forced to ſhift from iſland to iſland, to avoid them. This he could do without much difficulty, by means of his three ſhips, and ſeveral ſmall boats, till he heard that three men of war, and ſome frigates, would ſoon come and attack him. Then, he marched into Argyleſhire towards Inverary, ordering his veſſels and boats to come and join him. But they were hindered by contrary winds from doing it ſoon enough. So, finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, and conſidering that few came to join him, and that his troops began to deſert, he gave out that he intended to attack the marquiſs of Athol, who was at Inverary. But at the ſame time, he ordered the old caſtle of Ellengreg to be fortified in the beſt manner poſſible, and leaving his cannon there, with a gariſon of one hundred and eighty men, marched into Dumbartonſhire. The ſame day, the King's ſhips came up to the caſtle, with intent to batter it, but the caſtle ſurrendered upon firing of the firſt gun. By which the earl loſt five thouſand arms, five hundred barrels of powder, and all his cannon, beſide his three ſhips which were alſo then taken. This loſs ſo diſcouraged Argyle, as well as his officers, that from that moment they thought only of means to eſcape. But as, after the loſs of their ſhips, there was no way to fly out of Scotland, they retired from place to place with all poſſible ſpeed, even to the ſwimming of rivers. But they were ſo cloſely purſued, that they were obliged at length to diſperſe into ſmall parties (1), in order to ſave ſome, in caſe the reſt ſhould have the misfortune to be overtaken. At length, not to be tedious, I ſhall ſay in few words, the earl of Argyle having received a wound in his head, was obliged to quit his horſe, and run into the water up to his neck to ſave himſelf. In this poſture he was taken by a countryman, who threatened to knock him down if he would not ſubmit (2). This happened on the ſeventeenth of June, twenty-eight days after his firſt landing in Scotland. He was not ſuffered to languiſh long: for, being brought to Edinburg with great ignominy, his head was cut off in a few days, and placed on the Toll-Booth of the city (3). Rumbold, one of his friends and confidents, was likewiſe taken and executed with ſeveral others (4). Thus the King, without having contributed ſcarce any thing to it, ſaw himſelf delivered from the danger which threatened him from Scotland.

James II. An' 1685.

He ſuſtains a great loſs.

He is taken. June 17.

and beheaded. June 30. Burnet, p. 632.

* The earl of Dumbarton.

The duke of Monmouth ſails from Holland. Echard, Vol. III. p. 757. Kennet, p. 428. Burnet, p. 630, 640.

The duke of Monmouth, purſuant to his promiſe to Argyle, ſailed out of the Texel the twenty-fourth of May, with a ſmall man of war of thirty-two guns, and two other veſſels, He met with ſuch contrary winds, that he was nineteen days at ſea, tho' without being diſcovered by the King's ſhips which waited in the channel to intercept him, the King having had ſo early notice of his deſign, that Skelton, his Majeſty's envoy at the Hague, had obtained an order from the States to arreſt him: for which reaſon, the duke departed ſooner than he intended. At length, he landed the eleventh of June, with about eighty followers, in the Weſt of England, near Lyme, and the ſame day repaired to the town, where he was received without oppſition.

Lands at Lyme.

(1) It was then generally believed, that they were betrayed by ſir John Cockram, one of thoſe who came over with Argyle. For he undertaking to provide guides to conduct them ſafely into Galloway, and either miſtaking the way, or deſignedly miſleading them, he carried them into a bog, where they loſt their horſes and baggage. Kennet, p. 426.

(2) The earl preſented a piſtol to the countryman, but it miſſed fire. Whereupon the other gave him a blow on the head, which ſo ſtunned him that he fell, and in ſinking cried out, Unfortunate Argyle! Kennet, p. 427.

(3) Purſuant to the ſentenſe paſſed three years before, which made his death to be looked on as no better than murder. He juſtified all he had done; for he ſaid, he was unjuſtly attainted: and that had diſſolved his allegiance. He complained of the duke of Monmouth much, for delaying his coming ſo long after him, and for aſſuming the name of King, both which he ſaid was contrary to their agreement at parting. Burnet, p. 632.

(4) Ailoffe and Rumbold were taken, who, tho' Engliſhmen, had choſe rather to follow Argyle than Monmouth. Rumbold was the perſon that dwelt in Rye-Houſe, where it was pretended the plot was laid for murdering the late and preſent King. He denied the truth of that conſpiracy. He owned that he had heard many propoſitions at Weſt's chambers about killing the two brothers, and upon that he had ſaid, it could have been eaſily executed near his houſe; upon which ſome diſcourſe had followed how it might have been managed. But he ſaid, it was only talk, and that nothing was laid or ſo much as reſolved on. He ſaid he was for Kingly government, but did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with ſaddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and ſome few booted and ſpurred to ride the reſt. When Ailoffe was brought to London and examined by the King, he refuſed to diſcover any thing. Whereupon the King ſaid, mr. Ailoffe, you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore ſay that which may deſerve it. He anſwered, as it is ſaid, " Tho' it is in your power, it is not in your nature to pardon." He was nephew by marriage to the old earl of Clarendon. But that could not ſave him. Burnet, p. 633.

Here

JAMES II. AN' 1685.

Here he publiſhed a declaration againſt the King. As this declaration is well known, I ſhall only mention the moſt material things in it (1).

His declaration. Life of King James II. p. 102. Kennet, p. 428. Echard, Vol. III. p. 758.

In the preface he ſaid, "That government was "originally inſtituted by God, and this or that "form of it choſen and ſubmited to by men, for "the happineſs and ſecurity of the governed, and "not for the private intereſt, and perſonal great-"neſs of thoſe that rule. That the government of "England was, above all others, happy in its "primitive form, whereby the prerogatives of the "crown, and the privileges of the ſubjects were ſo "far from joſtling one another, that the peoples "rights tended to render the King great, and the "Prince's prerogatives were in order to the ſub-"jects protection and ſafety. But that all the "boundaries of the government had of late been "broken, and nothing left unattempted, for turn-"ing the limited Monarchy into an abſolute ty-"ranny"

Then the duke proceeded to impute to the King all the miſchiefs in the reign of Charles II, as, "the burning of London; the alliance with "France; the two wars with Holland; the Po-"piſh plot; Godfrey's murder; the Proteſtant "plot; the ſuborning witneſſes to ſwear the moſt "zealous patriots out of their lives; the hiring of "villains to aſſaſſinate the earl of Eſſex, and cau-"ſing others to be clandeſtinely cut off; the fre-"quent prorogations and diſſolutions of the par-"liaments."

Next he proceeded to what the duke of York had done ſince he aſſumed the title of King, as, "the "avowing himſelf of the Romiſh religion; his "publiſhing two proclamations, one whereof "required the collecting of the cuſtoms, and the "other continued that part of the exciſe which "was to expire at the King's death; his advancing "thoſe to the bench that were the ſcandal of the "bar, and conſtituting thoſe very men to declare "the laws who were branded in parliament for per-"verting them; his cauſing juries to be packed, "falſe returns to be made, and new illegal charters "to be granted, in order to have a parliament that "ſhould, inſtead of preſerving the peoples liber-"ties, eſtabliſh his arbitrarineſs, and confirm the "ſubjects thraldom." He declared moreover, "That he did not take up arms to revenge any "perſonal injuries, but ſolely for vindicating his "country's religion and laws." He did not fail however to affirm, "That his mother was lawful "wife of Charles II." In concluſion, he accuſed the King of poiſoning the late King his brother. The reſt of the declaration contained the uſual proteſtations and invitations in papers of this nature.

Tho' the facts contained in this declaration cannot be looked on as proofs that the King was guilty of what the duke of Monmouth laid to his charge, they may ſerve however to ſhew, that the King from that time was accuſed of them, at leaſt by ſome men, and that theſe accuſations were not invented after his being deprived.

Act of attainder againſt Monmouth. June 13. Gazette, No. 2042. Kennet. Echard. Burnet.

The King having communicated to both houſes the duke of Monmouth's landing at Lyme, they preſented an addreſs to him, aſſuring him of their zeal and aſſiſtance, and immediately after the commons proceeded to a bill of attainder againſt the duke of Monmouth (2). They alſo deſired his Majeſty at the ſame time to iſſue a proclamation, promiſing a reward of five thouſand pounds to any who ſhould bring in the duke dead or alive. The bill of attainder was diſpatched by the commons in two days, and in one by the lords.

JAMES II. AN' 1685.

The ſixteenth of June the King came to the houſe of peers, and gave the Royal aſſent both to this bill and the money bills before mentioned. Two days after he ſent a meſſage to the commons, to acquaint them, that he judged it neceſſary for the members to be preſent in their reſpective counties, and therefore deſigned there ſhould be an adjournment in a few days; deſiring there might be a good fund for a preſent ſum of money, to anſwer the immediate charge his Majeſty muſt be at, on account of the duke of Monmouth's rebellion in the Weſt. Upon this meſſage the commons voted a ſupply of four hundred thouſand pounds for the King's preſent extraordinary occaſions.

Acts paſſed Gazette, No. 2043. Kennet, p. 430.

The King demands money.

The two houſes were ſo expeditious to anſwer the King's deſires, that on the twenty-ſeventh of June there were twelve bills ready, moſt of them for the King's benefit; and on the ſecond of July, four more (3), beſide private bills. That day the parliament was adjourned to the fourth of Auguſt; but the lord keeper gave notice, that the King did not intend there ſhould be then a ſeſſion, but that the members about London ſhould meet and adjourn themſelves as there ſhould be occaſion, till winter, or till the King ſhould appoint the time by proclamation. Thus ended the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, having done in ſix weeks what no other ever did in many months.

Acts paſſed. Kennet, p. 430. Echard, Vol. III. p. 761.

The duke of Monmouth's followers, who were not above eighty-two when he landed at Lyme, increaſed to two thouſand in three or four days. This made him hope they would continually increaſe as he advanced into the country. Wherefore, he departed from Lyme the fifteenth of June, and the ſame day came to Axminſter. He thereby prevented Chriſtopher Monk duke of Albemarle, who with four thouſand of the militia, intended to go thither in order to beſiege him in Lyme. The duke of Monmouth being come to Axminſter, diſpoſed his troops in ſuch manner, that Albemarle, inſtead of attacking him, thought proper to retreat, perceiving his militia men had no inclination to do their duty. Albemarle's retreat inabled the duke of Monmouth to march to Taunton, where he arrived the eighteenth, and was received with loud acclamations. His army being conſiderably increaſed during a five or ſix days ſtay at Taunton, he imagined his affairs were in a proſperous way, and that all the country would join him. In this expectation he called a council, where it was reſolved he ſhould aſſume the title of King. He had already inſinuated in his declaration, that he was lawful ſon of Charles II, and thereby ſhown, that he pretended to the crown. But, in all appearance, he would not have taken the title ſo ſoon, had not thoſe about him (4) repreſented to him, that appearing in arms againſt a King actually on the throne, he muſt be accounted a rebel as long as that King's right was acknowleged: that therefore, neither the nobility nor people could have any pretenſe to join him; whereas by taking upon him the Royal ſtile, he would have the ſame advantage as James with regard to right. Probably, there was no occaſion to uſe many other arguments to prevail with him. What he had intimated in his declara-

The duke of Monmouth advances. Kennet, p. 431. Burnet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 763.

He comes to Taunton. Echard. Ibid.

(1) It was intitled, "The declaration of James duke of Monmouth, and the noblemen, gentlemen and others, now in "arms for the defenſe and vindication of the Proteſtant religion, and the laws, rights, and privileges of England." It was long (ſays Burnet) and ill penned: full of black and dull malice; it was plainly Ferguſon's ſtile, which was both long and fulſome, p. 641.

(2) The commons, in their addreſs, called the duke of Monmouth. ——— "That ingrateful rebel."

(3) One was, for erecting a new church, to be called the pariſh of St. James, within the liberty of Weſtminſter.

(4) Particularly Ferguſon. See Kennet, p. 431. Note (c).

James II. An' 1685.

He takes the title of King.

tion, plainly ſhows, that this was the end he propoſed to himſelf. The only thing therefore was to conſult about the moſt proper time for it. In ſhort, agreeably to the advice of thoſe he conſulted, he was proclaimed King at Taunton the twentieth of June by the name of James II.

He publiſhes three proclamations. Kennet, p. 431. Echard, Vol. III. p. 765.

He began his pretended reign with three proclamations. By the firſt, he promiſed the ſum of five thouſand pounds to any that ſhould bring the duke of York dead or alive. By the ſecond, he declared the parliament now ſiting a ſeditious aſſembly, and gave power to any that would to lay hold of the members as rebels and traitors, if they did not ſeparate before the end of June. The third was to declare the duke of Albemarle a traitor, who lay within ſix miles of Taunton with his militia men to attack him, if he found opportunity.

He marches to Bridewater,

The twenty-firſt of June the duke marched for Bridgewater. He was received there as at Taunton, eſpecially as his army was increaſed to five thouſand men, and might have been more numerous, had he been able to arm thoſe that offered their ſervice. Beſide arms, he wanted alſo good officers, ſcarce any but the meaneſt of the people having joined him. After cauſing himſelf to be proclaimed in Bridgewater, and his three proclamations to be read, he marched for Briſtol, where the inhabitants were inclined to receive him, had they not been awed by the duke of Beaufort their governor. He advanced however within three miles of the city, at the inſtance of ſome Briſtol men, who aſſured him, he would be received in ſpite of the governor and the gariſon. But in the mean time, he had notice that the King's forces were advancing, which made him alter his reſolution of attempting Briſtol to that of retreating to Bridgewater. He marched therefore towards Bath, and after vainly ſummoning that city to ſurrender, he beat up one of the King's quarters, * where lay a troop of horſe, which were intirely defeated (1). From thence he advanced to Frome, where he met with a chearful reception. But unhappily for him, the King's party had found means a few days before to diſarm all the inhabitants, ſo that he was diſappointed, his chief aim being to ſeize thoſe arms for ſuch of his men as wanted. At Frome he heard of the earl of Argyle's defeat, which threw him into a great conſternation. However, he reſolved to purſue his march, and return to Bridgewater.

and is proclaimed there. He marches towards Briſtol.

Hears of the advance of the King's army, and retreats to Bridgewater.

* At Philips Norton.

He receives the news of Argyle's defeat.

The King makes ready.

During theſe tranſactions in the Weſt, the King was preparing at London, with all poſſible diligence, for his defenſe againſt an enemy who could not but make him extremely uneaſy: but he had not many regular troops, and thoſe were diſperſed in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. This obliged him to raiſe the militia, particularly in the Weſtern counties, till the arrival of the ſix Engliſh and Scots regiments which were to come from Holland. On this occaſion, the Prince of Orange his ſon-in-law, ſent monſieur Bentinck, with an offer of his perſon to head his army; but the King did not think proper to accept it. Mean time, as he had no great confidence in the militia, he ſent down his guards, and all the regular troops he could aſſemble, and formed a little army of two thouſand foot, and ſeven hundred horſe and dragoons. He gave the command to Lewis Duras, earl of Feverſham, brother of the marſhals Duras and de Lorge, and nephew to the late mr. de Turenne. With theſe few forces, the earl of Feverſham incamped at a place called Sedgemore near Bridgewater, while ſeveral parties of the militia of the neighboring counties lay about him, under the command of the dukes of Beaufort, Somerſet, Albemarle, and the earl of Pembroke.

The Prince of Orange offers to head the army; but is refuſed. Kennet, p. 431.

Feverſham made general. Burnet, p. 643.

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The duke of Monmouth, who was come to Bridgewater, looking upon himſelf as beſieged, and conſidering that the King's forces daily increaſed, while his own began to deſert, held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved to march in the night, and ſurprize the earl of Feverſham, who was incamped that day at Sedgemore, and according to the report of the ſpies, little expected to be attacked. Agreeably to this reſolution the duke began his march about eleven at night with profound ſilence, and within two hours fell in with Dunbarton's regiment, which, lying in an advanced poſt, gave the alarm to the Royal army, and by that they had time to draw up and receive their enemies. The particulars of the battle, which was fought about an hour after, are not well known. Thus much is certain, the duke of Monmouth's horſe commanded by the lord Grey behaved very ill (2), tho' ſuperior to the King's in number, and were routed at the firſt charge. The duke of Monmouth, in the head of the foot, long fought with great bravery. But being deſerted by his own, and attacked by the King's horſe, his army was at laſt forced to take to flight. The loſs of this battle was aſcribed to the little experience or cowardice of the lord Grey, who commanded the horſe, and was even ſuſpected of treachery. What confirmed this ſuſpicion was, that being made priſoner he eaſily obtained the King's pardon. It is ſaid moreover, that when he had ſo ill performed his duty, inſtead of indeavoring to rally the horſe, he rode up to the duke of Monmouth and told him, "all "was loſt, and it was more than time to ſhift for "himſelf (3)."

The duke of Monmouth attacks the King's army. July 6. Kennet. p. 431.

He is defeated. Kennet, p. 431, 432. Burnet, p. 644, 646.

This battle was fought at break of day on the ſixth of July. There were ſlain on the duke of Monmouth's ſide three hundred men on the ſpot, a thouſand in the purſuit, and as many taken priſoners. The duke retiring out of the fight, could ſcarcely rally fifty horſe to ſecure his retreat. But theſe being quickly diſperſed, he was obliged to fly on foot, accompanied only with a German count, whom he had brought with him from Holland. The lord Grey was taken on the morrow, and, the day after, the duke of Monmouth was found in a ditch covered with fern, with ſome green peaſe in his pocket. Probably he had eaten nothing elſe for two days. He was brought to the lord Lumley, who immediately conveyed him to London.

He is taken and ſent up to London. July 8.

The duke was no ſooner taken, but he believed himſelf loſt, and yet he retained ſome hopes that the King would be moved by his ſubmiſſion and repentance, and the Queen Dowager would intercede for him. In this belief, he wrote to the King for pardon, in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms he could deviſe, and which he thought moſt apt to move his compaſſion. He wrote alſo to the Queen Dowager, who really interceded for him, and prevailed with the King to ſee the unfortunate duke. She made no doubt, that ſince the King had conſented to ſee him, he intended to pardon him; but ſhe was miſtaken. The duke being brought to the King's preſenſe, threw himſelf at his feet, and begged his life in a very ſubmiſſive or rather abject manner.

He writes to the King, Echard, Vol. III. p. 771. Burnet, p. 644.

who conſents to ſee him.

The duke begs his pardon. Kennet, p. 433.

(1) Henry-Fitz Roy, duke of Graſton, narrowly eſcaped with his life. Kennet, p. 431.

(2) They were mounted on ordinary marſh mares and colts, that would not ſtand the noiſe of drums and guns. Kennet, p. 431.

(3) But, after all, it ſeems there was no ground for ſuſpecting him of treachery. And as for his being pardoned, it was done, that the earl of Rocheſter might injoy his eſtate, which could not be without ſparing that lord's life, ſince his eſtate was intailed. See Kennet, p. 432. Note. Burnet, p. 646.

The

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The King denies it.

The King, after aſking him ſome queſtions, made him ſign a declaration, whereby he owned, that the King his father aſſured him, he was never married to his mother. This done, the King told him, his crime was of too great a conſequence to be forgiven, and therefore he muſt prepare to die. The Queen, who was preſent, is ſaid to have inſulted his misfortune in an unmerciful manner. The duke ſeeing no hopes left, roſe from the King's feet with an air of bravery, which would have better become him when he firſt came into his preſenſe, and was carried to the Tower to prepare for death. The King's and Queen's behavior on this occaſion was thought very ſtrange; Princes not being uſed to admit criminals to their preſenſe, but when they deſign to grant them a pardon. I do not find in any hiſtorian, that the duke was proceeded againſt in the uſual forms; ſo probably, he was condemned by the King alone.

Welwood, p. 147.

Till his execution, the King ordered Turner biſhop of Ely to attend him, and prepare him for death. The duke wrote once more to the King for pardon, or at leaſt for a longer time, and deſired him to ſend him dr. Tenniſon (1) or any other divine. The King denied the two firſt articles of his requeſt, and appointed Ken biſhop of Bath and Wells, to go and acquaint him, that he muſt die the next morning.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 772. Burnet, p. 645.

He is prepared for death.

In the morning, July the fifteenth, dr. Tenniſon and dr. Hooper were brought to him, and attended him till the laſt hour of his life. By their exhortations they perſuaded him to give it in writing, that the King his father told him, he was never married to his mother. He confeſſed alſo that his invaſion was a ſin, but would never own it a rebellion. There was another point about which the two divines could not receive from him any ſatisfaction, viz. his living with the lady Herriot Wentworth, tho' he had a ducheſs of his own, and his pretending to be lawfully married to her before God, alleging, that his firſt marriage was null, as being too young when he gave his conſent. All the pains taken by the two divines to convince him of the falſhood of this opinion were fruitleſs; nay, he choſe rather to deprive himſelf of the communion, than own his ingagements with that lady to be unlawful.

He is executed.

When he was on the ſcaffold, he declared, he died a Proteſtant of the church of England. But Turner and Ken ſtoped him, and ſaid, that to be a member of the church of England he muſt believe the doctrine of Non-reſiſtance. He anſwered, he could not help it, but he could not believe it; yet he approved the doctrine of the church in all other things. At laſt, he laid his head on the block, which was not ſevered from his body till the fifth ſtroke. Thus died the duke of Monmouth, who had long been the peoples idol, and whom James always conſidered as a very formidable rival. Charles II died very ſeaſonably to free the duke his brother from the uneaſineſs created him by this competitor. But tho' James had mounted the throne, the duke of Monmouth indangered his crown. Neither the victory at Sedgemore, nor Argyle's defeat in Scotland could be aſcribed to the valor or conduct of the King, but to meer chance, or rather to the direction of providence, which, for the welfare of England, was pleaſed to uſe properer means to be more plainly diſtinguiſhed.

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The King takes a cruel revenge on his enemies. Jefferies and Kirk ſent into the Weſt. Bloody Aſſizes. Kennet. Echard.

The King being thus eaſed of his greateſt fears, gave himſelf over intirely to the paſſion of revenge on thoſe who directly or indirectly had aſſiſted the duke of Monmouth. To this intent, the lord chief juſtice Jefferies was ſent, with four judges aſſiſtants, into the Weſt, with a ſpecial commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, to try the late rebels; and major general Kirk was ordered to attend him with a body of troops to keep the people in awe. It was not poſſible for the King to find in the whole kingdom, two men more deſtitute of religion, honor, and humanity. They were two cruel and mercileſs tygers, that delighted in blood. I ſhall relate here but ſome few of their barbarous actions: for a particular account of all their proceedings would be too great a digreſſion.

Barbarous proceeding of Jefferies. Bloody Aſſizes. Burnet, p. 648, 650. State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 105. Sep. 2.

At Wincheſter, the widow of lord Liſle (2), one of King Charles I's judges, was brought before him to be tried. Her crime was the harboring and concealing mr. Hickes a Preſbyterian miniſter (3) of the duke of Monmouth's party, tho' his name was in no proclamation, and one Nelthorp who was a ſtranger to her. The Jury not ſatisfied with the evidence, brought her in not guilty. But Jefferies in great fury ſent them out again. They found her not guilty three times: but Jefferies threatening them with an attaint of jury, ſhe was brought in guilty, and executed accordingly, being above ſeventy years old (4).

Kennet. p. 433. R. Coke.

At Dorcheſter, Jefferies, to ſhorten his work, told thirty priſoners, that if they expected any favor they ſhould plead guilty. But as they did not care to take that method, he condemned twenty-nine, who were immediately executed.

In another place, two hundred perſons being indicted, Jefferies poſitively promiſed a pardon to ſuch as ſhould plead guilty, and of the two hundred, he ordered fourſcore to be hanged.

In fine, not to inlarge on ſuch a ſcene of horror, it ſuffices to ſay, that Jefferies condemned five hundred perſons, whereof two hundred and thirty were executed, according to the loweſt computation (5), and their quarters ſet up in the highways. Jefferies himſelf gloried in this barbarity, and boaſted, that he had hanged more men than all the judges of England ſince William the Conqueror. And yet he would have carried his cruelty farther, had not many purchaſed his favor with their eſtates. One mr. Prideaux (6) alone gave him fourteen thouſand pounds to ſave his life. As for thoſe that had not money enough to buy pardons at his price, they were either hanged, or cruelly whiped, or ſold for ſlaves into the American plantations.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 775.

And of Kirk. Ibid. Kennet, p. 434. Burnet, p. 647.

Kirk was not behind Jefferies either in cruelty or inſolence. Immediately after the duke of Monmouth's defeat, being ſent to Taunton, he cauſed nineteen perſons, by his own authority, without any trial or proceſs, and without ſuffering their wives or children to ſpeak with them, to be hanged with pipes playing, drums beating, and trumpets ſounding. It was this doubtleſs, that made him worthy to be an aſſiſtant to Jefferies.

In the ſame town of Taunton, Kirk having invited his officers to dinner, ordered thirty condemned perſons to be hanged while they were at table, viz. ten in a health to the King, ten in a health to the Queen, and ten in a health to Jefferies. But one action he commited in another town is beyond all imagination. A young girl throwing herſelf at his

(1) Afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury.
(2) He was one of Cromwell's lords, and commiſſioner of the great-ſeal.
(3) Brother of the late dr. Hickes, dean of Worceſter.
(4) All the favor the King would grant her, was to change her ſentenſe from burning to beheading. State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 129.
(5) Burnet ſays above ſix hundred were hanged, p. 648.
(6) Of Ford Abby in Somerſetſhire.

feet

feet to beg her father's (1) life, he drew her in to proſtitute herſelf to him, with the promiſe of granting her requeſt. But having ſatisfied his brutal luſt, he was ſo inhuman, as out of the window, to preſent the credulous girl with the ſight of her father hanging on the ſign poſt. This ſad ſpectacle ſo affected the poor girl, that ſhe fell diſtracted.

Father Orleans refuted.

Father Orleans, who wrote from the mouth of James II, not being able to deny theſe barbarous executions, indeavors to excuſe them two ways. He ſays firſt, that the King was informed of them too late to prevent them, and that the great ſervices performed by Jefferies and Kirk, prevailed with him to ſpare them (2). He ſays, in the next place, that the King made amends for theſe injuſtices, as far as lay in his power, by the general pardon he afterwards granted. But it is eaſy to perceive, how vain theſe excuſes are, if it is conſidered, that when Kirk was charged with theſe cruelties, he anſwered, that Jefferies and himſelf acted far ſhort of the King's inſtructions. Again the King was ſo little diſpleaſed with Jefferies's conduct, that at his deſire he made him lord chancellor (3), the lord keeper North dying while the chief juſtice was exerciſing his cruelties in the Weſt. As for the general pardon, it was not publiſhed till ſeveral months after all theſe executions, when there were no more guilty to be found. The court muſt have believed, that very few could have the benefit of the pardon, ſince a company of young girls, from ten to twelve years old, were inſerted by name, who, with chaplets of flowers on their head, had preſented a bible to the duke of Monmouth, at his entry into Taunton.

Kennet, p. 434. Echard, Vol. III. p. 775. R. Coke.

Several executions in London.

It was not only in the Weſtern counties that the King gave ſenſible proofs of his revengeful temper. The city of London was witneſs alſo of ſeveral executions in October, among others, of Elizabeth Gaunt, who was publicly burnt for harboring one of the duke of Monmouth's adherents (4). Six men were hanged at Tyburn as traitors, for crimes of the like nature, and what is more ſuprifing without any previous trial.

Of Elizabeth Gaunt. State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 130, &c.

Of alderman Corniſh. Ibid. Kennet, p. 438. Burnet, p. 651. Echard, Vol. III. p. 776.

But the execution that made moſt noiſe, was that of alderman Corniſh. This man, who was ſherif of London, at the time of the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot, had been very active on that occaſion, which was grown an unpardonable crime in the preſent reign. Corniſh, whoſe name had hardly been mentioned in the Rye-houſe-plot, not ſuſpecting any thing, and following his profeſſion, was ſeized on Tueſday the thirteenth of October, and hurried to Newgate without being allowed the uſe of pen, ink, and paper. The next Saturday evening, he had notice that he was indicted of high-treaſon, and that his trial was to be on Monday morning. On the morrow, he ſent to the King a petition for a longer time, alleging that he did not even know wherein conſiſted the treaſon he was accuſed of. The King refered his petition to the judges, who abſolutely denied his requeſt. He was charged with conſpiring againſt King Charles II, with the lord Ruſſel, and the reſt who had been executed for that affair, and condemned upon the evidence of the ſame witneſſes, tho' he ſhewed, in their depoſitions, manifeſt contradictions, and viſible improbabilities. But it was reſolved to revenge the death of thoſe who ſuffered for the Popiſh plot, upon ſuch as had been moſt active againſt the Papiſts. Corniſh was executed as a traitor, the twenty-third of October. But the parliament, in the year 1688, reverſed the ſentenſe, as well as thoſe of ſome others, who had unjuſtly ſuffered in the beginning of this reign.

Of ober 19.

State Trials, Vol. VI. p. 160.

Of Bateman the ſurgeon. Dec. 18. Id. p. 162. Echard, Vol. III. p. 780.

The laſt that died for the Proteſtant plot, was Charles Bateman, a noted ſurgeon, who was accuſed of holding ſeveral ſeditious diſcourſes at that time againſt the government. But many people believed, his chief crime conſiſted in his compaſſion to Titus Oates, having conſtantly attended him after his cruel ſcourgings, and uſed all his ſkill to cure his wounds. This man, who did not expect to be accuſed, grew diſtracted during his impriſonment, and the court was ſo well ſatisfied of it, that his ſon was permited to make his defenſe for him. But his condition did not prevent his being condemned and executed.

The King's flouriſhing condition.

The King was then in a flouriſhing ſtate. His two greateſt enemies were deſtroyed, and by his revenge upon thoſe that had offended him, as well in his own, as in his brother's reign, he had ſtruck ſuch a terror into the whole kingdom, that no man dared ſo much as to think of reſiſting. The Whigs were intirely humbled, the Tories were triumphant, and the doctrine of Paſſive-obedience and Non-reſiſtance was openly preached, as an eſſential article of the faith of the church of England. The King had a parliament, which ſought only to give him marks of their zeal, and ever ready to ſupply him with money for all extraordinary occaſions, without his being obliged to expend his revenue. His army greatly contributed to make him feared, and keep the people in awe. Scotland was intirely ſubdued, and the managers of the affairs of that kingdom ſeemed only to mind the inlarging of the prerogative Royal. As for Ireland, it will preſently be ſeen, that he had loſt no time in puting that kingdom into the ſtate he defired. In fine, the Princes of Europe conſidering him as a Monarch able to incline the balance to which ſide he pleaſed, made, as I may ſay, their court to him, either to gain him, or at leaſt to hinder him from being their enemy.

He forms new projects.

What therefore did James II want to render his happineſs complete? One thing, which affected him more than all the reſt, but which he could not hope to obtain, without hazarding all his other advantages. This was, to make all his ſubjects Papiſts, or at leaſt, oblige them to pretend to be ſo: but this was not a thing eaſy to be accompliſhed, by reaſon of the great ſuperiority of the Proteſtants in England and Scotland. Nevertheleſs, he attempted it, imagining, that the opportunity was too favorable to be neglected. But as at firſt he uſed very groſs artifices, obvious to all the world, he was obliged to ſupport them with force, and to that end, he was to ſet himſelf above the laws. Theſe two projects, of eſtabliſhing an arbitrary government, and deſtroying the Proteſtant religion, were not of a late date. Every one knew they had long been in hand. But the Engliſh did not expect, the King would violate his repeated promiſes to ſupport and defend the religion eſtabliſhed by law:

Kennet, p. 434.

(1) Some ſay it was her brother's. See Kennet, p. 434, and Echard, Vol. III. p. 775.

(2) Burnet aſſures us, that the King had a particular account of all Jefferies's proceedings writ to him every day. And he took pleaſure to relate them in the drawing room to foreign miniſters, and at his table, calling it Jefferies's Campain. Dykvelt the Sates embaſſador told Burnet, that the King talked ſo often of theſe things in his hearing, that he wondered to ſee him break out into thoſe indecencies, p. 648.

(3) And created him baron of Wem in Shropſhire,

(4) The villain, upon hearing that the King would ſooner pardon the rebels than thoſe that harbored them, by an unheard of baſeneſs, went and delivered himſelf, and accuſed her that harbored him, while ſhe was looking for an opportunity of ſending him out of the kingdom. Upon the evidence of this infamous witneſs, the judge charged the jury to find her guilty. Burnet, p. 649.

nay,

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nay, ſome were ſo ſtrangely blind, as to think it impoſſible for the King to break his word. But they were afterwards too ſenſible of their error. All the reſt of this reign conſiſts only in the means uſed by the King to execute this deſign, and in the meaſures taken by the Engliſh at laſt to ſtop his career. I muſt begin with the firſt of theſe points, before I proceed to the ſecond.

Reaſons which ſhould have withheld the King from following them.

Many things ſhould have diverted the King from forming ſuch projects. Firſt, the difficulty of the execution, which might have been eaſily foreſeen. For if it be conſidered, that the Papiſts of England are not the thouſandth part of the nation, it muſt be thought ſtrange, that with this thouſandth part it is attempted to compel the reſt to change their religion. I ſay compel, for what likelihood is there that without compulſion, a whole nation ſhould be perſuaded to quit their religion and imbrace another, for which they have the utmoſt abhorence? It will, perhaps, be ſaid, that James had almoſt accompliſhed it, and that without a foreign aid, the Engliſh would have been forced to ſubmit to the yoke. But the inconſiderableneſs of this aid demonſtrates, he was yet very far from his ends.

Secondly, as to the abſolute power, which muſt have been eſtabliſhed, in order to introduce a religion contrary to that of the whole kingdom, he was much miſtaken in ſuppoſing, that France would lend him a powerful aid for that purpoſe. For it was not the intereſt of Lewis XIV, to render the King of England abſolute, but only to raiſe commotions in that kingdom, which, by keeping England imployed, ſhould facilitate the execution of his ambitious projects.

Welwood. p. 133, &c.

Thirdly, if the examples of Edward II, and Richard II, as too remote from his time, made no impreſſion on him, he ſhould have conſidered that of the King his father, who, for indeavoring to ſtretch the prerogative Royal, and for being only ſuſpected of intending to introduce Popery, loſt his head on the ſcaffold. It has been ſeen, that Charles I, in the time of his afflictions, wrote to the Prince his eldeſt ſon to take warning by him, not to aſſume more power than belonged to him. Moreover, when he was brought on the ſcaffold, he took off his George, and gave it to dr. Juxon ſaying, Remember. The council of State being willing to know the meaning of that expreſſion, Juxon anſwered, "That the King immediately before "his coming out to the place of execution, had "charged him to carry to the Prince his George, "with theſe his two laſt commands, That he "ſhould forgive his murderers; and, if ever he "came to the crown, he ſhould ſo govern, as not "to force them upon extremities." The Queen-Dowager, as ſhe was going into Somerſet-houſe, after the reſtoration of Charles II ſaid, "Had I "known the Engliſh ſome years ſince, as well as "I do now, I ſhould never have been forced to "leave this palace." In fine, Charles II, when at the point of death, told the duke his brother, "not to think of introducing the Roman Catholic "religion into England, it being a dangerous and "impracticable thing." Theſe warnings, which could not be ſuſpected by the King, ought to have made him ſeriouſly conſider what he was about to do.

Puffendorf's Life of the Elect. of Brandenb.

Fourthly, Don Pedro Ronquillo, the Spaniſh embaſſador, at his firſt audience after the King's acceſſion to the crown, told him, "That he ſaw "ſeveral Prieſts about him, who would importune "him to alter the eſtabliſhed religion; but wiſhed "his Majeſty not to hearken to their advice, for "if he did, he would have reaſon to repent of it "when it was too late." The King taking ill the embaſſador's freedom, aſked him, in a paſſion, "Whether, in Spain, the King adviſed with his "confeſſors? Yes, Sir (replied Don Pedro) and "that is the reaſon our affairs go ſo ill."

Ibid.

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Fifthly, Pope Innocent XI, in a letter to the King on his coming to the crown, told him, "That he was highly pleaſed with his zeal for "the Catholic religion: but was afraid he would "carry it too far, and inſtead of contributing to his "own greatneſs, and the advancement of religion, "he would do both himſelf and the Catholic church "the greateſt prejudice, by attempting that which "could never ſucceed."

Ibid.

Laſtly, it was evident, that the King could not hope to ſucceed in his undertaking but by force, and that this force wholly lay in his army and fleet. But was it not a ſtrange project, to attempt to reduce by force a Proteſtant kingdom to the Catholic religion, with a Proteſtant army, and a fleet, whoſe commanders and mariners were Proteſtants? He had but too much reaſon to perceive his error, when it was too late to apply a remedy.

Theſe conſiderations, examples, and warnings, were ineffectual againſt the impetuous zeal of the King, and the importunities of thoſe who were admited to his ſecret counſels, and particularly the Queen. He attempted at once two things equally difficult, viz. to ſet himſelf above the laws, and to alter the eſtabliſhed religion. When I ſay he attempted it, I mean, openly and bare faced, for it was no new deſign. It had been formed long ſince, and, not to carry back its begining too far, it ſuffices to obſerve, that the execution of it had been privately laboring about twenty years; and that moreover, James did but purſue the ſcheme he had perhaps himſelf framed, when duke of York. It was not therefore the duke of Monmouth's defeat that inſpired James II with the thoughts of becoming abſolute, and altering the eſtabliſhed religion. His good fortune to conquer that rival, ſerved only to put him upon haſtening the execution of his projects. This manifeſtly appears, when it is conſidered, what paſſed in Ireland ſince the begining of his reign.

The King's procedings in Ireland. Kennet, p. 466. Burnet, p. 654. Echard.

About two months after the King's acceſſion to the crown, he recalled the duke of Ormond from Ireland, and appointed two lords juſtices to manage that kingdom (1). The duke of Ormond was not a proper inſtrument for the King's purpoſes. At the ſame time, the privy council of Ireland was diſſolved, and a new one appointed, into which were admited ſeveral known Papiſts. Soon after, their number was ſo increaſed, that they made the major part of the council, ſo that the Proteſtants no longer aſſiſted, that they might not authoriſe by their preſenſe, ſuch reſolutions as it was in vain to oppoſe. When the council was thus modelled, nothing was heard in Ireland, but impeachments againſt the Proteſtants, for being concerned in the Rye houſe-plot, and afterwards for holding correſpondence with the duke of Monmouth, or his adherents. The moment any perſon was accuſed, he was ſent to priſon by the council, without being admited to bail, or brought to a trial. The earl of Granard, one of the lord juſtices, and a good Proteſtant, weary of being an inſtrument to thoſe acts of injuſtice, deſired to be diſmiſſed. But the King denied him, and ſent him a letter under his own hand, aſſuring him, "That nothing ſhould be acted prejudicial to

(1) The archbiſhop of Armagh, and Arthur Forbes, earl of Granard. The archbiſhop was ſo compliant to the court, that even his religion became ſuſpected. However he was not thought thorough paced: ſo ſir Charles Porter was made chancellor in his room. Burnet, p. 654.

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" the Proteſtant intereſt." But it ſoon appeared, that the King never meaned to perform this promiſe: for very ſhortly after, he reſolved to have a ſtanding army of Papiſts in Ireland, and to diſarm the Proteſtants. This laſt article was firſt put in practiſe. The King wrote to the lord juſtices,

Kennet, p. 447.

" That there was reaſon to believe, that the rebellion of Monmouth had been of that ſpreading " contagion, as to reach Ireland, and therefore it " was not ſafe to have the arms of the militia diſperſed abroad; but they would be in greater " readineſs for the uſe of the militia, and the defenſe of the country, to have them depoſited in " the ſeveral ſtores of each county." Upon this order, the lords juſtices publiſhed a proclamation, agreeable to the King's deſire, and the city of Dublin having brought in their arms, their example was followed by all the country.

The Proteſtants being thus diſarmed, means were deviſed to turn the Proteſtant, into a Catholic army. To this end, colonel Richard Talbot, a virulent Papiſt, was impowered to caſhier ſuch officers and ſoldiers as he thought proper. He was the man of all others moſt odious to the Engliſh Proteſtants in Ireland. It is obſervable, that Titus Oates, in his narrative of the Popiſh plot, named him as deſigned for this very ſervice. So, when the event was ſeen to agree ſo well with what Oates had related, many could not help thinking, either that he had been well informed, or was a good prophet.

Talbot having received this commiſſion, broke many officers, on pretenſe that they had born arms againſt the King during the troubles, or were ſons and relations of thoſe who had ſerved the parliament of Cromwell. It muſt be obſerved, that all this paſſed in Ireland, before or immediately after the duke of Monmouth's defeat, at a time when the King had not yet manifeſted his deſigns in England. That I may not be obliged frequently to return to what was tranſacting in Ireland, I ſhall briefly add here, that about the end of the year, Talbot came into England, and was made earl of Tyrconnel, and lieutenant general of the Iriſh army, and ſhortly after, Henry earl of Clarendon was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Id. p. 434.

The parliament of England, after ſeveral adjournments, meeting at laſt on the ninth of November, the King made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes. Gazette No. 2085.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" AFTER the ſtorm that ſeemed to be coming upon us when we parted laſt, I " am glad to meet you all again in ſo great peace " and quietneſs; God Almighty be praiſed, by " whoſe bleſſing that rebellion was ſuppreſſed; but " when I reflect what an inconſiderable number of " men began it, and how long they carried it on " without any oppoſition, I hope every body will " be convinced, that the militia, which hath " hitherto been ſo much depended on, is not ſufficient for ſuch occaſions; and that there is nothing but a good force of well diſciplined troops " in conſtant pay, that can defend us, from ſuch, " as either at home or abroad, are diſpoſed to " diſturb us. And in truth, my concern for the " peace and quiet of my ſubjects, as well as for " the ſafety of the government, made me think " it neceſſary to increaſe the number to the proportion I have done; this I owed as well to the " honor, as to the ſecurity of the nation, whoſe reputation was ſo infinitely expoſed to all our neighbors, by having lain open to this late wretched " attempt, that it is not to be repaired without " keeping ſuch a body of men on foot, that none " may ever have the thought again of finding us " ſo miſerably unprovided. It is for the ſupport " of this great charge, which is now more than " double to what it was (1), that I aſk your aſſiſtance, in giving me a ſupply anſwerable to the " expenſe it brings along with it; and I cannot " doubt, but what I have begun, ſo much for the " honor and defenſe of the government, will be " continued by you with all the chearfulneſs and " readineſs, that is requiſite for a work of ſo great " importance.

" Let no man take exception, that there are ſome " officers in the army not qualified, according to the " late teſt, for their imployments: the gentlemen, " I muſt tell you, are moſt of them well known " to me; and having formerly ſerved me on ſeveral " occaſions, and always approved the loyalty of " their principles by their practiſe, I think them " fit now to be imployed under me; and will deal " plainly with you, that after having had the benefit of their ſervices in ſuch time of need and " danger, I will neither expoſe them to diſgrace, " nor myſelf to the want of them, if there ſhould " be another rebellion to make them neceſſary to " me. I am afraid ſome men may be ſo wicked, " to hope and expect, that a difference may happen " between you and me upon this occaſion: But " when you conſider, what advantages have riſen " to us in a few months, by the good underſtanding we have hitherto had; what wonderful effects " it hath already produced in the change of the " whole ſcene of affairs abroad, ſo much more to " the honor of the nation, and the figure it ought " to make in the world; and that nothing can " hinder a farther progreſs in this way to all our " ſatisfactions, but fears and jealouſies among ourſelves; I will not apprehend that ſuch a misfortune can befal us, as a diviſion, or but a coldneſs " between me and you; nor that any thing can " ſhake you in your ſteadineſs and loyalty to me, " who, by God's bleſſing, will ever make you " all returns of kindneſs and protection, with " a reſolution to venture even my own life in " the defenſe of the true intereſt of this king" dom."

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This ſpeech equally ſurpriſed both houſes of parliament, and the whole kingdom, when it came to be publiſhed. The Engliſh had often ventured their lives in the defenſe of their laws and liberties, of which they then believed themſelves ſecure, as well by the conſtitution of the government, as by the King's ſolemn promiſe; but they beheld their laws openly attacked in the moſt ſenſible part. Many of thoſe who had moſt warmly oppoſed the bill of excluſion, began to open their eyes, and perceive, that the jealouſies and fears of the Whig parliaments were too well grounded, and that it was difficult to reconcile the intereſts of a Roman Catholic King, with thoſe of a Proteſtant kingdom. This was what the Whigs had in vain declared in the late reign. Inſtead of duly weighing their reaſons, the Tories had run into the other extreme; nay, had expected to be gainers by ſeting the duke of York on the throne. But this firſt public ſtep of the King, made them proceed for the future with a little more circumſpection, tho' by their principles, they were not yet obliged to take ſuch meaſures as would have been neceſſary.

People's eyes begin to be opened. Echard, Vol. III. p. 781.

It was warmly debated in the houſe of lords, whether they ſhould give the King thanks for his ſpeech. Some were utterly againſt it; whereupon the marquis of Hallifax ſaid, " They had now

The lords thank the King. Ibid. Burnet, p. 664.

(1) The army, which before conſiſted but of ſeven thouſand men, was increaſed to fifteen thouſand. Rapin.

" more

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" more reaſon than ever to give thanks to his Ma-
" jeſty, ſince he had dealt ſo plainly with them,
" and diſcovered what he would be at." Nevertheleſs, it was reſolved by the majority, that they ſhould give his Majeſty thanks. But however, the biſhop of London moved, that his Majeſty's ſpeech might be debated, and tho' it was unuſual in the houſe, the twenty-third of the month was appointed to take the ſpeech into conſideration, at which the King was highly diſguſted.

The commons deſer it. Nov. 12. Life of James II. p. 120. Kennet, p. 435. Echard.

The commons returning to their houſe, the King's ſpeech was ordered to be read, which was followed with a long and profound ſilence. At length the earl of Middleton moved for an addreſs of thanks to the King for his ſpeech. This motion produced a ſecond ſilence, which was broke by the lord Caſtleton, who, more bold than the reſt, plainly declared againſt thanking the King. Wherefore, as there would probably be ſome difficulty in the matter, the debate was adjourned till the twelfth of the month. To give the reader a clear idea of the difficulties which occured in the King's demand, I ſhall make here ſome obſervations which perhaps will not be foreign to the purpoſe.

Obſervations on this matter.

The houſe of commons, as I ſaid, conſiſted then of Tory members, there being very few Whigs, or if any, their number was inconſiderable. Now the Tories had a very different notion of the Regal power, from that of the Whigs. They had, as we have ſeen, declared in the late reign for Paſſive-obedience and Non-reſiſtance, and the church made it an article of faith. Nevertheleſs it may be ſaid, when they introduced this doctrine without any limitation, they did not foreſee all the conſequences. It was properly to contradict the principles of the Whigs, who ran into the other extreme. As they imagined, that Charles II and James II, were for them, they fancied they could not ſtretch the Royal prerogative too far, in the belief, that theſe two Princes would exert it only againſt their adverſaries. According to this principle, King James's demand for a ſtanding army of fifteen thouſand men in time of peace, did not ſeem contrary to their intereſt, tho' the parliaments had ever been extremely averſe to a ſtanding army, which ſerved only to increaſe the Regal power. But what the King did by his ſole authority; in imploying Popiſh officers in this army, was a thing as much againſt the Tory as the Whig intereſt. It was eaſy to perceive, of what dangerous conſequences it might be to the Proteſtant religion in general, as well Epiſcopalian as Preſbyterian; and theſe conſequences were the more to be dreaded, as what paſſed in Ireland plainly diſcovered the King's intentions. Beſide, the power aſſumed by the King, to exempt the Popiſh officers from taking the teſt, was directly contrary to the liberties of the kingdom as well as to religion.

A ſupply voted. Life of James II, p. 120, &c. Kennet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 782. Burnet.

Therefore on the twelfth of November, when the King's ſpeech was debated in the houſe of commons, ſuch members as were not of the ſame principles with the rigid and violent Tories, ſpoke with great freedom, repreſenting the inconveniencies of a ſtanding army in time of peace (1), and moved for the new modelling the militia, ſo as to render them of uſe upon occaſion. They were permited to talk as much as they pleaſed, but when the queſtion was put for a ſupply to be given to the King, it was carried in the affirmative. It is true, ſome one having moved that theſe words might be added, ' towards the ſuppport of the additional forces,' they were rejected, that the houſe might not appear to approve of the augmentation of the regular troops, and inſtead thereof it paſſed, that ' the houſe be moved ' to bring in a bill to make the militia uſeful.' By this they would have had it believed, that the parliament reſerved to themſelves the power of breaking the regular troops, and eſtabliſhing a good militia in their room. But, doubtleſs, it was to hinder the people from being alarmed, if they ſaw the parliament approve of maintaining an army in time of peace. For, after all, a ſupply was given the King for the maintenance of this army.

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The courtiers moved for a ſum to be granted of twelve hundred thouſand pounds. Others exclaimed againſt the exorbitancy of ſuch a demand, and were for reducing it to four hundred thouſand pounds, alleging, that it would be enough to maintain the additional forces two years, till the militia ſhould be made uſeful. They repreſented, that they had already given cuſtoms and exciſes for his Majeſty's life, which amounted to ſix millions (2), and that if they gave ſo much at once, they ſhould have nothing left to give; eſpecially as it was the nation's intereſt, that the King ſhould have frequent occaſion for his parliament. At length, after great debates it was reſolved, that a ſupply of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to his Majeſty. It was evident therefore, that the maintenance of an army of fifteen thouſand men was not what moſt diſpleaſed the commons in the King's ſpeech.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 783.

Debates about Popiſh officers.

But the affair of the Popiſh officers was of ſuch a nature, that it no leſs concerned the Tory than the Whig party. It was eaſy to perceive the great danger of the Proteſtant religion, if the parliament, after having agreed to a ſtanding army, ſhould farther conſent to the King's imploying as many Papiſts as he pleaſed. The commons thought therefore, that on this occaſion it was neceſſary to ſet ſome bounds to Paſſive-obedience, tho' till now this doctrine had been maintained without any reſtriction, becauſe it was not imagined that the King would attack religion and the laws. One of the members ſpeaking on this ſubject, repreſented very ſtrongly,

Kennet, p. 435. Echard, Vol. III. p. 784.

" That his Majeſty, on his firſt acceſſion to the
" crown, told them, ' He had been miſre-
" preſented, and that he would preſerve the go-
" vernment in church and ſtate, as now eſtabliſhed
" by law, and maintain them in all their juſt
" rights and privileges:' that overjoyed at this, they
" ran haſtily to him, and were ſo forward to give,
" that the King's miniſters put their ſtop to it: that
" they ought not to forget, that there was a bill
" of excluſion debated in that houſe; and that the
" arguments for it were, ' That they ſhould, in
" caſe of a Popiſh ſucceſſor, have a Popiſh army:'
" that they ſaw the act of the teſt already broken;
" but prayed them to remember what the late
" lord chancellor told them when King Charles
" paſſed that act: ' By this act, ſaid he, you are
" provided againſt Popery, that no Papiſt can
" poſſibly creep into any imployment:' That he
" was greatly afflicted at the breach of their
" liberties, and ſeeing ſo great a difference be-
" tween his laſt ſpeech, and thoſe heretofore
" made, he could not believe but this was made
" by ſome other advice; that what the thing
" there ſtruck at was their All; and that he won-

(1) Among other things it was ſaid, ——— " All the profit and ſecurity of this nation is in our ſhips. ——— Support-
" ing an army, is maintaining ſo many idle perſons, to lord it over the reſt of the ſubjects. ——— Armies debauch the
" manners of all the people, their wives, daughters and ſervants, &c." On the other hand, the contrary party alleged,
" That there was a bitter ſpirit in the three laſt parliaments, not yet well allayed, and ſo a conſiderable force was needful
" beſide the militia." Life of James II, p. 123, 124, 130.

(2) Reckoning all the time for which they had been granted. Rapin.

" dered

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" dered there had been any men ſo deſperate, as " to take any imployment without being qualified " for it: And concluded to have a ſtanding army " voted deſtructive to the country." During theſe debates the court party were not idle. They repreſented with great ſtrength, the inconveniencies of not complying with the King's deſires. The reſult was, the appointing a commitee to draw up the following addreſs, which was preſented to the King the ſeventeenth of November.

The commons addreſs. Kennet, p. 435. R. Coke. p. 349.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

" WE your Majeſty's moſt loyal and faithful " ſubjects, the commons in parliament aſ- " ſembled, do, in the firſt place, as in duty bound, " return your Majeſty our moſt humble and hearty " thanks, for your great care and conduct in ſup- " preſſing the late rebellion, which threatened the " overthrow of this government both in church " and ſtate, to the extirpation of our religion as " by law eſtabliſhed, which is moſt dear unto us, " and which your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to " give us REPEATED ASSURANCES you will al- " ways defend and maintain; which, with all " grateful hearts we ſhall ever acknowlege. We " farther crave leave to acquaint your Majeſty, " that we have, with all duty and readineſs, taken " into our conſideration your Majeſty's gracious " ſpeech to us: and as to that part of it relating " to the officers in the army, not qualified for their " imployments, according to an act of parliament " made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of " your Royal brother, intitled, 'An Act for " preventing dangers which may happen from Po- " piſh recuſants;' we do, out of our bounden " duty, humbly repreſent unto your Majeſty, that " theſe officers cannot by law be capable of their " imployments; and that the incapacities they " bring upon themſelves that way, can no way be " taken off but by an act of parliament: there- " fore, out of that great reverence and duty we " owe unto your Majeſty, who have been gra- " ciouſly pleaſed to take notice of their ſervices to " your Majeſty, we are preparing a bill to paſs " both houſes, for your Royal aſſent, to indem- " nify them from the penalties they have now " incured: and becauſe the continuing them in " their imployments, may be taken to be a diſ- " penſing with that law, without an act of parlia- " ment, the conſequences of which is of the greateſt " concern to the rights of your Majeſty's ſubjects, " and to all the laws made for the ſecurity of their " religion; we therefore, the knights, citizens, " and burgeſſes, of your Majeſty's houſe of " commons, do moſt humbly beſeech your Ma- " jeſty, that you would be moſt graciouſly pleaſed " to give ſuch directions therein, that no appre- " henſions of jealouſies may remain in the hearts " of your Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects."

This addreſs being preſented to the King by the ſpeaker, attended by the whole houſe, his Majeſty gave them the following anſwer:

Gentlemen, " I did not expect ſuch an addreſs " from the houſe of commons: for having ſo lately " recommended to your conſideration the great ad- " vantage a good underſtanding between us had " produced in a very ſhort time, and given you " warning of fears and jealouſies amongſt our- " ſelves, I had reaſon to hope, that the reputation " God had bleſſed me with in the world, would " have ſealed and confirmed a good confidence in " you of me, and of all that I ſay to you. But " however you proceed on your part, I will be " ſteady in all my promiſes I have made you, and " be juſt in my word in this, and all my other " ſpeeches."

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The commons ſeek to content the King. Kennet, p. 436. Life of James II, p. 134. Echard, Vol. III. p. 785. Burnet.

This anſwer, tho' pretty obſcure, ſo ſurprized the commons, that when it was read in the houſe, there was a profound ſilence for a conſiderable time. At length, it was moved by one of the members, that a particular day might be appointed to conſider of the King's anſwer. This was ſeconded by mr. Coke * who added, " He hoped " they were all true Engliſhmen, and not to be " frighted out of their duty by a few hard words." Tho' this ſpeech was very conſiſtent with the freedom of a houſe of commons, the majority however were pleaſed to look upon mr. Coke as an incendiary, who intended to ſow diſcord between the King and the commons, and voted him to be ſent to the Tower. Moreover the houſe, to attone in ſome meaſure for the offenſe they had given the King, proceeded to ways and means for raiſing the ſeven hundred thouſand pounds before voted. But they ſtoped not there. To ſhew the King that they ſought all poſſible ways to content him, beſide a bill to indemnify the Popiſh officers from the penalties they had already incured, they reſolved to offer another to the King, to qualify ſuch a number of thoſe officers to ſerve in the army as he ſhould think fit. All this demonſtrates, it was with regret that the houſe ſwerved from the principle of Paſſive-obedience and Non-reſiſtance.

* Member for Darby.

Nov. 19.

Welwood.

Petitions from the lords priſoners. Nov. 9, 11. Kennet, p. 436.

In the mean time, the lords received petitions from † earl of Stanford and ‖ lord Delamere, repreſenting, that theſe two peers were commited to the Tower in July laſt, upon a general accuſation of treaſon, kept cloſe priſoners, and denied the uſe of pen, ink and paper. Theſe petitions obliged the lords to ſend to the King, to know the reaſon why theſe two peers were impriſoned. The King anſwered by the lord chancellor, that they were commited for high treaſon, and that he had given orders for a commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer to try the lord Delamere in Cheſhire where the crime was commited. But as he had given no orders about the earl of Stanford's trial, the lords appointed him to be tried by his peers, to which the King conſented.

† Tho Grey. ‖ Hen. Booth.

Nov. 16.

The King prorogues the parliament. Kennet, p. 437. Echard, Vol. III. p. 787.

A few days after, on the twentieth of November, the King finding it would be very difficult to obtain his deſires of the commons concerning the Popiſh officers, prorogued the parliament till the tenth of February, after a ſeſſion but of eleven days. The King loſt, by the prorogation, the ſeven hundred thouſand pounds voted by the commons. But he was under no neceſſity for it, conſidering the vaſt ſums they had liberally granted him. This prorogation, which was followed by ſeveral others, and at length by the diſſolution of the parliament, the laſt in this reign, is a clear demonſtration of two things. Firſt, that the King conſidered the affair of the Popiſh officers in the army, as of great moment, ſince he choſe rather to loſe ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, than ſee his pretended right to imploy them conteſted by the parliament. The ſecond is, the exceſſive compliance ſhown the King by the commons, in inabling him to maintain an army; imploy Popiſh officers, and, in a word, to have no occaſion for a parliament. From hence ſprung all the evils which afflicted England during the reſt of this reign.

The lord Delamere's trial. State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 210. Burnet, p. 668. Kennet. Echard.

About a month after the prorogation of the parliament, the lord Delamere was brought to his trial by his peers, tho' the King had before reſolved to have him proceeded againſt in another manner. The lord Howard was the firſt witneſs produced againſt him. But tho' he gave a large account of the duke of Monmouth's conſpiracy, he depoſed nothing poſitive

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positive againſt the lord Delamere. The ſecond witneſs was Ford lord Grey, at which every one was ſurprized, it not being known that he was pardoned. This gave occaſion to imagine he was in great favor with the King. But his evidence tended more to prove in general the duke of Monmouth's rebellion, than the guilt of the priſoner in particular. One Saxon was the only witneſs who ſwore to the lord Delamere's correſpondence with the duke of Monmouth. But as he was a perſon of very bad reputation, the lords took no notice of his teſtimony, and the priſoner was unanimouſly acquited.

He is acquited.

The lord Stanford is diſcharged upon bail. Gazettes.

As for the earl of Stanford he was admited to bail, and tho' nothing could be proved againſt him, he thought fit to lay hold on the proclamation of pardon which was ſhortly after publiſhed. This pardon appeared not till the end of the year, after the executions of a great number of perſons. It was moreover clogged with ſo many exceptions, that the King was not much thanked for it.

Promotions at court. Gazettes. * Henry Bennet. † John Sheffield. ‖ Laurence Hyde. * Robert Spencer.

James, in this firſt year of his reign, beſtowed honors and dignities upon ſeveral of his favorites and adherents, and advanced others to high offices. The * earl of Arlington dying the twenty-eighth of July, his place of lord chamberlain was given to the † earl of Mulgrave, who became one of the chief favorites in this reign. The ‖ earl of Rocheſter was made lord treaſurer, and Henry earl of Clarendon, his elder brother, lord lieutenant of Ireland. The * earl of Sunderland, principal ſecretary of ſtate, was declared lord preſident of the council, and from that time became prime miniſter of ſtate.

The death of ſir John Marſham.

The perſon moſt known abroad, who died this year, was ſir John Marſham, eminent for his ſkill in ancient hiſtory and chronology. He departed this life in the eighty-third year of his age (1).

AN' 1686.

This year, 1686, to which we are now to proceed, was wholly ſpent, as well as the next, in the execution of the King's two grand projects, viz. of making himſelf abſolute, and eſtabliſhing Popery. Theſe two projects could not but keep equal pace. For the King being a Papiſt, his chief aim in rendering himſelf abſolute was to alter the religion of the kingdom, and, on the other hand, he could not introduce Popery, but by ſeting himſelf above the laws.

Proceedings of the parliament of Scotland. Kennet, p. 444. Burnet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 790.

Before things were carried to any greater height in England, he believed it proper to be aſſured firſt of Scotland and Ireland. As for Scotland, the managers there were intirely diſpoſed to comply with the King's will. The late parliament, beſide the acts before-mentioned, paſſed one (2) wherein it was declared, "That they owe all their bleſſings "to the ſacred race of their glorious Kings, and to "the ſolid, abſolute authority wherewith they "were inveſted by the firſt and fundamental laws "of their monarchy: ——— And therefore they "again declared to the world, that they abhor and "deteſt not only the authors and actors of all pre-"ceding rebellions againſt their Sovereign, but "alſo all principles and poſitions which are con-"trary or derogatory to the King's ſacred, ſu-"preme, ſovereign, abſolute power and authority, "which none, whether particular perſons or col-"lective bodies, can participate of, any manner of "way; or upon any pretext, but in dependence on "him, and by commiſſion from him, &c." They paſſed another act, "To confirm and approve "whatever had been done by his Majeſty's privy "council, juſtice court, and thoſe commiſſionated "by them, in baniſhing, impriſoning, or fining "ſuch as refuſed to take and ſwear the oath of "allegiance; and to aſſert the Royal prerogative "in the utmoſt extent of them." JAMES II. AN' 1686.

If it be remembered what paſſed in Scotland in the reign of Charles I, and during the Interregnum, it will be eaſily perceived, this was not the general ſenſe of the Scots, but only the opinion of a parliament devoted to the King, and which viſibly abuſed their authority, to eſtabliſh a form of government directly contrary to the old conſtitution.

Life of James II. p. 140.

Incouraged by theſe great advances, the King ſummoned the parliament of Scotland, to aſſemble the twenty-ninth of April this year, and wrote a letter to them, wherein, "He recommends to "their ſpecial care, his innocent Roman Catholic "ſubjects, who had always been aſſiſtant to the "crown in the worſt of rebellions and uſurpations, "tho' they lay under diſcouragements hardly "to be named. Theſe he moſt heartily recom-"mended to them; to the end, that as they had "given good experience of their true loyalty and "peaceable behavior, ſo, by their aſſiſtance, they "might have the protection of his laws, not ſuffer-"ing them to lie under obligations, which their "religion could not admit of; by doing of "which, they would give a demonſtration of their "duty and affection towards him, and do him "moſt acceptable ſervice. And this love he ex-"pected they would ſhow to their brethren, as "they ſaw him an indulgent father to his peo-"ple."

Gazette, No. 2135.

The earl of Murray, lord high commiſſioner, ſeconded this letter, with a particular account of the many advantages the King intended to procure his realm of Scotland, chiefly with reſpect to trade. He alſo indeavored to perſuade them, that what the King deſired, tended as much to the honor and welfare of his ſubjects of Scotland, as to his own ſatisfaction. He concluded with ſaying, "By this "you will ſhew yourſelves the beſt and moſt af-"fectionate ſubjects, to the beſt, the incompara-"ble, and moſt heroic Prince in the world."

Kennet, p. 445.

When his Majeſty's letter, and the lord commiſſioner's ſpeech came to be conſidered in parliament, ſome members, without farther ſcrutiny, were for complying with the King's deſires. But others, in greater numbers, moved and prevailed to have a commitee appointed, to examine the ſtatutes againſt the Papiſts. The commitee finding, the ſtatutes prohibited only the public exerciſe of the Popiſh religion, drew up a bill to allow them the exerciſe of their religion in private. But when this bill was preſented to the parliament, it met with ſuch great oppoſition, that the lord commiſſioner thought fit to adjourn the debate to another time, till he had received inſtructions from court. The King ſent him orders to diſſolve, or at leaſt prorogue the parliament, and ſome months after, by his ſole authority, he eſtabliſhed liberty of conſcience in Scotland.

Affairs of Ireland. King's ſtate, &c. Kennet, p. 447.

Affairs in Ireland were upon another foot. The King's will met with no oppoſition there; and tho' the lord lieutenant was a Proteſtant, his credit and authority were inſufficient to put a ſtop to the acts of injuſtice commited againſt thoſe of his religion. The new earl of Tyrconnel was no ſooner returned to Dublin with the title of lieutenant general of the army, but he began again to break the Proteſtant officers and ſoldiers, and put Roman Catholics in their places; without vouchſafing to aſk

(1) This year alſo died ſir William Dugdale Garter King at Arms, author of the Baronage, Antiquities of Warwickſhire, &c. and Thomas Otway.

(2) Containing a tender of duty, and offer of the exciſe to his Majeſty. Kennet, p. 444.

for the lord lieutenant's order (1). This occaſioned a quarrel between them, wherein Tyrconnel behaved very haughtily, ever ſaying, he did nothing but by the King's expreſs order. When he had modelled the army according to the King's mind, he went over into England, where, by means of the Queen and father Petre the jeſuit, he ſupplanted the earl of Clarendon, and was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. Upon his arrival at Dublin, he indeavored, by a proclamation, to diſpel the fears of the Proteſtants, who ſaw themſelves, to their great trouble, in ſubjection to a Catholic. But his actions correſponded not with his promiſes. Wherefore, a great number of Proteſtants, choſe rather to quit their eſtates in Ireland, and withdraw into England, than remain under the government of one ſo juſtly odious to them. On the other hand, the Engliſh merchants who traded in Ireland, withdrew their effects, and by that the kingdom was reduced to great extremities. But all theſe diſadvantages were compenſated by the hopes of rooting out the Proteſtant religion in that country.

Life of James II. p. 137.

Feb. 12. Kennet, p. 448.

But it was chiefly in England that the King deſired to eſtabliſh Popery and arbitrary power. For, as I ſaid, one of thoſe things could not advance without the other. If he had only aimed at abſolute power, without medling with religion, in all likelihood, he would have eaſily ſucceeded, ſince paſſive-obedience was in a manner eſtabliſhed, and now reckoned an eſſential doctrine of the church of England; the members whereof made the body of the nation, and were poſſeſſed of all the offices and places of truſt. But as he had already diſcovered, that his attempts to be freed from the yoke of the laws, was chiefly to eſtabliſh Popery, the parliament, however devoted to him in all other reſpects, had not been ſo compliant as to abandon the intereſt of religion. Notwithſtanding this refuſal, he hoped to attain his ends, firſt, by cauſing the judges to give it as their opinion, that he had a power to diſpenſe with the laws. Secondly, by gaining the members of parliament by degrees, being reſolved to have no ſeſſion till he had accompliſhed that deſign. In England, as in other places, there are men always ready to ſacrifice the public to their private intereſt, and there were but too many, on the preſent occaſion, even among the clergy themſelves. Dr. Cartwright, dean of Rippon, ſpeaking, in a ſermon, of the King's promiſes made to the parliament, which were then the common topic of diſcourſe and complaint, ſaid, "That "the King's promiſes were free donatives, and "ought not to be too ſtrictly examined or urged; "and that they muſt leave his Majeſty to explain "his own meaning in them." The King was ſo delighted with this gloſs, that he rewarded the author with the biſhopric of Cheſter, as an incouragement to other clergymen to follow ſo good an example.

Means made uſe of by the King in England to execute his deſigns. p. 449. Burnet. Echard, Vol. III. p. 796.

Cartwright's gloſs upon the King's promiſes. p. 797. King's State, &c. He is made biſhop of Cheſter.

As for the judges, the King took care to ſend for them one by one, and talk with them privately in his cloſet (2), in order to perſuade them to declare for his diſpenſing power, telling them, he would have twelve judges of his opinion (3). Four abſolutely refuſed to comply, and were immediately diſplaced. The King appointed four others of more pliable and ſubmiſſive underſtandings, among whom there was one Papiſt (4).

Alterations among the judges. April 21. Kennet, p. 449. Echard, Vol. III. p. 797. Burnet, p. 667, 669. A call of Serjeants. Kennet.

At the ſame time, the King made a call of ſerjeants at law, among whom were ſeveral Catholics, one of whom was knighted (5), and a little after, another lawyer of the ſame religion was made a judge (6).

The privy council alſo underwent the like alteration, the King having received into it five zealous Catholics, viz. * the lord Arundel of Wardour, and the lord Bellaſis (who had been long confined in the Tower, being accuſed of the Popiſh plot) the lord Dover †, and the earl of Tyrconnel. He likewiſe admited the new biſhop of Cheſter, and dr. Parker, biſhop of Oxford, a reputed Papiſt. All theſe changes clearly diſcovered the King's deſign.

And in the privy council. July 17. Gazettes.

* The earl of Powis.

† Henry Jermyn.

But it was not long before he gave more ſignal marks of his intentions. It has been remembered, that he aſſumed a power to diſpenſe with the obſervation of the teſt act in his Catholic officers. The parliament's refuſal of their conſent to this innovation, only exaſperated the King and made him reſolve to exempt from the penal laws all his ſubjects in general, and conſequently the Papiſts. But as this was directly againſt law, he undertook to ſhew, by the means of his corrupt judges, "That "a power in the King to diſpenſe with law, was "law." To this end, he took care firſt to have papers diſperſed thro' the kingdom, to prove this pretended right, and to prepare the people for his deſigns (7). At laſt in a particular caſe (8), all the judges, except one, gave their opinions for the King, and made it a general rule in law: 1. That the laws of England are the King's laws. 2. That therefore it is an incident, inſeparable prerogative of the Kings of England, as of all other ſovereign Princes, to diſpenſe with all penal laws, in particular caſes, and upon particular neceſſary reaſons. 3. That of theſe reaſons and neceſſities the King is the ſole judge; conſequently, 4. That this is not a truſt inveſted in and granted to the King, but the ancient remains of the ſovereign power of the Kings of England, which never was yet nor ever can be taken from them.

The judges give their opinion that the King may diſpenſe with the laws. Welwood, p. 169. Kennet, p. 486. Echard, Vol. III. p. 798. Burnet, p. 669. Welwood, p. 172.

The Papiſts, in conſequence of this deciſion, with the King's permiſſion, ſet up every where in the kingdom, the free and open exerciſe of their religion. The jeſuits erected colleges and ſeminaries in all the conſiderable towns; and at the ſame time, four Popiſh biſhops were publicly conſecrated in the King's chapel, and ſent down to exerciſe their functions in their reſpective dioceſes, under the title

The Papiſts openly profeſs their religion. Welwood, p. 173. Popiſh biſhops conſecrated. Echard, Vol. III. p. 798.

(1) Two or three hundred Engliſh gentlemen, who had laid out their fortunes in purchaſing their military poſts, were now arbitrarily diſbanded, and five or ſix thouſand private ſoldiers ſent a begging. Kennet, p. 447.

(2) Upon which the term Cloſeting was much toſſed about. He not only talked with his judges in this manner, but with many parliament men about the affair of the Teſt, ſome whereof gave him very flat and hardy denials; others, tho' more ſilent, yet were no leſs ſteady. So finding he could not bring the majority to a compliance, he diſſolved the parliament: of whom, Burnet ſays, in all England it would not have been eaſy to have found five hundred men ſo weak, ſo poor, and ſo devoted to the court. So happily was the nation taken out of their hands by this precipitated violence of a bigotted court. p. 668.

(3) Upon which Jones told him, "Poſſibly you may find twelve judges of your opinion, but you will ſcarce find twelve lawyers to be ſo. Kennet, p. 449.

(4) The judges turned out, were, ſir Thomas Jones, William Montague, ſir Job Charlton, ſir Edward Neville. In whoſe places were put, ſir Henry Bedingfield, ſir Edward Atkyns, ſir Edward Lutwiche, Richard Heath. Ibid.

(5) Sir Chriſtopher Milton, the poet's brother, who was made a judge.

(6) Sir Richard Allibone of Gray's-Inn a Papiſt, The motto uſed by the ſerjeants was Deus, Rex, Lex, Ibid.

(7) L'Eſtrange and others were imployed to ſhew, "That a power in the King to diſpenſe with law, was law." Echard, Vol. III. p. 798.

(8) In the caſe of ſir Edward Hales a Popiſh gentleman of Kent, who had an imployment. Burnet, p. 669.

of

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of Vicars Apoſtolical. Their paſtoral letters addreſſed to the lay Catholics, were printed at the King's printing houſe, and diſperſed thro' the kingdom. Monks appeared in the habits of their order at Whitehall and St. James's, and ſcrupled not to tell the Proteſtants, "That they hoped in a little "time, to walk in proceſſion thro' Cheapſide." And, as many converts were expected, that ſo plentiful a harveſt might not want laborers, a great number of prieſts and monks were ſent from foreign parts. From this time, the only way to preferment was to be a Papiſt, or a promoter of Popery. All affairs of the council were managed by Catholics, or ſome others who had but little regard to religion. Thus, by the deciſion of ten or twelve judges, nominated or corrupted by the King before their admiſſion, the laws of England were given up, and the conſtitution intirely altered. By a like practiſe it was, that Charles I cauſed his judges to decide, that he had a right to impoſe taxes in caſe of neceſſity, of which neceſſity himſelf was ſole judge. Hence it may be perceived, that the laws of England would be ill maintained, had they no firmer foundation than the deciſions of judges appointed by the King. But it is ſurpriſing, that the precedent of ſhip money, eſtabliſhed by Charles I, and in effect, the principal cauſe of his ruin, made ſo little impreſſion on James II. The violence of his zeal for his religion, made every thing eaſy or poſſible to him, and, at all events, he was reſolved to run the riſk of the undertaking.

Places beſtowed on Papiſts.

The clergy forbid to preach upon controverted points; Welwood, p. 173. Kennet, p. 452. Echard, Vol. III. p. 799.

His Majeſty uſed another expedient for the advancement of his religion. He ſent a circular letter to the biſhops, with an order, prohibiting all the inferior clergy from preaching upon controverted points of Divinity, for fear, as was pretended, of raiſing animoſities among the people. It was thus that the perſecution began in Queen Mary's reign, and it ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that a Popiſh King ſhould imitate ſo zealous a Popiſh Queen. However, on this occaſion, the clergy of the church of England clearly diſcovered their averſion to Popery, of which they had hitherto ſtood accuſed by their enemies, on pretenſe of a ſcrupulous attachment to ſome modes and ceremonies, which the firſt reformers had not thought fit to retrench. For many of the dignified clergy, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their piety and learning, far from prevaricating in the diſcharge of their office, preached openly on controverted points, or rather made them the chief ſubject of their diſcourſes. They ſaw the tendency of this extraordinary inhibition, at a time when the Proteſtant religion was openly attacked, as well in ſermons, as writings printed with licenſe, and induſtriouſly diſperſed thro' the nation. It is juſtice to do honor to theſe faithful miniſters of the Goſpel, by tranſmiting to poſterity the names of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them. Theſe were Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Tenniſon, Wake, Patrick, Sharp, Sherlock, all famous for their writings, and all afterwards promoted to the firſt dignities of the church.

but obeys not.

Burnet, p. 673, 674. Echard, Vol. III. p. 799.

The King erects an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. Kennet, p. 452. Echard, Vol. III. p. 800. Burnet, p. 675.

The King and his Popiſh council were extremely offended with this boldneſs, and therefore, to force the Proteſtant clergy to ſubmiſſion, a new court for eccleſiaſtical affairs was erected, compoſed of various members, among whom were ſeveral Catholics. A nomination of Papiſts to be judges of a Proteſtant clergy in matters of doctrine and diſcipline, ſhowed the King would no longer keep any meaſures. Among theſe commiſſioners were three biſhops, viz. William Sancroft of Canterbury, Crew of Durham, and Sprat of Rocheſter. The reſt were all laymen, of which the principal were Jefferies, lord chancellor; the earl of Rocheſter, lord treaſurer; the earl of Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate and preſident of the council; and the lord chief juſtice Herbert. The commiſſion was directed to any three of them, whereof the lord chancellor was always to be one, for a reaſon very obvious.

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By this commiſſion they had a power to exerciſe and execute all manner of juriſdictions and pre-eminences, concerning any ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions; to viſit, reform, redreſs, and amend all abuſes, offenſes, contempts, and enormities whatſoever, which by the ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical laws of the realm might be lawfully corrected. They were alſo to inquire of all offenſes, contempts and miſdemeanors commited, or hereafter to be commited; that they might be corrected and puniſhed by the cenſure of the church; they were to ſearch for, and call before them all eccleſiaſtical perſons of what degree or dignity ſoever, and to puniſh the offenders, by excommunications, ſuſpenſions, deprivations, or other eccleſiaſtical cenſures: they were impowered to ſend for all ſtatutes, rules, letters patents of univerſities, colleges, grammar ſchools, and all other eccleſiaſtical corporations, and the ſaid ſtatutes to correct, amend, and alter as they ſaw convenient, &c.

Power of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners Kennet, p. 452. R. Coke, p. 356. Life of James II. p. 146.

Many of the beſt lawyers thought this commiſſion illegal, and contrary to the act paſſed in the ſeventeenth year of Charles I, for aboliſhing the high commiſſion court. Others pretended, there was nothing in it contrary to that act. It ſeems however, that the court was conſcious of its illegality, ſince, tho' it was granted in April, it was not opened till Auguſt. Beſide, the archbiſhop would never act in it.

Soon after, dr. Sharp, in a ſermon, vindicated the church of England in oppoſition to the errors of Popery. The King being informed of it, pretended, that the preacher's intention was to beget an evil opinion of himſelf and his government in the minds of the hearers, and to lead them into diſobedience and rebellion. On this ſuppoſition he ſent a letter to the biſhop of London *, commanding him forthwith to ſuſpend dr. Sharp from farther preaching in any pariſh church or chapel in his dioceſe, till he had given him ſatisfaction, and his farther pleaſure was known therein. On receit of this order, the biſhop wrote to the earl of Sunderland, and prayed him to communicate his letter to the King. He repreſented, that he was to proceed according to law, and as a judge; and by the law no judge condemns a man before he has knowlege of the cauſe, and has cited the party. Dr. Sharp himſelf carried the letter, but could obtain no anſwer. Two days after, he waited on the King at Windſor, with a very humble petition, but without any effect. The King and his council had already reſolved to imbrace this occaſion to puniſh the biſhop of London, who was odious to the court, becauſe he had moved in the houſe of lords to examine the King's ſpeech: beſide, by ſo great an example, they were reſolved to eſtabliſh the authority of their new eccleſiaſtical court. The biſhop was therefore cited to appear before the commiſſioners the fourth of Auguſt, where he was treated in a manner unbecoming his birth (1) and dignity, by Jefferies the chancellor, who uſed him with his wonted inſolence. The biſhop demanded a copy of the commiſſion, or at leaſt to hear it read. But this was refuſed, and he was anſwered by Jefferies, that the commiſſion might be had in every coffee houſe for a penny. At length, with great difficulty, he obtained a delay of five days. The ninth of Auguſt he appeared a ſecond time before the court, and † diſowned its juriſdiction, alleging,

The affair of the biſhop of London. State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 243. Kennet, p 455. Burnet. Welwood.

June 14.

* Henry Compton.

June 18.

Burnet, p. 676.

† Alſo on the twenty-third.

(1) He was brother to the late, and uncle to the then earl of Northampton.

that

that as a biſhop he had no other judge than his Metropolitan: but his plea was rejected. However, after two or three adjournments of the court, he was ſuſpended from the function and execution of his epiſcopal office, for his diſobedience and contempt: and the biſhops of Durham, Rocheſter, and Peterborough, were appointed commiſſioners within the dioceſe of London, during the biſhop's ſuſpenſion. Dr. Sharp was likewiſe ſuſpended, tho' it was only for a few days.

Who is ſuſpended. Sept. 6.

The world was convinced by this affair, that the court was reſolved to ſilence all the Proteſtant miniſters, to prevent their maintaining the Proteſtant religion in their ſermons. It was alſo perceived, that the King was reſolved to keep no more meaſures, ſince, in a time of profound peace, he had formed a camp of fifteen thouſand men upon Hounſlow-heath, under the command of the earl of Feverſham. In this camp was a public chapel, where maſs was ſaid every day.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 806. Burnet.

Tho' there were but very few Popiſh officers and ſoldiers in the army, it was feared, that the whole would be ſubſervient to the King in the execution of his deſigns, in conſequence of that blind obedience uſually profeſſed by them. To obviate this danger, Samuel Johnſon a Clergyman (1), addreſſed a writing to the Proteſtant officers and ſoldiers of the army, wherein he laid before them the reaſons which ought to prevent their being the inſtruments of the court, for the deſtruction of their religion, and the ſubverſion of the government. This writing was too oppoſite to the King's deſigns to eſcape unpuniſhed. Wherefore the author being tried at the King's-bench, was ſentenſed to ſtand three times in the pillory, to be whiped from Newgate to Tyburn, and to pay a fine of five hundred marks. The ſentenſe, after Johnſon's ſolemn degradation, was executed with great rigor. But his writing made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the minds of both officers and ſoldiers, and very much promoted the great defection in the army, which happened two years after.

Johnſon a clergyman addreſſes a writing to the army; Ibid. Kennet, p. 450. R. Coke, p. 364.

for which he is ſentenſed to be whiped, pilloried, and fined.

About this time, Miles Prance the goldſmith who had been a witneſs againſt the perſons tried for the murder of ſir Edmundbury Godfrey, and had taken away three lives by his evidence, was tried upon an information exhibited againſt him for perjury, and ſentenſed to pay a fine of a hundred pounds, to ſtand three times in the pillory, and to be whiped from Newgate to Tyburn. But becauſe he at firſt pleaded guilty, the whiping part of the ſentenſe was remited. Some ſay, he was ſo intimidated by the example of Oates, that he pleaded guilty merely to eſcape puniſhment. Others again pretend to confirm his confeſſion from a declaration publiſhed by him afterwards, wherein he diſowned his depoſitions in 1678. But as he was a Papiſt, ſome have ſuſpected he was induced by religious motives to publiſh this declaration. In caſes of this nature every man is at liberty to form his own conjectures.

Miles Prance proſecuted. Kennet, p. 449. Echard, Vol. III. p. 807.

It was not difficult to perceive from the King's whole conduct, that he had intirely pulled off the maſk, and was deſirous to have it thought, he intended to introduce the Roman Catholic religion. Accordingly, this was not doubted. His promiſe to the council and parliament to preſerve the Proteſtant religion was intirely forgot, and there was no man ſo bold as to remind him of it. It was even dangerous to ſpeak of it in public converſations, for fear of ſome miſchievous conſequence. Nor was the King contented with acting openly in favor of his religion, but even privately uſed all poſſible indeavors to make proſelytes, chiefly among his courtiers, and perſons of the firſt rank. He ſucceeded with reſpect to the earl of Sunderland*, who was willing to give him this proof of his devotion for him, tho' for ſome private reaſons he refuſed to make a public abjuration.

The King is buſy to gain proſelytes. Kennet, p. 451. Echard, Vol. III. p. 808.

* Robert Spencer. The earl of Sunderland turns Papiſt.

But he was not ſo ſucceſsful in his attempt upon his brother-in-law the earl of Rocheſter. For tho' the earl conſented to be preſent at a conference held by divines of both religions (2), the diſpute, it ſeems, only attached him more firmly to the Proteſtant religion, ſince he bravely refuſed forſaking it. The King, mortified by his firmneſs, removed him from the treaſury, which was put in commiſſion, but withal aſſigned him a yearly penſion of five thouſand pounds upon the poſt-office. The earl of Clarendon, his elder brother, felt likewiſe the effects of the King's diſpleaſure on the ſame account. Being recalled from his government of Ireland before the time, he was deprived, about the end of the year, of the privy ſeal, which was given to the lord Arundel a Papiſt (3).

The earl of Rocheſter refuſing to become a Papiſt, Kennet, Burnet, p. 684. is removed from being treaſurer.

The earl of Clarendon diſplaced.

At length, the King gave an unqueſtionable proof of his zeal for the Popiſh religion, by ſending the earl of Caſtlemain in embaſſy to the Pope, "To reconcile the three kingdoms of England, "Scotland, and Ireland, to the Holy See, from "which, for more than an age, they had fallen off "by hereſy." The embaſſador was received at Rome with a coldneſs which gave the King a ſenſible mortification. Innocent XI, not ſuffering himſelf to be impoſed on by this outward ſhew, conſidered that embaſſy was too much precipitated, ſince the converſion of the three kingdoms was yet far from being finiſhed, and therefore he reſolved to be no actor in a farce which would only render him ridiculous. And indeed to pretend to reconcile three kingdoms to the church of Rome, on pretenſe of a few late converſions, was it not expoſing the Pope, the King, and the Catholic religion to the mirth and inſults of their enemies. This embaſſy was owing, it is ſaid, to the influence of the jeſuits, who would have all Europe believe, they had converted the three kingdoms. But Innocent XI was not ſo fond of the jeſuits, as to give them this ſatisfaction at the expenſe of his own honor. Beſide, being then ingaged in a quarrel with France, and not ignorant of the cloſe union between Lewis XIV and James II, he was pleaſed with giving ſome mortification to Lewis, in the perſon of his friend and brother of England. To this was owing his treatment of the embaſſador with ſo much coldneſs, not to ſay, incivility. Whenever he granted him an audience, his Holineſs had a fit of coughing at command, which ſpoiled the embaſſador's harangue, and obliged him to withdraw. This he ſo often repeated, that the earl of Caſtlemain at length threatened to be gone. The Pope with his uſual coldneſs ſent him word, "That "ſince he would be gone, he adviſed him to riſe "early in the morning, that he might reſt himſelf

The earl of Caſtlemain ſent embaſſador to the Pope.

Is coldly received. Welwood, p. 157.

(1) The ſame who wrote the book called Julian the Apoſtate, which had given ſuch offenſe to the duke of York in the laſt reign, and drawn upon the author a ſevere proſecution.

(2) The Proteſtant divines were, dr. Patrick and dr. Jane; and the Popiſh, Gifford and Godden. Kennet, p. 451.

(3) John Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, and lord chamberlain, being ſollicited by the prieſts to change his religion, "he heard "them gravely arguing for Tranſubſtantiation." And then told them, "He had taken much pains to bring himſelf to believe "in God, who made the world and all men in it; but it muſt not be an ordinary force of argument, that could make him be-"lieve, that men was quits with God, and made God again."——Colonel Kirk was alſo deſired to change his religion, but he briſkly replied, "He was pre-ingaged, for he had promiſed the King of Morocco, that, if ever he changed his religion, he "would turn Mahometan. Burnet, p. 683, 684.

"at

" at noon; for in thoſe countries it was dangerous " to travel in the heat of the day." All the favor the embaſſador could obtain from the Pope, was a licenſe to the marſhal d'Humiere's daughter to marry her uncle, and a diſpenſation of the ſtatutes of the jeſuits order, that father Petre might injoy a biſhopric. It is ſaid, the archbiſhopric of York was kept vacant for him. But if the Pope and moſt of the cardinals coldly received the Engliſh embaſſador, the jeſuits made him ſome amends by ſhowing him all poſſible reſpect. At laſt, the King recalled him, being unable to bear ſo many mortifications.

All places beſtowed upon Papiſts. Gazettes. Kennet.

Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of this embaſſy, the King was not diſcouraged from purſuing his deſign, and that with ſuch ardor and openeſs, that it could not be miſtaken. Not only all vacant preferments were confered upon Papiſts, but, without any reaſon given, Proteſtants were deprived of their places to make room for them. So, it was eaſily ſeen, that none beſide Papiſts, or Proteſtants not attached to their religion, could pretend to any imployments. The court was ſo open in their meaſures, that ſome of the principal Catholics could not forbear repreſenting to the King, that his proceedings were more dangerous than advantageous to their religion. But the King would not liſten to any but violent counſels, and ſuch as were agreeable to his temper and zeal. One may ſee in the following letter, dated the ſecond of February 1684, from a jeſuit of Liege to a jeſuit of Fribourg, the King's diſpoſition with regard to religion.

Letter from a jeſuit of Liege. Echard, Vol. III. p. 811.

" It is wonderful to ſee King James's great af-
" fection to our ſociety: he wiſhed proſperity to
" this whole college, by the reverend father, the
" provincial, and earneſtly recommended himſelf to
" our prayers. Upon father John Keynes's return
" to England, he gave him a moſt gracious recep-
" tion (while earls and dukes were commanded for
" ſome hours to wait for admitance) with whom,
" in the Queen's preſenſe, he diſcourſed with all
" familiarity. He aſked him, 'How many can-
" didates for orders he had, and how many
" ſtudents?' And upon the provincial's anſwer to
" his Majeſty, who was urgent with him, 'That
" of the former and the latter he had above fifty;'
" he replied, 'There would be occaſion for dou-
" ble or treble that number, to effect what he de-
" ſigned for that ſociety's performance;' and or-
" dered, that they ſhould be all exerciſed in the
" art of preaching: 'For now, ſays he, England
" has need of ſuch.'

" I do not doubt but you have heard, that the
" King writing to father de la Chaiſe, the French
" King's confeſſor concerning the affairs of the
" houſe among the Walloons, declared, That
" whatever was done to the Engliſh fathers of that
" houſe, he would look upon as done to himſelf.
" Father Clare, rector of the ſame houſe, being
" arrived at London to treat of that matter, got
" an eaſy acceſs to the King, and as eaſily gained
" his point. The King himſelf forbad him to
" kneel and kiſs his hand, according to cuſtom,
" ſaying, 'Reverend father, you have indeed
" once kiſſed my hand; but if I had known then,
" as I do now, that you were a prieſt, I would
" rather myſelf, father, have kneeled down and
" kiſſed your hand.' After he had finiſhed his
" buſineſs, in a familiar converſation, his Majeſty
" told this father, 'That he would either convert
" England, or die a martyr; and he had rather
" die the next day and convert it, than reign
" twenty years piouſly and happily, and not ef-
" fect it.' Finally, he called himſelf, 'A Son
" of the Society, of whoſe good ſucceſs, he
" ſaid, he was as glad as of his own.' And it can
" ſcarcely be expreſſed how much gratitude he
" ſhewed, when it was told him, 'That he was
" made partaker, by the moſt reverend our provin-
" cial, of all the merits of the ſociety;' out of which
" he is to nominate one for his confeſſor; but
" hitherto it is not known who it will be: ſome
" report, that it will be the reverend father the
" provincial, but ſtill there is no certainty of
" that. Many are of opinion, that father Edward
" R. Petre, who is chiefly in favor with the
" King, will obtain an archbiſhopric, but more
" believe it will be a cardinal's cap. To him has
" been granted, within this month or two, all
" that part of the palace, in which the King uſed
" to reſide, when he was duke of York, where
" there is not a day, but you may ſee I know
" not how many courtiers waiting to ſpeak to his
" eminence, for ſo they ſay he is called: for the King
" adviſes with him, and with many Catholic lords,
" who have the chief places in the kingdom, to
" find a method to propogate the faith without
" violence. Not long ſince, ſome of theſe lords
" objected to the King, 'That they thought he
" made too much haſte to eſtabliſh the faith.' To
" whom he anſwered, 'I am growing old, and
" muſt take Large Steps; elſe if I ſhould hap-
" pen to die, I might perhaps leave you in a worſe
" condition than I found you.' When they aſked
" him, 'Why then he was ſo little concerned
" about the converſion of his daughters, who were
" the heirs of the kingdom? He anſwered,
" 'God will take care of that; leave the con-
" verſion of my daughters to me; do you, by
" your example, convert your tenants and others
" to the faith.'

" He has Catholic lord lieutenants in moſt
" counties; and we ſhall have ſhortly Catholic
" juſtices of the peace in almoſt all places. We
" hope alſo, that our affairs will have good ſuc-
" ceſs at Oxford. In the public chapel of the vice
" chancellor, who is a Catholic, there is always
" one of our divines, who has converted ſome of
" the ſtudents to the faith. The biſhop of Ox-
" ford himſelf, ſeems to be a great favorer of the
" Catholic faith; he propoſed to the council, whe-
" ther it did not ſeem to be expedient, that at leaſt
" one college ſhould be granted to the Catholics
" at Oxford, that they might not be forced to
" ſtudy beyond ſea at ſuch great expences; but it
" is not yet known what anſwer he had. The
" ſame biſhop having invited two of our brethren,
" together with ſome of the nobility, drank the
" King's health to a certain heretic lord who was
" in company, 'wiſhing his Majeſty good ſucceſs
" in all his undertakings.' Adding alſo, 'That
" the religion of the Proteſtants in England, did
" not ſeem to him in a better condition, than Buda
" was before it was taken; and that they were
" next to Atheiſts, that defended that faith.' Many
" imbrace the true religion, and four of the moſt
" conſiderable earls had lately made public pro-
" feſſion of it. Father Alexander Keynes, the
" provincial's nephew, to whom is commited the
" care of the chapel belonging to the elector Pa-
" latine's envoy, is continually taken up in ſolving
" and anſwering the queſtions of heretics, who
" doubt of their faith, of whom you may ſee two
" or three together walking by the chapel door,
" continually diſputing about ſome point of reli-
" gion. As to Prince George, it is yet uncertain what
" religion he profeſſes. We gradually begin to get
" footing in England; we teach human learning
" at Lincoln, Norwich and York; and at Wor-
" ceſter we have a public chapel, protected by a
" guard of the King's ſoldiers; and we are to buy
" ſome houſes at Wigan in Lancaſhire. The Ca-
" tholic intereſt grows very ſtrong; and at ſome
" churches, granted to the Catholics, upon holi-
" days, there are often counted fifteen hundred pre-

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" ſent at the ſermon. At London alſo, our buſi-
" neſs is carried on with the ſame good ſucceſs:
" ſermons are preached upon every holiday, and
" there are ſo many that frequent the chapels,
" that they are not big enough to hold them. Two
" of our ſociety, Dormer and Bertue, preach con-
" tinually before the King and the Queen; father
" Eward Neville, before the Queen-Dowager;
" father Alexander Keynes, in the chapel afore-
" ſaid; others in other chapels. There are many
" houſes bought in the Savoy, near Somerſet-houſe,
" which is the Queen-Dowager's palace, towards
" erecting the firſt college in London, for about
" eighteen thouſand Florins; and they are hard at
" work to bring them to the form of a college,
" that a ſchool may be opened before Eaſter.

" A Catholic lord lieutenant is ſhortly to go
" over to Ireland, becauſe the King cannot be ſa-
" tisfied with any other, to eſtabliſh the Catholic
" intereſt in that kingdom. The parliament will
" certainly ſit in this month of February, of whom
" his Majeſty is reſolved to aſk three things: Firſt,
" that by a general act all the Catholic peers may
" be admited to ſit in the upper-houſe: Secondly,
" that the teſt may be aboliſhed: And thirdly,
" which is the chief point, that all penal laws
" againſt Catholics ſhould be abrogated. And that
" he may the better obtain theſe things, he de-
" ſigns to let them all know, 'That he is reſolved
" to turn out all thoſe who will not heartily act for
" the obtaining of them; and likewiſe diſſolve the
" parliament.' At which reſolution ſome heretics
" being terrified, came to a certain earl to adviſe
" with him what might be done; to whom he
" anſwered. 'The King's mind is ſufficiently
" known; what he has once ſaid he will certainly
" perform: if you love yourſelves ſubmit to the
" King's pleaſure.' There is to be a great prepa-
" tion of war at London, and a fleet, of above a
" hundred men of war, is to be fited out againſt
" the ſpring, but on what deſign is uncertain.
" The Dutch are under great apprehenſions, but
" for what reaſon, altho' they are ſaid to make an
" armament, time will beſt diſcover."

The jeſuits of Fribourg made no ſcruple to ſhow this letter to ſeveral perſons, who, taking copies of it, made it public in Switzerland and at Geneva. Dr. Burnet ſays, he copied it from one in the hands of monſieur Heidegger, a famous profeſſor at Zurich. One of the copies was ſent to monſieur Dickvelt, embaſſador of the States-General in England, who ſpoke of it to the King. Whereupon the King deſired to ſee it, ſaying, he ſhould ſoon know whether it was genuine, or forged, to render the jeſuits odious. But tho' it was put into his hands, he ſpoke no more of it to monſieur Dickvelt.

Vol. I. p. 712.

The parliament, which according to the laſt prorogation, was to meet the fifteenth of February, was farther prorogued *. Probably, the King found things not ripe enough, as he deſired, to be aſſured of the concurence of the parliament in the execution of his deſigns. He choſe rather to take another courſe, which to him ſeemed more ſhort and eaſy, in eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience by his own authority. He was, doubtleſs, perſuaded, that it would be more eaſy to obtain the conſent of the parliament to a thing already done, than the power to do it. But he thought proper to begin with Scotland, that the example of that kingdom might influence the Engliſh. To this end, he ſent a proclamation into Scotland for an intire liberty of conſcience, with orders to the privy council to publiſh it. In his opinion, this proclamation was more than capable to convince all his good ſubjects of his great moderation, and deſire that all ſhould live in quiet. He excluded, however, out of his favor the Field Conventiclers, whom he recommended to his council to proſecute with all the ſeverity of the laws. This proclamation contained in ſubſtance:

The parliament prorogued. Gazette, No. 2206. Echard, Vol. III. p. 813.
* To April 28.

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The King publiſhes in Scotland a declaration for liberty of conſcience. Gazette, No. 2221. Kennet, p. 446. Echard, Vol. III. p. 814. Burnet, p. 712.

" That his Majeſty being reſolved to unite the
" hearts and affections of his ſubjects, to God in
" religion, to him in loyalty, and to their neigh-
" bors in chriſtian love and charity; he had there-
" fore thought fit, by his Sovereign authority,
" prerogative Royal, and abſolute power, which
" all his ſubjects were to obey without Reserve,
" to give and grant his Royal toleration, to the
" ſeveral profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion after
" named. Firſt, he allows and tolerates the mo-
" derate Preſbyterians, to meet in their private
" houſes only; but it is his pleaſure that Field Con-
" venticlers be proſecuted according to the utmoſt
" ſeverity of the laws. In like manner, he tole-
" rates Quakers to meet and exerciſe in their form,
" in any place or places appointed for their wor-
" ſhip." Then the proclamation proceeds thus,
" Conſidering the ſevere and cruel laws made
" againſt Roman Catholics (therein called Papiſts)
" in the minority of our Royal grandfather of
" glorious memory, without his conſent, and con-
" trary to the duty of good ſubjects, by his regents,
" and other enemies to their lawful Sovereign, our
" great grand mother Queen Mary, of bleſſed
" and pious memory; wherein, under the pretenſe
" of religion, they cloathed the worſt of treaſons,
" factions, and uſurpations; and made theſe laws,
" not againſt the enemies of God, but their own:
" which laws have ſtill been continued of courſe,
" without deſign of executing them, or any of
" them, ad terrorem only, on ſuppoſition, that
" the Papiſts, relying on an external power, were
" incapable of duty and true allegiance to their
" natural Sovereigns, and rightful Monarchs: we
" of our certain knowledge and long experience,
" knowing that the Catholics, as it is their prin-
" ciple to be good Chriſtians, ſo it is to be dutiful
" ſubjects; and that they have likewiſe, on all oc-
" caſions, ſhewn themſelves good and faithful ſub-
" jects to us, and our Royal predeceſſors, &c. Do
" therefore, with the conſent of our privy council, by
" our Sovereign authority, prerogative Royal, and
" abſolute power, ſuſpend, ſtop, and diſable all
" laws or acts of parliament, made or executed
" againſt any of our Roman Catholic ſubjects, in
" any time paſt, to all intents and purpoſes, making
" void all prohibitions therein mentioned, pains
" or penalties therein ordained to be inflicted: ſo
" that they ſhall in all things be as free in all re-
" ſpects, as any of our Proteſtant ſubjects what-
" ſoever, not only to exerciſe their religion, but
" to injoy all offices, benefices, and others, which
" we ſhall think fit to beſtow upon them in all
" time coming.——And whereas the obedience
" of our ſubjects is due to us by their allegiance,
" and our ſovereignty; and that no law, difference
" in religion, or other impediment whatſoever,
" can exempt the ſubjects from their native ob-
" ligations to the crown; and conſidering, that
" ſome oaths are capable of being wreſted by men
" of ſiniſter intentions, a practiſe in that kingdom
" as fatal to religion as loyalty: we therefore caſs,
" annul, and diſcharge all oaths whatſoever, by
" which any of our ſubjects are incapacitated from
" holding places or offices in our ſaid kingdom,
" diſcharging the ſame to be taken or given in any
" time coming, without our ſpecial warrant and
" conſent; and we do ſtop, diſable, and diſpenſe
" with all laws, injoining the ſaid oaths, teſts, or
" any of them, &c." Towards the concluſion, the King reiterates former promiſes in theſe words:----
" For the incouragement of our Proteſtant biſhops,
" and the regular clergy, and ſuch as have hither-
" to lived orderly, we thing fit to declare, that it
" never was our principle, nor will we ever ſuffer

" violence

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"violence to be offered to any man's conſcience,
"nor will we uſe force, or invincible neceſſity,
"againſt any man on the account of his perſuaſion,
"nor the Proteſtant religion; but will protect our
"biſhops and other miniſters, in their functions,
"rights, and properties, and all our Proteſtant
"ſubjects, in the free exerciſe of their Proteſtant
"religion in the churches."

Tho' this proclamation concerned only Scotland, I thought proper to inſert it here, becauſe it diſcovers clearly the King's intentions and principles, and conſequently, how he pretended to deal with his Engliſh ſubjects, tho' hitherto he ſtill kept within ſome bounds, with regard to that abſolute power, which England had not aſcribed to him in ſo extenſive a manner as Scotland.

AN' 1687. The council of Scotland publiſhes the King's proclamation. Gazette, No. 2221. Kennet, p. 446.

The council of Scotland blindly obeyed the King, not only by publiſhing his proclamation, but even by thanking him for it, as for a ſignal favor. This ought not to appear ſurpriſing, becauſe the council wholly conſiſted of men intirely devoted to the King; nor was there in Scotland any perſon in a public office, who was not, or at leaſt pretended not to be in the ſame principles. The parliament was compoſed in the ſame manner, and by acts paſſed, had obliged all the Scots to an unlimited obedience, ſo that no man could oppoſe the King's meaſures, under pain of high treaſon. Accordingly, the council, in thanking the King for his proclamation, might boldly ſpeak for the whole kingdom: not that they were ignorant that it was not the general ſentiment of the nation, but becauſe they knew, no perſon would have the boldneſs to contradict it. It is not therefore to the whole Scotiſh nation, that this blind obedience is to be imputed, but to their governors, who were but a ſmall part of the people.

The King publiſhes a like declaration in England. Gazettes. Kennet, p. 487. Echard. Burnet, p. 714.

The King charmed with the ready compliance of the Scots, and conſidering it as a favorable precedent for England, ſummoned his council, and told them, "it was his intention to publiſh the like "declaration in England. He grounded his reſo"lution on his obſerving, that the indeavors to "eſtabliſh an uniformity in the four preceding "reigns, had proved ineffectual, and been very "prejudicial to the nation. That beſide, it was "his opinion, as moſt ſuitable to the principles of "chriſtianity, 'That no man ſhould be perſecuted "for conſcience ſake;' for he thought conſcience "could not be forced." The council, compoſed like that of Scotland, approved of this reſolution, and magnified extremely the King's indulgence to his ſubjects. Therefore on the fourth of April the declaration for liberty of conſcience was publiſhed. It was much the ſame with that publiſhed in Scotland, except that the King ſoftened his expreſſions concerning his abſolute power, and ſaid, "he made "no doubt of the concurence of his two houſes of "parliament, when he ſhould think it convenient "for them to meet." It was however manifeſt, from the frequent prorogations of this parliament, that he was far from being aſſured of their concurence.

It is very probable, there was not in the whole nation a ſingle perſon, who thought the King deſigned to favor or eaſe the Non-conformiſts. Every one clearly ſaw, that his aim in this declaration was to eſtabliſh the Popiſh religion, upon the ruins of the Proteſtant. For how could it be ſuppoſed, that the King, from a violent perſecutor, ſhould at once become a friend to the Diſſenters? Or what aſſurance could there be, that his promiſes to the Non-conformiſts, would be better kept than thoſe he had made to the church of England? Nevertheleſs the Non-conformiſts had hitherto been treated with ſo much rigor, that it is not ſtrange, they ſhould at firſt think themſelves happy in a deliverance from perſecution. For this reaſon, addreſſes of thanks, from the ſeveral ſects, were preſented to the King for his declaration. The Anabaptiſts led the way: the Quakers followed, and next came the Independents; and laſtly, the Preſbyterians. Some of theſe addreſſes, ſpeaking of the Royal power, carried it to the higheſt degree, becauſe it was then advantageous to the Non-conformiſts to maintain the authority by which they were freed from their conſtraint. The churchmen failed not to take notice of this change. But they could not juſtly blame an exceſs into which themſelves had fallen. The truth is, the two parties neither did then, nor yet do, follow on all occaſions, their own principles, with relation to the Royal power, which they extend or contract, as the King is more or leſs favorable to them.

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Is thanked for it by the Non-conformiſts. Gazettes. Kennet, p. 489. Echard, Vol. III. p. 817. Burnet, p. 714.

The King deſirous to diſunite the Proteſtants. Kennet, p. 490. Burnet, p. 701, 715.

However this be, the war then waged between the two parties was of no long continuance. They were quickly ſenſible, that the court aimed to revive their former animoſities, in order to weaken them both. The King to ſucceed in this deſign, made the hardſhips and perſecutions which the Non-conformiſts had ſuffered from the church of England, the topic of his diſcourſe in his common converſations. No greater pleaſure could be done him, than to entertain him with the particulars of thoſe oppreſſions. To give the church of England a ſtill more ſenſible mortification, he ordered the proceſſes in the eccleſiaſtical court againſt the Diſſenters to be revived. But the Preſbyterians, who where moſt concerned, were ſo wiſe as not to improve ſo favorable an occaſion to mortify their enemies. On the contrary, tho' ſome paſſionate men among the Diſſenters, publiſhed virulent invectives againſt the church, to retaliate their ill uſage, the Epiſcopalians unanimouſly reſolved not to anſwer them, for fear of widening the breach between the two parties at a time when their union was more than ever neceſſary. It cannot be denied, that herein their moderation and prudence were exemplary. In general, it may be affirmed, that if ſome of the Non-conformiſts, whether Preſbyterians or others, ſuffered themſelves to be tranſported by their paſſion into inſults on the church of England, they were men of no note. The moſt ſenſible, and thoſe who had moſt credit in their party, obſerved a great moderation. The Epiſcopalians on their ſide, did all that lay in their power to eſtabliſh union, which was alone, capable of ſupporting them both. Writings were publiſhed from time to time, in which the churchmen acknowleged their error in driving the Preſbyterians to extremities; that they were not ſufficiently aware of the artifices of the court, and promiſed to have for them great condeſcenſion, in caſe affairs were reſtored on a good foot. It is true, they are accuſed of having been no leſs forgetful of this promiſe, than of that made when the reſtoration of Charles II was tranſacting. But this concerns the following reigns.

is miſtaken in his aim, and only puts them more upon their guard.

Their common labors for an union. Kennet, p. 490. Burnet, p. 715, 716.

If there were Non-conformiſts who thought themſelves obliged to expreſs their gratitude for the King's declaration, by flattering addreſſes, there were likewiſe biſhops who, with much leſs foundation, prevailed with their clergy to ſend addreſſes of thanks to the King, as for a ſignal favor to the church of England. Of this number were Crew biſhop of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln, Cartwright of Cheſter, Wood of Litchfield, Watſon of St. Davids. Parker biſhop of Oxford was not ſo ſucceſsful; for, in his whole dioceſe, he could find but one clergyman who would ſign ſuch an addreſs. It may eaſily be imagined, that, had the King's project ſucceeded, theſe biſhops would not have been the laſt to imbrace the Popiſh religion.

Some biſhops go into the deſigns of the court. Gazette, No. 2243, 2246, &c. Echard, Vol. III. p. 821. Kennet.

The ſteps already made by the King for the intereſt

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intereſt of the Popiſh religion, were not thought ſufficient by thoſe who aſpired to greater advantages. Hitherto the Papiſts had not been able to procure any preferments in either of the univerſities, and yet they were paſſionately deſirous to ſet up there, maſters and profeſſors of their own religion, in order to become in time heads of ſome of the colleges. It had been propoſed to the King to found a college in each univerſity. But, whether the expenſe diſcouraged him, or whatever was the reaſon, it was thought more proper to introduce Papiſts into the colleges already founded. The deſign was begun at cambridge, where the vice chancellor * received a letter from the King, commanding the univerſity to admit to the degree of maſter of arts, Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, without adminiſtring any oath whatſoever, notwithſtanding any ſtatute or law to the contrary, which the King was pleaſed to diſpenſe with in favor of the ſaid Alban Francis. The vice chancellor having communicated this letter to the congregation of regents and non-regents, it was unanimouſly agreed by the members, not to admit the ſaid Francis, till the King had been petitioned to revoke the mandate. For this purpoſe, they applied to the duke of Albemarle †, their chancellor, praying his interceſſion with the King, to which he returned for anſwer, That he had tried, but to no effect. Upon this anſwer the univerſity ſent deputies to London, who were to apply to the earl of Sunderland; but he refuſed to hear them. Shortly after the King ſent a ſecond letter to the univerſity, the ſame in ſubſtance with the former, with this addition, "To "do it at their peril." As the univerſity continued ſtill to ſtand their ground, a ſummons was ſent from the new eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, commanding the vice chancellor to appear in perſon before them, and the congregation, by themſelves, or their deputies. In ſhort, by ſentenſe of the court, the vice chancellor was deprived of his office; but Francis was not admited. This was the firſt avowed attempt to introduce Papiſts into the univerſity. I ſay, 'avowed,' for ſome might have been received under the pretenſe of being Proteſtants. But ſoon after Magdalen College in Oxford, the richeſt in revenue (1), had a more terrible ſtorm to incounter.

An order to the univerſity of Cambridge to admit a Benedictine monk to the degree of maſter of arts. State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 250. Febr. 21. Burnet. Kennet.

Febr. 24.

April 9.

The vice chancellor deprived. May 7.

* Dr. John Peachell. rejected.

† Chriſtopher Monk.

The affair of Magdalen college in Oxford. State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 258. Welwood. Burnet. Kennet, p. 502.

The preſidentſhip of that college being vacant the thirty-firſt of March, by the death of dr. Clark, the vice preſident gave notice for a new election the thirteenth of April. But before that day, the members of the college were informed, that the King had granted a particular mandate in favor of mr. Anthony Farmer, a man of ill reputation, who had promiſed to declare himſelf a Papiſt. Whereupon they preſented a petition to the King, praying him, either to leave them to the choice of their preſident, according to their founder's ſtatutes, or to recommend a perſon who might be more ſerviceable to his Majeſty and the college. The anſwer received from the earl of Sunderland, was, "That the "King muſt be obeyed." Immediately after, the King's mandate was delivered to mr. Robert Charnock (2), a new convert and fellow of the college. This mandate being read in the preſenſe of all the fellows, it was reſolved to keep to the day appointed for the election (3), on which day dr. Hough was choſen by a great majority. The new preſident was preſented to the viſitor, the biſhop of Wincheſter, who ſwore and admited him to his office.

April 9.

April 11.

April 15, 16.

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The King was extremely incenſed at this election, and, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the duke of Ormond chancellor of the univerſity, the vice preſident and fellows were cited to appear before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners at Whitehall. Accordingly, the ſixth of June, ſix fellows, deputed by the ſociety, appeared before the commiſſioners, and to the queſtion, "Why they refuſed to obey "the King's mandate?" They produced their ſtatutes, and the oath they had taken for the obſervation of them, by which ſtatutes Farmer could have no pretenſion. They were ordered to attend again the twenty-ſecond of the month, on which day they gave in ſo many allegations againſt Farmer (who beſide was unqualified by the ſtatutes) that the commiſſioners were aſhamed of him. But as it was the King's cauſe they were maintaining, they deprived dr. Hough of his preſidentſhip, and ſuſpended the vice preſident and one of the fellows (4). The King being informed of the allegations againſt Farmer, thought fit to drop his firſt mandate, and granted a ſecond in favor of dr. Parker, biſhop of Oxford.

State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 261.

p. 262.

p. 264. June 22.

Aug. 14.

The fellows of the college finding him no better qualified than Farmer, refuſed to obey the new mandate. This ſo inraged the King, that he went himſelf to Oxford, bent at all hazards to overcome their obſtinacy. He ordered them to attend him at Chriſt-church, and ſpoke to them in terms capable of intimidating men of leſs firmneſs and reſolution. He commanded them to be gone, and to admit the biſhop of Oxford their preſident, leting them know, that otherwiſe "they ſhould feel the "weight of his hand." However, inſtead of obeying, they offered a petition in vindication of their proceedings; but the King would not receive it. At length, after all his menaces, he was forced to leave Oxford, without gaining his point. Shortly after, the King appointed a commiſſion to viſit the college, viz. Cartwright, biſhop of Cheſter; ſir Robert Wright, chief juſtice of the King's-bench; and ſir Thomas Jenner, a baron of the exchequer. Theſe commiſſioners treated the fellows very uncivilly, abſtaining not even from ſcurrilous and abuſive language. In fine, ſeeing it was not poſſible to overcome them, they found an expedient to ſave in ſome meaſure the King's honor, by an ambigious declaration, to which the fellows were willing to ſubmit. But this ſatisfied not the King, who, the commiſſioners ſaid, expected ſome farther ſubmiſſion, which they adviſed them to make, "By acknowleging their contempt to his ſacred "Majeſty in perſon, and to his letters; that they "ſhould promiſe to behave themſelves loyally for "the future; that they ſhould own the proceed-"ings and legality of the court, implore his Ma-"jeſty's pardon, and lay themſelves at his feet; and "that they ſhould declare their intire ſubmiſſion to "the biſhop of Oxford as their preſident." Of twenty-ſeven fellows, only Charnock and another (5) offered to ſign this ſubmiſſion. At laſt, the commiſſioners, impowered by the King, deprived the twenty-five, who refuſed to ſubſcribe the declaration, of their fellowſhips, and expelled them from the college, for diſobedience to the King's commands. They all proteſted againſt the ſentenſe, declaring,

p. 265.

p. 266.

Nov. 21. p. 269.

p. 277.

The fellows expelled. Nov. 16. p. 278.

(1) Tho' the certain rents of it are but about four or five thouſand pounds a year, yet it is thought the improved value of the eſtate belonging to it is about forty thouſand pounds. Burnet, p. 697.

(2) The ſame who was executed in the reign of King William, for being in a plot for the aſſaſſination of that Prince. Rapin.

(3) The election was put off to April the fifteenth. See State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 259.

(4) Dr. Aldworth, the vice preſident, and dr. Fairfax.

(5) Dr. Thomas Smith. See State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 277.

"They

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"They would use all just and legal ways of being "relieved." The sentense however was confirmed by the eccleſiastical commiſſioners, and aggravated, by declaring the preſident and fellows incapable of being admited to any eccleſiaſtical dignity or benefice. The preſident refuſed to put the biſhop of Oxford in poſſeſſion of his lodgings, which were therefore broke open. All the college was filled with Papiſts, and Charnock was made vice preſident. Tho' this affair held from the begining of June to the end of October, I was willing, in order to avoid repetition, to finiſh the narrative at once.

The King earneſt to make converts. Gives all places to Papiſts. Echard, Vol. III. p. 828.

The King diſcovered on all occaſions his extraordinary zeal for the advancement of his religion; but principally in the diſpoſal of all places and offices in his gift. For ſome time, he had ſcarce prefered any, but thoſe who were willing to purchaſe his favor by changing their religion, and often diſplaced thoſe who teſtified a zeal for the Proteſtant profeſſion, without regard to paſt ſervices or offenſes. Many of thoſe who had been moſt active for the bill of excluſion were careſſed and courted, provided they would imbrace the King's religion; of this the earl of Sunderland was an inſtance. But an adherence to the Proteſtant faith, was a ſufficient cauſe to remove thoſe who had done him the moſt important ſervices on the ſame occaſion, witneſs his brothers-in-law the earls of Clarendon and Rocheſter. The earl of Shrewſbury *, who ſome years before had turned Proteſtant, loſt his regiment of horſe, for refuſing to return to Popery. The lords lieutenants of counties were almoſt all Papiſts. As for the judges, ſome were Papiſts, and the reſt, tho' Proteſtants, were ready to obey all the King's commands. If any of them proved too ſcrupulous, they were immediately diſplaced, for others more compliant. Theſe mercenary judges, when they went their circuits, received orders from the chancellor, to uſe all their authority for confirming the right aſſumed by the King of diſpenſing with the laws, and to diſcourage, as much as poſſible, thoſe whom they ſhould not find diſpoſed to ſubmiſſion. Theſe orders were executed with extreme rigor and inſolence.

* Charles Talbot.

The judges are his tools. Kennet, p. 491.

The tendency of theſe proceedings plainly appeared to all, for the King was open and undiſguiſed. Nevertheleſs, there were even among the lawyers themſelves, ſome who affected to approve of all his actions, and by their addreſſes, incouraged him to proceed. To ſhew the exceſſive flattery of theſe men, I ſhall here inſert an addreſs preſented to the King the eleventh of June, by the ſociety of the Middle-Temple.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

The addreſs from the Middle-Temple. Gazette, No. 2250. Echard, Vol. III. p. 828.

"WE your Majeſty's dutiful ſubjects, to our "great joy, have received a happy occa- "ſion of making this declaration of our gratitude: "and as we know that your Majeſty's goodneſs is "the greateſt that ever was ſhewn by a Prince to "his ſubjects, ſo we wiſh the voice of men and "angels, to return ſufficient thanks for your Ma- "jeſty's condeſcenſion and clemency to all your "ſubjects, in your gracious declaration for a tole- "ration. And as for this compaſſion and good- "neſs, thanks ought to be paid your Majeſty by "all your ſubjects; ſo we eſpecially of the profeſ- "ſion of the law, have moſt reaſon to be thank- "ful for the honor you have done us, by aſſerting "your own Royal prerogatives, which is the very "life of the law, and our profeſſion. Which pre- "rogatives, as they were given by God himſelf, "ſo we declare, That no power upon earth can "diminiſh them, but they muſt always remain in- "tire and inſeparable to your Royal perſon. Which "prerogatives, as we have ſtudied to know them, "ſo we are reſolved to defend them, by aſſerting "with our lives and fortunes that divine maxim, "'A Deo Rex, A Rege Lex!' And now as a "teſtimony of our perfect ſatisfaction in this our "addreſs and acknowlegment, we have ſubſcribed "our names, that your Majeſty may know us to "be yours; and that the reſt of our profeſſion may "follow our example: and therefore we beg your "Majeſty will accept this addreſs from us, who in "concluſion make bold to offer our beſt wiſhes, "and hearty deſires, that your Majeſty's councils "may proſper in wiſdom, your kingdoms flouriſh "in peace, and your Royal perſon injoy a long, "happy, and glorious reign over us."

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Notwithſtanding all this, the King was diſappointed in an affair which he earneſtly labored, which was the gaining the parliament to approve of the power pretended to by him of diſpenſing with the laws. The parliament ſhould have met the twenty-eighth of April, and it was expected accordingly. But the King, not finding things ſo ripe as he deſired, had prorogued it to the twenty-ſecond of November. Some days before this prorogation a pamphlet had been diſperſed in London, tending to give the parliament a diſadvantageous idea of the King, in the ſuppoſition that they were going ſo fit. Here is a ſhort extract of this pamphlet, which was aſcribed to dr. Burnet then in Holland.

The King farther prorogues the parliament. Kennet, p. 494. Echard, Vol. III. p. 829.

A libel againſt the King.

"Our King has given ſuch teſtimonies of his "zeal for his religion, that we ſee among all his "other Royal qualities, there is none for which he "deſires and deſerves to be ſo much admired, ſince "even the paſſion of glory, of making himſelf the "terror of all Europe, and arbiter of Chriſtendom "(which as it is natural to all Princes, ſo muſt it "be moſt particularly ſo to one of his martial and "noble temper) yields to his zeal for his church; "and that he, in whom we might have hoped to "ſee our Edward the third, our Henry the fifth "revived, chuſes rather to merit the heightening "his degree of glory in another world, than to "acquire all the conqueſts that this low and vile "world can give him: and that, inſtead of mak- "ing himſelf a terror to his neighbors, he is con- "tented with the humble glory of being a terror to "his own people; ſo that inſtead of the great figure "this reign might make in the world, all the "news of England, is now only concerning the "practiſes on ſome fearful mercenaries."

The King cloſets ſeveral members of parliament to gain them over to him; Welwood. Echard, Vol. III. p. 829. and at laſt diſſolves the parliament. Gazette, No. 2256.

In the interim, the King continued to take infinite pains to gain the members of parliament. He cloſeted, one by one, all that were in London, and repreſented to them what he thought capable to convince them of the neceſſity to aboliſh the penal laws, for the good of the kingdom, and inforced his arguments with menaces and promiſes. It is not improbable, but ſome might be gained, but he could never be aſſured of a majority of voices. This determined him at laſt to diſſolve the parliament, by proclamation the ſecond of July.

The members of the laſt parliament vindicated from an accuſation.

When the ſteadineſs of the members of this parliament, as ſoon as they believed the intereſts of religion were at ſtake, is compared with their extreme zeal for the King in the begining of their ſeſſion, it muſt be infered, that their compliance was owing purely to their miſtake in their good opinion of the King, and that their firmneſs proceeded from their being at length undeceived. They are therefore unjuſtly accuſed, of intending to ſacrifice to the King the intereſt of religion and their country. They demonſtrated the contrary, in reſiſting the temptations the King laid before them, even in his preſenſe, and face to face. This, in my opinion, is the higheſt degree to which firmneſs can be carried. They were all, or almoſt all, members of

the church of England; nay, for the moſt part, High-churchmen. I have before given the reaſon of their exceſſive zeal and condeſcenſion for the King, and therefore need not repeat it. But when they diſcovered that the point was not to curb the Diſſenters, but that the King's deſigns concerned the Proteſtant religion, without any diſtinction of ſects, they evidently ſhowed, that they were as good Proteſtants, as thoſe who accuſed them of being Papiſts, or Popiſhly inclined. This truth will ſtill more evidently appear, in the firm and unſhaken courage of the church of England, on the moſt important occaſion that ever was.

Quo Warrantos iſſued out againſt diverſe corporations. Kennet, p. 495. Echard, Vol. III. p. 830.

After the parliament was diſſolved, the King's grand affair was to have a new one intirely at his devotion. But he would not call one, till he was aſſured of having ſuch members returned, as he ſhould think proper. For this purpoſe, Quo Warrantos were iſſued againſt ſeveral corporations, to the end, that when they were deprived of their charters, the King might grant ſuch new ones, as ſhould render him maſter of the elections. It may be imagined, that as the courts of juſtice were diſpoſed, the corporations could not but be deprived of their charters, and for obtaining new ones, were obliged to comply with his Majeſty's deſires. This was one of the methods uſed by the King, to diſpoſe the people to elect ſuch members, as would promote the deſign of taking off the penal laws and teſt. It would be too tedious and difficult to relate all the King's ſecret methods: the emiſſaries he ſent into the counties and corporations; the inſtructions he gave them to gain the people; the arguments, promiſes, and menaces they uſed. All that can be ſaid in general, is, that nothing was left undone which he thought would contribute to the procuring a favorable parliament. To this end, magiſtrates and lord lieutenants were diſplaced, but chiefly, particular men were cloſeted to ingage them in the King's meaſures. It was alſo with this view that he made a progreſs thro' ſeveral counties, and ſtoped at the cities and great towns, to careſs or intimidate the people. But he every where met with ſuch coldneſs, or rather averſion to his deſigns, that he durſt not venture to call a parliament. As the people were convinced, that the King's intention, with whatever pretenſe he diſguiſed it, was to deprive them of their liberty, and change the eſtabliſhed religion, they would not be the inſtruments of their own ruin. The affair of Magdalen college, which was in its greateſt heat, during the King's progreſs, contributed much to open the eyes of the moſt blind, and exaſperate the nation. The King would have a parliament, which ſhould conſent to the abrogation of the penal laws and teſt, or grant him a power of diſpenſing with them, at a time when his whole conduct diſcovered a ſetled deſign of planting the Popiſh upon the ruin of the Proteſtant religion. Beſide, it was manifeſt, he did not aſk this power as a favor, but inſiſted upon it as a right, which he had already aſſumed, without the concurrence of a parliament.

The King's practiſes to obtain a favorable parliament. Burnet, p. 717, 718. Gazette, No. 2302.

The publie entry of the Pope's nuncio at Windſor. Kennet, p. 494. Burnet, p. 716. Echard, Vol. III. p. 839. Welwood.

In fine, the King ſhewed ſo open a contempt of the law, that no perſon could miſtake him. After ſending, as we have ſeen, a ſolemn embaſſy to Rome, he would have a nuncio in ordinary reſiding at his own court. The Pope had, the laſt year, nominated for this imployment, Ferdinando Dadda, domeſtic prelate to his Holineſs, who had been about the King ever ſince his acceſſion to the crown, and was the Queen's great favorite. He had been received as nuncio, but privately, and without the people's knowlege. But now the King having intirely pulled off the maſk, was for honoring him with a public reception, tho' to aſſume the character of the Pope's nuncio was high treaſon. To give more luſtre to the nuncio, he was firſt conſecrated archbiſhop of Amaſia in the Royal chapel, after which, on the third of July, he made his public entry at Windſor, with great pomp and magnificence. It was a very ſurpriſing ſpectacle to Proteſtants, to ſee a nuncio from the Pope in his Pontificalibus, preceded by a croſs bearer, and a train of prieſts and monks, in the habits of their reſpective orders. Mean while, on this very occaſion the King received an unexpected mortification; for having ordered the duke of Somerſet * to attend the nuncio to his audience, he deſired his Majeſty to excuſe him from an office which the laws of the land made criminal. This ſo incenſed his Majeſty that he removed him from his places of gentleman of the bed-chamber, and colonel of the dragoons. The duke of Grafton †, leſs ſcrupulous, accepted the office refuſed by the duke of Somerſet. Some have believed, that Dadda was one of the King's principal counſellors in affairs of religion. But it is not probable, he would act ſo contrary to the ſentiments of the Pope, who by no means approved the King's conduct. The ſame thing cannot be ſaid of Father Petre, or Peters, the King's confeſſor, who was the firſt mover of all the engines to advance the progreſs of Popery. He was publicly received into the council the eleventh of November, contrary to the opinion of the moſt eminent Papiſts, who juſtly feared the King's affairs would thereby be very much prejudiced.

* Charles Seymour.

† Henry Fitz-Roy.

Father Petre received into the council. Gazettes. Burnet.

The King receives favorably the diſtreſſed Proteſtants from France. Kennet, p. 499. Echard, Vol. III. p. 840.

Tho' his Majeſty had given convincing proofs of his averſion to the Proteſtant religion, he favorably received the French Proteſtants, who took ſanctuary in England on account of the rigor exerciſed againſt them in France. He not only granted them his protection, but alſo large ſums, beſide his licenſe to incourage a public collection. Some aſcribe this to policy, in order to intimate to the Engliſh, how little ground they had to fear ſuch treatment in England, from the King, who was ſo charitably compaſſionate to the misfortunes of foreigners, perſecuted in their own country. But as the King himſelf did not diſcover the motives of this conduct, they can only be conjectured. Thus much is certain, the French miniſters thought themſelves under ſuch obligations to the King, that they were among the moſt forward to diſplay his virtues in their ſermons, whenever an occaſion offered. I myſelf remember to have heard a preacher in the church of the Savoy launch out into the moſt profuſe flattery (1).

The duke of Buckingham *, who made a contemptible figure, died this year in Yorkſhire, juſt as he had lived, i. e. without any ſenſe of religion. This ſame year death ſeized the famous ſir William Petty, phyſician, and fellow of the Royal ſociety, after having publiſhed ſeveral uſeful and valuable writings.

* George Villiers. Death of the duke of Buckingham. April 16.

I am now come to the year 1688, a critical year to England, the firſt half of which portended to the Engliſh the loſs of their religion and liberties. James II had promoted this great work in the three years he had been on the throne, with a ſurpriſing rapidity and ſucceſs. He had inveſted himſelf with a deſpotic power, that ſcarcely ſuffered any contradiction. The laws of the land were openly violated. The privy council was almoſt wholly Popiſh, and under a jeſuit's direction. The moſt conſiderable places in the court and kingdom were poſſeſſed by men of the ſame religion. The teſt and

An' 1688. The King puſhes his deſigns. Echard, Vol. III. p. 842.

(1) It is thought, that the King's favors to the French refugees, were, chiefly to ingage them to eſpouſe and abet the King's power of diſpenſing with all penal laws in religion. See Kennet, p. 499. Note (a).

penal

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penal laws were insufficient fences to secure religion, for which they were intended. In short, the King was resolved to complete his work at all events, and an army of fifteen thousand men, incamped within a few miles of London, beside the assistance of France, seemed to promise him success. But what appeared more extraordinary, was, that Protestant corporations, when their religion was so violently attacked, sent their addresses of thanks to the King, as for a great favor, publicly promising to chuse such members for the insuing parliament, as should concur with his measures. All this gave just occasion to fear, that no remedy could possibly be found for the miseries of the nation, which daily increased. The only refuge which seemed to be left, was the Princess of Orange, presumptive heir of the crown, who, like another Elizabeth, would restore things to their former state, when she should ascend the throne. But beside, that the King, who was but in his fifty-fifth year, might yet live a great while, an astonishing proclamation, published the second of January, to notify the Queen's being with child, and to order public thanksgiving to God, intirely destroyed the hopes which had been entertained.

The Queen with child. Gazette, No. 2309. Kennet, p. 496. Echard, Vol. III. p. 843.

With this agreeable news the Papists were transported. Some even began to debate the question, whether a daughter, born since the King's advancement to the throne, ought not to take place before the Princess of Orange, born while he was duke of York? But this question was very needless. Every one was persuaded (the Papists thro' hope, and the Protestants thro' fear) that the Queen would be delivered of a Prince. Very certain it is, the Protestants from this time began to form suspicions about the Queen's pregnancy. This appeared in several pamphlets, dispersed thro' London, some of which were even droped in Whitehall. Hitherto, the sole foundation of the suspicion, that the Queen's pregnancy was a cheat, consisted in her having been so many years childless. But this foundation was too weak to prove the certainty of an imposture. It was not impossible for the Queen to be with child; but on the other hand, neither was it impossible that the Queen should be willing to suppose an heir. The extreme zeal of the King and Queen, and of most of their counsellors and confidents, for their religion, rendered such a suspicion plausible to the Protestants. Histories have recorded instances of the like impostures, as in Spain, and in England itself, where it is pretended, that Queen Mary, to deprive her sister Elizabeth of the succession, would have supposed an heir, had not her husband King Philip prevented it. For this reason, the story of Queen Mary's sham conception, as delivered by Fox, was reprinted and dispersed thro' the kingdom, with this title, "Idem "Iterum, or Queen Mary's Big-belly." Another cause which greatly contributed to corroborate this suspicion, was the indiscretion of some jesuits, who pubished, that she would certainly be delivered of a Prince. They pretended, that this conception was miraculous, and the effect of a solemn petition, which the late deceased duchess of Modena had put up in heaven to the blessed Virgin Mary, or of a vow the Queen had made to our lady of Loretto, with the present of a golden image, inriched with precious stones. As on pretense that the Queen had been several years childless, her pregnancy could not be deemed supernatural, there was no necessity to ascribe it to a miracle, of which there could be no certainty: so this needless precaution served only to confirm the suspicion.

Suspicions thereupon.

Kennet, p. 497. Echard, Vol. III. p. 843.

A miracle pretended.

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The King congratulated by numerous addresses. Echard, Vol. III. p. 844. Gazette, No. 2311, &c.

The Queen's pregnancy produced many congratulatory addresses. Some of these carried their compliments and flattery to the highest pitch. This is no wonder. Most of the lords lieutenants, justices, and magistrates of the towns, being devoted to the King, it was not difficult for them to persuade the corporations, that these congratulations to the King were the just tribute of their duty. This being once inculcated, they themselves drew up the address, and procured such subscriptions as they thought proper, thereby causing the corporations to say what they pleased. Were addresses to be considered, as containing the real sentiments of the people, it might be said, that all the English nation was transported with joy, thro' the hopes of a Popish successor. But the nation soon discovered sentiments directly opposite. Beside, it appears, the King did not rely on this general concurence of his subjects, since he dared not to call a parliament, whose approbation and compliance were the great objects of his desires.

Books of controversy published. Echard, Vol. III. p. 845.

Beside the forementioned measures which the King used to advance the Popish religion, there was still another from which he promised himself great success. Some time since, the Romish priests and jesuits had printed and dispersed a great number of controversial writings, which had been answered by Tillotson, Tennison, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, and others, in a manner which, in all appearance, was not agreeable to the Papists. The King doubtless fearing that his doctors would not be a match for the champions of the church of England, published a proclamation, grounded upon a statute made the fourteenth of Charles II, "prohibiting the print- "ing and selling all unlicensed and treasonable "books and pamphlets, under the pains and pe- "nalties provided by the said act." Under this name were comprehended the controversial books published by the Protestants, on a pretense, that they incouraged and fomented animosities among his subjects (1).

Feb. 10. Gazette, No. 2321. Forbidden by the King.

Letters between Mess. Stewart and Fagel relating to the test. Burnet, p. 731. Welwood, p. 190. Kennet, p. 491. Echard, Vol. III. p. 845.

The King's grand design, as hath been seen, was to repeal the test and penal laws, and for that purpose he wished to have a parliament at his devotion. He had already abrogated these laws by his own authority; but he daily found, this did not suffice to lead his subjects to the degree of compliance he desired. He thought therefore, if the consent of the Prince and Princess of Orange could be obtained, it would be a great step towards obtaining the same thing of the parliament. To that end, he resolved on sounding the inclinations of the Prince of Orange, without his appearing in it. He imployed mr. James Stewart (2), pensionary Fagel's acquaintance, who wrote to that minister, indeavoring to persuade him, that it was the interest of England, and of the Prince and Princess of Orange, that the test should be abrogated, and the laws against the Catholics repealed. This letter coming only from a private man, the Prince would not allow mr. Fagel to return an answer. Mr. Stewart in vain renewed his instances for an answer, till at length he was obliged to acquaint mr. Fagel, that his first letter was writ by the King's direction, who desired to have the opinion of the

(1) About this time it was, that in order to retain the poorer sort of people from leting their children be inticed into Popish schools and seminaries erected in and about London, Charity-Schools began to be set up in that great and noble city. The first schools of this kind were opened at Norton Folgate, and St. Margaret's Westminster on Lady-Day 1688. Kennet, p. 508.

(2) A Scotish lawyer, whom King James had pardoned, and received into favor, after a long exile. Kennet, p. 491. Burnet, p. 731.

Prince

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Prince and Princeſs upon the affair. This, joined to the falſe report propagated in London, that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange had given their conſent to the abrogation of the teſt and penal laws, forced mr. Fagel at laſt to anſwer mr. Stewart, and let him know the ſentiments of the Prince and Prin eſs of Orange.

Theſe gentlemen's letters have made ſo much noiſe in the world, and are ſo univerſally known, that I do not think it neceſſary to inſert them, I ſhall content myſelf with briefly refreſhing the reader's memory with the ſubſtance of mr. Fagel's anſwer. He told mr. Stewart, "That it "was the opinion of the Prince and Princeſs, that "no Chriſtian ought to be puniſhed for his con"ſcience, or ill uſed becauſe he differed from the "eſtabliſhed religion, and therefore could conſent, "that the Roman Catholics ſhould injoy a full "liberty of conſcience. That as to the Non-con"formiſts, their Highneſſes did not only conſent, "but heartily approved of their having an intire "liberty of conſcience, for the exerciſe of their re"ligion, without any trouble, hinderance, or "moleſtation on that ſcore.——But their High"Mightineſſes could not by any means agree to "a repeal of the teſt, and thoſe other penal laws, "which tended to the ſecurity of the Proteſtant re"ligion, ſince the Roman Catholics received no "other prejudice from theſe, than their being ex"cluded from parliament and public imploy"ments; and that by them the Proteſtant religion "is ſheltered from all the deſigns of the Roman "Catholics againſt it, or againſt the public ſafety."

This anſwer was ſupported with reaſons ſo clear and ſolid, that mr. Stewart finding himſelf too weak for ſuch an adverſary, thought it more adviſeable to deny all correſpondence with mr. Fagel on this ſubject, in order to deſtroy the authority of mr. Fagel's anſwer, which had been printed and diſperſed thro' England and all Europe. The penſionary, incenſed at this proceeding, ſent a letter to the marquis of Albyville, the Engliſh embaſſador at the Hague, wherein he called him to witneſs, that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange had declared their thoughts to him concerning the penal laws, in the ſame manner as he had repreſented them; and that Albyville had acquainted the King with it long before he wrote his letter. He complained of the earl of Sunderland, for having aſſigned an allowance to print a pamphlet (1), which aſſerted, that the anſwer of mr. Fagel to mr. Stewart was ſuppoſititious, tho' he himſelf had ſeen the original, and knew alſo that the King had ſeen it. This laſt letter was likewiſe printed in French and Engliſh, and diſperſed. All this was extremely injurious to the King, and began to give the Engliſh hopes, that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange would not abandon them in their preſſing neceſſities. It muſt be obſerved, that mr. Fagel's letter to mr. Stewart was writ on the fourth of November the laſt year, before the Queen's pregnancy was divulged. But this affair became not public till the begining of the year 1688.

Burnet. Kennet, p. 492.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 847.

The refuſal of the Prince and Princeſs of Orange to conſent to the abrogation of the teſt and penal laws, ſerved only to inflame the King's zeal, and oblige him to uſe freſh indeavors to have a parliament at his devotion. He ſent therefore emiſſaries into the ſeveral counties, to indeavor to ſecure the elections, before he ventured to call a parliament. But the more ſollicitous he was to gain this point, the leſs inclination he found in the people, who, on ſo important an occaſion, were unwilling to truſt their intereſts with men devoted to the court, as the King deſired. Wherefore the King, foreſeeing all his artifices would prove unſucceſsful, and that he ſhould at laſt be obliged to uſe force, gave out commiſſions for raiſing new troops, for the increaſing of his ſtanding army; and likewiſe cauſed a larger fleet to be equiped. The new commiſſions were generally given to the Iriſh and Popiſh officers. Moreover, he wrote, the ſeventeenth of January, to the States-General, demanding the ſix Engliſh and Scotiſh regiments that were in their ſervice. The ſecond of March he iſſued out a proclamation, "Forbiding his natural born ſubjects to enter or "liſt themſelves in the ſervice of any foreign "Prince or State, either by ſea or land."

The King earneſt to have a parliament devoted to him. Id. p. 850. Kennet, p. 495.

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Increaſes his army and fleet. Kennet, p. 497.

Sends for his troops out of Holland; Gazette, No. 2326.

Their High-Mightineſſes did not think proper to ſend theſe regiments to the King in the preſent juncture. They returned a civil anſwer, and declared, That having examined their ingagements, they could find no agreement or capitulation that could oblige them to grant his Majeſty's demands, except when he was in war with ſome of his neighbors, or there was an inſurrection at home. That they had accordingly ſent the ſix regiments into England in the year 1685, at the time of the duke of Monmouth's rebellion: but that now the King being in peace with his neighbors, and free from diſturbances at home, they ſaw no reaſon that could oblige them to ſend back thoſe troops. The King not ſatisfied with this anſwer, renewed his inſtances: but the States, in ſhewing how theſe regiments were formed, and the treaties which had been made about them, inſiſted, that they were obliged to ſend them back only in the two caſes above-mentioned, and that the King was not at preſent in either. At length, after a third fruitleſs attempt, the King, by a proclamation, called home all his ſubjects which were in the ſervice of the States-General. Whereupon the Prince of Orange offered paſſes to all the officers of the ſix regiments that were wiiling to return home; which about forty of them accepted.

which are refuſed by the States. Burnet, p. 734. Kennet, p. 497. Echard, Vol. III. p. 851.

March 14. Gazette, No. 2330.

Tho' the King had publiſhed laſt year a declaration, for an intire liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects, and, by virtue thereof, had filled almoſt all the offices with Catholics, he thought fit to publiſh a ſecond upon the ſame ſubject, the twenty-ſeventh of April this year. Perhaps he had a mind to ſhew, that tho' he was deſirous of having what he had done confirmed by act of parilament, he could, however, proceed without their concurrence, and act by abſolute power. Perhaps too, he intended to bring things to a criſis, being inceſſantly puſhed by his Popiſh counſellors, who were for improving the occaſion offered them by the King's zeal. The declaration was as follows:

Gazette, No. 2342. Kennet, p. 508. Echard, Vol. III. p. 856.

A ſecond declaration for liberty of conſcience.

James Rex,

"OUR conduct has been ſuch in all time, as "ought to have perſuaded the world, that we "are firm and conſtant to our reſolutions: yet that "eaſy people may not be abuſed by the malice of "crafty wicked men, we think fit to declare, that "our intentions are not changed ſince the fourth of "April 1687, when we iſſued out our declaration "for liberty of conſcience, in the following terms: (Here the declaration was recited verbatim, and then it follows;) "Ever ſince we granted this in"dulgence, we have made it our principal care "to ſee it preſerved without diſtinction, as we are "incouraged to do daily by multitudes of addreſſes, "and many other aſſurances we receive from our "ſubjects of all perſuaſions, as teſtimonies of their "ſatisfaction and duty; the effects of which we "doubt not but the next parliament will plainly

(1) Intitled, "Parliamentum Pacificum, or, The happy union of King and people in a healing parliament." Kennet, p. 492.

"ſhew;

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" ſhew; and that it will not be in vain, that we " have reſolved to uſe our uttermoſt indeavors to " eſtabliſh liberty of conſcience, on ſuch juſt and " equal foundations, as will render it unalter- " able, and ſecure to all people the free exerciſe of " their religion for ever; by which future ages " may reap the benefit, of what is ſo undoubtedly " for the general good of the whole kingdom. It " is ſuch a ſecurity we deſire, without the burden " and conſtraint of oaths and teſts, which have " been unhappily made by ſome governments, but " could never ſupport any: nor ſhould men be " advanced by ſuch means to offices and imploy- " ments, which ought to be the reward of ſer- " vices. fidelity, and merit. We muſt conclude, " that not only good Chriſtians will join in this, " but whoever is concerned for the increaſe of the " wealth and power of the nation. It would per- " haps prejudice ſome of our neighbors, who might " loſe part of thoſe vaſt advantages they now in- " joy, if liberty of conſcience were ſetled in theſe " kingdoms, which are, above all others, moſt " capable of improvements, and of commanding " the trade of the world. In purſuance of this " great work, we have been forced to make many " changes both of civil and military officers " throughout our dominions, not thinking any " ought to imployed in our ſervice, who will not " contribute towards eſtabliſhing the peace and " greatneſs of their country, which we moſt " earneſtly deſire, as unbiaſſed men may ſee by " the whole conduct of our government, and by the " condition of our fleet, and of our armies, which, " with good management, ſhall be conſtantly the " ſame, and greater, if the ſafety or honor of " the nation require it. We recommend theſe " conſiderations to all our ſubjects, and that they " will reflect on their preſent eaſe and happineſs, " how for above three years that it hath pleaſed " God to permit us to reign over theſe king- " doms, we have not appeared to be that Prince, " our enemies would have made the world afraid " of; our chief aim having been not to be the " oppreſſor, but the father of our people; of which " we can give no better evidence, than by con- " juring them to lay aſide all private animoſities, " as well as groundleſs jealouſies, and to chuſe ſuch " members of parliament, as may do their parts " to finiſh what we have begun for the advantage " of the monarchy, over which Almighty God has " placed us; being reſolved to call a parliament, " that ſhall meet in November next at fartheſt."

An order to the biſhops to ſee it read in all churches and chapels. May 4. Gazette, No. 2344. Kennet, p. 509. Burnet, p. 736. Welwood.

The King was not ſatisfied with publiſhing this declaration in the uſual manner, but thinking doubtleſs, that, in ſo important an affair, extraordinary formalities were to be obſerved, he iſſued out an order of council, injoining the biſhops to cauſe it to be ſent and diſtributed throughout their ſeveral dioceſes, to be read at the uſual time of divine ſervice, in all churches and chapels, on certain days named in the order. Some believed, the King had two views in this order, firſt, to mortify the church of England, againſt which he had for ſome time ſhewed great reſentment: ſecondly, to lay the biſhops under a neceſſity, either of making themſelves in ſome meaſure the inſtruments of his deſigns againſt the Proteſtant religion, or of incuring the penalties of their diſobedience in caſe of a refuſal.

Several biſhops meet and debate about it. Kennet, p. 509.

Upon the receit of this order, ſeveral biſhops, who were in London, aſſembled at the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, to conſult how they were to behave upon ſo nice an occaſion. For they were neceſſarily, either in obeying the King, to approve, by their conduct, this violation of the laws, and betray the intereſts of the Proteſtant religion, or in refuſing to obey, to draw upon themſelves the penalties which, in all likelihood, would be inflicted for their diſobedience. Theſe difficulties were debated in this aſſembly with all the caution ſo important an affair required, after they had implored the divine aſſiſtance by extraordinary prayers. The reſult of their conference was, that it was better to obey God than man, and their caſe being ſuch, that they could not obey the King without betraying their own conſciences, they ought, without farther conſideration, to expoſe themſelves to the approaching ſtorm, rather than ſacrifice the intereſts of God and the church. This reſolution was grounded upon four conſiderations. 1. That many would juſtly judge the clergy either cowards or hypocritical time-ſervers, in publiſhing what they thought illegal, and illegally ſent to them. 2. That many who had votes for parliament men would take this for the conſent of the publiſhers, and be ſtrengthened in the chuſing ſuch men as ſhould be friends, not only to the indulgence, but to the foundation of it, the diſpenſing power. 3. That the world would have reaſon to take their publication for an approbation, becauſe there could be no other intention in ordering it to be publiſhed, than to make the clergy parties. 4. That after this they muſt expect farther things to be publiſhed by them, at which they muſt make a ſtand; and their making a ſtand when they had loſt their reputation would be of no force. Kennet, p. 510.

They petition the King to be excuſed from ſending it to their clergy. Kennet, p. 511. Echard, Vol. III. p. 859. Burnet, p. 738. Welwood.

Agreeably to this reſolution, the conſulting biſhops, being ſeven, drew up a petition before they parted, and ſubſcribing it the ſame day, the eighteenth of May, ſix of them (1) croſſed the water to Whitehall to preſent it to the King, without acquainting any perſon with their deſign. Their names were Sancroft archbiſhop of Canterbury; Lloyd biſhop of St. Aſaph; Kenn of Bath and Wells; Turner of Ely; Lake of Chicheſter; White of Peterborough; Trelawny of Briſtol. Their petition ran thus:

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble petition of William archbiſhop of Canterbury, and diverſe of the ſuffragan biſhops of that province, now preſent with him, in behalf of themſelves, and other of their abſent brethren, and of the inferior clergy of their reſpective dioceſes.

Humbly ſheweth,

" THAT the great averſeneſs they find in themſelves, to the diſtributing and publiſhing " in all their churches, your Majeſty's late decla- " ration for liberty of conſcience, proceeds neither " from any want of duty and obedience to your " Majeſty (our holy mother the church of England " being both in her principles and in her conſtant " practiſe, unqueſtionably loyal, and having to " her great honor, been more than once publicly " acknowleged to be ſo by your gracious Ma- " jeſty) nor yet from any want of tenderneſs to " Diſſenters, in relation to whom we are willing " to come to ſuch a temper, as ſhall be thought fit, " when the matter ſhall be conſidered and ſetled in " parliament and convocation: but among many " other conſiderations, from this eſpecially, be- " cauſe that declaration is founded upon ſuch a diſ- " penſing power, as hath been often declared il- " legal in parliament, and particularly in the years " 1662 and 1672, and in the begining of your

(1) The archbiſhop, being in an ill ſtate of health, did not go to Whitehall. Burnet, p. 739.

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" Majeſty's reign; and is a matter of ſo great " moment and conſequence to the whole nation, " both in church and ſtate, that your petitioners " cannot in prudence, honor, or conſcience, ſo far " make themſelves parties to it, as the diſtribution " of it all over the nation, and the ſolemn publi- " cation of it once and again, even in God's " houſe, and in the time of his divine ſervice, muſt " amount to, in common and reaſonable conſtruc- " tion. Your petitioners therefore moſt humbly " and earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, that you " will be pleaſed not to inſiſt upon their diſtribu- " ting and reading your Majeſty's ſaid declaration; " and your petitioners, as in duty bound, ſhall ever " pray, &c."

The King's anſwer. Kennet, p. 511. Burnet, p. 739. Echard, Vol. III. p. 859.

The King, ſurpriſed and incenſed at this petition anſwered in a very angry tone: " I have heard of " this before, but did not believe it: I did not ex- " pect this from the church of England, eſpecially " from ſome of you. If I change my mind, you " ſhall hear from me; if not, I expect my com- " mand ſhall be obeyed." The biſhops replied, " We reſign ourſelves to the will of God;" and then immediately retired.

Id. p. 876. Kennet, p. 515. Burnet, p. 740.

The biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter, both eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, and two others (1), cauſed the declaration to be read in their dioceſes: but it generally happened, wherever it was read, that the congregation immediately left the church. One miniſter, before he began to read it, told his flock, " That he could not refuſe the order ſent " him to read the declaration, but that he knew no " order which obliged them to hear it." In London it was read but in four or five churches (2).

Ibid.

Mean while, the court was unreſolved what courſe to take with the biſhops. Not but that they were determined to come to extremities, rather than quit their deſigns. However they did not care to begin with the biſhops, becauſe of the people's reverence for them. Tho' the King's council perſuaded him to do all things with a high hand, they trembled, however, when they met with any oppoſition, ſeeing the great diſproportion between the number of Proteſtants and Papiſts. They conſidered, that while every one was ſubmiſſive, the lords lieutenants of counties, and the magiſtrates, all creatures of the King, had great credit and authority; but ſhould the people happen to grow weary of their obedience, and openly reſiſt, their authority would vaniſh; and it was not probable, the leſſer number ſhould ſubdue the greater. This had been the caſe in the reign of Richard II, and very lately in that of Charles I. It ſeems therefore, that prudence required the King carefully to avoid what might produce a ſudden revolution, and not to enter on violent meaſures, till he had taken greater precautions. For, upon ſuppoſition of a rebellion, which was not impoſſible if the biſhops were proceeded againſt with rigor, would it not be very abſurd, to rely on a Proteſtant army to introduce Popery, and force Proteſtants to ſubmiſſion? But, on the other hand, thoſe who directed the King in his counſels and undertakings, had not his intereſt chiefly in view, but that of the Catholic religion. They conſidered the King only as an inſtrument to be made uſe of, at all events, while he was alive, for fear they ſhould ſuddenly loſe him. God ſeems to have blinded this Prince, to prevent his ſeeing what every one elſe clearly perceived, in order to throw him on his ruin. He was therefore reſolved to proceed with the utmoſt rigor againſt the biſhops, and for that purpoſe they were ſummoned, the eighth of June, to appear before the council.

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The biſhops ſummoned before the council.

Their appearance and behavior. Kennet, p. 511. Burnet, p. 741. Echard, Vol. III. p. 860.

On their appearance they were aſked, " Whe- " ther they owned the petition?" The biſhops, ſurpriſed at this queſtion, ſince they themſelves had preſented the petition, feared ſome ſnare was laid for them, and therefore at firſt forbore to give a direct anſwer (3). At length, the archbiſhop confeſſed, that it was written with his own hand, and that the reſt had ſigned it; adding withal, they had done nothing but what they were ready to juſtify. The chancellor indeavored to make them ſenſible of the ill conſequences of their diſobedience, which tended to diminiſh the King's authority, and diſturb the peace of the kingdom. At laſt, he aſked them, whether they would give their recognizances to appear before the court of King's-Bench to anſwer this high miſdemeanor? This they all refuſed, inſiſting on the privilege of their peerage, which they were reſolved to maintain, as well as the rights of the church, being equally bound by their callings to oppoſe all innovations both in government and religion. The chancellor, ſurpriſed at their conſtancy, threatened to ſend them to the Tower, and to proſecute them to the utmoſt rigor of the law, unleſs they immediately recanted, and withdrew their petition. They unanimouſly anſwered, That they were ready to go wherever his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend them; that they hoped the King of Kings would be their protector and their judge; that they feared nothing from men; and that having acted according to law and their own conſciences, no puniſhments ſhould ever be able to ſhake their reſolutions.

They are ſent to the Tower. Gazette, No. 2354. Kennet, p. 512. Echard, Vol. III. p. 861.

On this anſwer, eighteen privy counſellors, ſeveral of them Papiſts (4), were for ſending the biſhops to the Tower. A warrant was immediately drawn and ſigned for their commitment, the reaſon aſſigned being, " For contriving, making, " and publiſhing a ſeditious libel againſt his Ma- " jeſty and his government." It is difficult to conceive, on what foundation, they could be accuſed of publiſhing a petition which they had only delivered to the King himſelf. However, the attorney and ſollicitor general, were ordered to proſecute them for the ſame the next term. It was not thought proper to ſend them to the Tower thro' London, for fear it might occaſion a tumult. They were therefore conveyed by water in the moſt private manner. But people hearing of it, flocked in multitudes to the river ſide, and on their knees de-

(1) Barlow of Lincoln, and Croſts of Hereford. Kennet, p. 512. Note.

(2) Viz. By mr. Hall, dr. Thomſon, and mr. Elliot. Kennet, p. 511. Note (b). Burnet ſays, it was read in ſeven churches in London, and in not above two hundred all England over, p. 740.

(3) It ſeems, as the biſhops were going to the council, they were adviſed to remember, that no man was obliged by the law to accuſe himſelf. Accordingly, when the King in council, holding the petition in his hands, aſked them, " Whether " they had ſigned that paper?" They made a low bow and ſaid nothing. " What! ſays the King, do you deny your own " hands?" Upon which they ſilently bowed again. Then the King told them, " If they would own it to be their hands, " upon his Royal word not a hair of their head ſhould be touched." Whereupon the archbiſhop ſays, " Relying on " your Majeſty's word, I confeſs it to be my hand:" And ſo ſaid all the reſt. Then being ordered to withdraw, when they were called in again, they found the King vaniſhed, and Jefferies in the chair, who uſing them very roughly, ſent them to the Tower. The tranſlator had theſe particulars from the late biſhop of Durham's own mouth. Tindal's Tranſlation, Vol. II. p. 763. Note (4).

(4) Theſe were chancellor Jefferies, the marquis of Powis, the earls of Sunderland, Mulgrave, Huntingdon, Peterborough, Craven, Murray, Middleton, Melfort, and Caſtlemain; the lords Arundel, Dartmouth, Godolphin, and Dover; ſir John Ernly, ſir Edward Herbert, and ſir Nicholas Butler. Echard, Vol. III. p. 861.

ſired

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fired their bleſſing, with loud acclamations extolling their conſtancy. The like ſight was ſeen at the Tower, where the ſoldiers of the gariſon fell on their knees imploring their bleſſing. This was a great mortification to the King, and might have convinced him, that he was yet very far from his aim. But as I ſaid, the deſign of his counſellors was to make haſte and finiſh the work begun, for fear ſome accident ſhould deprive them of their inſtrument.

The Queen delivered of a Prince. Gazette, No. 2354. Burnet. Kennet, p. 512.

The tenth of June, two days after the biſhops had been ſent to the Tower, the Queen was delivered of a Prince, who, during the life of his father was known by the name of the Prince of Wales, and afterwards was called by ſome the Pretender. His birth was an occaſion of triumph to the Papiſts, but of aſtoniſhment and terror to the Proteſtants, who imagined their misfortunes would end with the death of the King; but thoſe hopes were now defeated. It is univerſally known, that the birth of this Prince has been very much ſuſpected, and that many did then, and ſtill do, believe it ſuppoſititious. Multitudes of papers have been publiſhed for and againſt, ſome containing the grounds of the ſuſpicions, and others, arguments to remove them. The reader, doubtleſs, expects not from a foreigner, the deciſion of a fact which was never perfectly cleared, the impoſture whereof reſts only upon conjectures and probabilities, and the truth upon ſuppoſitions, which indeed are generally true, but of which it cannot be ſaid that it is impoſſible they may be falſe ſometimes. In general, it is very certain, the Queen, during the whole time of her pregnancy, was ſuſpected of a deſign to impoſe an heir upon the kingdom, and this ſuſpicion was very public. It is alſo certain, that tho' the King and Queen knew of this ſuſpicion, they took no care to remove it. On the contrary, their whole conduct, as well during the Queen's pregnancy, as her labor, gave ſtill greater ſtrength to the ſuſpicion. For a negligence, which ſignifies nothing when there is no ſuſpicion, muſt be remarked when an impoſtor is ſuſpected. On the other hand, it ſeems a ſtanding rule, that, when both parents expreſs not any doubt concerning the birth of their child, no perſon can be ſure they are deceived: but this rule is perhaps not ſo general and certain as many imagine. It holds good where there is no ſuſpicion of a cheat. But in caſe a preſumptive heir, diſinherited by the birth of a child, who comes to take his place, has good proofs that the child is ſuppoſititious, certainly the bare owning of this child by both parents, will not invalidate proofs, which I ſuppoſe to be clear. It is not impoſſible for a man and wife to ſuppoſe a child, thro' revenge or ſome other intereſt, in order to deprive a preſumptive heir of their inheritance. I ſay, it is not impoſſible, tho' it rarely happens. There are however inſtances to prove the poſſibility. Indeed, to decide by law, that a child is ſuppoſititious, very convincing proofs muſt be alleged, becauſe the judges, who are obliged to follow the rules of law, are not determined by appearances, however probable they may appear. But the caſe is not the ſame with the public, on whom very often conjectures grounded upon great probabilities, make as much impreſſion as the ſtrongeſt proofs. The affair in queſtion having never been legally decided, I can only preſent the reader with what has been moſt probably urged pro and con, in order to aſſiſt him either to be determined for or againſt the pretended ſuppoſition of the Prince of Wales; or to ſhow him, that he ought to ſuſpend his judgment, till the thing is more plainly diſcovered. This I propoſe to do with impartiality, in producing the arguments alleged on both ſides.

Suſpicions relating to it.

Reflections upon it.

There are three opinions concerning the real or pretended birth of the Prince of Wales.

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Sundry opinions concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales. Echard, Vol. III. p. 863.

The firſt is, that the Queen was not with child, when ſhe pretended to be ſo, and that at the time of her pretended delivery, a ſon was ſuppoſed as being born of her. The ſecond is, that ſhe was really with child, but that having the misfortune of a miſcarriage, ſhe continued ſtill to feign herſelf big, and at laſt ſuppoſed, or cauſed to be ſuppoſed, a child as born of her body, and that this child dying ſhortly after, another was ſubſtituted in his room, and to this, dying ſeven weeks after, ſucceeded another child. The third opinion is, that the Queen was really with child, and delivered the tenth of June of a ſon, the ſame who is ſince called the Pretender, and is now at Rome. In confirmation of the firſt of theſe opinions it is alleged: 1. That the King, for certain reaſons, was become incapable of children. 2. That the Queen had been ſeven years without being with child. 3. That now ſhe had never a conſtant reckoning. 4. That her delivery was ſudden, and immediately after the removing of her lodgings. 5. That it was on a Sunday morning, when all the Proteſtant court ladies were at church. 6. That neither the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, nor the Dutch embaſſador were preſent at her labor, tho' they were the three perſons who ought principally to have been there. 7. That during the labor, her bed was not left ſo open as it ſhould have been. 8. That while ſhe went with child, ſhe never ſatisfied the Princeſs Anne, and many Proteſtant ladies about her, of her bigneſs, either by leting them feel her belly, or ſee her breaſt. 9. Neither did ſhe ſhow the Princeſs any of her milk after her lying in. 10. That during her labor, a warming pan was brought into the room, tho' the weather was extreme hot, and the room heated by a vaſt crowd of people. Laſtly, it was alleged, that tho' the King, Queen and courtiers, ſufficiently knew before the delivery, that the nation ſuſpected an impoſture, they did not uſe thoſe precautions as they might and ought to have done in ſuch a caſe; and, inſtead of puting it beyond all poſſibility of doubt, they left ſo many marks of ſuſpicion, as cauſed infinite doubts and diſputes: inſomuch that ſome Roman Catholics themſelves owned, "That ſo important an affair had been "managed with great ſupineneſs and imprudence." This is what mr. Echard ſays, one of the moſt moderate hiſtorians, who is not to be ſuſpected by the King's adherents.

Dr. Welwood is very ſhort in his account of this matter, and contents himſelf with giving the general opinion, without any thing of his own. Theſe are his words:

Extract from Welwood, p. 187.

"While the biſhops were in the Tower, the "Roman Catholics had their hopes crowned with "the birth of a pretended Prince of Wales. "The fears of a Proteſtant ſucceſſor, had been "the only allay that rendered their proſperity "leſs perfect. Now the happineſs of having an "heir to the crown, to be bred up in their own "religion, quaſhed all thoſe fears, and atoned "for the uncertainty of the King's life. It was "ſo much their intereſt to have one, and there "were ſo many circumſtances that ſeemed to "render his birth ſuſpicious, that the nation in "general were inclinable to believe, that this "was the laſt effort of the party, to accompliſh "our ruin."

But the moſt circumſtantial account of this affair, is that of dr. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, publiſhed ſince his death. As I am to make ſome remarks on his teſtimony, it will be neceſſary to inſert the following

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Extract from bishop Burnet, Vol. I. p. 748.

following paſſage, wherein he expreſly ſpeaks of the birth of the Prince of Wales.

" I muſt now look back to England, where " the Queen's delivery was the ſubject of all men's " diſcourſe. And ſince ſo much depends on this, " I will give as full and as diſtinct an account of " all that related to that matter, as I could gather " up, either at that time or afterwards. The " Queen had been for ſix or ſeven years in ſuch an " ill ſtate of health, that every winter brought " her very near death. Thoſe about her ſeemed " well aſſured, that ſhe, who had buried all her " children ſoon after they were born, and had " now for ſeveral years ceaſed bearing, would " have no more children. Her own prieſts appre- " hended it, and ſeemed to wiſh for her death. " She had great and frequent diſtempers, that " returned often, which put all people out of " their hopes or fears of her having any chil- " dren. Her ſpirits were now much upon the " fret. She was eager in the proſecution of all " the King's deſigns. It was believed that ſhe " had a main hand in driving him to them " all. And he, perhaps, to make her gentler " to him in his vagrant amours, was more eaſy " to her in every thing elſe. The lady Dorcheſter " was come back from Ireland; and the King " went often to her. But it was viſible, ſhe was " not like to gain that credit in affairs, to which " ſhe had aſpired: and therefore this was leſs con- " ſidered.

" She had another mortification, when Fitz- " James the King's ſon was made duke of Ber- " wick. He was a ſoft and harmleſs young man, " and was much beloved by the King: but the " Queen's diſlike kept him from making any " great figure. He made two campains in Hun- " gary, that were little to his honor: for, as his " governor diverted the allowance that was given " for keeping a table, and ſent him always to " eat at other tables, ſo, tho' in the ſiege of Buda " there were many occaſions given him to have " diſtinguiſhed himſelf, yet he had appeared in " none of them. There was more care taken " of his perſon, than became his age and con- " dition. Yet his governor's brother was a " jeſuit, and in the ſecret: ſo every thing was " ventured on by him, and all was forgiven him.

" In September, the former year, the Queen " went to the Bath, where the King came and " ſaw her, and ſtaid a few days with her. She " after that purſued a full courſe of bathing: and " having reſolved to return in the end of September, " an accident took her to which the ſex is ſub- " ject; and that made her ſtay there a week " longer. She came to Windſor on the ſixth of " October. It was ſaid, that at the very time of " her coming to the King, her mother, the ducheſs " of Modena, made a vow to the lady Loretto, " that her daughter might by her means have a " ſon. And it went current, that the Queen be- " lieved herſelf to be with child in that very " inſtant in which her mother made her vow: of " which ſome travellers have aſſured me, there was " a ſolemn record made at Loretto. A concep- " tion ſaid to be thus begun, looked ſuſpicious. " It was now fixed to the ſixth of October: ſo " the nine months were to run to the ſixth of July. " She was, in the progreſs of her big belly, let " blood ſeveral times: and the moſt aſtringent " things that could be propoſed were uſed.

" It was ſoon obſerved, that all things about her " perſon were managed with a myſterious ſecreſy, " into which none were admited but a few Pa- " piſts. She was not dreſſed nor undreſſed with " the uſual ceremony. Prince George told me, " that the Princeſs went as far in deſiring to be " ſatisfied, by feeling the motion, after ſhe ſaid " ſhe was quick, as ſhe could go without break- " ing with her: and ſhe had ſometimes ſtaid by " her even indecently long in mornings to ſee her " riſe, and to give her her ſhift: but ſhe never " did either. She never offered any ſatisfaction " in that matter by letter to the Princeſs of " Orange, nor to any of the ladies of quality, in " whoſe word the world would have acquieſced. " The thing upon this began to be ſuſpected: and " ſome libels were writ treating the whole as an " impoſture. The uſe the Queen made of this, " was to ſay, that ſince ſhe ſaw ſome were ſuſ- " ſpecting her capable of ſo black a contrivance, " ſhe ſcorned to ſatisfy thoſe who could entertain " ſuch thoughts of her. How juſt ſoever this " might be, with relation to the libellers, yet " certainly if ſhe was truly with child, ſhe owed " it to the King and herſelf, to the King's daugh- " ters, but moſt of all to the infant ſhe carried in " her belly, to give ſuch reaſonable ſatisfaction, " as might put an end to jealouſy. This was in her " power to do every day: and her not doing it, " gave juſt grounds of ſuſpicion.

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" Things went thus on till Monday in Eaſter " week. On that day the King went to Rocheſter, " to ſee ſome of the naval preparations; but was " ſoon ſent for by the Queen, who apprehended ſhe " was in danger of miſcarrying. Dr. Scarborough " was come to Knightſbridge to ſee biſhop Ward, " my predeceſſor, who had been his ancient friend, " and was then his patient: but the Queen's coach " was ſent to call him in all haſte, ſince ſhe was " near miſcarrying. Dr. Windebank, who knew " nothing of this matter, ſtaid long that morning " upon an appointment for dr. Walgrave, another " of the Queen's phyſicians, who, the next time " he ſaw him, excuſed himſelf; for the Queen, he " ſaid, was then under the moſt apparent ſigns of " miſcarrying. Of this the doctor made oath; and " it is yet extant.

" On the ſame day, the counteſs of Clarendon, " being to go out of town for a few days, came " to ſee the Queen before ſhe went, knowing no- " thing of what had happened to her. And ſhe " being a lady of the bed chamber to the Queen " Dowager, did, according to the rule of the court, " go into the Queen's bed chamber without aſk- " ing admitance. She ſaw the Queen a bed, be- " moaning herſelf in a moſt doleful manner, ſay- " ing often, 'Undone, undone:' and one that " belonged to her carried ſomewhat out of the " bed, which ſhe believed was linnen taken from " the Queen. She was upon this in ſome confu- " ſion: and the counteſs of Powis coming in, " went to her, and ſaid with ſome ſharpneſs, What " do you do here; And carried her to the door. " Before ſhe had got out of the court, one of the " bed chamber women followed her, and charged " her not to ſpeak of any thing ſhe had ſeen that " day. This matter, whatever was in it, was " huſhed up: and the Queen held on her courſe.

" The Princeſs had miſcarried in the ſpring. " So, as ſoon as ſhe had recovered her ſtrength, " the King preſſed her to go to the Bath, ſince " that had ſo good an effect on the Queen. Some " of her phyſicians, and all her other friends, were " againſt her going. Lower, one of her phyſi- " cians, told me, he was againſt it: he thought, " ſhe was not ſtrong enough for the Bath, tho' " the King preſſed it with an unuſual vehemence. " Millington, another phyſician, told the earl of " Shrewſbury, from whom I had it, that he was " preſſed to go to the Princeſs, and adviſe her " to go to the Bath. The perſon that ſpoke to

" him

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" him told him, the King was much ſet on it; " and that he expected it of him, that he would " perſuade her to it. Miilington anſwered, He " would not adviſe a patient according to direc- " tion, but according to his own reaſon; ſo he " would not go. Scarborough and Witherby took " it upon them to adviſe it: ſo ſhe went thither in " the end of May.

" As ſoon as ſhe was gone, thoſe about the " Queen did all of the ſudden change her reckon- " ing, and began it from the King's being with " her at Bath. This came on ſo quick, that tho' " the Queen had ſet the fourteenth of June for " her going to Windſor, where ſhe intended to " lye in, and all the preparations for the birth " and for the children were ordered to be made " ready by the end of June, yet now a reſo- " lution was taken for the Queen's lying in at " St. James's, and directions were given to have " all things quickly ready. The Bath water either " did not agree with the Princeſs: or the advices " of her friends were ſo preſſing, who thought " her abſenſe from the court at that time of " ſuch conſequence, that in compliance with them " ſhe gave it out it did not, and that therefore " ſhe would return in a few days.

" The day after the court had this notice, the " Queen ſaid ſhe would go to St. James's, and " look for the good hour. She was often told, " that it was impoſſible upon ſo ſhort a warning " to have things ready. But ſhe was ſo poſi- " tive, that ſhe ſaid, ſhe would lye there that " night tho' ſhe ſhould lie upon the boards. And " at night, tho' the ſhorter and quicker way was to " go from Whitehall to St. James's thro' the " park, and ſhe always went that way, yet now by " a ſort of affectation, ſhe would be carried thither " by Charing-croſs thro' the Pall Mall. And it " was given out by all her train, that ſhe was " going to be delivered. Some ſaid it would be " next morning: and the prieſts ſaid very con- " fidently, that it would be a boy.

" The next morning about nine o'clock, ſhe " ſent word to the King, that ſhe was in labor. " The Queen Dowager was next ſent to. But " no ladies were ſent for: ſo that no women " were in the room but two dreſſers, and one " under dreſſer, and the midwife. The earl of " Arran ſent notice to the counteſs of Sunderland; " ſo ſhe came. The lady Bellaſis came alſo in " time. The Proteſtant ladies that belonged to " the court were all gone to church, before the " news was let go abroad: for it happened on " Trinity Sunday, it being that year on the tenth " of June. The King brought over with him " from Whitehall a great many peers and privy " counſellors. And of theſe, eighteen were let " into the bed chamber; but they ſtood at the " fartheſt end of the room. The ladies ſtood " within the alcove. The curtains of the bed " were drawn cloſe, and none came within them " but the midwife and an under dreſſer. The " Queen lay all the while a bed: and in order " to the warming one ſide of it, a warming pan " was brought, but it was not opened, that it " might be ſeen that there was fire and nothing " elſe in it. So here was matter for ſuſpicion, " with which all people were filled.

" A little before ten the Queen cried out as in " a ſtrong pain, and immediately after the mid- " wife ſaid aloud, ſhe was happily brought to bed. " When the lords all cried out, of what? the " midwife anſwered, the Queen muſt not be ſur- " priſed; only ſhe gave a ſign to the counteſs of " Sunderland, who upon that touched her fore- " head, by which, it being the ſign before agreed " on, the King ſaid he knew it was a boy. No " cries were heard from the child; nor was it " ſhewed to thoſe in the room. It was pretended " more air was neceſſary. The under dreſſer went " out of the room with the child; or ſomewhat " elſe in her arms to a dreſſing room, to which " there was a door near the Queen's bed; but " there was another entry to it from other apart- " ments. The King continued with the lords in " the bed chamber for ſome minutes, which was " either a ſign of much phlegm upon ſuch an oc- " caſion; for it was not known whether the child " was alive or dead: or it looked like giving time " for ſome management. After a little while they " went all into the dreſſing room, and then the " news was publiſhed. In the mean while, no body " was called to lay their hands on the Queen's " belly, in order to a full ſatisfaction. When the " Princeſs came to town, three days after, ſhe had " as little ſatisfaction given her. Chamberlain the " man midwife, who was always ordered to at- " tend her labor before, and who brought the " plaiſters for puting back the milk, wondered " that he had not been ſent to. He went accord- " ing to cuſtom with the plaiſters: but he was told " they had no occaſion for him. He fancied that " ſome other perſon was put in his place; but he " could not find that any had it. All that con- " cerned the milk, or the Queen's purgations, was " managed ſtill in the dark. This made all people " inclined more and more to believe, there was a " baſe impoſture now put on the nation. That " ſtill increaſed. That night one Hemings, a very " worthy man, an apothecary by his trade, who " lived in St. Martin's-Lane, the very next door " to a family of an eminent Papiſt (Brown, bro- " ther to the viſcount Montacute, lived there) the " wall between his parlor and theirs being ſo thin, " that he could eaſily hear any thing that was ſaid " with a louder voice; he (Hemings) was reading " in his parlor late at night, when he heard one " coming into the neighboring parlor, and ſay, with " a doleful voice, 'The Prince of Wales is dead:' " upon which a great many that lived in the houſe " came down ſtairs very quick: upon this confu- " ſion he could not hear any thing more; but it " was plain, they were in a great conſternation. " He went with the news next morning to the " biſhops in the Tower. The counteſs of Claren- " don came thither ſoon after, and told them, " ſhe had been at the young Prince's door, but was " denied acceſs: ſhe was amazed at it; and aſked " if they knew her? they ſaid they did, but that " the Queen had ordered, that no perſon what- " ſoever ſhould be ſuffered to come in to him. " This gave credit to Hemings's ſtory, and looked " as if all was ordered to be kept ſhut up cloſe, " till another child was found. One, that ſaw the " child two days after, ſaid to me, that he looked " ſtrong, and not like a child ſo newly born. " Windebank met Walgrave the day after this " birth, and remembered him of what he had told " him eight weeks before. He acknowleged " what he had ſaid, but added, that God wrought " miracles: to which no reply could or durſt be " made by the other: it needed none. So healthy " a child being ſo little like any of thoſe the Queen " had born, it was given out, that he had fits, " and could not live. But thoſe who ſaw him " every day, obſerved no ſuch thing. On the " contrary, the child was in a very proſperous " ſtate. None of thoſe fits ever happened, when " the Princeſs was at court; for ſhe could not be " denied admitance, tho' all others were. So this " was believed to be given out to make the matter " more credible. It is true, ſome weeks after " that, the court being gone to Windſor, and the " child ſent to Richmond, he fell into ſuch fits,

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" that four physicians were sent for. They all " looked on him as a dying child. The King " and Queen were sent for. The physicians went " to a dinner prepared for them; and were often " wondering that they were not called for. They " took it for granted, that the child was dead. " But, when they went in after dinner to look on " him, they saw a sound healthy child, that seemed " to have had no sort of illness on him. It was " said, that the child was strangely revived of a " sudden. Some of the physicians told Lloyd, " bishop of St. Asaph, 'that it was not possible " for them to think it was the same child. They " looked on one another, but durst not speak " what they thought.

" Thus I have related such particulars as I could " gather of this birth: to which some more shall " be added, when I give an account of the proof " that the King brought afterwards to put this " matter out of doubt; but by which it became " indeed more doubtful than ever. I took most " of these from the informations that were sent " over to the Prince and Princess of Orange, as " I had many from the vouchers themselves. I " do not mix with these, the various reports that " were, both then and afterwards, spread of this " matter, of which bishop Lloyd has a great col- " lection, most of them well attested. What " truth soever may be in these, this is certain, that " the method in which this matter was conducted " from first to last was very unaccountable. If an " imposture had been intended, it could not have " been otherwise managed. The pretended excuse " that the Queen made, that she owed no satis- " faction to those who could suspect her capable of " such base forgery, was the only excuse that she " could have made, if it had been really what it " was commonly said to be. She seemed to be " soon recovered, and was so little altered by " her labor, either in her looks or voice, that this " helped not a little to increase jealousies. The " rejoycings over England upon this birth were " very cold and forced. Bonfires were made in " some places, and a set of congratulatory addres- " ses went round the nation. None durst oppose " them. But all was formal, and only to make " a shew."

After having related what has been said by mr. Echard, and the bishop of Salisbury, on the birth of the Prince of Wales, I shall make some remarks on this subject.

The author's reflections upon this matter.

1. If the accounts of these two famous writers be carefully examined, it will doubtless be surprising, to find a sort of contradiction between them. For the suspicions mentioned by the first, are, that the Queen, tho' she pretended to be, yet was not with child. Nay, the bishop of Salisbury seems at first to support this suspicion, by speaking of her " great " and frequent distempers;" of her having " for " several years ceased bearing;" of her " having " buried all her children soon after they were " born;" of her " refusing to give satisfaction to " the Princess of Denmark, and the Protestant la- " dies of the court." Nevertheless, he says positively afterwards, that she was really with child the sixth of October (1), and that in Easter week she had a miscarriage, that is, six months after conception. If this be true, it very plainly follows, that all the suspicions entertained of the Queen from the begining of January (the time of her declared pregnancy) to Easter week, ought to vanish, tho' she had been less careful of giving satisfaction to the public, than she was. Assuredly this negligence is not capable to invalidate the reality of her pregnancy, if she had a miscarriage in the begining of her seventh month. What the Prince of Denmark told dr. Burnet of his Princess's fruitless indeavors to see the Queen rise, cannot serve to confirm the suspicion of an imposture, unless it appear, that this was from the Monday before Easter, to the tenth of June (2): but the bishop fixes no time. It might even be infered from the order observed by the bishop in his story, that what he says concerning the Princess of Denmark, passed between January and Easter week. But, supposing the reality of the pregnancy, it is clear, that the Queen might have given satisfaction to the Princess, and the Protestant court ladies. And it cannot be denied, that she commited a great error in refusing to do it. But it is certain, this refusal proves nothing, if it be true that she was with child, at least till Easter week. The times are therefore carefully to be distinguished. Her obstinacy to give no satisfaction, from January, when she declared herself with child, to Easter week, can be ascribed only to an unseasonable and prepostrous haughtiness. But it may be suspected, that from Easter week, to the tenth of June, she still pretended to be with child, when she was no longer so, and that she produced another at the time of her pretended delivery. Thus all the suspicions concerning the reality of her pregnancy, are to be included within the space of two months. For in the year 1688, Easter-day was the fifteenth of April; the Queen had a miscarriage the Monday before Easter, on the ninth of April; and she was delivered the tenth of June. But no time is fixed for this refusal of satisfaction to the public, tho' the Queen being six months gone when she miscarried, she might, for some time, have caused the motion of the child to be perceived.

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2. In the bishop of Salisbury's account, are four several children. The first, which really belonged to the Queen, was an untimely birth of six months. The second was supposed at the time of her pretended delivery, and died the same day. The third was brought in the room of the dead child, and died also some weeks after at Richmond. The fourth substituted in the room of the third, must be the present Pretender. It is surprising, that mr. Echard, who probably writ the history of this reign, but twenty or twenty-five years after the time I am speaking of, should have heard nothing of these two last impostures, but confines himself to one, in what he relates concerning the public suspicions.

3. Fuller, who pretended to give an exact account of the cheats, agrees not with the bishop of Salisbury. But I shall not insist on his testimony, because his pretended discovery has been little regarded.

4. It remains therefore to examine what the bishop of Salisbury says, to make us suspect the supposition of the three last children. For, the first, which was but a miscarriage, according to this author, was really the Queen's. To this end, we are to distinguish three different times, viz. before, at, and after her delivery. I shall make some observations upon the most remarkable circumstances of each of these times.

1. The King's pressing the Princess to go to the Bath, agrees very well with the design of supposing an heir. For the presense of the Princess at the Queen's pretended delivery, must have been perplexing, on account of her interest to detect the imposture. Had the King contented himself with

(1) He only says, " It went current, that the Queen believed herself to be with child on October 6." p. 749.

(2) It is here proper to take notice of this passage in bishop Burnet. " That the Princess went as far in desiring to be satis- " fied by feeling the motion, after the Queen said as she was quick, as she could go without breaking with her," Ibid.

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barely adviſing her to go to the Bath, nothing could have been infered from it, but that he thought the Bath good for health. But his preſſing it with an unuſual vehemence, and cauſing a phyſician to be told, that he expected it of him that he would perſuade her to it, ſeems to diſcover ſome ſecret deſign, eſpecially, when it is conſidered, that an impoſture was already ſuſpected. This ſuſpicion is farther confirmed by the change of the Queen's reckoning, and by her delivery two days after it was known, that the Princeſs was on the point of returning from the Bath. But there muſt not be given to this cauſe of ſuſpicion, more ſtrength than it will really bear. For as it is very poſſible for the King to have believed, that the Bath would be of ſervice to the Princeſs his daughter, the ſuſpicion of his acting from another motive, is founded only upon the ſuppoſition of an impoſture. If this was well proved, the King's proceeding would become a ſort of a new proof. But as it is not, it ſeems that the ſuſpicion ought not to be ſupported by the ſuppoſition of the fact in queſtion.

2. If it be true, that the Queen did not believe herſelf with child till the ſixth of October, and that ſhe afterwards ſuddenly changed her reckoning, there is reaſon to ſuſpect ſome myſtery in it. And indeed, by this new reckoning ſhe was to be delivered during the abſenſe of the Princeſs of Denmark, whereas by the firſt ſhe could not be brought to bed till after her return. To this may be added, that if it is true, that about the end of September, ſhe was ſtoped at the Bath, one week longer than ſhe intended, by an accident to which the ſex is ſubject, ſhe could not be with child from the tenth of September, nor conſequently brought to bed the tenth of June. To this it is anſwered, that theſe miſreckonings are common to the whole ſex. But this reaſon cannot take place here, becauſe it did not appear that the Queen thought herſelf miſtaken.

3. It cannot be denied, that there is ſomething extraordinary in the Queen's ſudden reſolution, of going to-lye in at St. James's when things were not ready. Hitherto no probable reaſon has been given of this ſudden alteration to ſhow that ſhe could lye-in more commodiouſly at St. James's than at Whitehall; nor why ſhe at firſt choſe Windſor for the place, and fixed the time to the begining of July.

4. I own I ſee nothing in the Queen's affectation of being carried to St. James's by Charing-Croſs, thro' the Pall-Mall, to confirm the ſuſpicion of an impoſture.

5. I never heard, that the preſenſe of the archbiſhop of Canterbury is abſolutely neceſſary at the delivery of the Queens of England, eſpecially at that of a Popiſh Queen, who could have no great need of his aſſiſtance.

As for the time of the Queen's delivery, there are many things to be examined.

1. The Queen, after having declared her intention to lye-in at St. James's, without any apparent neceſſity, was bent to go thither on the Saturday, tho' nothing was ready. This is a ſign, ſhe thought it would be too late if ſhe defered going until the next day. It is therefore clear, that ſhe expected the moment of her delivery every hour, and yet when ſhe began to find herſelf ill, "No women "were in the room but two dreſſers, one under-"dreſſer, and the midwife." Not one foreign lady was in the palace. It cannot be denied, that this was very extraordinary for a Queen, ſince it was ſo eaſy to have other ladies at hand to aſſiſt her, and the more, as ſhe hourly expected the moment of her delivery. It is no leſs extraordinary, that none of the court ladies were called beſide the counteſs of Sunderland, by the particular care of the earl of Arran; and the Queen-Dowager, who lodged in Somerſet-houſe, a great way from St. James's. All this ſeems to diſcover, it was not deſired that many ladies ſhould be preſent at the labor. To this it is anſwered, that the Queen was ſurprized, as women frequently are, and that the Proteſtant ladies were at church. But ſome take occaſion from hence to confirm their ſuſpicion. They ſuppoſe, the Queen would not have gone with ſo much precipitation on Saturday night to St. James's, if ſhe had not known ſhe ſhould be delivered the next morning, while the Proteſtant ladies were imployed at their devotions. But after all, this is only a ſuſpicion. For, who can be ſure, that the Queen acted by the motive aſcribed to her? All that can be ſaid, is, that the point in queſtion being a child who, if a boy, was to take place of a Princeſs, preſumptive heir of the King her father, the King and Queen ought to have put his birth out of all doubt. Inſtead of this, they confirmed, by a myſterious conduct, ſuſpicions which were already but too far ſpread, and of which they could not be ignorant. The Empreſs Conſtantia, wife of Henry VI, proving with child at the age of fifty-two years, choſe a place the moſt public for her labor, and thereby removed all ſuſpicion of the birth of her child. On the contrary, the Queen of King James II, for having neglected all precautions, has left upon her ſon, real or pretended, a blot which has not yet been effaced.

2. The King's being at the farther end of the room with eighteen peers and privy counſellors is a circumſtance which proves nothing at all. It is well known, that on theſe occaſions men approach not the bed, to be eye witneſſes of what paſſes there. All they can do, is to be attentive to the cries of the mother, or the infant. Beſide the King himſelf was not leſs ſuſpected than the Queen.

3. As to the warming-pan brought into the Queen's chamber, and which is ſuppoſed to have in it a new-born child, this is only a conjecture founded upon the ſeeming uſeleſſneſs of a warming-pan the tenth of June, which proved an exceſſive hot day. To this it is anſwered, that a labor is often attended with a quaking and trembling like an ague, which begins with a cold fit. This is what I know nothing of. It is alſo pretended, that it was impoſſible to put a new-born child, in the narrow compaſs of a warming-pan, without ſtifling it.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 863.

Idem.

4. It is very extraordinary, that the Queen was not a full hour in labor; for the King was ſent for at nine o'clock, and before ten the Queen was delivered. She cried out but once, in the moment of her delivery. When the mind is filled with ſuſpicions, ſuch circumſtances help to confirm them. Thoſe who are not in the ſame diſpoſition, find nothing extraordinary in this; becauſe the Queen had ever had eaſy and quick labors.

5. It is commonly true, that children, the moment they are born and expoſed to the air, are heard to cry. But I know not whether this can be conſidered as infallible. However, the Queen having neglected to give undoubted proofs of her pregnancy, every little uncommon circumſtance was capable to confirm the ſuſpicion of an impoſture.

6. As to the ſtreſs that is laid upon the curtains of the bed being cloſe drawn, this cannot ſeem ſtrange, ſince there were eighteen lords in the room.

7. The circumſtance of the child's being not ſhewn, can cauſe no ſuſpicion, but on ſuppoſition of the ſuſpicion itſelf, which ought to have been removed, by ſhowing the child as it came from the womb. For, otherwiſe, it is not uſually done, till the midwife has taken due care of the child. But if this is urged to prove, that a child was not taken out

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out of the Queen's bed, the ſuſpicion of the warming-pan muſt neceſſarily be ſuppreſſed, for had a child been put in the pan, it could alſo be taken out of it.

8. What is ſaid of the "King's continuing with "the lords ſome minutes in the bed chamber," and that "it looked like giving time for ſome ma-"nagement," is a gloſs which deſerves little or no notice.

9. Thoſe who believe the child in queſtion not born of the Queen, would have had her take all the precautions which they themſelves imagine, to deſtroy all ſort of doubt, and the omiſſion of one of theſe precautions is, with them, ſufficient to confirm their ſuſpicions.

10. If no ſatisfaction was given to the Princeſs of Denmark after her return from the Bath, it may be alleged, that ſhe diſcovered no jealouſy concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, and as ſhe appeared convinced of the truth, there was no neceſſity of giving her proofs.

11. The refuſal of Chamberlain's plaiſters would be very apt to cauſe a ſuſpicion, if it was impoſſible for the Queen's breaſts not to want them. But how many labors are there, which have no need of remedies for puting back the milk? However, the biſhop of Saliſbury obviates this anſwer, by ſaying, that in her former labors, the Queen had always great plenty of milk.

12. What is ſaid of the Queen's recovering ſo ſoon after her delivery, proves nothing. Some mothers have ſuch eaſy labors, that in few days there can ſcarcely be perceived any alteration in them. Beſide, it is too general an expreſſion to ſay, "the "Queen ſeemed to be ſoon recovered." The preciſe time ſhould have been marked, that it might be judged, whether there was any thing extraordinary in it.

Nevertheleſs, all theſe reaſons of ſuſpicion laid together, make an impreſſion on many men, which each in particular would not be able to do. We muſt always recur to this point, that the King and Queen, knowing that they were ſuſpected of an impoſture, ought to have taken juſt meaſures to remove the ſuſpicion, and not having done it, it is not very ſtrange, it ſhould continue to this day.

As to what paſſed after the delivery, I mean the ſuppoſition of two children, when the firſt was dead, the biſhop of Saliſbury's account reſts only upon the credit of ſome perſons whom he has given for vouchers, and of others not named by him. There are beſide ſeveral particulars, in proof of which he produces no teſtimony.

He ſuppoſes, that the child of which it was pretended the Queen was delivered, died the ſame day. This ſuppoſition is grounded on what Hemings heard thro' the wall of his parlor, and on the denial of acceſs at the young Prince's door to the counteſs of Clarendon. All this may be of ſome weight, when a bare ſuſpicion only is meaned to be eſtabliſhed. But if it is produced as a proof, the inſufficiency of it is readily perceived.

The death of the ſecond child at Richmond ſtands only upon the report of four phyſicians, who were ſent for to viſit him. The biſhop does not make the phyſicians poſitively ſay that the child died, but only that, "They all looked on him as a "dying child." and as they were not called for after dinner, "They took it for granted that the "child was dead." But this conſequence is not abſolutely neceſſary; for poſſibly they were not called, becauſe the child grew better. But, ſays the biſhop, "When they went in after dinner to look on the "child, they ſaw a ſound healthy child, that ſeemed "to have had no illneſs on him." They infered from this, that he was not the ſame child, and the biſhop concludes that the firſt was dead, and another put in his room. The particular in this fact, is, that theſe four phyſicians doubted, this was the ſame child, only becauſe the firſt had been ſick, and this was found healthy; as if all children at ſuch an age were ſo like one another, that no feature could diſtinguiſh them. And yet, theſe phyſicians thought, it was not the ſame child, only by the difference between a ſtate of health and ſickneſs. This is very ſurprizing, ſince naturally the faces of the two children muſt have been ſo different, as not to need other marks (1).

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In fine, the biſhop of Saliſbury's whole account of theſe three impoſtures, reſts either upon hearſay, or what he read in the informations ſent to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; for he was then at the Hague. The ſenders of theſe informations were, probably, no friends of King James. It is therefore very poſſible, not to ſay likely, that they have aggravated their reports, and collected every circumſtance, true or falſe, which was apt to perſuade the Prince and Princeſs, that the Prince of Wales was ſuppoſititious. As for the biſhop of Saliſbury, I am perſuaded, he has related nothing but what he either heard, read, or believed to be true. But who can ſay, he was not deceived by prejudiced perſons, who looked on their ſuſpicions as ſo many convincing proofs? I am aware, that all the Engliſh have not the ſame opinion of dr. Burnet as I have. Volumes of remarks upon his hiſtory, in which he is violently abuſed, demonſtrate, that the Jacobites conſider him as the ſworn enemy of James II, and as deſerving no credit. But as, for very good reaſons, they have not thought proper to make remarks on what he ſays of three ſuppoſititious children, it is not my buſineſs to gueſs what they could have ſaid. I preſume therefore he has invented nothing, without pretending, however, to warrant what he ſays on the teſtimony of others.

I have inlarged on the birth of the Prince of Wales, becauſe there ſeemed to me to be great confuſion, as well in the books, as in the diſcourſes on this ſubject. My intent was to aſſiſt the reader in determining, for or againſt, or to ſuſpend his judgment till the thing is more fully cleared. As the principal deſign of hiſtory is to eſtabliſh facts that are certain, to deſtroy thoſe that are falſe, and to inform the readers of the grounds of doubting with regard to ſuch as are dubious, I imagined, that in an affair ſo important as this, which has made ſo much noiſe, and will doubtleſs, yet long be talked of, the reader would be glad to know what to rely on. Thus much is certain, that moſt Proteſtants believed the Prince of Wales ſuppoſititious, chiefly becauſe it would have been very diſadvantageous

(1) Colonel Sands, who died in 1728, being in 1688 gentleman-waiter to the Princeſs Anne, was ſent by her from Tunbridge (where ſhe then was) to court, to inquire after her brother's health. Going up immediately to the King without ceremony or interruption, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, he came into the room where the Prince lay. He ſaw there a pale long viſaged child, with red ſpots in his face, and other marks of weakneſs. This ſtruck him ſo, that he took very particular notice of it: but preſently after the ladies in the room came and turned him out, ſaying, the Prince was aſleep. At his going out he met the King, who aſked him with a diſturbed countenance, whether he had ſeen the Prince? Sands fearing he had done ſomething amiſs, denied it; upon which the King's countenance cleared up. Some time after he was called to look at the Prince; but ſaw a child of very different looks and complexion from that which he found before. All theſe particulars he commited to writing, and carried them to the Princeſs. Cont. of Baker's Chron. Edit. 1730. p. 752.

to

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to them, that James II ſhould have had a Popiſh ſucceſſor. The Papiſts, on the other hand, queſtioned not this Prince's birth, becauſe nothing could be more ſerviceable to their religion. I am perſuaded, there were few, either Papiſts or Proteſtants, but what were determined on this point, by their prejudices. But things having taken an unexpected turn, the truth or falſity of this Prince's birth have hitherto produced none of the effects which were hoped or feared (1).

Cloſeting renewed. Echard, Vol. III. p. 864. Welwood. p. 188.

The aſſurance of a Popiſh ſucceſſor, made the King hope he ſhould more eaſily accompliſh his deſigns: but he wiſhed, above all things, for the concurrence of a parliament. It was with this view, that cloſetings were once more put in practiſe. He cloſeted ſuch as he intended to gain. Promiſes and menaces were made uſe of; and thoſe who refuſed to ſerve the King IN HIS OWN WAY, as the term was, might aſſure themſelves of his heavieſt diſpleaſure.

The King ſends for forces out of Ireland. Ibid. Burnet.

However, he neglected not more effectual means to force his ſubjects to compliance. He ordered ſome initre regiments out of Ireland, and filled many vacancies in his Engliſh regiments, with Iriſh and Popiſh officers. This gave ſo great a diſguſt to the whole army, that lampoons and ballads were vented upon the Iriſh, who were mortally hated by the Engliſh, eſpecially ſince the maſſacre in 1641.

The Carliſle addreſs. Gazette, No. 2348. Echard, Vol. III. p. 865.

Mean time, that the King's deſign in augmenting his forces might not be doubted, an addreſs, ſuppoſed to be drawn by a Jeſuit, was procured from the city of Carliſle, particularly, "To "thank his Majeſty for his Royal army, which "really was both the honor and ſafety of the na"tion; let the Teckelites think and ſay what "they would." And on this occaſion the addreſſers aſſured his Majeſty, "That when, in his "great wiſdom, he ſhould think fit to call a par"liament, they would chuſe ſuch members as "would certainly concur with his Majeſty, in ta"king off the penal laws and teſts, and not ha"zard the election of any perſon, who had any "ways declared in favor of thoſe cannibal laws. "Surely, ſaid they, theſe men that oppoſe your "Majeſty in ſo gracious and glorious a work, do "not conſider what a ſovereign Prince, by his Royal "power, may do. A work which heaven ſmiles "upon, and will reward with no leſs a bleſſing, we "hope, than a Prince of Wales.

Trial of the ſeven biſhops. State-Trials. Vol. IV. p. 300. Burnet. Kennet.

During the public rejoicings for the birth of the Prince of Wales, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the other ſix biſhops, priſoners in the Tower, were brought to their trials, the fifteenth of June, at the King's-bench bar. But on their motion for a delay, the trial was put off to the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, and in the mean time they were ſet at liberty on their own recognizance. The twenty-ninth of June, Weſtminſter-hall was crowded with great numbers of lords, gentlemen, and others, to be ſpectators of this famous trial. The King's counſel pleaded, That the petition preſented by the biſhops was a real and ſeditious libel, tending to diminiſh the King's prerogative, and excite ſedition among the people. The counſel for the biſhops, retorted the arguments of their adverſaries with great force and freedom, proving, that the King having no power to diſpenſe with penal laws, a petition humbly preſented to remonſtrate to him that he had no ſuch power, ought not to be eſteemed a libel: That it was injurious to the biſhops; JAMES II. AN' 1688.
to accuſe them of having publiſhed a petition, which they had reſpectfully preſented to the King in private, and alone: That the occaſion of preſenting it was not ſought by them, but preſſed upon them: Nor could it be called a libel, becauſe the intent was innocent, and they kept within the bounds ſet by act of parliament. After long pleadings on both ſides, the judges, in giving directions to the jury, were not unanimous. There were four, of whom Wright the chief-juſtice, and Holloway, were the King's creatures. Powell was reckoned a man of perfect integrity, and Allybone was a Papiſt. Wright gave his opinion, that the petition preſented by the biſhops was a libel. Holloway ſaid, that if the jury were ſatisfied that the petition was preſented with no ill intention, but only to ſhew the reaſons of the petitioners diſobedience to the King's command, he could not think it to be a libel. Powell maintained, That the petition could not be a libel, becauſe it was founded upon the King's incapacity to diſpenſe with laws, which was very true. Allybone aſſerted, That the crime of the biſhops, was next door to treaſon (2).

who are acquited.

The jury withdrawing ſate up all night, whether they could not agree, or by this intended to render their verdict more ſolemn. Next morning the court being aſſembled, and the hall filled with infinite crowds of people, the jury pronounced the biſhops, Not Guilty. Immediately

Great rejoicing in the city. Kennet, p. 515. Echard, Vol. III. p. 874.

ſhouts of joy were heard thro' the crowd, and the loudeſt acclamations reſounded thro' the cities of London and Weſtminſter. For ſeveral hours, nothing was heard but repeated ſhouts of both cities, tranſported with the news of the biſhops acquital. Nor was this all. For the King being

In the army.

gone that morning to the army on Hounſlow-heath, and dining in the earl of Feverſham's tent, the news flew to the camp, where the whole army ſhouted ſo loud, that it ſtartled the King, and his whole company. The earl of Feverſham being ſent out to know what was the matter, immediately returned, and told the King, "it was nothing but the ſhouts "of the ſoldiers upon the news of the biſhops being "acquited. Do you call that nothing? (ſaid the "King) but ſo much the worſe for them." Notwithſtanding the reſentment expreſſed by the King, and his ſevere prohibitions againſt all riotous aſſemblies, the whole city was that night illuminated, and numberleſs bonfires proclaimed the general joy. This was followed by almoſt all the

and thro' the whole kingdom.

great towns in the kingdom, and at Norwich particularly the rejoicings were exceſſive. This was to the King a ſenſible mortification. He at firſt threatened to deliver the biſhops to the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, and to ſhow his indignation, he diſmiſſed ſir Richard Holloway and ſir John Powell, and filled their places with others (3).

The King tries the temper of his army. Kennet, p. 516. Echard, Vol. III. p. 874.

The King perceiving the people's diſpoſition was not favorable to him, reſolved at laſt to come to open force. But as he could only prevail by his army, he was willing firſt to try how far he might depend on their obedience. To this end, he thought fit to communicate his deſign to every regiment ſingly, not doubting, that if two or three ſubmited, the reſt would follow their example. Accordingly, the major of the lord Lichfield's regiment was ordered to tell the officers and ſoldiers, that thoſe who were unwilling to contribute to the

(1) See State-Tracts, in King William's reign. Vol. I. p. 12——30.

(2) Allybone's opinion is not here truly repreſented. What he affirmed was, That neither the biſhops, nor any other men, had power to meddle with matters relating to the government. State Trials, Vol. IV. p. 391.

(3) Sir Robert Baldock, one of the King's counſel in this trial, was made judge in the room of the latter; and ſir Thomas Powell of the former. Sir Chriſtopher Milton, one of the juſtices of the Common Pleas, having about this time his writ of Eaſe, was ſucceeded by ſir Thomas Jenner; in whoſe room, and in ſir Thomas Powell's, ſerjeant Ingleby and ſerjeant Rotherham were made Barons of the Exchequer. Kennet, p. 516.

repeal of the teſt and penal laws, ſhould lay down their arms. But it was with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that he ſaw the whole regiment, two captains and a few Popiſh ſoldiers excepted, inſtantly diſarm themſelves. He remained for ſome time ſpeechleſs, but at length recovering his ſurpriſe, he commanded the ſoldiers "to take up their arms again," and ſullenly told them, "That for the future he would "not do them the honor to aſk their advice."

Fills vacancies in his armies with Popiſh officers and ſoldiers, but is oppoſed. Hiſtory of the deſertion in State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 42. Kennet, p. 516. Echard, Vol. III. p. 874.

His Majeſty now plainly foreſaw, that with a Proteſtant army he ſhould never be able to introduce Popery. Wherefore he reſolved to caſhier many Proteſtant officers and ſoldiers, and to put Papiſts in their room. Accordingly he began with ſome regiments; but it gave a diſguſt to the whole army. Not long after, reſolving to put thirty Iriſh ſoldiers into the duke of Berwick's regiment, lieutenant colonel Beaumont, and other officers, remonſtrated to the duke, "That neither thoſe gentlemen nor himſelf, "thought it conſiſtent with their honors, to have "foreigners impoſed upon them,——and there"fore humbly petitioned, that they might have "leave to fill up their companies with ſuch men "of their own nation, as they ſhould judge moſt "ſuitable to the King's ſervice; or otherwiſe, that "they might be permited, with all imaginable "duty and reſpect, to lay down their commiſſions." An account of this being tranſmited to the King, he immediately ordered the lieutenant colonel and five captains to be taken into cuſtody, and tried by a court martial as mutineers. It was at firſt believed, that his intention was to cauſe them to be condemned to die, but ſome news from abroad altered the ſentenſe, and they were only caſhiered.

Sept. 10. The fleet in the ſame temper with the army. Ibid. Burnet, p. 755.

The fleet was no better diſpoſed than the army to aſſiſt the King in his deſigns. This appeared, in that vice-admiral Strickland ordering maſs to be ſaid on board his ſhip, there aroſe ſuch a mutiny and diſorder among the ſailors, that the officers could not, without difficulty, ſave the prieſt from being thrown over board.

The King's ſituation was ſuch, that it ſeemed he could neither advance nor recede. His zeal for his religion; his principles of government, his temper naturally obſtinate; his condeſcenſion to the Queen, prieſts, and Jeſuits, who inceſſantly ſurrounded him, allowed him not to leave his work unfiniſhed. Beſide, he muſt have changed his whole ſyſtem, as well as his whole council, and nothing is more rare than to ſee a Prince proceed in that manner, before he is forced to it. But, on the other hand, he could eaſily perceive, how far he ſtill was from obtaining his ends, by the diſpoſition of his ſubjects, his fleet, and his army. He hoped however to ſurmount all obſtacles, becauſe, tho' one part of his people ſhewed a reluctance to to ſubmit to his will, another part ſeemed diſpoſed to receive the yoke with ſubmiſſion. There were biſhops who had cauſed the declaration for liberty of conſcience to be read in their dioceſes, as the biſhops of Durham, Cheſter, and Rocheſter. Nay, the firſt had ſuſpended thirty of his clergy, for refuſing to read it (1). In Cheſhire, ſome curates, rectors, and others, not contented to read the declaration, preſented alſo an addreſs, wherein they tell his Majeſty,——"That if the matter of the "declaration were not according to their wiſhes, "yet the publiſhing of it was according to their "duty, ſince it iſſued out from the expreſs prero"gative of his ſupremacy over them; ſo that they "could not but with trouble of mind hear of the "proceedings of the ſeven biſhops, who, tho' they "tenderly promiſed the Diſſenters ſomething, yet re"fuſed to do their part about the declaration, leſt "they ſhould be parties to it, which reaſon the ad"dreſſers eſteem inſufficient. They therefore, in all "ſubmiſſion, become earneſt, tho' too mean, inter"ceſſors to his Majeſty, in behalf of the church of "England, that the faults of theſe and others may "not be laid to her charge, in whoſe communion "there were many, and they hoped there would be "more, who concured in promoting the purpoſes of "his mild government: and ſo conclude with beg"ing leave to make their congratulations for the "happy birth of the young Prince in his hereditary "ſucceſſive Kingdom."——

Some biſhops are diſpoſed to come into the King's meaſures. Echard, Vol. III. p. 876.

Addreſs of the Cheſhire miniſters. Gazette, No. 2374.

The King, flattered by ſuch addreſſes, and imagining, that terror would by degrees compel his ſubjects to ſubmit to his pleaſure, reſolved to puſh his point at all events. But, on the other hand, he had the mortification to hear, that a ſon of Cartwright biſhop of Cheſter, who had procured this addreſs, was refuſed to be admited to a fellowſhip in one of the colleges at Oxford, and that Gifford, nominated by him to the ſee of that city, was likewiſe denied his doctor's degree. Echard. Ibid.

Order from the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners concerning the reading of the declaration, Gazette, No. 2364. Kennet, p. 515. Burnet, p. 744.

But the reſolution taken by the King and his council was not to be ſhaken by any obſtacles. Tho' the ſeven biſhops had been acquitted of the pretended crime laid to their charge, the new eccleſiaſtical court did not think itſelf bound by that precedent. Wherefore, the commiſſioners, by an order made the twelfth of July, "Command all chancellors, "archdeacons, commiſſaries, and officials, to in"quire in what churches and chapels his Majeſty's "declaration was read, and to tranſmit an account "thereof upon the ſixteenth day of Auguſt next." But the major part of thoſe to whom the order was directed, took not the leaſt notice of it. The commiſſioners being met on that day, were not a little puzzled how to proceed. At length, after a long conſultation, they were contented to renew their firſt order, "Requiring all perſons, having eccle"ſiaſtical juriſdiction, to tranſmit to them, upon "the ſixth day of December next, an account of "the inquiry they are hereby commanded to make "in their viſitations, together with the names of "the parſons, vicars, and curates, that had ei"ther obeyed, or diſobeyed his Majeſty's com"mand." The affairs which happened before the expiration of that term, ſo retarded this buſineſs, that it was not known what the eccleſiaſtical court intended to do, or whether this order would have been better obeyed than the former.

ſlighted.

A ſecond. Gazette, No. 2375. Kennet. Ibid.

The biſhop of Rocheſter leaves the commiſſioners, and ſends his reaſons. Echard, Vol. III. p. 876. Burnet, p. 744.

Doctor Sprat, biſhop of Rocheſter, one of the biſhops of the new eccleſiaſtical court, now thought it time to withdraw. Wherefore he wrote to his collegues a letter, wherein he told them: "That "ſince their lordſhips were reſolved to proceed "againſt thoſe, who had not complied with the "King's command in reading his declaration, it "was abſolutely impoſſible for him to ſerve his "Majeſty any longer in that commiſſion." He proceeds farther and ſays, "That tho' I myſelf "did ſubmit in that particular, yet I will never be "any ways inſtrumental in puniſhing thoſe my "brethren who did not: for, as I call God to "witneſs, that what I did was merely upon a prin"ciple of conſcience, ſo I am fully ſatisfied, that "their forbearance was upon the ſame principle." This biſhop was one of thoſe on whom the court relied, and therefore his defection could not but extremely perplex the King. Several have thought, that the principal motive of this proceeding, was to ſcreen himſelf in time from the approaching ſtorm, of which he had received ſome intimation.

From the Prince's birth, thoſe who had any concern for their religion or country, ſaw clearly the danger

(1) And among them one of his own chaplains. Echard, Vol. III. p. 876.

with

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with which both were threatened. It was manifeſt, that the King no longer pretended to govern by the laws of the land, but according to his will and pleaſure. He had ſufficiently diſcovered his intention; ſo that nothing leſs than a total ſubverſion of the government in church and ſtate could be expected. If this did not ſufficiently authoriſe the moſt conſiderable members of the ſtate to take meaſures for the prevention of ſuch a deſign, it is hard to conceive, what difference there can be between a government, like that of England, limited by laws, and an abſolute Monarchy. And yet it cannot be queſtioned that the government of England is different from that of moſt other ſtates. I am very ſenſible this point is not without difficulty, and that it is not eaſy in England to fix the limits of the ſubjects obedience. While the church of England prepoſterouſly believed, that the King had no deſign to alter the form of the government, but intended only a little to inlarge his prerogative, inſtead of thinking proper to oppoſe it, ſhe believed it for her advantage, as it might prevent attempts like thoſe which had occaſioned ſo many miſchiefs in the reign of Charles I. The Preſbyterians, the Independents, the Anabaptiſts, had carried the principles of the Republicans ſo far, and drawn ſuch terrible conſequences from them, that after the reſtoration of Charles II, it was thought in ſome manner neceſſary to run into the other extreme, by inveſting the King with a power, which rightly conſidered, might have had conſequences no leſs dangerous than the Republican principles. But herein the ſole aim was to curb the Non-conformiſts, by the King's authority, without apprehending, that a time might come, when the King would uſe the power aſcribed to him, againſt all his ſubjects in general, and the church of England in particular. That time being come under James II, the church of England opened her eyes, tho' a little too late, and ſaw that ſhe had been laboring for her own deſtruction, in maintaining, and even openly preaching Paſſive-obedience, without any reſtriction. It was from this doctrine, inculcated ſo carefully, and ſo long, on the minds of the Engliſh, as eſſential to the church, that theſe ſubmiſſive addreſſes proceeded, which were daily preſented to the King. And indeed, as no bounds had been ſet to Paſſive-obedience, many people did not conceive that they could, with a ſafe conſcience, refuſe an unlimited obedience to the Sovereign. But at length, the danger of the kingdom convinced men of ſenſe, that the Royal authority was neceſſarily to be bounded, otherwiſe the church and ſtate were going to be ruined.

The church of England departs from her former principles: and takes meaſures to oppoſe the King.

Affairs being in this ſituation, ſeveral church of England men, both of the clergy and laity, thought it time to take meaſures for ſtoping the King's progreſs, and bounding his power. Tho' they had themſelves carried it very high, they choſe rather to retract, than, by their obſtinacy, to throw the church and ſtate into imminent danger, in continuing to maintain a doctrine which could juſtly be conſidered as the principal fountain of the kingdom's calamities.

An union projected between the church of England and the Preſbyterians. Echard, Vol. III. p. 875.

The firſt and moſt neceſſary precaution taken by them, was to form a ſtrict union between the church of England and the Non-conformiſts, for their common ſecurity. This union was become more eaſy than ever. The two parties agreed, that their diviſion had been the ſole cauſe of their ruin. This was a ſtrong motive for their union. The Churchmen acknowleged, they had carried Paſſive-obedience too far, and that it had produced ill effects. They ſhowed a readineſs to comply with the ſcruples of the Preſbyterians, in relinquiſhing the ceremonies which might be conſidered as indifferent, or at leaſt to leave every man at liberty to practiſe or not practiſe them. This was all the Preſbyterians could reaſonably expect. In ſhort, as the Churchmen appeared touched with the calamities occaſioned by their exceſſive rigor, ſo they ſeemed diſpoſed to more condeſcenſion, if things were reſtored to their former ſtate. The Preſbyterians, who had hitherto groundleſly accuſed the church of England of leaning to Popery, could not forbear acknowleging their error, after the firmneſs of the ſeven biſhops had diſcovered the injuſtice of that accuſation. Theſe diſpoſitions being well managed by prudent and well-meaning men of both parties, produced at length an uniformity of ſentiments, with regard to the principal point in queſtion, viz. that it was abſolutely neceſſary to think of means for the preſervation of religion and the ſtate, from the impending danger. The leading men on both ſides, took great pains to curb the paſſionate, whoſe views were very narrow. In ſhort, without the King's knowlege, the Whigs and Tories were reconciled, and reſolved to labor jointly for the preſervation of their country. But unfortunately, this union ended with the danger. However, it may be affirmed, that this reconciliation of the two parties was the moſt fatal blow that could be given to the King's affairs, ſince his greateſt ſtrength lay in their diviſion. Father Orleans calls this union, a league againſt the King. It would be needleſs to diſpute about this term. The queſtion is only to know, whether this union, this league, or whatever elſe it may be called, was contrary to law, to conſcience, to the duty which ſubjects owe to their Sovereign. But to decide this queſtion, the government of England muſt be diſtinguiſhed from that of other ſtates, and on pretenſe of the name of King, common to ſo many Princes, the rights of one Sovereign not confounded with thoſe of another, in order to apply to a King of England, whatever is aſſerted of Sovereignty in general. This was an artifice frequent with James I. The queſtion therefore is to know, whether, in ſuppoſing the conſtitution of England ſuch as it appears in this hiſtory, James II had violated it in the moſt eſſential parts; whether he had now changed, or conſiderably altered it; whether there was ground to fear an intire ſubverſion; and whether the Engliſh were obliged to ſuffer it without oppoſition. Of this the readers may judge, from what they have hitherto ſeen. But in ſuppoſing even that James II had changed, or deſigned to change the conſtitution, a ſtrong objection lay againſt thoſe, who believed it proper to oppoſe the intire execution of his deſigns, viz. the frequent declarations of the parliament and the church of England, ſince the reſtoration, that an unlimited obedience was due to the King. This objection was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds of ſome Churchmen, that they could not reſolve to oppoſe the King's deſigns, by reaſon they looked on ſuch oppoſition as an act of rebellion. Nay, many perſiſt in this opinion even to this day, and with the Papiſts form the party of the Jacobites. Happily for England, moſt of the clergy and laity of the eſtabliſhed church were of a contrary opinion, and labored effectually for the preſervation of religion and the government, in conjunction with the Whigs, who made no ſcruple of uniting with them in the ſame deſign.

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A reſolution taken to call in the Prince of Orange. Kennet, p. 745, &c.

The union between the Whigs and Tories being effected, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, as well among the clergy as the laity, began to form a ſcheme for the execution of the great deſign to preſerve the church and ſtate. They found no expedient more proper than to put the Prince of Orange at the head of the party againſt the King. That Prince was ſo intereſted in the affair, that it was not doubted he would contribute whatever lay in his power, both to ſave England, and ſecure the ſucceſſion

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succeſſion to the Princeſs his wife, lately defeated of her right by a Prince, who generally paſſed for ſuppoſititious. Theſe were very powerful motives to actuate the Prince of Orange. But there was ſtill another, which might naturally be ſuppoſed to have a great effect on him; viz. the extreme danger to which Holland would be expoſed, in caſe the King accompliſhed his deſign, by reaſon of the cloſe union between the Kings of England and France. It was with this view that ſeveral great men timely repaired to the Hague, on diverſe pretenſes, to confer with the Prince of Orange. The firſt were, mr. Sidney, brother to Algernoon Sidney (beheaded in the laſt reign) afterwards earl of Romney, ſir Robert Peyton, ſir Rowland Gwin, dr. Burnet, and others. It is to be preſumed, that aſſurances were tranſmited from them to their friends in England, of the good inclination of the Prince to the common cauſe. In July, one Joſeph Flight brought over into England about fourſcore letters from perſons of quality and credit, and carried back anſwers to the Hague. The affair being thus begun, the old lord Wharton pretending a journey into Germany, paſſed thro' the Hague. Colonel Sidney, uncle to the earl of Sunderland, went to the Spaw, on pretenſe of only drinking the waters. The lord Dunblain, ſon to the earl of Danby, and commander of an independent frigate, croſſed and re-croſſed the ſeas, to carry ſeveral diſpatches and reſolutions. The earl of Shrewſbury mortgaged his eſtate for forty thouſand pounds, and went over to the Prince to offer him both his purſe and his ſword. He was quickly followed by admiral Herbert, his couſin mr. Herbert, mr. Ruſſel, the lord Mordaunt, and the earl of Wiltſhire. The principal perſons with whom they held correſpondence in England, were, the earls of Danby, Devonſhire, and Dorſet, the lords Lovelace and Delamere, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Halliſax, his ſon the lord Eland, the marquis of Wincheſter, his ſon the lord Pawlet, the lord Willoughby ſon to the earl of Lindſey, mr. Leſter, mr. Hampden, mr. Powle, and many others, beſide ſeveral eminent citizens of London. (1)

Several Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen go over to him. Kennet, p. 518. Burnet, p. 762, &c. Echard, Vol. III. p. 879.

The Engliſh lords apply to the States General; p. 880.

The Prince of Orange being fully determined to head the party, it was, after ſeveral conſultations, reſolved, that the Engliſh lords at the Hague ſhould demand aſſiſtance of the States, in the name of all England. But to prevent the ſecret from being divulged, they applied at firſt only to perſons of the greateſt credit and influence, who promiſed to uſe all their intereſt, at a proper time, to promote the deſign. There was no need of many arguments to prevail with the States to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed Engliſh. They were equally concerned in the affair with the Engliſh themſelves; for the ruin of Holland would doubtleſs have ſoon followed the ſlavery of England. Of this the deſigns of Lewis XIV, and his union with James II (2), left no room to doubt. All the difficulty lay in making preparations; in concealing the deſign of them; in raiſing forces in the room of thoſe which the Prince ſhould lead into England, and in ſecuring a timely relief, in caſe the King of France ſhould attack Holland. But all theſe things were taken care of, with great addreſs and ſecreſy. The difference at that time, about the election of an archbiſhop of Cologne, between Prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furſtemburg, furniſhed the States with a pretext to aſſemble an army near Nimeguen. On the other hand, the Prince of Orange, by his intrigues, prevailed to have the direction of affairs then on the carpet, commited to the management of three or four members of the States, on pretenſe of the correſpondents the count d'Avaux the French embaſſador had in Holland, who might inform him of their reſolutions. Theſe commiſſioners, all in the Prince of Orange's confidence, under color of the Cologn affair, gave orders for incamping an army, and preparing a fleet. At length, the Prince of Orange, on pretenſe of providing for a war againſt France, which ſeemed near, had an interview at Minden in Weſtphalia, with the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, the Princes of the houſe of Lunenburg, and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and ſecured their aſſiſtance, in caſe France ſhould attack Holland or the Low-Countries, while he was ingaged in the Engliſh expedition. All this was tranſacted with ſuch ſecreſy, that the embaſſadors of France and England, at the Hague, could get no certain intelligence. They were forced to recur to conjectures, tho' the firſt had uſually been informed of the reſolutions of the States, as ſoon as they were taken.

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Meaſures of the Prince of Orange. Echard, Vol. III. p. 881.

are favorably heard.

The affair of Cologne made uſe of to cover the deſign upon England. Burnet, p. 757.

His plan.

When the Prince of Orange had ſecured to the States, in caſe of need, the aſſiſtance of theſe Princes, he concerted his expedition with ſuch prudence and ſecreſy, that his ſcheme was not known till after the execution; viz. that the States, under color of being ready to ſupport the election of the Prince of Bavaria, ſhould form a camp on the heath near Nimeguen, a place too remote from the ſea to give any ſuſpicion that theſe troops were deſigned for an imbarkment: that a fleet of fifty men of war ſhould be prepared, with a ſufficient number of tranſports, for the imbarkation of twelve or thirteen thouſand men; that, to prevent the alarm which theſe tranſports might give, the merchants of Amſterdam, Rotterdam, and other maritime places, ſhould freight as many as they could on diverſe pretenſes; that theſe ſhips ſhould repair to ſeveral ports, at a time aſſigned, to take the forces aboard, and afterwards to the Goree, where the men of war ſhould expect them; that the Prince of Orange ſhould put himſelf on board this fleet, and, at his landing in England, the Engliſh perſons of quality, by whom he was invited, ſhould diſperſe themſelves into diverſe parts of the kingdom, to excite inſurrections, and levy troops, while the Prince, with his little army, ſhould make head againſt the King. It was not doubted, but the Prince's army would conſiderably increaſe when he ſhould be in England, and the people in general be ready to ſecond the efforts of thoſe, who were laboring for their deliverance. This whole ſcheme was executed in the manner it had been reſolved, without the embaſſadors of England and France being able to learn any thing certain. They conjectured, however, by the naval preparations, that ſomething was ſecretly contriving againſt England. Indeed it was difficult to prepare four or five hundred tranſports, and fifty men of war ſo privately, that they ſhould have no intelligence from their ſpies. The count d'Avaux failed not to ſend his conjectures to the court of France, which were immediately tranſmited to England. Moreover, mr. Skelton, King James's envoy at the Hague, had before informed him of an intercepted letter, which intimated, that a great project was ſecretly carrying on againſt him. But the King was then ſo ſecure of ſucceſs, that he neglected this intelligence, believing it only an artifice to divert him from his deſigns.

Advice ſent from France to King James; Echard, Vol. III. p. 881.

is neglected by him.

A little before, mr. Budé de Verace, a Proteſtant of Geneva, gentleman-uſher to the Princeſs of Orange, having been diſmiſſed, was returned to his own country. When he heard of the great

Skelton's advice neglected by the earl of Sunderland. Kennet, p. 518. Echard, Vol. III. p. 882.

(1) As alſo the lord Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, colonel Trelawny, and colonel Kirk. Burnet, p. 764.
(2) See State Tracts in King William's reign. Vol. I. p. 37, &c.

preparations

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preparations in Holland, he wrote to mr. Skelton, then envoy at Paris, that he had things to communicate to the King of England, that were of no leſs concern than his crown, but would not diſcover the ſecret to any but the King himſelf; and that if his Majeſty would let him know his pleaſure, he would immediately repair to London. Skelton was not wanting to give information to the court of England, and to repeat it by five or ſix letters. But no notice was taken of it, whether thro' a too great ſecurity, or that the earl of Sunderland, to whom the letters were addreſſed, did not think proper to communicate them to the King.

The King orders writs for calling a parliament. Echard, Vol. III. p. 884.

Mean time as it was difficult any longer to conceal the armament in Holland, and the King receiving repeated advices of it, he judged it convenient, at all events, to flatter the people with the expectation of a parliament: therefore, the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, he declared in council his intention to call a parliament for the ſeventeenth of November, and the chancellor had orders to iſſue out the writs the fifth of September. However, the writs were not ſent, which gave occaſion to think, the King only deſigned to amuſe the public.

Rejects the offers of France. Ibid. Kennet, p. 518. Burnet. p. 767.

Next day mr. de Bonrepos arrived at London from Paris, and had ſeveral conferences with the King. It is pretended, that he offered him from the King of France a fleet, and an army of thirty thouſand men, but that the earl of Sunderland prevented the offer from being accepted. He is ſaid to repreſent to the King, "That it would be very "dangerous to introduce a foreign army into Eng- "land, at the very time he was preparing to hold "a parliament; that he would intirely loſe the "hearts of his ſubjects, and even of thoſe who "were moſt devoted to him; that if the French "ſhould have a mind to render themſelves maſters "of the kingdom, he would find but very few "who would join to deliver him from ſuch trouble- "ſome gueſts, and that in accepting ſo powerful "an aid, he would quickly become only a vice- "roy to Lewis XIV." Some have inſinuated, that this advice was evident treachery in the earl of Sunderland, who was gained by the Prince of Orange. But this accuſation reſts only on the ill ſucceſs of the King's affairs afterwards, and on the ſuppoſition that he would have ſucceeded in his deſigns, had the King of France's offer been accepted.

A new treaty with France. Burnet, p. 768.

However, the King refuſed the aid, becauſe he thought it unneceſſary, and yet, it is pretended, that he made at this very time a new alliance with Lewis, but which was never publiſhed.

Memorial of the marquis of Albyville to the States; Auguſt 23. Kennet, p. 518.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the King, hearing from ſeveral parts, that an armament was making in Holland, ordered the marquis of Albyville, his embaſſador, to preſent a memorial to the States, to demand what they meaned by their warlike preparations, eſpecially by ſea, at that time of the year. The States anſwered, That they armed in imitation of his Britannic Majeſty, and might with more reaſon demand an explanation about the alliance into which he was lately entered. This anſwer increaſing the King's ſuſpicions, he now began to take the neceſſary meaſures for puting himſelf in a poſture of defenſe. With this view, he gave the governments of Portſmouth and Hull, the two keys of the kingdom, to Papiſts, and took care to have the majority of the officers and ſoldiers of theſe gariſons of that religion.

Their anſwer. State Tracts. Vol. I. p. 41, 42. Burnet, p. 768. R. Coke.

The King puts himſelf upon his guard. Echard, Vol. III. p. 885.

But continues to flatter himſelf.

After all, he could not be perſuaded, the Prince of Orange would venture to attack him. He ſtill relied on his fleet and army, tho' before now he had ſeveral demonſtrations of their diſaffection. The court of France could not conceive the cauſe of ſo ſtrange an indolence; nor was Skelton leſs puzzled to anſwer the queſtion ſo often aſked, why the King his maſter refuſed the aſſiſtance of France? He could only ſay, that he had no orders about it. At length, in a conference one day with monſieur de Croiſſy upon this ſubject, he told him, it was his private opinion, that if France would threaten to attack the States General, in caſe any thing was attempted by them againſt the King of England, ſuch a declaration would break all the Prince of Orange's meaſures. The court of France approving of this propoſal, the count d'Avaux preſented a memorial to the States the thirtieth of Auguſt, declaring: "That all circumſtances inclined the King, his "maſter, to believe with reaſon, that the arming in "Holland threatened England, therefore his Ma- "jeſty had commanded him to declare to them, on "his part,--That the ties of friendſhip and alliance "between him and the King of Great Britain, "would oblige him not only to aſſiſt him, but alſo "to look on the firſt act of hoſtility that ſhould be "commited by their troops or their fleet, againſt "his Majeſty of Great Britain, to be a manifeſt "rupture of the peace, and a breach with his "crown."——The States, after an ambiguous anſwer to this memorial, demanded of the marquis of Albyville, the meaning of the new alliance between the two Kings. The ſame demand was made to the court of England by the States embaſſador, Van Citters, to whom they ſent a copy of the memorial. Whereupon the King ſummoned a council, and by the earl of Sunderland's means it was reſolved, to diſown the proceedings of the count d'Avaux. This reſolution was immediately communicated to the embaſſador of the States, and to all the King's miniſters in foreign courts. Moreover, to convince the public, that the King was not concerned in the memorial preſented by the count d'Avaux, Skelton was recalled, and immediately ſent to the Tower.

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Skelton's advice to the court of France. Id. p. 886

R. Coke.

Memorial from count d'Avaux to the States General. State-Tracts Vol. I. p. 41. Kennet, p. 518. Burnet, p. 768.

Diſowned by James. Kennet. Ibid.

State-Tracts Vol. I. P. 42.

Suſpicions againſt the earl of Sunderland. Orleans. Echard, Vol. III. P. 886.

The earl of Sunderland on this occaſion, reaſoned on the ſame principle advanced by him, when the aſſiſtance offered by France was in debate. It cannot be denied, that his reaſons appeared plauſible to the King. But it is ſuppoſed by ſome, that the King was deceived, and that it was not poſſible for the earl of Sunderland alſo to be deceived. Wherefore they aſcribe his counſels to a premeditated deſign of betraying his maſter. Thoſe who talk thus, are, it is likely, very ſorry, the King did not follow the contrary opinion, and imbrace the offer of France. They are perſuaded, in that caſe, the Prince of Orange's meaſures would have been diſconcerted, his undertaking relinquiſhed, and the King, with the aſſiſtance of thirty thouſand men, been abſolute maſter of his kingdom. But it muſt be conſidered, that this is ſuppoſing an uncertain event; that the prime miniſter's advice, preceded the King's diſaſter ſome months; and, to accuſe him of an intention to betray the King, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that he could have foreſeen what the King himſelf did not: in a word, that he was ſecretly ingaged with the Prince of Orange, of which there does not appear any poſitive proof. The moſt plauſible ground of ſuſpicion againſt him, is, his admiſſion into that Prince's council and confidence, when on the throne. But he was not the only one of King James's miniſters, who was thus favored by King William. It is however certain, tho' the earl of Sunderland imbraced the Popiſh religion, he was, and ſtill is, ſuſpected by the Papiſts. There are even Proteſtants, who owning that he betrayed his maſter, count this pretended treachery an honor to him, ſince it tended to the good of the kingdom.

Tho' the King, as I ſaid, had ordered writs to be iſſued out for a new parliament, the order had not

not been executed. This appears clearly in a proclamation of the twenty-firſt of September, wherein the King ſuppoſed, the elections were not yet begun. It imported:

A proclamation about a new parliament. Gazette No. 2384. Hiſt. of the Deſert. in State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 43.

"That his Majeſty having already ſignified his "pleaſure to call a parliament, leſt thoſe whoſe "right it was to chuſe members, ſhould lie under "any prejudices and miſtakes, thro' the artifices of "diſaffected perſons, he thought it fit to declare, "that as it was his Royal purpoſe to indeavor a "legal eſtabliſhment of an univerſal liberty of "conſcience for all his ſubjects, it was alſo his reſolu-"tion inviolably to preſerve the church of England, "by ſuch a confirmation of the ſeveral acts of uniformity, that they ſhould never be altered any other "ways than by repealing the ſeveral clauſes, which "inflict penalties upon perſons not promoted or to "be promoted to any eccleſiaſtical benefices within "the meaning of the ſaid acts, for exerciſing their "religion contrary to the purport of the ſaid acts of "uniformity. And that for the farther ſecuring, "not only the church of England, but the Pro-"teſtant religion in general, he was willing the "Roman Catholics ſhould remain incapable to be "members of the houſe of commons; whereby "thoſe fears and apprehenſions would be removed, "which many perſons had had, 'That the legiſ-"lative authority would be ingroſſed by them, and "turned againſt Proteſtants."——

Produces no great effect.

This proclamation was too obſcure and ambiguous to produce any great effect. There was even a manifeſt contradiction in the deſign to repeal the penal laws, and at the ſame time to preſerve the acts of uniformity. Beſide the King ſpoke only of excluding Papiſts from the houſe of commons, and not from that of the lords. But what ſtill more plainly diſcovered the King's intention to amuſe the people was, that the writs for a new parliament were not iſſued.

In the interim, the King, having received ſo many concuring advices of the Prince of Orange's deſigns, gave out commiſſions for augmenting his forces, and ſent for ſome regiments out of Ireland. He alſo ordered, at the ſame time, the fleet to be equiped with all expedition. Monſieur Barillon, the French embaſſador, propoſed that the King his maſter ſhould be deſired to abandon the ſiege of Philipſburg, undertaken by the Dauphin, and carry the war into Holland. This propoſal was approved by ſeveral of the council, but oppoſed by others, on pretenſe that ſuch a proceeding would allienate the minds of all the Engliſh Proteſtants from the King. This reaſon prevailed the more eaſily, as the Prince of Orange's friends had ſpread a report, that the armament of Holland was only deſigned to prevent the French from landing in England.

Propoſals from the French embaſſador rejected. Kennet, p. 519 Echard, Vol. III. p. 887.

The earl of Feverſham made general. Echard, Vol. III. p. 887.

At length, the King, as he could no longer doubt the Prince of Orange's intention, gave the command of his army to the earl of Feverſham, after that poſt had been declined by the count de Roye. The command of the fleet was given to the lord Dartmouth. As the King was not ignorant how prejudicial the report of his ſtrict alliance with Lewis XIV was to him, he uſed his utmoſt indeavors to ſtifle it. For this purpoſe, he ordered the marquis of Albyville to preſent a memorial to the States, to aſſure them from him, that there was no other treaty between him and France than thoſe which were public. He moreover ordered the States to take ſuch meaſures with them, as might beſt ſerve to maintain the peace of Nimeguen, and the twenty years truce concluded in 1684. But their High Mightineſſes, whether better informed than the King imagined, or for other reaſons, took no notice of this memorial. On the contrary, the penſionary of Holland frankly owned to the marquis of Albyville, that the Prince of Orange being invited by the Engliſh nobility, was preparing to carry them aſſiſtance for reſtoring the government to its ancient ſtate, the King having intirely changed it ſince his acceſſion to the crown.

King James diſowns the treaty with France. October 5. Id. p. 888. Kennet, p. 519. Gazette, No. 2386.

The Prince's expedition declared. Echard, Vol. III. p. 888.

It ſeems that the King had hitherto preſerved ſome hope, either that the States had ſome other deſign, or that the Prince only intended to deter him from finiſhing his work. But after this advice received from his embaſſador, who added, that many Engliſh were at the Hague ready to accompany the Prince in his expedition, he, as well as his whole council, diſcovered the utmoſt conſternation. Indeed, it was eaſy to conceive, that the Prince had projected this undertaking, upon private aſſurances of incouragement from the Engliſh. This reflection made the King begin to ſee the great diſproportion between the number of the Proteſtants, and that of the Papiſts, and conſequently the ſmall hopes of being ſupported by the latter. In theſe melancholly thoughts, he believed his beſt refuge was to recover the church of England to his intereſt. He ſtill imagined, ſhe was unſhaken in her principle of Paſſive-obedience, and that by giving her ſome ſatisfaction, he ſhould ſecure her allegiance, after which, there would be no farther cauſe to fear the efforts of the Prince of Orange. To this end, he ſent for the biſhops who were then in London, viz. Wincheſter, Chicheſter, Peterborough, Rocheſter, Ely, Bath and Wells, and told them, that he deſired their advice in the preſent conjuncture. He aſſured them of his readineſs to do whatever ſhould be thought neceſſary for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion and the liberties of his ſubjects, without derogating from his own prerogative. He concluded with ſaying, this affair required a mature examination, and therefore prayed them to conſult together, in order to give him their advice. The biſhops withdrew, and immediately repaired to Lambeth, to form, with the archbiſhop (then indiſpoſed) a plan of what they were to counſel the King.

The King in a conſternation;

reſolves to conſult the biſhops. Kennet, p. 520. Echard, Vol. III. p. 889.

Proclamation againſt the Prince of Orange's invaſion. Gazette, No. 2386, State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 44. Echard, Vol. III. p. 889.

The twenty-eight of September, the King publiſhed a proclamation to inform his ſubjects, "That "his Majeſty had received undoubted advice, that "a great and ſudden invaſion from Holland with "an armed force of foreigners, would ſpeedily be "made in an hoſtile manner upon this kingdom; "and altho' ſome falſe pretenſes, relating to liberty, "property, and religion, contrived and worded "with art and ſubtlety, might be given out, it "was manifeſt however, that no leſs matter by "this invaſion was propoſed, 'than an abſolute "conqueſt of theſe his Majeſty's kingdoms, and "the utter ſubduing and ſubjecting them, and all "his people, to a foreign power,' which was pro-"moted by ſome of his ſubjects, being perſons of "wicked and reſtleſs ſpirits, implacable malice, "and deſperate deſigns; who having no ſenſe of "the miſery of former inteſtine diviſions, nor "being moved by his Majeſty's reiterated acts of "grace and mercy, did again indeavor to imbroil "this kingdom in blood and ruin, to gratify their "own ambition and malice, propoſing to them-"ſelves a prey and booty in ſuch a public confu-"ſion. That tho' his Majeſty had notice, that a "foreign force was preparing againſt him, yet he "had always declined any foreign ſuccors, but "rather had choſen to rely upon the true and "ancient courage, faith and allegiance of his own "people, with whom he had often ventured his "life for the honor of this nation, and in whoſe "defenſe, againſt all enemies, he was firmly reſolved "to live and die; and therefore his Majeſty ſolemnly "conjured his ſubjects to lay aſide all animoſities, "jealouſies, and prejudices, and heartily and chearfully

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" chearfully to unite together, in the defenſe of " of him and their native country.——— That " albeit the deſign had been carried on with all " imaginable ſecreſy and indeavors to ſurpriſe and " deceive his Majeſty, yet he had not been wanting " on his part, to make ſuch proviſions as did be- " come him, and made no doubt of being found in " ſo good a poſture, that his enemies might have " cauſe to repent their raſh and unjuſt attempts." In the concluſion his Majeſty declared, " That he " did intend to have met his parliament in No- " vember next, and that the writs were iſſued " forth accordingly, propoſing to himſelf, among " other things, That he might be able to quiet " the minds of all his people in matters of reli- " gion, but that in regard of this ſtrange attempt, " deſigned to divert his ſaid gracious purpoſes, " he found it neceſſary to recal his foreſaid " writs, &c."

Tho' the King pretended an intire reliance on the allegiance of his ſubjects, he knew, however, he had given them too much cauſe of diſcontent, to be aſſured of their affection. Wherefore he thought it neceſſary to give them more convincing proofs of his ſincerity, than bare words. To this intent, he took off the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion, and appointed ſir John Chapman, a churchman, to ſucceed ſir John Eyles, the preſent lord mayor of London, who was an Anabaptiſt. Moreover, being informed that the biſhops would adviſe him to reſtore the city charter, he ſent for the lord mayor, aldermen, and ſherifs, and told them, " That he reſolved to reſtore to them their ancient " charter and privileges, and put them into the " ſame condition they were in at the time of the " judgment pronounced againſt them, upon the " Quo warranto." The ſame day, the ſecond of " October, he publiſhed a general pardon by pro- " clamation, out of which were excepted, Robert " Parſons, Edward Matthews, Samuel Venner, Andrew Fletcher, colonel John Rumſey, major John Manley, Iſaac Manley, Francis Charleton, John Wildman, Titus Oates, Robert Ferguſon, Gilbert Burnet, ſir Robert Peyton, Laurence Braddon, Samuel Johnſon, Thomas Tipping, and ſir Rowland Gwyne. But all this was not capable to ſatisfy the people, who aſpired to a more ample and more certain deliverance.

Kennet, p. 519, 520.

The biſhop of London reſtored, and a new lord-mayor appointed. Gazette, No. 2388.

The King promiſes to reſtore the city charter. Gazette, No. 2387. State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 45. Echard, Vol. III. p. 890.

The day after, the third of October, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, attended by eight biſhops, repaired to Whitehall, and was admited to immediate audience. After a ſhort ſpeech, he preſented to the King the reſult of their conferences drawn up in ten articles, which were ſo many advices, and withal, reproaches upon his paſt government. Theſe advices were :

State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 46. Kennet, p. 520. Burnet, p. 784.

" I. To put the whole management of his go- " vernment, in the ſeveral counties, into the hands " of ſuch of the nobility and gentry there, as were " legally qualified for it.

" II. To annul his commiſſion for eccleſiaſtical " affairs ; and that no ſuch court be erected for the " future.

" III. That no diſpenſation might be granted " or continued, by virtue whereof, any perſon, " not duly qualified by law, had been put into any " place, office, or preferment in church or ſtate, " or in the univerſities, or continued in the ſame, " eſpecially ſuch as had cure of ſouls annexed to " them ; and particularly, that he would reſtore the " preſident and fellows of St. Mary Magdalen " college in Oxford.

" IV. To ſet aſide all licenſes or faculties, by " which any perſons of the Romiſh communion " might pretend to be inabled to teach public " ſchools.

" V. To deſiſt from the exerciſe of his diſpen- " ſing power, and to permit that point to be calm- " ly and freely debated, and finally ſetled in par- " liament.

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" VI. To inhibit the four foreign biſhops, who " ſtiled themſelves Vicars Apoſtolical, from far- " ther invading the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which " by law was veſted in the biſhops of the church " of England.

" VII. To fill the vacant biſhoprics, and other " eccleſiaſtical promotions, within his gift, both in " England and Ireland, with men of learning and " piety : and in particular (which the archbiſhop " owned to be his peculiar boldneſs, ſince it was " done without the privity of his brethren) ' forth- " with to fill the archiepiſcopal chair of York " (which had ſo long ſtood empty, and upon which " a whole province depended) with ſome very " worthy perſon : for which he was ſo bold to " ſay, his Majeſty had then before him a very fair " choice.'

" VIII. To ſuperſede all farther proſecution of " Quo Warrantos againſt corporations, and to " reſtore to them their ancient charters and privi- " leges ; as they heard God had put into his heart " for the city of London, which they intended " otherwiſe to have made one of their principal " requeſts.

" IX. That writs might be iſſued out with con- " venient ſpeed, for calling of a free and regular " parliament, in which the church of England " might be ſecured according to the acts of uni- " formity : proviſion might be made for a due " liberty of conſcience, and for ſecuring the liber- " ties and properties of all his ſubjects, and a " mutual confidence might be eſtabliſhed between " his Majeſty and all his people.

" X. Above all, That his Majeſty would be " pleaſed to permit his biſhops, to offer ſuch mo- " tives and arguments, as (they truſted) might, " by God's grace, be effectual to perſuade his " Majeſty to return to the communion of the " church of England, into whoſe moſt holy Ca- " tholic faith he was baptized, in which he was " educated, and to which it was their daily earneſt " prayer to God, that he might be re-united."

These advices clearly ſhew, that what has hitherto been ſeen concerning King James's government, is not grounded upon calumnies ſpread by his enemies. For how, on the third of October (a month before the Prince of Orange's arrival, and at a time when the events were yet uncertain) could theſe nine biſhops conſpire together to reproach the King with a violation of the laws in all theſe articles, under color of giving him counſel? Beſide, theſe advices agree, for the moſt part, with the Prince of Orange's declaration, ſigned at the Hague, at the very time the biſhops were conſulting together at London. In ſhort, the King's proceedings, two days after, invincibly prove the truth of theſe facts. So, the advocates for King James can only plead, either that he had a right to act as he did, or, tho' he had no ſuch right, his ſubjects were bound to ſubmit to his will. The King finding it neceſſary to comply with the advice of the biſhops, and that a refuſal would only increaſe the people's jealouſy, reſolved, tho' probably with regret, to redreſs moſt of the grievances complained of. For this purpoſe, two days after, the commiſſion for eccleſiaſtical cauſes was diſſolved. Next day, the lord chancellor had orders to carry back in perſon the charter of London. The lord lieutenants of the ſeveral counties were required to inform themſelves of the abuſes and irregularities commited in the late regulations of corporations, in order to redreſs the ſame. The biſhop of Wincheſter, viſitor of Magdalen college

Sprat's left.

King James takes ſome ſteps towards the redreſs of grievances. October. Gazette, No. 2385, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391. Echard, Vol. III. p. 892. Kennet, p. 519, 522. State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 48.

college in Oxford, was ordered to ſetle that ſociety regularly, and according to their ſtatutes. A proclamation was iſſued out for reſtoring corporations to their ancient charters, liberties, rights and franchiſes. The lord lieutenants were diſplaced in ſeveral counties. Popiſh juſtices of the peace, mayors, recorders, and other magiſtrates, were removed, and Proteſtants put in their places. Thus, in the ſpace of about twelve days, that formidable fabric was in effect, or in a great meaſure demoliſhed, which the Romiſh cabal had ſpent near four years in erecting.

Gives occaſion for new ſuſpicions.

But all theſe proceedings were not ſufficient to reſtore the King to the confidence of his ſubjects, becauſe they came too late, and ſeemed rather the effect of neceſſity than inclination. No other motive could be imagined of the King's deſtroying his own work, than his fear of being deſerted on the arrival of the Prince of Orange, who was daily expected. Whence it was infered, that the King's condeſcenſion would laſt no longer than the danger. What had been only ſuſpected, was ſoon found to be true. The biſhop of Wincheſter, purſuant to the King's order, having cauſed a citation to be fixed on the gates of Magdalen college, to recal dr. Hough, and the rejected fellows of that ſociety, upon the news of the diſperſion of the Prince's fleet by a tempeſt, was recalled on ſome frivolous pretenſe, and the reſtoration of the college defered. But afterwards, the news proving falſe, the King reſumed his pretended affection for the univerſity, and the college was reſtored. This extremely prejudiced the King, as it manifeſtly ſhewed, that in his late changes in favor of the Proteſtants, his aim had been only to amuſe them, till he ſhould be able to retract. Such as had fallen into the ſnare, and believed the King to have acted with ſincerity, loſt all their former confidence in him. So, James ſaw himſelf at once reduced to the aſſiſtance of his Popiſh ſubjects alone, who were incapable to reſtore his ſinking affairs.

Kennet, p. 522. Burnet, p. 784.

Augments his forces. Echard, Vol. III. p. 893.

As all his hope was placed in his army, he applied himſelf, as far as lay in his power, to augment and ſtrengthen it with troops, which ſhould wholly depend on him. In obedience to orders already given, two thouſand five hundred men landed at Cheſter from Ireland, and three thouſand Scots were advanced to Carliſle. Beſide this, new commiſſions were granted (1), for levying ten regiments of horſe and foot, not to mention ſeveral independent companies. All the militia had orders to be in a readineſs to march. Laſtly a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all horſes, oxen, and cattle, to be driven and removed to the ſpace at leaſt of twenty miles, from the places where the enemies ſhould attempt to land. This was all he could do. But it was out of his power to cauſe his ſubjects to ſecond him with affection, or his troops to ſerve him faithfully. Accordingly, it was not upon an army of thirteen or fourteen thouſand men that the Prince of Orange relied, but upon the diſpoſition of the Engliſh, who impatiently waited his arrival: without this, ſo ſmall an army would not have been capable of conquering England.

State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 47.

Takes new precautions October 20. Gazette, No. 2392.

Shuts up the Popiſh chapels. Echard, Vol. III. p. 893.

Mean while, the populace of London growing inſolent, by the hopes of the Prince's coming, began to inſult the Popiſh chapels; wherefore the King ordered them to be ſhut up, for fear of an inſurrection in ſo dangerous a juncture. On the other hand, many Romiſh prieſts and jeſuits perceiving the gathering ſtorm, and preſaging nothing good from the diſpoſition of the people, and the court's conſternation, began gradually to diſappear, and to conſult their own ſafety by a timely retreat into foreign parts.

The Prince of Wales baptized. October 15. Gazette, No. 2391.

In the midſt of all theſe diſtractions, the King cauſed the Prince of Wales to be ſolemnly baptized; the Pope repreſented by his nuncio, being godfather, and the Queen Dowager godmother. Father Saban officiated, and named him James-Francis-Edward.

State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 1, &c.

At the ſame time the court received a pamphlet, publiſhed in Holland, intitled, "A Memorial "of the Engliſh Proteſtants, preſented to their "highneſſes, the Prince and Princeſs of Orange." It was aſcribed to dr. Burnet, or major Wildman; wherein after a long narrative of the grievances of the nation, the author complained of King James's obliging his ſubjects to own a ſuppoſititious child for the Prince of Wales, adding, "That his Ma-"jeſty would never ſuffer the witneſſes that were "preſent at the Queen's delivery to be heard and "examined." The King was no ſtranger to the ſuſpicions entertained by the people on this account, but had hitherto pretended ignorance, or at leaſt looked on them with contempt. He perceived, however, that on this occaſion, he could not, without great prejudice to himſelf, help anſwering ſo public a challenge. He therefore held an extraordinary council, the twenty-ſecond of October, to which were called the Queen Dowager, all the lords ſpiritual and temporal then in town, the lord mayor and aldermen of London, the judges, and ſeveral of his Majeſty's learned council. All theſe being aſſembled, the King told them, "He had called them together upon a very "extraordinary occaſion; but that extraordinary "diſeaſes muſt have extraordinary remedies: that "the malicious indeavors of his enemies had ſo "poiſoned the minds of ſome of his ſubjects, that "by the reports he had from all hands, he had "reaſon to believe, that very many did not think "that this ſon, with which God had bleſſed him, "to be his, but a ſuppoſed child. But, he might "ſay, that by a particular providence, ſcarce any "Prince was ever born, where there was ſo many "perſons preſent. That he had taken this time to "have the matter heard and examined there, ex-"pecting that the Prince of Orange, with the firſt "eaſterly wind, would invade this kingdom: and "as he had often ventured his life for the nation "before he came to the crown, ſo he thought him-"ſelf more obliged ſo to do now he was King, "and did intend to go in perſon againſt him, "whereby he might be expoſed to accidents; and "therefore he thought it neceſſary to have this "now done, in order to ſatisfy the minds of his "ſubjects, and to prevent the kingdom's being "ingaged in blood and confuſion after his death: "that he had deſired the Queen Dowager to give "herſelf the trouble to come hither, to declare "what ſhe knew of the birth of his ſon; and that "moſt of the ladies, lords, and other perſons who "were preſent, were ready to depoſe upon oath "their knowlege of the matter."

The King calls an extraordinary council to prove the birth of the Prince of Wales.

His ſpeech to them. Echard, Vol. III. p. 893. Burnet, p. 785.

After this ſpeech, depoſitions were taken, firſt of the Queen Dowager, who only ſaid, "That "ſhe was in the room when the Queen was de-"livered," without any thing more poſitive or particular. After her followed forty witneſſes of which ſeventeen were Papiſts, and it was begun with proving, that the Queen was brought to bed while many perſons were in the room. To this

Depoſitions taken.

(1) Particularly to Henry Cavendiſh, duke of Newcaſtle; to the lord Brandon; to the marquis of Miremont, nephew to the earl of Feverſham; to colonel Henry Gage, and colonel Solomon Richards. Gazette, No. 2387.

tended

tended the teſtimonies of the eighteen lords who accompanied the King thither. This proof ſignified nothing, or was very ambiguous. It was well known, there were a great many perſons in the room at the time the Queen was ſaid to be delivered; which doubtleſs, was all that was meaned by this proof. But it was not ſufficient to prove the reality of the delivery. Some of the ladies depoſed that they ſaw the child ſoon after in the arms of the midwife. But as no man in the council durſt put any queſtions to the witneſſes, concerning ſeveral circumſtances, theſe general depoſitions were incapable to remove all ſuſpicions. The midwife depoſed poſitively, that ſhe took the child from the Queen's body. The counteſs of Sunderland depoſed, that the Queen called her to give her her hand, that ſhe might feel how the child lay, which, added ſhe, I did, but ſhe did not ſay whether ſhe felt the child or not. The biſhop of Saliſbury adds, that the counteſs of Sunderland told the ducheſs of Hamilton (from whom he had this particular) that when ſhe put her hand into the bed, the Queen held it, and let it go no lower than her breaſts, ſo that really ſhe felt nothing. Many ladies depoſed, that they had often ſeen the marks of milk on the Queen's linen near her breaſts. Two or three depoſed, that they ſaw it runing out at the nipple. But what is remarkable, none of theſe ladies named the time in which they ſaw the milk, except one, who named the month of May. Now if it be true, as was before related, that the Queen was really with child till the ninth of April, and that ſhe miſcarried that day, all that was mentioned of milk in the Queen's breaſts, particularly by her that fixed it to the month of May, might have followed on that miſcarriage, and be no proof concerning the late birth. Mrs. Pierce the laundreſs depoſed, that ſhe took linen from the Queen's body once, which carried the marks of a delivery. The biſhop objects here, that it is ſtrange ſhe ſhould ſpeak only to one time. The lady Wentworth was the ſingle witneſs that depoſed, that ſhe had felt the child move in the Queen's belly, but ſhe fixed it to no time.

Burnet, p. 785.

Remarks upon theſe depoſitions.

In general ſee in few words the uſe that may be made of the ſuſpicions mentioned by ſeveral authors, and of theſe depoſitions, viz. There being three caſes, in none of which the two parties agree, the depoſitions are not applicable to any of the caſes, without being contradicted by thoſe who maintain one of the other two. Let us take for inſtance, the two depoſitions, which, next to that of the midwife, appear moſt convincing, viz. that of the lady who had ſeen milk run from the Queen's breaſts; and that of the lady Iſabella Wentworth, who had felt the child in the womb. Theſe two teſtimonies are ſufficient againſt thoſe who maintain, that the Queen was not with child from January, the time of her declared pregnancy, to the tenth of June, the time of her delivery. But they are inſufficient againſt thoſe who pretend that ſhe was really with child, from the ſixth of October to the ninth of April, when ſhe had a miſcarriage, for the reaſons before-mentioned. To be able therefore to form a certain judgment concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, it is neceſſary, 1. That facts ſhould be agreed in, I mean, whether it be true, that the Queen was really with child, and that ſhe had a miſcarriage. 2. That thoſe who derive their ſuſpicions from the Queen's obſtinate refuſal to give ſatisfaction to the public, ſhould fix the time of this obſtinacy to the interval between the ninth of April, the day of her pretended miſcarriage, and the tenth of June, the day of her delivery. For in ſuppoſing the reality of her pregnancy till Eaſter week, the ſuſpicions ariſing from the Queen's obſtinacy, cannot but be ill grounded, unleſs this obſtinacy is confined to the ſpace of time, between the miſcarriage and the delivery, which it is not. 3. That the two ladies who depoſed concerning the milk and the motion of the child, ſhould have fixed the time to the ſame interval, otherwiſe their teſtimony proves nothing againſt thoſe who maintain, that the Queen was really with child till Eaſter week, and had then a miſcarriage; but this is what does not appear. As to the teſtimony of the midwife, which is the principal and moſt poſitive, all that can be objected to it is, that it is a ſingle teſtimony, and that beſide ſhe being a Papiſt, might have been corrupted. But this is only a conjecture, a bare poſſibility. It is therefore clear, that to decide this queſtion in a manner capable to ſatisfy thoſe who only ſeek the truth, a more perfect knowlege muſt be had of many circumſtances which as yet lie concealed.

The ſuſpicions not removed by the depoſitions.

The King's precaution produced not the deſired effect. The ſuſpicion of an impoſture was ſo deeply rooted in the minds of moſt of the Engliſh, that it was rather confirmed than removed by this examination. The myſterious conduct obſerved at a time when, conſidering the general ſuſpicion, all poſſible precautions ought to have been taken to render the birth unqueſtionable, made a ſtronger impreſſion than all theſe teſtimonies, and the rather, as they were found to be very defective. Before this examination, the preſumption of law was for the Prince, ſince he was owned by both parents, ſo that the proof lay on the other ſide, and ought to be offered by thoſe who queſtioned it. But after the King had undertaken to prove the reality of his ſon's birth, by forty witneſſes, of which more than thirty ſaid nothing material, and the reſt fixed no time to what they depoſed, he left room to his enemies to object againſt theſe very depoſitions.

Burnet, p. 786.

The King's ſpeech after the examination of the witneſſes.

The King's own teſtimony was not more effectual. After the witneſſes were examined, he told the aſſembly, "That the Princeſs Anne of "Denmark would have been preſent; but that ſhe "being with child likewiſe, and having not lately "ſtired abroad, could not come ſo far without "hazard." Adding farther, "That tho' he did "not queſtion but every perſon there preſent was "ſatisfied before in this matter, yet by what they "had heard, they would be better able to ſatisfy "others: that beſide, if he and the Queen could "be thought ſo wicked as to indeavor to impoſe "a child upon the nation, they ſaw how impoſſible it would have been; neither could he himſelf be impoſed upon, having conſtantly been "with the Queen during her being with child, and "the whole time of her labor. That there was "none of them but would eaſily believe him, who "had ſuffered ſo much for conſcience ſake, incapable of ſo great a villany, to the prejudice of "his own children; and that he thanked God, "that thoſe who knew him, knew well, that it "was his principle to do as he would be done by, "for 'that was the Law and the Prophets;' and "he would rather die a thouſand deaths, than do "the leaſt wrong to any of his children."

The depoſitions are recorded. Kennet, p. 523.

The reaſons alleged by the King in this ſpeech were far from being convincing, ſince thoſe who believed the impoſture, were perſuaded, that the King was chiefly concerned in it, notwithſtanding all his aſſeverations, which were but little regarded. It is a deplorable thing for a King not to be credited by the body of his ſubjects. The depoſitions were ſolemnly inrolled in chancery, and afterwards printed and diſperſed among the people. But this did not prevent a general belief, that the Prince of Wales was ſuppoſititious. So this birth remains hitherto in uncertainty, and probably will long remain ſo. For it muſt be obſerved, that after the King and Queen had withdrawn into France, neither

neither the midwife, or the Queen's ladies, who had depoſed the moſt material circumſtances of the pregnancy or the delivery, were to be found.

The earl of Sunderland removed from all his places. Kennet, p. 523. Echard, Vol. III. p. 895, &c. Hiſt. of Deſert. p. 53.

The twenty-eighth of October, the earl of Sunderland was ſuddenly removed from his places of preſident of the council, and principal ſecretary of ſtate. It is believed, that his neglect of Skelton's letters to him, was the principal cauſe of his diſgrace. He ſaid, on this ſubject, "If he gave no account "of theſe letters to the King, it was becauſe Skelton "never wrote but ſecond hand news." But theſe were not mere letters of news. One Wickſtead, formerly a monk, being ſeized for holding correſpondence with the King's enemies, charged the earl of Sunderland to his face, with revealing his Majeſty's ſecrets to the Prince of Orange. But being commited to the cuſtody of a meſſenger, next day he made his eſcape. However, it is certain, Sunderland had been ſome time ſuſpected by the Papiſts, who, in all appearance, perſuaded the King of his ſecret intelligence with the Prince of Orange. He publiſhed afterwards an apology, but the diſcuſſion of this affair would be too great a digreſſion.

Letters of pardon granted to ſeveral of the moſt obnoxious perſons. Nov. 1. Echard, Vol III. p. 897.

As it was expected the firſt Eaſterly wind would bring over the Prince of Orange, ſome of the moſt devoted to the King during his proſperity, thought proper to ſecure themſelves by letters of pardon for their illegal actions. Among theſe were chancellor Jefferies, ſir Nicholas Butler, the biſhop of Cheſter, the biſhop of Durham, and about twenty more, to whom the King readily granted the favor they deſired.

While theſe things were tranſacting in England, the neceſſary diſpoſitions were making in Holland for the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh: for it was on this account that the States let their troops to the Prince of Orange; and what the King called in England an invaſion, in Holland was termed, "a brotherly "aſſiſtance lent by the States and the Prince to the "diſtreſſed Engliſh." It can hardly be thought, that the Prince of Orange, with an army of thirteen or fourteen thouſand men, would have undertaken a deſcent into England, had he not been aſſured of a favorable reception from the generality of the people. But as it was neceſſary to remove the ſuſpicion fomented by the King, that the Prince was coming to conquer and ſubdue England, he thought proper, in a declaration, to ſhow the true motives of his undertaking. This declaration, dated the tenth of October, new ſtile, was divided into twenty-ſix articles, reducible to theſe three general heads:

The Prince of Orange's declaration. Hiſt. of the Deſert. in State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 67. Kennet. p. 523. Echard.

"The firſt contained a particular enumeration "of the grievances of the Engliſh nation, eſpecially "the King's arrogating to himſelf a diſpenſing "power; his advancing Papiſts to civil, eccleſiaſtical, and military imployments, and allowing them to ſit in the privy council; his ſeting up "an illegal commiſſion for eccleſiaſtical affairs, in "which there was one of his miniſters of ſtate, who "made public profeſſion of the Popiſh religion, "and who at the time of his firſt profeſſing it, "declared, 'That for a great while before, he had "believed that to be the only true religion;' and "by which not only the biſhop of London was "ſuſpended, but the preſident and fellows of Magdalen College arbitrarily turned out of their freeholds, contrary to that expreſs proviſion in Magna "Charta, 'That no man ſhall loſe his life or goods "but by the laws of the land;' his allowing Popiſh "monaſteries and colleges of jeſuits to be created; "his turning out of public imployments, all ſuch "as would not concur with him in the repeal of "the teſt and penal laws; his invading the privileges, and ſeizing on the charters of moſt corporations, and placing Popiſh magiſtrates in "ſome of them; his ſubjecting the courts of judi- "catory to his arbitrary and deſpotic power, and "puting the adminiſtration of juſtice into the hands "of Papiſts; his not only arming the Papiſts, in "contempt of the laws, but likewiſe raiſing them "up to the greateſt military truſts, both by ſea and "land, ſtrangers as well as natives, and Iriſh as "well as Engliſh, that he might be in a capacity to "inſlave the nation; his puting the whole government of Ireland into the hands of Papiſts; his "aſſuming an abſolute and arbitrary power in the "kingdom of Scotland; from which it was apparent, what was to be looked for in England."

Secondly, his Highneſs alleged, "That thoſe "great and inſufferable oppreſſions, and the open "contempt of all law, together with the apprehenſion of the ſad conſequences that muſt certainly "follow upon it, had made the ſubjects to look "after ſuch remedies as are allowed of in all nations, and in the moſt abſolute Monarchies, all "which had been without effect; his Majeſty's "evil counſellors having indeavored to make all "men apprehend the loſs of their lives, liberties, "honors, and eſtates, if they ſhould go about to "preſerve themſelves from this oppreſſion, by petitions and repreſentations; an inſtance of which "was, the proſecution of the ſeven biſhops: that "a peer of the realm (the lord Lovelace) was "treated as a criminal, only becauſe he ſaid, "'That the ſubjects were not bound to obey the "orders of a Popiſh juſtice of peace;' tho' it is "evident, that they being by law rendered incapable of all ſuch truſts, no regard is due to their "orders; that both he and his conſort the Princeſs, "had indeavored to ſignify, with terms full of reſpect, to the King, the juſt and deep regret "which all theſe proceedings had given them, and "declared what their thoughts were touching the "repealing of the teſt and penal laws; but that "theſe evil counſellors had put ſuch ill conſtructions "on their good intentions, that they had indeavored to alienate the King more and more from "them. That the laſt and great remedy for all "theſe evils, was, the calling of a parliament, "which could not yet be compaſſed, nor could be "eaſily brought about; for thoſe men apprehending that a lawful parliament would bring them to "account for all their open violations of law, and "for their conſpiracies againſt the Proteſtant religion, and the lives and liberties of the ſubjects, "they had indeavored, under the ſpecious pretenſe "of liberty of conſcience, firſt to ſow diviſions "between thoſe of the church of England, and "Diſſenters, with deſign to ingage Proteſtants, "who are equally concerned to preſerve themſelves from Popiſh oppreſſion, into mutual quarrellings; that ſo by theſe, ſome advantage might "be given them to bring about their deſigns; "and that, both in the elections of members of "parliament, and afterwards in the parliament "itſelf: That they had alſo made ſuch regulations, "as they thought fit and neceſſary, for ſecuring all "the members that were to be choſen by the corporations; by which means they hoped to avoid "the puniſhment they deſerved, tho' it was apparent, that all acts, made by Popiſh magiſtrates, were null and void of themſelves: ſo "that no parliament could be lawful, for which "the elections and returns were made by Popiſh "magiſtrates, ſherifs, and mayors of towns; and "therefore as long as the magiſtracy was in ſuch "hands, it was not poſſible to have a free parliament legally called and choſen. That there "were great and violent preſumptions, inducing "his Highneſs to believe, that thoſe evil counſellors, in order to the gaining the more time for "the effecting their ill deſigns, had publiſhed,

"That

JAMES II. AN' 1688.

" 'That the Queen had brought forth a ſon;' tho' " there had appeared, both during the Queen's " pretended bigneſs, and in the manner wherein the " birth was managed, ſo many juſt and viſible " grounds of ſuſpicion, that not only he himſelf, " but all the good ſubjects of the kindom, did " vehemently ſuſpect, 'That the pretended Prince " of Wales was not born of the Queen;' And " tho' many both doubted of the Queen's bigneſs, " and of the birth of the child, yet there was not " any thing done to ſatisfy them, or put an end " to their doubts. That ſince his conſort the " Princeſs, and likewiſe he himſelf, had ſo great " an intereſt in this matter, and ſuch a right, as all " the world knew, to the ſucceſſion of the crown; " ſince all the Engliſh did in the year 1672, when " Holland was invaded with a moſt unjuſt war, " uſe their utmoſt indeavors to put an end to that " war, and that in oppoſition to thoſe who were " then in the government; ſince the Engliſh na- " tion had ever teſtified a moſt particular affection " and eſteem, both to his Highneſs's deareſt con- " ſort, and to himſelf, he could not excuſe him- " ſelf from eſpouſing that intereſt, in a matter of " ſuch high conſequence, and for contributing all " that in him lay, for the maintaining both of " the Proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties " of theſe kingdoms: to the doing of which, his " Highneſs, 'was moſt earneſtly ſollicited by a " great many lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, " and by many gentlemen, and other ſubjects of " all ranks."

In the laſt place his Highneſs declared, " That " for the forementioned reaſons, he has thought fit " to go over to England, and to carry with him " a force ſufficient to defend him from the violence " of thoſe evil counſellors; that his expedition was " intended for no other deſign, but to have a free " and lawful parliament, aſſembled as ſoon as it " was poſſible; and that in order to this, all the " late charters, by which the election of bur- " geſſes are limited, contray to the ancient " cuſtom, ſhould be conſidered as null and of no " force; that to this parliament he would refer " the inquiry into the birth of the pretended Prince " of Wales, and of all things relating thereto, and " to the right of ſucceſſion; that he would concur " in every thing that might procure the peace and " happineſs of the nation, under a juſt and legal " government; that he would keep the forces under " his command, under all the ſtrictneſs of mar- " tial diſcipline, and promiſed, that he would " ſend back all thoſe foreign forces, as ſoon as " the ſtate of the nation would admit of it; " that therefore he invited and required all " perſons whatſoever to come and aſſiſt him, " in order to the executing his deſigns againſt all " ſuch as ſhall indeavor to oppoſe him; that he " would likewiſe take care, that a parliament " ſhould be called in Scotland, for reſtoring " the ancient conſtitution of that kingdom, and " for bringing the matters of religion to ſuch a " ſetlement, that the people might live eaſy and " happy; that he would alſo ſtudy to bring the " kingdom of Ireland to ſuch a ſtate, that the " ſetlement there might be religiouſly obſerved, " and that the Proteſtant and Britiſh intereſt there " might be ſecured."

This declaration being printed, and ready to be ſent over to England to be diſperſed among the people, the Prince was informed, that the King, by the advice of the biſhops, had redreſſed ſeveral grievances mentioned in his declaration. Wherefore he thought fit to make the following addition to it:

" After we had printed our declaration, we have " underſtood, that the ſubverters of the religion " and laws of theſe kingdoms, hearing of our pre- " paration to aſſiſt the people againſt them, have " begun to retract ſome of the arbitrary and de- " ſpotic power that they had aſſumed, and to vacate " ſome of their unjuſt judgments and decrees: the " ſenſe or their guilt, and the diſtruſt of their " force, have induced them to offer to the city " of London ſome ſeeming relief from their great " oppreſſions; hoping thereby, to quiet the people, " and to divert them from demanding a re-eſta- " bliſhment of their religion and laws, under the " ſhelter of our arms: they did alſo give out, " 'That we do intend to conquer and inſlave the " nation;' and therefore it is, we have thought fit " to add a few words to our declaration.

" We are confident, that no perſons can have " ſuch hard thoughts of us, as to imagine, we " have any other deſign in this our undertaking, " than to procure a ſetlement of the religion, " and of the liberties and properties of the ſub- " ject, upon ſo ſure a foundation, that there may " be no danger of the nation's relapſing into the " like miſeries at any time hereafter. And as the " forces we have brought along with us are utterly " diſproportioned to that wicked deſign of con- " quering the nation, if we were capable of in- " tending it; ſo the great numbers of the prin- " cipal nobility and gentry, that are men of emi- " nent quality and eſtates, and perſons of known " integrity and zeal, both for the religion and " government of England; many of them being " alſo diſtinguiſhed by their conſtant fidelity to the " crown, who do both accompany us in this expe- " dition, and have earneſtly ſollicited us to it, will " cover us from all ſuch malicious inſinuations: " for it is not to be imagined, that either thoſe " who invited us, or thoſe who are already come " to aſſiſt us, can join in a wicked attempt of " conqueſt, to make void their own lawful titles " to their honors, eſtates, and intereſts. We are " alſo confident, that all men ſee, how little weight " there is to be laid on all promiſes and ingage- " ments that can be now made, ſince there has " been ſo little regard had in the time paſt, to the " moſt SOLEMN PROMISES. And as that imper- " fect redreſs, that is now offered, is a plain con- " feſſion of thoſe violences of the government, " that we have ſet forth; ſo the defectiveneſs of " it is no leſs apparent; for they lay down nothing " but which they may take up at pleaſure, and " they reſerve intire, and not ſo much as mention, " their claims and pretenſes to an arbitrary and " deſpotic power, which has been the root of all " their oppreſſion, and the total ſubverſion of the " government. And it is plain, that there can be " no redreſs, no remedy offered but in parliament, " by a declaration of the rights of the ſubjects that " have been invaded, and not by any pretended " acts of grace, to which the extremity of their " affairs have driven them. Therefore it is that " we have thought fit to declare, that we will refer " all to a free aſſembly of this nation, in a lawful " parliament."

There was publiſhed, about the ſame time, " The reſolution of the States General, containing " the reaſons that had obliged them to aſſiſt his " Highneſs the Prince of Orange with ſhips, " men, and ammunition, in his intended expedi- " tion into England." The two principal reaſons were: 1. That the Prince of Orange had been invited to this expedition by the Engliſh nobility, gentry and clergy. 2. That the States had juſt cauſe to fear, that in caſe the King of England became abſolute in his own kingdom, he would, in conjunction with the King of France, indeavor to bring their State to confuſion, and if poſſible to a total ſubjection. This fear was founded upon the earl

The reſolution of the States General Echard, Vol. III. p. 900.

earl of Caſtlemain's preſſing the Pope, and the patron cardinal Cibo (during his embaſſy at Rome) to admit his maſter to mediate a reconciliation between the courts of Rome and Verſailles, aſſuring, "When that reconciliation was brought about, "the two Kings would effectually ſerve the cauſe "of the church, and begin with the deſtruction "of Holland." The Pope, to whom ſuch projects were not agreeable, informed the Emperor of it, who communicated it to the Prince of Orange. This is at leaſt what dr. Burnet ſays in one of his letters.

The Prince of Orange takes his leave of the States. He ſets ſail. Kennet, p. 525, 526. Burnet, p. 774, 782.

Every thing being ready for the projected expedition, the Prince of Orange went into the aſſembly of the States General the ſixteenth of October, to take a ſolemn leave of them. This was done in ſo tender and moving a manner, that both himſelf and the States melted into tears. He imbarked the nineteenth of October, on a frigate of about thirty guns. The fleet conſiſted of fifty men of war, twenty-five frigates, as many fire ſhips, with near four hundred victuallers, and other veſſels, for the tranſportation of above four thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot. The moſt conſiderable of the Engliſh, who accompanied the Prince, were, the earls of Shrewſbury and Macclesfield, the lords Mordaunt, Wiltſhire, Paulet, Elan, Dunblain, admiral Herbert, mr. Herbert, colonel Sidney, mr. Ruſſel, ſir Rowland Gwyne, major Wildman, dr. Burnet, mr. Harbord, mr. Ferguſon, and many others of leſs note. The Prince had with him, beſide the general officers of the Dutch forces, count Schomberg, marſhal of France, who had laſt ſerved the Elector of Brandenburg, count Charles, his ſon; monſieur Caillemote, younger ſon to the marquis of Rouvigny; and about three hundred French officers, who had left their country for religion. Admiral Herbert led the van of the fleet, vice admiral Evertzen brought up the rear, and the Prince placed himſelf in the main body, carrying a flag with Engliſh colors, and their Highneſſes arms ſurrounded with this motto, The Protestant Religion and Liberty of England; and underneath the motto of the houſe of Naſſau, Je Maintiendrai, i. e. "I will maintain."

His fleet diſperſed by a tempeſt. State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 56. Kennet, p. 526. Echard, Vol. III. p. 902. Burnet, p. 783.

This numerous fleet had been but few hours under ſail, when ſuddenly the wind coming more Weſterly, there aroſe ſuch a ſtorm, that in leſs than two hours the whole fleet was ſo diſperſed, that next day ſcarce two ſhips could be ſeen together. The ſtorm continued two days, during which time, the ſhips indeavored to gain, ſome one port, ſome another. Many were driven Northward, and could not reach the appointed rendezvous till eight days after. Nevertheleſs, the damage was ſo inconſiderable, that there was ſcarce any except loſs of time. But on this occaſion, the States made uſe of an artifice, which did the King great prejudice; they ordered the Haerlem and Amſterdam Gazettes to aggravate the damage ſuſtained by the fleet, and to inſinuate, that the Prince could not poſſibly be in a condition to purſue his deſign till the next ſpring (1). This was intended to amuſe the court of England, and make them leſs vigilant in their preparations. But beſide this advantage, they received from this artifice another ſtill more conſiderable, which was that the King, hearing the news with great pleaſure, flattered himſelf, that he had now nothing more to fear, and that before the ſpring, he ſhould infallibly be able to break all the Prince of Orange's meaſures. In this belief, he revoked ſome of his acts of grace granted to his ſubjects, and thereby clearly ſhewed, that theſe acts were extorted by neceſſity, and that conſequently, no change was to be expected in his conduct for the future.

The King revokes ſome of his acts of grace. Echard.

It was in this critical juncture that captain Langham, an Engliſhman in the ſervice of the States, was ſeized on his arrival in England. In his portmanteau were found many copies of the Prince's declaration, which were ſent to court. The King having read the declaration, was ſurpriſed at that expreſſion, "That the Prince was moſt "earneſtly invited over by diverſe of the lords, "both ſpiritual and temporal, and by many gen-"tlemen, and others." Immediately he ſent for the archbiſhop, and four or five biſhops then in London, and demanded of them, "Whether the "contents of the Prince's declaration, relating to "their inviting him over, were true?" The biſhops contented themſelves with promiſing in general, their faithful allegiance to his Majeſty. But the King, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, required them to juſtify themſelves to the world, as to their part in that invitation. At the ſame time he fixed a day, whereon he obliged them to preſent a paper under their own hand, ſignifying their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's intended invaſion. He farther let them know, "That a declaration was "then in the preſs againſt the Prince of Orange, "and was only defered, to have their paper of "abhorrence put into it."

The Prince's declaration falls into his hands. Kennet, p. 526. Hiſt. of Deſert. p. 56.

Who is for obliging the biſhops to diſown it.

On the day appointed, the biſhops repaired to Whitehall, and as ſoon as they were in the King's preſenſe he called for their paper. But with all ſubmiſſion, "They begged to be excuſed from writ-"ing any thing of that nature, and for making a "particular defenſe to a general accuſation, leſt "they ſhould give the firſt precedent of that kind "againſt the privilege of peers: beſide, that their "profeſſion being to promote peace, they thought "it belonged not to them to declare war, eſpecially "againſt a Prince ſo nearly allied to the crown." This anſwer threw the King into a violent paſſion. However, in as dutiful terms as poſſible, they perſiſted in their refuſal. The King not being able to prevail with them, ordered them to withdraw, with great indignation. They were afterwards informed, that one of the principal members of the council and jeſuited party, adviſed the King, "To "impriſon them all, and extort the truth from "them by violence."

They excuſe themſelves. Kennet, p. 527. Echard, Vol. III. p. 903.

Sprat's lett.

Mean while, the King being deſirous to conceal the Prince of Orange's declaration from the people, forbad the publiſhing and diſperſing it, by proclamation. But being afterwards informed, that a great number of copies were handed about the kingdom, and ſenſible that his prohibition would be to no purpoſe, he choſe to print the declaration with remarks tending to juſtify his own, and render odious the Prince of Orange's conduct.

The King prints the Prince's declaration, with his own remarks upon it. Gazette, No. 2396. State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 66.

About the ſame time a letter from the Prince of Orange, to the officers of the Engliſh army was printed, and another from admiral Herbert to the Engliſh fleet. The deſign of theſe two letters was the ſame, viz. to inform the army and the fleet of the true intention of the Prince, and to repreſent to them, that in being the King's inſtruments to accompliſh his deſigns, they were laboring their own ruin. Wherefore the officers, ſoldiers, and ſailors, were conjured not to ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed by a falſe notion of honor, to ſerve the King, contrary to the manifeſt intereſt of their religion and country. Theſe two letters had a wonderful effect upon officers, ſoldiers and ſeamen; ſo that from this time many of them reſolved not to draw their ſwords in this quarrel, till they had a free parliament to ſecure their religion and liberties.

Two letters addreſſed to the army and the fleet. Ibid. p. 77. Kennet, p. 525. Echard, Vol. III. p. 904.

(1) It was ſaid in the Gazettes, That the Prince had loſt moſt of his own horſes; and that there were one thouſand five hundred horſes dead or unſerviceable; whereas there were really but four hundred loſt. See State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 56.

The

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The King's fleet ill-affected to him. Burchett. p. 414. Burnet, p. 783.

The King's fleet consisted of sixty-one men of war, of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle. Several English authors venture to affirm, this fleet was more than sufficient to defeat that of the States. I know not upon what their assertion is grounded: but it seems to me, with as great probability, that in case the fleets had ingaged, the King's would have shared the danger. While the English fleet lay at anchor at the Gunfleet, the lord Dartmouth, the admiral, called a council of war, wherein it was debated, whether it was proper to put to sea, and ingage the enemy? An author who has wrote the naval transactions of the English, says on this occasion, "That this proposal carried "the greatest weight with it, had there been a real "design of obstructing the Prince of Orange in his "passage to England. But instead of that (con-"tinues he) matters were so concerted and agreed "among the flag officers and commanders, that "had the admiral come fairly up with the Dutch, "it would not have been in his power to have "done them much damage." Wherefore, by a great majority it was resolved to continue there, in order to intercept the Dutch fleet.

Burchett. p. 414.

The Prince of Orange sails out a second time. Burnet, p. 787. Echard, Vol. III. p. 906.

The damage sustained by the Prince's fleet in the late storm was so inconsiderable, and so easily repaired, that in eleven days it was in condition to put to sea again. The first of November, in the afternoon, the Prince imbarked on a new vessel called the Brill, and the fleet at first steering Northward, it was thought the design was to land somewhere in the North of England; and Burnet says, the first scheme was to anchor in the mouth of the Humber. But during the night, whether the Prince had changed his mind, or was hindered from pursuing this course by a violent East wind, all the fleet steered towards the Eastern Coasts of England; after which they shortened sail for fear of accidents in the night. Next morning the fleet sailed towards the channel, without meeting any English ship, and in their passage discovered the coasts of Essex and Kent. The third of November the fleet entered the channel (1), and lay by between Calais and Dover, to stay for the ships that were behind. Here the Prince called a council of war. It is easy to imagine, what a glorious show the fleet made. Five or six hundred ships in so narrow a channel, and both the English and French shores covered with numberless spectators, is no common sight. For my part, who was then on board the fleet, I own it struck me extremely.

Kennet, p. 527. Echard, Vol. III. p. 907.

The King, upon advice of the Prince's design to land in the North, had sent part of his army that way. But it was with the utmost surprise that he received several expresses, with the news that the enemy's fleet was sailing Westward. He however flattered himself that the lord Dartmouth would pursue and give a good account of them. But for what reason I know not, the English fleet remained in their station, till the enemy's ships had passed by (2).

Burnet, p. 787. State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 58.

The fourth of November being Sunday, and the Prince's birth day, now thirty-eight years of age, was by him dedicated to devotion, the fleet still continuing their course in order to land at Dartmouth or Torbay. But in the night, whether by the violence of the wind, or the negligence of the pilot (3), the fleet was carried beyond the desired ports, without a possibility of puting back, such was the fury of the wind. This accident gave them the melancholy prospect of being forced to sail on to Falmouth, or some other inconvenient place. But soon after, the wind turned to the South, which happily carried the fleet into Torbay, the most convenient place for landing the horse of any in England. The forces were landed with such diligence and tranquillity, that the whole army was on shore before night. Next morning, the wind turning West, blew so tempestuously, that had the landing been defered a few hours, probably, it would not have been possible to disembark the troops. This wind prevented the lord Dartmouth, who was come in sight of the Dutch fleet, from attacking it, and obliged him to go into Portsmouth. Upon this occasion these two famous verses of Claudian were applied to the Prince of Orange:

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Lands at Torbay. Burnet, p. 788, 789.

Id. p. 790.

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

Heaven's favorite! to whom the skies assistance lend,
Whilst on thy sails conspiring winds attend.

It was thus, the Prince of Orange landed in England without any opposition, the fifth of November, while the English were celebrating the memory of their deliverance from the powder-plot, about fourscore years before. This is one of the most remarkable æra's in the English history, and which probably will never be forgot by that nation.

The Prince marches to Exeter. Ibid.

The Prince's army marched from Torbay next day about noon, in very rainy weather and bad roads. The soldiers, before they landed, were ordered to bring three days bread with them, and they carried their tents themselves. But the officers, even the most considerable, were in a very uneasy situation, at their first incampment, being wet to the skin, and having neither clothes for change, nor bread, nor horses, nor servants, nor other bed than the earth all drenched with rain, their baggage being yet in the ships. Had this situation lasted two days more, the officers, as well principal as subaltern, would have been reduced to great extremities. But the Prince did all that was in his power to procure them refreshment. He ordered horses, carriages, and provisions from the neighboring country, and in this state pursued his march from Torbay to Exeter, which is about twenty miles.

The King orders his army to gather on Salisbury plain. Kennet, p. 527. Echard, Vol. III. p. 909.

As soon as his Majesty heard the Prince was landed, his first care was to order his army to rendezvous in some convenient place. He chose Salisbury plain, whither his army repaired from several parts, with all possible diligence. They who assert that he ought to have marched directly to Torbay at the head of his army, did not consider, that the thing was impracticable. The greatest part of his army was as yet disperse in different quarters. Part had marched to the North, and part to Portsmouth to secure that place, which was of great consequence. The Irish forces were still in and about Chester, and the Scots at Carlisle. The King, when he quited London, could not avoid leaving there a good body of troops, unless he would have hazarded the seeing that powerful city, where he was not beloved, declare for the enemy. But it is surprising, that the King, tho' he had two months notice of the Prince's intended invasion, had neglected to form a camp of twenty thousand men in the heart of the kingdom, to be in readiness to march against him, on the first news of his landing. This was a precaution taken by some of his predecessors on the like occasion, when

(1) They passed by the Gunfleet in a foggy day; while the English could not, by reason of the violence of the wind, purchase their anchors. Burchett, p. 414.

(2) The lord Dartmouth was kept in by the Easterly winds. Burnet, p. 787.

(3) It being a hazy foggy morning, and full of rain, they overshot Torbay. Hist. of Desert. p. 58.

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they expected a deſcent without knowing in what place, and which might have ſerved him for an example. His negligence therefore ſeems inexcuſable, ſince, after the Prince's arrival at Torbay, he was obliged to loſe ſo much time in aſſembling his army of more than thirty thouſand men. Very probably, if his forces had been ready, and he had marched into the Weſt, the Prince would have been extremely imbaraſſed, who ſtayed ten days at Exeter, without any great increaſe of his army. Had he ſhown ſo much firmneſs as Richard III, on the like occaſion, he would doubtleſs have prevented the deſertion of numbers, who perhaps were not yet determined to abandon him, and only reſolved it, becauſe they ſaw in his conduct a conſternation, which to them ſeemed ominous. But this is mere conjecture.

The King ſhews ſome reſolution;

Nov. 17. Gazette, No. 2397. State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 59. Echard, Vol. III. p. 909.

However, the King having ſent a reinforcement to Portſmouth under the duke of Berwick, vainly amuſed himſelf with indeavoring to perſuade the people, that the Prince's forces were too contemptible to inſpire him with fear. He printed a liſt of all the regiments of the Prince's army, with the companies, troops, officers and ſoldiers belonging to each (1). But the Prince's declaration was more relied on than this liſt, wherein it was ſaid, he would not have come with ſo ſmall a number of troops, had a conqueſt of England been intended; from whence it was infered, that he was aſſured of aſſiſtance, which would in due time appear.

and will hear of no accommodation. Ibid. Kennet, p. 527.

The King, as being ſuperior in number of forces, affected to expreſs great confidence. The better to ſhow he was incapable of fear, on his being informed that the counties of Kent and York, and the city of London were preparing to addreſs him for an accommodation with the Prince of Orange, he publicly declared, "That he would look upon "all thoſe as his enemies, who ſhould pretend "to adviſe him to treat with the invader of his "kingdoms." At the ſame time, he publiſhed a declaration, indeavoring to demonſtrate, that the Prince's ſecret deſign was to uſurp the crown. But for ſuch a declaration, to have any effect, it muſt have come from a Prince eſteemed innocent, and unjuſtly attacked. But the people were far from this belief. They rather looked on the King as intending to ſubvert their religion and liberty, and on the Prince of Orange, as the nation's deliverer.

The Prince of Orange meets with but ſmall incouragement at Exeter. Nov. 9. Echard, Vol. III. p. 910. Burnet. *Dr. Lamplugh.

Mean time, the Prince, now at Exeter, found not at firſt the incouragement he expected. The biſhop, * on the firſt news of his landing, poſted to court, where he was rewarded with the archbiſhopric of York, which had been kept long vacant, with intention, as it was thought, to confer it on father Petre, the King's confeſſor. The ſunday after the Prince's arrival at Exeter, dr. Burnet mounting the pulpit to read his declaration, all the canons and part of the congregation left the church, not to be preſent at the reading. On the other hand, few came to offer their ſervice to the Prince, and the levy of three regiments of foot, for which he had granted commiſſions (2), advanced but ſlowly. Not but that in general the people of the country were inclined to the Prince, and wiſhed well to his undertaking. But the memory of the ſeverities againſt the duke of Monmouth's adherents, was yet ſo recent, that every one feared to ingage in a like enterprize, the ſucceſs whereof was uncertain. In fine, the Prince remained nine days at Exeter, without being joined by any perſon of diſtinction. It is even pretended, that in a council of war held at Exeter, he ſuffered it to be propoſed to him to reimbark for Holland. But on the tenth day, ſome of the principal gentlemen of the country joined him. Among theſe was ſir Edward Seymour, by whoſe advice an aſſociation was drawn, and ſigned by all perſons then with the Prince, or who afterwards repaired to him. It was likewiſe ſent to ſeveral other parts of the kingdom, and ſigned by great numbers. It was as follows:

Kennet. p. 528.

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Is at laſt joined by the gentlemen of the country. Burnet, p. 792. Echard, Vol. III. p. 912.

The aſſociation. State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 78. Kennet, p. 528.

"We whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, who "have now joined with the Prince of Orange, for "the defenſe of the Proteſtant religion, and for "the maintaining the ancient government, and the "laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and "Ireland, do ingage to Almighty God, to his "highneſs the Prince, and to one another, to ſtick "firm to this cauſe, in the defenſe of it, and ne"ver to depart from it till our religion, laws, and "liberties, are ſo far ſecured to us in a free par"liament, that they ſhall no more be in danger of "falling into Popery and Slavery. And whereas we "are ingaged in this common cauſe under the pro"tection of the Prince of Orange, by which means "his perſon is expoſed to danger, and to the curſed "attempts of Papiſts, and other bloody men; we "do therefore ſolemnly ingage to God, and to "one another, that if any ſuch attempt be made "upon him, we will purſue not only thoſe who make "it, but all their adherents, and all that we find in "arms againſt us, with the utmoſt ſeverity of a "juſt revenge, to their utter ruin and deſtruction; "and that the execution of any ſuch attempt "(which God of his infinite mercy forbid) ſhall "not divert us from proſecuting this cauſe which "we do now undertake, but that it ſhall in"gage us to carry it on with all the rigor that ſo "barbarous an attempt ſhall deſerve."

The Prince marches to Saliſbury.

The face of the Prince of Orange's affairs, who left Exeter to march to Saliſbury, was from this time intirely changed. Every day brought him perſons diſtinguiſhed by their birth, eſtates, or imployments. The lord Colcheſter, ſon to earl Rivers, a lieutenant in the life-guards, waited upon the Prince, accompanied by mr. Wharton, colonel Godfrey, John Howe, eſq; four life-guard men, and about threeſcore men more on horſeback. Theſe were followed by the earl of Abington, captain Clarges, mr. Ruſſel, and others. But what was more material, the lord Cornbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, colonel of dragoons, leaving Saliſbury, under pretenſe of an order from the King, to beat up one of the enemies advanced poſts * carried with him his own regiment, and thoſe of horſe of Berwick, St. Albans, and Fenwick, and with the major part of them, went over to the Prince at Exeter.

Great deſertions in the King's army. Kennet, p. 528. Echard, Vol. III. p. 913. Gazette, No. 2400.

*At Honiton.

Some lords arm for the Prince. Kennet, p. 523. State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 62.

About the ſame time, the lord Delamere took arms in Cheſhire, and declared openly for the Prince, inviting all his tenants to follow his example. The lord Lovelace was alſo marching to Exeter, with ſixty or ſeventy horſe, but paſſing thro' Cirenceſter, was made priſoner, by the militia of the county, after a warm ſkirmiſh, in which ten or twelve men were killed on both ſides.

Others demand of the King a parliament. Nov. 17. Id. p. 63. Kennet, p. 529. Echard.

On the other hand, the two archbiſhops, five biſhops, the dukes of Grafton and Ormond, the earls of Dorſet, Clare, Clarendon, Burlington, Angleſey, Rocheſter, the lords Newport, Paget, Chandois, Oſſulſton, meeting together in London,

(1) According to that liſt, the Prince's foot-forces conſiſted of ten thouſand ſix hundred and ninty two; his horſe of three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty; and his fleet of ſix hundred and thirty five veſſels. Gazette, No. 2397.

(2) To the lord Mordaunt, ſir John Guiſe, and ſir Robert Peyton. Echard, Vol. III. p. 611.

drew

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drew up a petition, which was ſigned at the biſhop of Rocheſter's houſe at Weſtminſter. The intent of it was, to pray the King to call a free parliament, and find ſome expedient to ſatisfy the Prince of Orange. The petition being delivered, and afterwards printed by the lords for their own vindication, this anſwer was returned from the King, which was alſo publiſhed, "My Lords, What you "aſk of me, I moſt paſſionately deſire; and I pro- "miſe upon the faith of a King, that I will have "a parliament, and ſuch an one as you aſk for, "as ſoon as ever the Prince of Orange has quited "this realm: for how is it poſſible a parliament "ſhould be free in all its circumſtances, as you "petition for, while an enemy is in the king- "dom, and can make a return of near a hundred "voices?" This anſwer was not ſatisfactory to the lords, who plainly ſaw, that the King was far from deſiring a free parliament, nor would have any but of which he could be maſter.

His anſwer.

He is afraid of being delivered up to the Prince of Orange. Echard, Vol. III. p. 915.

Tho' the King ſtill put on a face of aſſurance, the deſertions in his army gave him great anxiety. He knew not what to reſolve, fearing of ſome conſpiracy among the officers to deliver him to the Prince of Orange, if he ſhould put himſelf at the head of the army. This was the reaſon of his ſtoping the march of his forces, artillery, and his own equipage. But in a council, held on this occaſion, it was judged neceſſary for him to be as ſoon as poſſible with his army, in order to keep thoſe firm to their duty who were yet unreſolved. He therefore departed the ſeventeenth of November, after having recommended the care of the city to the lord mayor, and in a ſpeech to the officers about him, renewed his promiſe of calling a parliament as ſoon as the Prince of Orange had quited the kingdom. He told them, "If they deſired any "thing more, he was ready to grant it; but that "if, after all, any of them was deſirous to go "over to the Prince of Orange, he was willing to "grant them paſſes, and ſpare them the ſhame of "deſerting their lawful Sovereign." But at the very time he ſeemed diſpoſed to give a general ſatisfaction, he left, at Whitehall, a council compoſed of five lords, all odious to the people, except the lord Godolphin. The other four were, the chancellor Jefferies, the lords Arundel and Bellaſis, both known Papiſts; and the lord Preſton, ſuſpected of favoring Popery. It is ſaid, the King deſigned to leave there alſo his confeſſor father Petre, but the jeſuit choſe rather to retire to France.

Prepares to meet the Prince. Kennet, p. 529.

Arrives at Saliſbury,

The King arrived the nineteenth of November at Saliſbury, where the officers of his army, who were moſt devoted to him, paid him their compliments, and expreſſed an abhorrence of lord Cornbury's defection. At his arrival he was ſeized with a bleeding at the noſe, which increaſed the next day, as he was going to view part of his army, quartered eight miles from Saliſbury. On the ſame, or the following day, moſt of the chief officers applied themſelves to the earl of Feverſham their general, deſiring him to aſſure the King, "That upon any "occaſion they ſhould be ready to ſpill the laſt "drop of their blood in his ſervice; but yet they "could not in conſcience fight againſt a Prince, "who was come over with no other deſign, than to "procure the calling of a free parliament, for the "ſecuring of their religion and liberties." This declaration, at which the King was extremely ſurpriſed, ſhowed him, that his army, which had always been his principal refuge, could not be relied on. The earl of Feverſham, ſtrongly ſuſpecting the lord Churchill (afterwards duke of Marlborough) one of the King's favorites, lieutenant general, captain of a troop of his life-guards, and gentlemen of his bed chamber, was very earneſt with the King to have him ſecured. But the King, whether he had no ſuch ſuſpicion, or feared it would occaſion a mutiny, would not follow his advice. However, the very next day the lord Churchill went over to the Prince of Orange, accompanied by the duke of Grafton, colonel Berkley, four or five captains of his own regiment, and ſome other officers. Father Orleans inſinuates, that he had formed a deſign to deliver the King to the Prince of Orange, which was prevented by his Majeſty's bleeding at the noſe, at the time he intended to go and view his troops at Warminſter, the moſt advanced poſt of his army. But this accuſation is groundleſs, and intirely deſtroyed by the reſpectful letter writen by that lord to the King, and which I therefore think proper to inſert here.

is taken with a bleeding at the noſe.

A declaration of the chief officers. Kennet, p. 529. Echard, Vol. III. p. 915.

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The lord Churchill leaves the King. Kennet, p. 529. Echard, Vol. III. p. 916.

"SIR, Since men are ſeldom ſuſpected of ſincerity, when they act contrary to their intereſt; "and tho' my dutiful behavior to your Majeſty in "the worſt of times (for which I acknowlege my "poor ſervices much over-paid) may not be ſuffi- "cient to incline you to a charitable interpre- "tation of my actions; yet, I hope, the great ad- "vantage I injoy under your Majeſty, which I can "never expect in any other change of government, "may reaſonably convince your Majeſty and the "world, that I am actuated by a higher principle, "when I offered that violence to my inclination "and intereſt, as to deſert your Majeſty, at a time "when your affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt "obedience from all your ſubjects, much more "from one who lies under the greateſt perſonal ob- "ligations imaginable to your Majeſty. This, "Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviol- "able dictates of my conſcience, and a neceſſary "concern for my religion, which no good man can "oppoſe, and with which I am inſtructed, nothing "ought to come in competition. Heaven knows, "with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your "Majeſty hath hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy "deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted "men have framed againſt your Majeſty's true in- "tereſt, and the Proteſtant religion. But as I can "no longer join with ſuch, to give a pretenſe by "conqueſt, to bring them to effect; ſo I will "always, with the hazard of my life and fortune "(ſo much your Majeſty's due) indeavor to pre- "ſerve your Royal perſon and lawful rights, with "all the tender concern, and dutiful reſpect that "becomes,"

His letter to the King. Hiſt. of Deſert. p. 82. Kennet, p. 530.

Your, &c.

This letter is a clear evidence, that nothing was farther from the lord Churchill's thoughts, than to deliver the King to the Prince of Orange.

The King returns to London. Hiſt. of Deſert. Kennet.

The lord Churchill's defection quite ſunk the King's ſpirits, who from this time ſaw not on whom he could rely. So, no longer daring to venture his perſon with his army, he left Saliſbury, and returned to London with a precipitation like a flight. Before his departure, he publiſhes a proclamation, "Pro- "miſing a free and abſolute pardon to all his ſub- "jects, who had taken up arms, and joined with "the Prince of Orange, provided they quited and "deſerted him within the ſpace of twenty days." But this proclamation had no effect. In his return, he met with a greater mortification, in the defection of the Prince of Denmark his ſon-in-law, who leaving him at Andover, went off to the Prince of Orange, with the duke of Ormond, ſir George Hewet, and others. That Prince wrote a very reſpectful letter to the King, in vindication of his conduct, wherein he grounds his defection chiefly on his concern for the Proteſtant religion, which his Majeſty had openly attempted to deſtroy, not only in England, but all Europe, by his ſtrict union with France.

Offers a pardon. Gazette, No. 2403.

Prince George leaves him. Kennet, p. 530. Echard.

Mean

James II. An' 1688.

The Prince comes to Sherburn. Kennet, p. 530.

Mean while, the Prince of Orange having left Exeter, was advanced to Sherburn, from whence it was in his power to march to Saliſbury or Briſtol, according to the reſolutions taken by the King. The King had an army ſo ſuperior to that of the Prince in number, that had he marched directly to the Prince, and attacked him, he would, doubtleſs, have very much diſtreſſed him. It is not probable, the Prince would have ventured a battle; but on the King's advancing, would poſſibly have retired to Briſtol, in expectation of a more general defection in the King's army. Such a defection was juſtly expected, according to all the advices of thoſe who joined him. Wherefore, it is very unlikely that he would have riſked an advantage, of which he was almoſt aſſured, by a battle, the ſucceſs whereof would have been dubious. I remember a report then in the Prince's army, that the marſhal de Schomberg being told, the King was advancing to give battle, the marſhal coldly anſwered, "If we "think proper." But upon hearing that the King was returned to London, and his army retired to Reading, the Prince marched to Saliſbury, and made a public entry into that city, admidſt the acclamations of the people. During his march, there was a ſmall ſkirmiſh between two parties of the armies, in which that of the Prince, tho' very inferior in number, defended themſelves with ſo much bravery, that the enemy had no reaſon to boaſt of the advantage, the loſs being almoſt equal on both ſides (1).

and to Saliſbury.

The King mortified with a ſucceſſion of ill news. Echard, Vol. III. p. 918, 920.

The deſertion of the principal officers was not the only cauſe of the King's mortal fears. Scarce a day paſſed, but what brought him ſome diſagreeable news from different parts of the kingdom. The earl of Bath had made himſelf maſter of Plymouth, where the Dutch fleet lay ſecure. The earl of Shrewſbury, and ſir John Guiſe had, with the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, forced the duke of Beaufort to ſurrender the important city of Briſtol. The

Nov. 20.

earl of Devonſhire, at the head of a great number of Derbyſhire gentlemen, had declared for a free parliament, agreeably to the Prince's declaration. The earl of Danby had ſecured York, and having diſarmed and turned out all the Papiſts (who, under the protection of the duke of Newcaſtle, ſtood up for the King) declared for a free parliament. The town of Berwick ſoon followed the example of York, and the gentlemen of Nottinghamſhire had done the ſame. Colonel Copley, deputy governor of Hull, ſurprized that town, and made the lord Langdale, the Popiſh governor, priſoner. The duke of Somerſet and the earl of Oxford, came to offer their ſervice to the Prince of Orange. The duke of Ormond entered Oxford without reſiſtance, and cauſed the Prince's declaration to be read there. In fine, the King heard, that five commiſſioners from Scotland, among whom were the duke of Queenſborough, and the lord of Belcarris, were coming to London, to demand a free parliament

The Princeſs of Denmark retires. Kennet, p. 531. Burnet, p. 792. Echard, Vol. III. p. 920.

in that kingdom. But the King's greateſt affliction was, to ſee himſelf forſaken by his own daughter, the Princeſs of Denmark, who had privately withdrawn from Whitehall, being attended by the biſhop of London, mounted and armed, and retired to Nottingham, from whence ſhe was conducted to the Prince her huſband at Oxford. Some days before it was reported, that the Queen had treated her very rudely, and proceeded ſo far as to ſtrike her. This ſo incenſed the people, that as ſoon as they found that ſhe appeared not at Whitehall, they offered to tear all the Romiſh party in pieces, upon a ſurmiſe of her being murdered, or confined; but on the news of her being in ſafety they were appeaſed. At her going off, ſhe wrote the following letter to the Queen.

James II. An' 1688.

The Princeſs of Denmark's letter to the Queen. Kennet, p. 531. Echard.

"Madam, I beg your pardon, if I am ſo deeply "afflicted with the ſurprizing news of the Prince's "being gone, as not to be able to ſee you, but to "leave this paper to expreſs my humble duty to the "King and yourſelf; and to let you know that I "am gone to abſent myſelf, to avoid the King's diſ"pleaſure, which I am not able to bear, either againſt "the Prince or myſelf; and I ſhall ſtay at ſo great "a diſtance, as not to return before I hear the happy news of a reconcilement. And as I am con"fident the Prince did not leave the King with any "other deſign, than to uſe all poſſible means for "his preſervation; ſo I hope, you will do me "the juſtice to believe, that I am not capable of "following him for any other end. Never was "any one in ſuch an unhappy condition, ſo di"vided between duty and affection to a father and "and a huſband; therefore I know not what to "do, but to follow one to preſerve the other. I "ſee the general falling-off of the nobility and gen"try, who avow to have no other end, than to "prevail with the King to ſecure their religion, "which they ſaw ſo much in danger, by the vio"lent counſels of the prieſts; who to promote their "own religion, did not care to what danger they "expoſed the King. I am fully perſuaded, that "the Prince of Orange deſigns the King's ſafety "and preſervation, and hope all things may be "compoſed without more bloodſhed, by calling of "a parliament. God grant a happy end to theſe "troubles, that the King's reign may be proſpe"rous, and that I may ſhortly meet you in per"fect peace and ſafety: Till when, let me beg you "to continue the ſame favorable opinion that you "hitherto had of, Your, &c.

King James abuſed by his counſellors.

From what has been ſaid it appears, that the defection was almoſt univerſal, and not confined to the court and the army. It is inconceivable, that the King ſhould not have foreſeen it, or ſhould have ſo ill an opinion of the Engliſh, as to think, they would quietly ſuffer their laws and religion to be deſtroyed: that he ſhould imagine, the giving a man a commiſſion in his army, and obliging him to take the oath of allegiance, ſhould free him from, or at leaſt make him forget his duty to God and his country. But it muſt be remembered, what the Princeſs of Denmark inſinuated to the Queen, that the King's counſellors cared not to what danger they expoſed him. In making him the inſtrument to execute their deſigns, they no farther regarded his perſon, than as it ſerved to eſtabliſh their religion, in which they could not ſucceed without rendering him abſolute, and James imprudently fell into the ſnare. Herein may be obſerved, the difference between Charles II, and James II. The firſt was always ſenſible, that the zealous promoters of abſolute power intended his grandeur, only as a means to accompliſh other projects. Wherefore, when he ſaw himſelf ingaged in very dangerous courſes, he forſook them as well as he could, and left his counſellors, his miniſters, and even his own brother in the danger. This was his frequent practiſe, and he thereby bequeathed to the duke his brother, the difficulty and peril of a contrary method. But James II, in purſuing a directly oppoſite courſe to that of Charles, gave himſelf up intirely to the counſels of thoſe, who, to attain their own ends, regarded not to what danger they expoſed him, by their violent proceedings.

The different character of Charles II, and James II.

(1) This ſkirmiſh was on November twenty, at Wincanton, between a detachment of ſeventy horſe, and fifty dragoons and grenadiers of the King's; and twenty-five men of the Prince of Orange's. Kennet, p. 530.

However

JAMES II. AN' 1688.

The King in great difficulties. Kennet, p. 529.

However this may be, the King, at the time I am ſpeaking of, was plunged in a gulph of difficulties, without perceiving any way to eſcape. The Queen was diſmayed, and her conſternation inexpreſſible. Father Petre was retired into France, under the protection of the lord Waldgrave, ſent thither in the room of Skelton. The violent counſels of Jefferies were now unſeaſonable. The Popiſh counſellors ſeeing all their meaſures broken, took care to ſhelter themſelves from the impending ſtorm, to which they left the King expoſed. In fine, mr. Barillon the French embaſſador, and monſieur de Lauſun, then in London, vented themſelves in fruitleſs reproaches on the King, for refuſing the aſſiſtance offered by France, without directing him how to repair that error. In this extreme diſtreſs (more eaſy to be imagined than deſcribed) his ſole refuge was to turn to the Proteſtant peers, whoſe counſels he had before rejected, whom he had deprived of their imyloyments, and, in a word, treated as enemies. He therefore aſſembled all the peers, ſpiritual and temporal, that were in London. The number indeed was but ſmall, there being many with the Prince of Orange, or in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, for his ſervice. When they were met, he prayed for their advice concerning the preſent emergencies. On this occaſion, he had the mortification to hear a long enumeration of all his unwarrantable proceedings, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, and particularly his violent meaſures to deſtroy the Proteſtant religion, and ſubvert the liberties of England. Theſe, it was ſaid, had occaſioned the dangerous ſymptoms that now appeared in the body-politic, and for which there was no other remedy than a free parliament. The neceſſity therefore was repreſented to his Majeſty, 1. Of granting a general pardon to all thoſe who either came over with the Prince of Orange, or had joined him ſince his landing. 2. Of deputing ſome lords to his Highneſs, to treat with him about a ſuſpenſion of arms, and to indeavor to bring matters to an accommodation. And laſtly, of turning all Papiſts immediately out of their imployments, to convince the world, that his Majeſty acted with ſincerity.

Conſults the Proteſtant peers. Kennet, p. 531. Echard, Vol. III. p. 921. Burnet, p. 794.

Their advice.

The King declares he will call a free parliament. Kennet, p. 531.

His Majeſty took that night to conſider of the advice, and next day declared in council, that he was reſolved to call a free parliament, that ſhould meet the fifteenth of January next inſuing. Accordingly, the chancellor was ordered to iſſue out the writs. Then he publiſhed a proclamation in which he declared, that all his ſubjects ſhould have free liberty to elect, and all the peers, and ſuch as ſhould be elected members of the houſe of commons, ſhould have full liberty and freedom to ſerve and ſit in parliament, notwithſtanding they had taken up arms, or commited any act of hoſtility, or been any way aiding or aſſiſting therein. He likewiſe declared in council his intention of ſending commiſſioners to treat with the Prince of Orange: but as to that part of the advice relating to the Roman Catholics, his Majeſty only ſaid, "He would leave "that matter to be debated in parliament." However, ſir Edward Hales, a Papiſt and lieutenant of the Tower, having been obnoxious to the city of London, by threatening to bombard it, was diſplaced, and colonel Skelton put in his room.

A proclamation for that purpoſe. Nov. 30. Gazette, No. 2406. Nov. 26.

Commiſſioners ſent to treat with the Prince of Orange.

The commiſſioners nominated by the King to treat with the Prince of Orange, were the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and the lord Godolphin. They left London the ſecond of December, and on their way met with paſſes from the Prince.

At the ſame time appeared a printed paper at London, and other places, called, "The Third "Declaration of the Prince of Orange," dated the twenty-eighth of November. It was penned by a private, and ſtill unknown hand, who had the boldneſs to put the Prince's name to it, and diſperſe it thro' the kingdom (1). Among other things he made the Prince ſay, That as he would offer no violence to any but in his own neceſſary defenſe, ſo he would not ſuffer any injury to be done to the perſon, even of any Papiſt, provided he was found in ſuch place, and condition, and circumſtance, as the law required. But he declared, that all Papiſts who ſhould be found in open arms, or in any office civil or military, contrary to the known laws of the land, ſhould be treated by him and his forces, not as gentlemen and ſoldiers, but as robbers, free-booters, and banditti; ſo ſhould all perſons found any ways aiding or aſſiſting to them: That whereas he was certainly informed, that great numbers of armed Papiſts had of late reſorted to London and Weſtminſter, and parts adjacent, not ſo much, he had reaſon to ſuſpect, for their own ſecurity, as out of a wicked deſign to make ſome deſperate attempt upon the ſaid cities and their inhabitants, he therefore required all magiſtrates and officers, civil and military, to diſarm and ſecure them, that all power of doing miſchief might be taken from them: that thoſe magiſtrates, or others who ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt him, to execute vigorouſly what he required of them, ſhould be eſteemed the moſt criminal and infamous of all men; betrayers of their religion, laws, and country, of whom he would require the life of every ſingle Proteſtant that ſhould periſh, and every houſe that ſhould be burned or deſtroyed, by their treachery and cowardice.

JAMES II. AN' 1688.

A falſe declaration publiſhed in the name of the Prince of Orange. State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 84. Echard, p. 922.

This declaration, publiſhed in the Prince's name, though it was diſowned by him, finiſhed the confuſion of the Papiſts; and the more, as ſeveral juſtices of peace cauſed it to be publiſhed, not imagining that any private man would have had the boldneſs to undertake ſuch a thing. From this time the Popiſh party were reduced ſo low, that they durſt not hold up their heads. An hue-and-cry after father Petre, was publicly cried and ſold in the ſtreets, notwithſtanding he was a privy-counſellor. A legal accuſation againſt the earl of Saliſbury, "for infringing the moſt ſacred laws of "the kingdom by turning Papiſt" was prefered to the grand jury of Middleſex, who found the bill.

Echard, Vol. III. p. 924.

The Popiſh party ſinks intirely. Id. p. 925. Kennet, p. 532.

The ſixth of December the three commiſſioners, by an expreſs, acquainted the King, "That they "were to meet the Prince of Orange that night at "Ameſbury." But the next day they informed his Majeſty, "That his Highneſs had made a new "appointment to meet them at Hungerford, and "had ſent to them the earls of Clarendon and Ox-"ford, to deſire them to make their propoſals in "writing." This meſſage ſurpriſed the King, chiefly becauſe the Prince had deputed the earl of Oxford, who had never been concerned in any public affair, and the earl of Clarendon was mortal enemy of the marquis of Halifax. He infered from thence, the Prince's unwillingneſs to come to any accommodation. For this reaſon, Barillon and Lauſun earneſtly preſſed the King, to ſecure him ſelf, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales, by a timely receſs from the nation: but he was willing ſtill to wait for the ſucceſs of the negociation with the Prince of Orange.

Ibid.

The King's propoſitions to the Prince. State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 86. Kennet, p. 534. Echard, Vol. III. p. 926.

The ſubſtance of the propoſals delivered by the King's commiſſioners to the Prince were, "That "the King obſerving that all the cauſes of com-"plaint, alleged by his Highneſs, ſeemed to be "refered to a free parliament, he had iſſued his writs

(1) Hugh Speke has owned himſelf the author of it. Secret Hiſt. of the Revolut.

James II. An' 1688.

" writs for calling one (1). That he had ſent commiſſioners to his Highneſs for adjuſting all matters relating to the freedom of election, and ſecurity of the parliament; and, in order to that, propoſed, that the reſpective armies might be kept at ſuch a diſtance from London."

The Prince, who was then marching towards London, returned no anſwer to theſe propoſals; but, next day, with the advice of the lords and gentlemen aſſembled with him, he put the following propoſitions into the hands of the King's commiſſioners.

The Prince's propoſals.

" I. That all Papiſts, and all ſuch perſons as are not qualified by law, be diſarmed, diſbanded, and removed from all imployments, civil and military.

" II. That all proclamations that reflect upon us be recalled; and that if any perſons, for having aſſiſted us, have been commited, that they be forthwith ſet at liberty.

" III. That for the ſecurity and ſafety of the city of London, the cuſtody and government of the Tower, be immediately put into the hands of the city.

" IV. That if his Majeſty ſhall think fit to be in London, during the ſiting of the parliament, that we may be there alſo, with equal number of guards: and if his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to be in any place from London, whatever diſtance he thinks fit, that we may be at a place of the ſame diſtance; and that the reſpective armies be from London thirty miles; and that no further forces be brought into the kingdom.

" V. That for the ſecurity of the city of London, and their trade, Tilbury fort be put into the hands of the ſaid city.

" VI. That a ſufficient part of the public revenue be aſſigned to us, for the ſupport and maintenance of our troops, until the ſiting of a free parliament.

" VII. That to prevent the landing of the French, or other foreign troops, Portſmouth may be put into ſuch hands, as by his Majeſty and us ſhall be agreed on."

Their moderation owned by the King. State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 87. Echard, Vol III. p. 924.

Theſe propoſals were ſo reaſonable, that the King himſelf could not help owning, " They were " better than he expected." Indeed, the Prince of Orange ever adhered to his declaration, in which he only demanded intire freedom for the parliament, and a ſufficient ſecurity for the city of London, without ſtipulating any other advantage for himſelf than the maintenance of his army, till the ſiting of the parliament, that is, for about ſix weeks. As the King could no longer hope to execute his firſt deſigns, it ſeems, that nothing could be more advantageous to him in his preſent ſituation, deſerted by all, and not knowing which way to turn, than to be freed from his difficulties, by reſtoring things to their ancient and natural ſtate. Had he diſcovered a willingneſs to imbrace theſe propoſals, probably, the parliament would have aſked no more of him, than the eſtabliſhment of their religion and laws, ſo as not to be eaſily ſhaken, and he might have kept his crown, tho' perhaps with ſome diminution of the rights claimed by himſelf, his brother, father, and grandfather. This cannot be ſaid to be a hard condition, conſidering how he had governed, and the preſent ſituation of his affairs. He even ſeemed at firſt diſpoſed to except theſe propoſals, and refer to the next parliament the deciſion of all differences, ſince that very day he called an extraordinary council of all the lords who were in town. As it was plain, he would be adviſed to accept the propoſals by all the lords, it could ſcarcely be doubted, that he had ſuch an intention, and only called the council for form ſake. It is not known what paſſed in it, but only that the ſame council was ordered to meet next morning, to give their farther advice upon the exigency of affairs. Before the council broke up, the King, addreſſing himſelf to the duke of Bedford ſaid, " My lord, you are a good man, and have a great " influence: you can do much for me at this time." To which the duke replied, " I am an old man, " and can do but little;" then added with a deep ſigh, " I had once a ſon, who could now have " been ſerviceable to your Majeſty." This was meaned of the lord Ruſſel, beheaded in the late reign, who was ſacrificed to the vengeance of the King, then duke of York. The King was ſtruck dumb with this anſwer, ſo that he could make no reply.

James II. An' 1688.

Which is ordered to meet the next day.

Who calls an extraordinary council. Echard, Vol. III. p. 927.

Every thing ſeemed to promiſe an accommodation, and it was not doubted, but the dext day ſome reſolution would be taken for the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom. But that ſame night, the King, as 'tis ſuppoſed, conſulted with ſome of his Popiſh counſellors, whoſe intereſted advice overthrew all theſe flattering expectations. Theſe counſellors eaſily perceived, what they were to expect from a free parliament. It was manifeſt, nothing could free the King from his preſent difficulties, but the delivering up the Popiſh religion to the reſentments of the Proteſtants, and the paſſing ſuch acts as would hinder its being ever eſtabliſhed in England. They therefore thought it more advangeous to their religion, that the King ſhould preſerve all his pretenſions, though unable to ſupport them, than ſacrifice them to the parliament. To that end, they adviſed him to withdraw into France. They repreſented, how diſhonorable it would be to retract what he had done, how prejudicial to the Catholic religion, to be forced to give his aſſent to ſuch acts of parliament as would tend only to render its eſtabliſhment impracticable. That the Catholics would be intirely deſtitute of any reſource, whereas, by preſerving his rights, he might hope to be reſtored by the arms of France, and finiſh the work ſo gloriouſly begun. In a word, by this intereſted counſel, they clearly diſcovered, if the King had been willing or able to perceive it, that not his perſon, but their religion was the ſole object of their concern. In ſhort, to give more weight to their reaſons, they inſtilled into the Queen ſuch apprehenſions, as made her uſe all her influence with the King, to ingage him to do as he was adviſed. They told her, the parliament would be far from being favorable to the King and herſelf: that being both ſuſpected, and even openly accuſed in the Prince of Orange's declaration, of impoſing an heir on the crown, it was very apparent, the parliament, to favor the Prince of Orange, would declare the Prince of Wales ſuppoſititious: that perhaps ſhe herſelf would be accuſed of the fact, ſince it was not ſcrupled to impeach the Queen, her mother-in-law, of matters much leſs important: that a ſhort exile with a powerful and generous Prince, who was able to reſtore them, was preferable to living in their own kingdom, with only the ſhadow of Sovereignty, in diſhonor, indigence, and in dependence on thoſe whom they ought to command. Theſe conſiderations, ſupported, as is pretended, by Barillon and Lauſun, made ſuch an impreſſion on the Queen, that ſhe reſolved to retire into France with the Prince of Wales, after a poſitive promiſe from the King, that he would follow her with all convenient ſpeed.

The King ſuffers himſelf to be gained by his Popiſh counſellors; Echard, Vol. III. p. 927. Burnet, p. 795.

who are aſſiſted by the Queen. Ibid.

She reſolves to go into France. Kennet, p. 532.

Agreeably to this reſolution, in the night between the ninth and tenth of December, the Queen and accordingly goes. Orleans. Echard, Vol. III. p. 928.

(1) He had indeed called a parliament, but the writs were not yet ſent down. Rapin.

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in diſguiſe croſſed the Thames to Lambeth in an open boat, expoſed to wind and rain. At Lambeth, under the walls of a church, ſhe waited till a coach could be got ready in the next inn. From thence ſhe went to Graveſend, where ſhe with the Prince of Wales imbarked on a ſmall veſſel, which conveyed them ſafely to Calais; whence ſhe went to Verſailles, where ſhe was received by the King of France with great marks of affection, which was ſome alleviation to her melancholy condition.

The King follows her. Hiſt. of the Deſert. p. 88. Echard, Vol. III. p. 928. Burnet.

His Majeſty being fully determined to follow the Queen, waited but one day to put his deſign in execution. The night between the tenth and eleventh of December, in a plain ſuit, and a bob wig, he took water at Whitehall, accompanied only by ſir Edward Hales, mr. Sheldon, and Abbadie a Frenchman, page of the back-ſtairs, without acquainting any other with his intention. If the manner in which this Monarch deſigned to leave his dominions is impartially conſidered, it will ſcarcely be denied, that this was an intire deſertion of them, and puting of his ſubjects into the ſtate in which nature dictates to men, to provide for their own ſecurity. Firſt, he fled without being purſued, and without any cauſe to fear, either for his life or liberty: ſo that it is evident, his conſcience ſuggeſted evils to him which were never intended. Secondly, he fled without any proviſion for the government of the kingdom. From this conduct it was afterwards infered, that he abandoned his ſubjects in a perfect Anarchy, and thereby authorized them to chuſe what form of government they pleaſed, or to elect another King. Thirdly, by his flight he violated the promiſe ſo ſolemnly made in his proclamation of calling a parliament. Fourthly, before he went off, he wrote to the earl of Feverſham to diſband the army, without any care of their pay, probably, on purpoſe to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom, by the diſcontents of the officers and ſoldiers. Fifthly, he ordered all the writs to be burned, that were not ſent out, for electing the parliament, imagining, doubtleſs, that after his departure, it would not be poſſible to aſſemble a parliament, which by the laws could only be called by the King. Sixthly, when he took water, he threw the great-ſeal into the Thames, that nothing might be legally done in his abſenſe. If this may not be called a real deſertion of his kingdom, it will be difficult to find a name for ſuch proceedings.

A remark upon his conduct.

Kennet, p. 532. Echard, Vol. III. p. 929. Burnet, p. 796.

The lords in the town meet at Guild-hall. Decem. 11. Kennet, p. 533. Echard, Vol. III. p. 930. Hiſt. of Deſert. p. 88.

As ſoon as the King's flight was known, a general conſternation inſued, moſt people being ignorant how they were to behave on ſo extraordinary an occaſion. However, about thirty ſpiritual and temporal lords met at Guild-hall, and ſent for the lord mayor and aldermen. After a ſhort conſultation, it was reſolved, to adhere to the Prince of Orange, and ſend deputies to him, with this reſolution ſigned by the whole aſſembly. Then they ſent for colonel Skelton, lieutenant of the Tower, of whom they demanded the keys, which he willingly reſigning, they were given to the lord Lucas. Preſently after, the common council of the city ſent deputies (1) to the Prince, with an addreſs, imploring his protection, and praying him to honor the city with his preſenſe.

The Prince ſent to by them, and the common-council.

An inſurrection of the mob. Echard, Vol. III. p. 932.

Tho', on the King's flight, the militia of London and Weſtminſter were immediately up in arms, they could not prevent the mob from aſſembling and commiting ſome diſorders. They chiefly confined their rage to the maſs-houſes erected by the King in the city and ſuburbs, which they demoliſhed intirely, and made bonfires with the materials. And as there were alſo chapels in the houſes of embaſſadors, thoſe of the Spaniſh and Florentine were rifled, before a ſtop could be put to the diſorder. In the firſt of theſe chapels the principal court Papiſts had conveyed all their valuable effects, and this probably was the chief cauſe of the pillage. The houſes of the other embaſſadors were preſerved, by the great care of ſome lords. The two miniſters of Spain and Florence were afterwards largely recompenſed for their loſſes (2).

Chancellor Jefferies ſeized and ill uſed by the rabble. Dec. 12. Ibid. Kennet. p. 535. Sent to the Tower.

During theſe irruptions of the mob, chancellor Jefferies, diſguiſed in a ſeaman's habit, in order to eſcape in a veſſel freighted for Hamburgh, was diſcovered (3) as he was looking out of the window of the houſe where he had concealed himſelf. He was immediately ſeized by the populace, and, after many indignities offered him, carried before the lord mayor, who declined medling with him. But the chancellor, ſeeing himſelf in the hands of an inraged multitude, who threatened to tear him in pieces, deſired that he might be ſent to the Tower, which at length was granted him, not as a favor, but in hopes of ſeeing him ſhortly conducted from thence to the gallows. It is pretended, he offered to diſcover many ſecrets, and for that reaſon, was kept ſome time in priſon, till the affairs of the government ſhould be ſetled. But in that interval he died, by the blows he had received, according to ſome; by drinking ſpiritous liquors, according to others; and as ſome pretend, of the ſtone. Never man had better deſerved a public puniſhment, as an atonement for all the miſchiefs done to his country, and for all the blood ſpilled by his means.

where he dies

The earl of Feverſham diſbands his army. Kennet, p. 534. Echard, Vol. III. p. 933.

Mean while, the earl of Feverſham, after having communicated the King's letter to the principal officers, diſmiſſed the army, and gave notice of it by a trumpet to the Prince of Orange, who returned no anſwer. By this it was believed, the Prince did not approve of his conduct: and indeed it ſeems that, in ſuch a juncture, if he was unwilling to pay ſo much deference to the Prince, as to communicate to him the order before it was executed, he ſhould not have done it, at leaſt without the advice of the lords aſſembled at London, who, in the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, had a right to interpoſe in the government. Accordingly, his conduct was greatly blamed; and this fault was the more taken notice of, as it occaſioned an alarm which threw city and country into the utmoſt conſternation. Some Iriſh ſoldiers of the diſbanded troops, finding themſelves moneyleſs, and incapable of ſubſiſting in a country where they were ſo generally hated, reſolved to keep themſelves from ſtarving by forcibly entring a country houſe. Whereupon a man of the neighborhood runs directly to London, crying, as he paſſed, "That the Iriſh were "up, and marching to London, firing of houſes, "and puting man, woman and child to the ſword." The news immediately flew thro' the city, and cauſed a ſtrange pannic fear. This report, as it went along, ſo gathered, that the terror increaſed. All night the city was in alarm, expecting every moment the arrival of the Iriſh. Some prepared for flight, others ran to arms, not a window in London and Weſtminſter but what was illuminated. From London the conſternation ſpread thro' the whole kingdom, ſo that in the remote parts, where people had more time to conſider what was to be done, a reſolution was taken, in caſe the news ſhould prove true, of deſtroying all the Iriſh, and Papiſts in England. Happily this terror vaniſhed in London as ſoon as the real cauſe of it was known.

A panic terror ſeizes London, and from thence is ſpread thro' the whole kingdom. Hiſt. of Deſert. p. 91.

(1) Sir Robert Clayton, ſir Baſil Firebrace, ſir William Ruſſel, and Charles Duncomb, Eſq; Kennet, p. 534.
(2) The Spaniſh embaſſador had ſeventeen thouſand pounds for his loſſes. Buckingham's account of the Revolution, p. 16.
(3) By a clerk in chancery, that accidentally paſſed by. Kennet, p. 535.

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In the interim, the Prince of Orange being advanced as far as Henley, and fearing the diſorders which might be commited by a diſbanded army, publiſhed a ſhort declaration, requiring all colonels to call together the ſeveral officers and ſoldiers of their reſpective regiments, in ſuch places as they ſhould think convenient, and there to keep them in good order and diſcipline, till farther orders. This declaration was followed by another of the lords aſſembled at London, to the ſame effect, with an additional promiſe of ſubſiſtence, till they ſhould be otherwiſe provided for, to all officers and ſoldiers who ſhould obey, and deliver up their arms to perſons appointed to receive them. Beſide this, all magiſtrates were required to apprehend, and ſeize, all ſuch ſoldiers as ſhould not repair to their reſpective bodies, and to deal with them as vagabonds.

The Prince of Orange re-aſſembles the King's army. Dec. 13. Kennet, p. 535. Echard, Vol. III. p. 934. The lords purſue the ſame deſign.

All theſe things were tranſacted, in the belief, that the King had left the nation; and indeed he was gone from Whitehall with that intention. He was got as far as a little place near Feverſham, and had even imbarked in a ſmall veſſel that was to carry him to a frigate, ready to tranſport him to France. This veſſel not being able to ſail immediately, by reaſon of a tempeſtuous wind, ſir Edward Hales, one of the King's attendants, ſent his footman to the poſt-office at Feverſham. His livery was known by a man, who told ſome others that ſir Edward was not far off. The footman was followed to the river ſide, and ſeen to make ſigns to ſome people on board a bark; whereupon the fiſhermen, and other perſons of Feverſham, immediately boarded the veſſel where his Majeſty was. Sir Edward was ſoon known, and the King being taken for his chaplain, was ſomewhat indecently treated. Then, ſearching him, they found four hundred guineas, and ſeveral valuable ſeals and jewels, which they took from him. Among the people who crouded into the ſhip, there happened to be a conſtable who knew the King, and throwing himſelf at his feet, begged him to forgive the rudeneſs of the populace, and ordered reſtitution to be made of what had been taken from him. The King received the jewels and ſeals, but gave the four hundred guineas among them. After this, he deſired to be gone; but the people, by a ſort of violence conducted him to a public inn in the town. Here he ſent for the earl of Winchelſea, lord lieutenant of the county, who prevailed with him not to leave the kingdom, but to return towards London.

The King arreſted and abuſed by the rabble at Feverſham. Kennet, p. 535. Burnet. p. 796.

This news being brought to London produced various effects. Some wiſhed the King had never been ſtoped, others were glad of an opportunity to convince him, there was never any ill deſign againſt his perſon. The lords and the magiſtrates of London, who had made ſuch advances towards the Prince of Orange, were confounded at their haſte, and were under ſome fear, in caſe the ſtate of affairs ſhould be altered. At length, the lords aſſembling, thought proper to appoint four of their body (1) to wait on the King, with an invitation to return to Whitehall, and with aſſurances of being received with all due reſpect; and coaches were immediately ſent to bring him. At the ſame time, an expreſs was ſent to the Prince of Orange, to acquaint him that the King was ſtill in the nation. The Prince, who was advanced as far as Windſor, was not a little ſurprized at the news. He was marching to London to ſetle with the lords, by whom he was expected, the affairs of the nation, in the ſuppoſition, that the King had abandoned it. But his Majeſty's return threw the Prince into great perplexity, and of courſe obliged him to take other meaſures. Nevertheleſs, as the King had no army, and by his haſty flight, had intirely forfeited the confidence of all his friends, and the eſteem of his enemies, as he was not in a condition to command, but in ſome meaſure depended upon others, the Prince diſpatched monſieur Zuyleſtein to him, to deſire him to remain at Rocheſter, till it could be agreed what was to be done. But Zuyleſtein miſſing his way, the King came to London the ſixteenth of December, about four in the afternoon, where he was received with acclamations as if he had been returning from victory.

Returns to London. Kennet, p. 536 Echard, Vol. III. p. 935. Burnet, p. 799.

The King being reſtored to his palace, and in ſome manner to his deſerted Royalty, diſcovered an inclination to reſume his old meaſures, and ſtill brave the Proteſtants. In all appearance, the acclamations as he paſſed thro' London, had revived his courage, and put him in hopes of a general declaration in his favor. The firſt thing he did was to publiſh an order of council, wherein he ſaid, that being given to underſtand, that diverſe outrages had been commited in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, by burning, pulling down, and defacing of houſes, he commanded all lord lieutenants, &c. to prevent ſuch outrages for the future, and ſuppreſs all riotous aſſemblies. This was his laſt public act, which crowned ſo many others done in his reign, in favor of the Papiſts. Moreover, he diſcharged Leiburn a Popiſh biſhop, who had been ſent to Newgate, and, during his ſhort ſtay at Whitehall, was ſurrounded, as formerly, with Prieſts, Jeſuits, and Iriſhmen.

His laſt act of Royalty. Kennet, p. 536. Echard, Vol. III. p. 935, 936.

The King, in his journey to London, diſpatched the earl of Feverſham, with a letter to the Prince, "Kindly to invite him to the palace at St. James's, "with what number of guards and troops he "ſhould think convenient to bring along with "him, that they might amicably and perſonally "confer together about the means of redreſſing "the public grievances." The Prince returned no anſwer: but the moment the earl of Feverſham was out of his preſenſe, monſieur Bentinck demanded his ſword, and told him, he had orders to ſecure him. This doubtleſs was owing to his precipitate diſbanding the army. Some indeed have thought it only a pretenſe to remove him from the King's perſon, being ſuſpected of giving him ill advice, or, perhaps, becauſe he was too much devoted to him, tho' he ever profeſſed the Proteſtant religion.

The earl of Feverſham ſent by the King to the Prince, is arreſted. State-Tracts. Vol. I. p. 92. Kennet, p. 536. Echard, Vol. III. p. 936.

In a council held by the Prince, and the Engliſh lords who were with him, it was reſolved, "That "the royal palace at Whitehall being ſtill crouded "with Iriſh Papiſts, Prieſts and Jeſuits, his High-"neſs could not with eaſe and ſafety remain at "St. James's, where he muſt neceſſarily go the "next day, without his Majeſty and his Popiſh "guards were removed within a reaſonable diſtance "from London." Moreover, an accident happened two days before, which provoked thoſe who were concerned for the Prince's life. The duke of Grafton marching thro' the Strand at the head of a regiment, to take Tilbury fort out of the hands of the Iriſh, an Iriſh officer riding up to him, fired a piſtol at him; for which he was ſhot dead upon the ſpot. Much more might ſuch an ateempt be apprehended againſt the Prince, from ſome of the King's guards. In the debate, it was propoſed to ſend the King priſoner to Breda: but the Prince of Orange rejected the propoſal with indignation, proteſting that he could not conſent to put him under any reſtraint. At length, ſince the Prince's preſenſe at London was abſolutely neceſſary, it was

Burnet, p. 899.

(1) The earls of Middleton, Aylesbury, Yarmouth, and Feverſham. Kennet, p. 536.

agreed

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agreed, that the King ſhould be deſired to remove to Ham, a houſe belonging to the ducheſs of Lauderdale. It appears from hence, that the King's approbation was no longer conſidered as abſolutely neceſſary to ſetle the affairs of the kingdom. And indeed, it ſeems, that ſince he would have abandoned all, he had no right to pretend to any thing. Agreeably to this reſolution, the Prince of Orange ſigned an order, directed to the marquis of Halliſax, the earl of Shrewſbury, and the lord Delamere, to acquaint the King with it, and to tell him, he ſhould be attended by his guards, to preſerve him from any diſturbances.

Three lords ſent by the Prince to the King. Dec. 17.

Immediately after, the Prince ordered the regiment of his guards, conſiſting of three batalions, to march and take poſſeſſion of all the poſts about Whitehall and St. James's, either by perſuaſions or force. The King being informed of it, ſent for count Solms who commanded theſe guards, and deſired him, "If it could be, to let him have his own "guard at Whitehall, only for that night; but "the count alleging his order, to relieve all the "poſts, the King anſwered, do your office." At ten o'clock at night, the Dutch blue guards entered St. James's houſe, and towards eleven, thoſe who were ordered to Whitehall, moved thro' the park, and with lighted match, and in order of battle, marched up to the King's guards. The captain of the guards ſcrupling to diſlodge, at laſt received the King's orders to retire. After this, the Dutch took poſſeſſion of the guard-houſe, and at the ſame time relieved all the poſts about Whitehall and the park, placing every where double centries. So that during the reſt of the night, the King was really in the power of the Prince of Orange. An hour after midnight, the three lords appointed by the Prince came to Whitehall, and ſent to awake the King for an audience. The King ordering them to come to his bed-ſide, they delivered the Prince's meſſage, which was to deſire his Majeſty's departure to Ham; to which the King conſented; but after they were withdrawn he ordered them to be recalled, and bid them tell the Prince, that he deſired rather to go to Rocheſter, according to the Prince's meſſage by Zuyleſtein, to which the Prince conſented that very night. His anſwer coming to the King at eight in the morning, the King about noon took a barge, attended by the earls of Aileſbury, Litchfield, Arran, and Dumbarton, ſix of the yeomen of his guard, and about a hundred of the Dutch guards, commanded by the lieutenant colonel of the regiment. About nine at night he arrived at Graveſend, where he found his own coaches, and ſome troops of the militia, by whom he was the the next day conducted to Rocheſter.

The Dutch guards take poſſeſſion of Whitehall and St. James's. State-Tracts. Vol. I. p. 93. Kennet, p. 537. Echard, Vol. III. p. 937.

The King. deſired by the Prince to remove to Ham, makes choice of Rocheſter.

The Prince arrived at London the ſame day the King left Whitehall, and lodged at St. James's, where he received the compliments of the nobility, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London. From this time it may be ſaid, the King was a mere cypher. He was not a priſoner, but had no power left of doing good or hurt; ſo that moſt of the lords who had any imployments at court, laid down the badges of their offices, as the ſtaff, the key, &c. as believing they had no longer any right to exerciſe the ſame.

The Prince of Orange arrives at St. James's. Dec. 18. Kennet, p. 537. Echard, Vol. III. p. 938.

During the rejoicings at London for the Prince's arrival, the mob again inſulted the Papiſts, embaſſadors not excepted. As there was properly no government, ſuch diſorders were almoſt unavoidable, no perſon daring to undertake reſtraining them. At length, the privy council ordered, that all foreignets ſhould be permited quietly to leave the kingdom. The Prince of Orange ſent particular paſſes to the Pope's nuncio, the envoys of Poland, Savoy, and Modena. The Popiſh lords, Langdale and Montgomery, were releaſed: but the earls of Peterborough and Saliſbury were kept in cuſtody, on account of impeachments againſt them. Romiſh prieſts and jeſuits, apprehended ſince the King's flight, were likewiſe detained.

A ſecond inſurrection of the mob. Ibid.

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Mean time, as it was abſolutely neceſſary to put an end to the preſent Anarchy, the Prince of Orange aſſembled the lords ſpiritual and temporal in London, to the number of above threeſcore, and made this ſhort ſpeech to them. "My lords, I have "deſired you to meet here, to adviſe the beſt "manner how to purſue the ends of my declara-"tion, in calling a free parliament, for the pre-"ſervation of the Proteſtant religion, the reſtor-"ing the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and "ſetling the ſame, that they may not be in danger "of being again ſubverted." On ſpeaking theſe words, he withdrew and left them to conſult together. His declaration was read, and the lords voted him their particular thanks. Then they reſolved to aſſemble every day in their old houſe at Weſtminſter, and named five of the moſt eminent lawyers (1) to aſſiſt them in the room of the judges, who were moſt of them abſent. It was farther propoſed, that the whole aſſembly ſhould ſign the aſſociation ſubſcribed by the nobility and gentry at Exeter. To this all agreed, except the duke of Somerſet, the earls of Pembroke and Nottingham, the lord Wharton, and all the biſhops but that of London. The objection of the biſhops was chiefly founded upon the unchriſtian word Revenge, which to ſatisfy them, was afterwards changed for that of Puniſhment.

The Prince aſſembles the peers about London. Dec. 21. State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 100. Echard, Vol. III. p. 939. Kennet, p. 537.

The biſhops and ſome temporal lords refuſe to ſign the aſſociation. Echard.

The King, all this time, was at Rocheſter in a melancholy ſituation. He perceived his flight had done him an irreparable injury. The proceedings at London ſhowed, that he was no longer regarded as a King to be intruſted with the government, and it was not in his power to reſtore himſelf by arms. Nevertheleſs, ſome of his friends preſſed him to call a parliament, aſſuring him that ſince his misfortune there was a great turn in the minds of the city and army, and that compaſſion for him generally prevailed. But the very mentioning a free parliament made him tremble. For, beſide that his conſcience might reproach him and agravate his fear, he plainly ſaw, the leaſt which could befal him, would be, that the parliament would take effectual meaſures for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, and that, during his whole life, he ſhould be ever diſtruſted. Probably it was the fear of paſſing the reſt of his days in ſo uncomfortable a ſtate, which determined him to withdraw into France. Indeed in taking that courſe, he might hope one day to be reſtored by the aſſiſtance of that crown: whereas by ſtaying in England, he ſaw no other advantage, than the injoyment of a Royalty, ſurrounded with troubles and mortifications, and in which he could not, without danger, attempt to recover his former authority. Whatever were his motives, the which can only be conjectured, on the twenty-third of December, about three in the morning, he privately withdrew, taking with him only the duke of Berwick his natural ſon, mr. Skelton, and Abbadie, and went on horſeback to a place near the river, where he imbarked on a ſmall frigate, which landed him ſafely at Ambleteuſe in France, from whence he repaired to St. Germains. It was eaſy to execute this deſign, no perſon about him having orders to ſtop or hinder him from diſpoſing of himſelf as he pleaſed. Very probably

State-Tracts Vol. I. p. 95. Kennet, p. 538. Echard, Vol. III. p. 940. Burnet, p. 804.

(1) Sir John Maynard, Holt, Pollexfen, Bradford, and Atkinſon. Kennet, p. 537.

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probably, the Prince of Orange received not leſs ſatisfaction from this ſecond, than he had from the firſt flight. The King's preſenſe in the nation could not but greatly imbaraſs him. Beſide his natural generoſity, he had promiſed the Princeſs that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt the life or liberty of her father: ſo, the King could not do a greater ſervice to the Prince, than voluntarily to retire out of the kingdom. And the more, as this afterwards furniſhed a pretenſe to ſay, he had abdicated the crown, which abdication paved the Prince's way to the throne. When the King quited Rocheſter, he left the following paper written with his own hand:

"The world cannot wonder at my withdrawing "myſelf now a ſecond time. I might have ex- "pected ſomewhat better uſage, after what I "wrote to the Prince of Orange, by my lord "Feverſham, and the inſtructions I gave him: "but inſtead of an anſwer, ſuch as I might have "hoped for, what was I to expect after the uſage I "received by making the ſaid earl a priſoner, againſt "the practiſe and law of nations? The ſending "his own guards at eleven at night, to take poſ- "ſeſſion of the poſts at Whitehall, without adver- "tiſing me in the leaſt manner of it: the ſending "to me at one of the clock at midnight, when I "was in bed, a kind of order by three lords, 'To "be gone out of my palace before twelve that ſame "morning?' After all this, how could I hope to "be ſafe, ſo long as I was in the power of one "who had not only done this to me, and invaded "my kingdoms, without any juſt occaſion given "for it; but that did, by his firſt declaration, "lay the greateſt aſperſions upon me that malice "could invent, in that clauſe of it which concerns "my ſon. I appeal to all that know me, nay, "even to himſelf, that in their conſciences neither "he, nor they, can believe me in the leaſt capable "of ſo unnatural a villainy, nor of ſo little com- "mon ſenſe, to be impoſed on in a thing of ſuch "a nature as that. What had I then to expect "from one, who, by all arts hath taken ſuch "pains to make me appear as black as hell to "my own people, as well as to all the world be- "ſide? What effect that hath had at home, all "mankind have ſeen by ſo general a defection in "my army, as well as in the nation, amongſt all "ſorts of people.

"I was born free, and deſire to continue ſo: "and tho' I ventured my life very frankly on ſe- "veral occaſions, for the good and honor of my "country, and am as free to do ſo again (and "which I hope I ſhall yet do as old as I am, to "redeem it from the ſlavery it is like to fall under) "yet I think it not convenient to expoſe myſelf "to be ſo ſecured, as not to be at liberty to effect "it; and for that reaſon to withdraw, but ſo as to "be within call whenever the nation's eyes ſhall be "opened, ſo as to ſee how they have been im- "poſed on by the ſpecious pretenſes of religion "and property. I hope it will pleaſe God to "touch their hearts, out of his infinite mercy, and "to make them ſenſible of the ill condition they "are in, and bring them to ſuch a temper, that "a legal parliament may be called; and that, James II. An' 1688. "among other things which may be neceſſary to "be done, they will agree to liberty of conſcience "to all Proteſtant diſſenters; and that thoſe of my "own perſuaſion may be ſo far conſidered, and "have ſuch a ſhare of it, as they may live peace- "ably and quietly, as Engliſhmen and Chriſtians "ought to do, and not be obliged to tranſplant "themſelves; which would be very grievous, "eſpecially to ſuch as love their own country. "And I appeal to all men, who are conſidering "men, and have had experience, whether any thing "can make this nation ſo great and flouriſhing, as "liberty of conſcience? Some of our neighbors "dread it. I could add much more, to confirm what "I have ſaid, but now is not the proper time."

This paper remained not unanſwered. As I have not been able to procure dr. Burnet's animadverſions upon it (1), I ſhall indeavor to ſupply the want with ſome obſervations.

The firſt is taken from mr. Echard, who very juſtly obſerves, "That tho' the King gave ſome "reaſons for his ſecond deſertion, he gave none at "all for his firſt." Now it was the firſt which chiefly demonſtrated, that he choſe rather to abandon his kingdoms, than be forced to reſtore religion and the laws. Vol. III. p. 941

2. The King ſuppoſed, that after the diſobliging manner in which he had been treated by the Prince of Orange, he had no room to believe himſelf ſafe. And yet he could not deny, that he had been in the power of the Prince, by whom his perſon was untouched. At the very time of his writing this paper, he was at full liberty to concert meaſures for his eſcape into France, and actually executed that deſign, without any oppoſition.

3. What he ſaid concerning the Prince of Wales, was founded upon the impoſſibility, that thoſe who knew him, ſhould believe him capable of ſo unnatural a villainy: but it was the very belief of his being privy to that unnatural villainy which fixed the imputation upon him.

4. He aſcribes the defection of his army, and the whole nation, to the artifices and calumnies of the Prince of Orange; whereas the whole hiſtory of his reign is a demonſtration, that it could only be imputed to his own conduct.

5. He ſuppoſed, that he withdrew himſelf, in order to come and redeem the nation from ſlavery: but this ſuppoſition has been deſtroyed by the event, there having been but very few in England, who really wiſhed his reſtoration.

6. He inſiſted, that liberty of conſcience was abſolutely neceſſary to render the Engliſh nation great and flouriſhing: but there was not perhaps a ſingle Engliſhman, who believed this was the end propoſed by the King, or that was not convinced, it was only a pretenſe to introduce his own, and to deſtroy the Proteſtant religion.

7. His ſaying, that ſome neighbors dreaded the nation's becoming too great, by the eſtabliſhment of liberty of conſcience, was only an inſinuation to make the people believe, that the Dutch had lent their ſhips and forces to the Prince of Orange for that very reaſon.

(1) They are to be found in State-Tracts, Vol. I. p. 126.

INTER-

The INTER-REGNUM.

INTERREG. AN' 1688.

The vacancy of the throne.

ON the King's departute, there was an Inter-regnum, but of ſuch a nature, as the like had never been known in England. It was not owing to the death, but to the flight of the Sovereign: ſo, at the ſame time, the nation was without a King, and without any one to repreſent him, or take care of the government; and yet there was a King, but a fugitive, and who pretended not to renounce his rights. In ſuch circumſtances, it is in vain to appeal to laws, cuſtoms, or precedents, ſince the difference between this ſtate, and that which laws and cuſtoms ſuppoſe, is evident.

The lords take upon themſelves the adminiſtration of the government. Echard, Vol. III. p. 943.

The lords were no ſooner informed of the King's departure, than they believed themſelves inveſted with a power to act in their own names, becauſe indeed, in ſuch a juncture, it could properly belong only to them, to take upon them the government. There was no parliament in being, and conſequently no houſe of commons to join with them. By the death or deſertion of the King, all public offices and imployments ceaſe, becauſe they come from him. There remains therefore no authority but in the peers, who are neareſt the throne, and conſequently, more authoriſed to take care of the government, till it can be ſetled by the body of the nation, by means of a parliament. The ſtate of the kingdom was ſuch, that there was no example of the like to ſerve for a precedent. The King had abandoned the nation, without being forced to it. He was in full liberty, and there did not appear any other motive of his flight than the fear of being obliged to call a free parliament, which, probably would not have approved of his late meaſures, but reſtored the conſtitution to its ancient ſtate. The Prince of Orange pretended not to have a right to govern; his pretenſions conſiſted only in procuring a free parliament. But this parliament muſt be called by ſome authority. And by what authority could a parliament meet, if the nation continued in Anarchy, where no perſon would have a right to meddle with the government? It was therefore the peers, who alone were intitled to take care of the ſtate, or elſe it muſt be ſaid, that becauſe the King was pleaſed to deſert the nation, without ſetling the government, the ſtate was to remain in Anarchy, till he ſhould think fit to reſume the care of it. Let the inconveniencies ariſing from the power aſſumed by the lords, be never ſo much urged, thoſe which Anarchy would have produced, were infinitely greater and more dangerous. Nay, who knows, whether one of the motives of the King's flight, was not to leave the nation in this ſtate of confuſion? However this be, the juncture was ſuch, that extraordinary proceedings could not be avoided.

Addreſs the Prince to charge himſelf with it: Decem. 25.

And to call a Convention. Gazette, No. 2414. Kennet. Echard.

The firſt thing done by the peers, after conſulting together, was the addreſſing the Prince of Orange, "To take upon him the adminiſtration of public "affairs, both civil and military; the diſpoſal of "the public revenue; and the care of Ireland till the "meeting of the intended convention." The addreſs was dated the 25th of December. By a ſecond addreſs they deſired him, "To iſſue out miſſive "letters, ſubſcribed by himſelf, to the lords ſpiri-"tual and temporal being Proteſtants, and to the "ſeveral counties, cities, and boroughs, containing "directions for the chuſing, within ten days, ſuch "a number of perſons to repreſent them, as are of "right to be ſent to parliament." Theſe addreſſes were ſigned by about ninety lords, that were then preſent in the houſe. They were followed by an order from the ſame peers, to all Papiſts to depart the city of London, and ten miles from the ſame, and not to remove from their habitations above five miles; excepting the ſervants of the Queen-Dowager, the domeſtics of foreign miniſters, and all houſe-keepers in London, and ten miles from the ſame, who had been traders for three years laſt paſt, provided they gave in to the lord mayor, their names and places of abode, in eight days; and alſo ſuch Popiſh officers as ſhould give bail in ſix days, to appear the firſt day of the term, and to be on their good behavior in the mean time; but ſuch officers as ſhould neglect, were to be taken into cuſtody.

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They iſſue out an order againſt Papiſts. Echard, Vol. III. p. 944.

A remark upon the word Convention.

The word Convention, to ſignify a parliament aſſembled without the cuſtomary formalities, was new in England, where it had been, as I think, but once uſed in that ſenſe, viz. after the reſtoration of King Charles II. This Prince finding, on his return into England, a parliament ſiting which had not been ſummoned by him, would not own it for a parliament, on account of the conſequences. But on the contrary, he would not deprive himſelf of the benefit of the reſolutions of this parliament, which had reſtored him to the throne of his anceſtors: ſo, to reconcile theſe two things together, he was willing to own it as a convention. Probably, the word was borrowed from what is practiſed in Scotland, where a difference is put between a convention of the ſtates, and a parliament. It was therefore this convention of the year 1660, that the lords had in view, when they addreſſed the Prince of Orange to call one. But as this was a ſingle precedent, and as the convention of the year 1660, had been firſt called under the name of a parliament, the Prince thought, that beſide the ſuffrages of the peers, it was proper to be authoriſed by others, which might paſs for thoſe of the people. He therefore publiſhed an order, "Deſir-"ing all ſuch perſons as had ſerved in any of the "parliaments during the reign of the late King "Charles II, to meet him at St. James's, upon "the twenty-ſixth of December, by ten of the "clock in the morning. He deſired likewiſe, "that the lord mayor and court of aldermen of "the city of London, and fifty of the common "council, would be there at the ſame time."

The Prince aſſembles ſeveral old members of parliament. Kennet, p. 558. Echard, Vol. III. p. 945, 946.

Agreeably to this order, about a hundred and ſixty members, the aldermen of London (the mayor being indiſpoſed) and the deputies of the common council, met at St. James's on the day appointed, where the Prince briefly told them, "That he had "deſired them to meet him there, to adviſe the "beſt manner how to purſue the ends of his decla-"ration, in calling a free parliament, for the pre-"ſervation of the Proteſtant religion, and the "reſtoring the rights and liberties of the king-"dom." They all repaired immediately to the commons houſe in Weſtminſter, where the firſt queſtion they debated, was, "What authority they "had to aſſemble?" Upon which it was ſoon agreed, that the requeſt of the Prince was a ſufficient warrant. The next queſtion was, "How "the Prince could take upon him the adminiſtra-"tion of affairs, without a diſtinguiſhing name "or title?" But as this queſtion tended to prolong the deliberations, and defeat the ends propoſed by the meeting, it was thought proper to wave ſuch queſtions in their future debates. An aſſociation was likewiſe propoſed to be ſigned, but every perſon was

and aſks their advice. Ibid. Gazette, No. 2414. State Tracts. Vol. I. p. 100.

left

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left at liberty to ſubſcribe it or not. After theſe previous debates, they reſolved to addreſs the Prince, to take upon him the adminiſtration of public affairs, until the meeting of the Convention, the twenty-ſecond day of January next. The anſwer returned by the Prince to this addreſs, and to that of the lords, was the ſame, that he would indeavor, as far as he was able, to ſecure the peace of the nation, according to their deſire.

Which was to take upon him the government, and to call a Convention. Dec. 28. Gazette, No. 2414. Kennet, p. 539. Echard, Vol. III. p. 947.

During the King's ſtay at Rocheſter, Barillon, the French embaſſador, had been very active to promote diviſions among the peers, with a view to ſerve the King. Of this the Prince was not ignorant; but as he was not yet inveſted with any authority, he was obliged to ſuffer it, tho' he knew he had not a greater enemy in England than that embaſſador. But the moment he was intruſted with the government, he ſent an expreſs order to him to leave the kingdom within four and twenty hours. At the ſame time, he ſent St. Leger, a French refugee, to attend him to the ſhip. That gentleman could not forbear ſaying to the embaſſador as they were on the road, "Sir, had any one told you "a year ago, that a refugee ſhould be commiſ- "ſioned to ſee you out of England, would you "have believed it?" The embaſſador anſwered, "Sir, croſs over with me to Calais, and I will "give you an anſwer."

The French embaſſador ordered to leave the King.

On Sunday the thirtieth of December, the Prince of Orange went to the Royal chapel at St. James's, where he was preſent at Divine-ſervice, and a ſermon preached by dr. Lloyd, biſhop of St. Aſaph; after which he received the ſacrament from the hands of the biſhop of London. This public profeſſion of the eſtabliſhed faith, greatly contributed to diſpel the fears of thoſe, who dreaded his too zealous adherence to the Preſbyterian religion, in which he had been educated. But it muſt be obſerved, that tho' the difference between the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian churches has occaſioned much noiſe, diſturbance, and enmity in England, yet, both then and now, very few foreign Proteſtants ſcruple to communicate with the church of England.

The Prince communicates in the church of England. Ibid. Kennet, p. 540.

Next day, the Prince publiſhed a proclamation, authoriſing all public officers, not being Papiſts, to act in their reſpective offices, till the meeting of the intended Convention, or other order to the contrary.

Gazette, No. 2415.

The ſame day he paid a viſit to the Queen-Dowager, who indirectly aſked him to releaſe her chamberlain the earl of Feverſham, which the Prince readily granted.

The Prince viſits the Queen-Dowager. Kennet.

Tho' in the hiſtory of the two laſt reigns I have ſaid but little of the affairs of Scotland, the reader however may have remarked, that this kingdom was intirely ſubjected to an arbitrary power, and withal, to Epiſcopacy, contrary to the general bent of the people. When the Prince of Orange's declaration for Scotland (the ſame in ſubſtance with that for England) appeared there, the Preſbyterians began to take courage, thoſe at the helm not daring to uſe any violence for fear of a general inſurrection, which would have been extremely prejudicial to the King's affairs at that juncture. Things remained in this ſituation, till the King's party began to retire into England. For tho' the Scotiſh biſhops had publiſhed an abhorrence of the Prince's expedition, it was by no means the ſentiments of the nation in general. Every one felt the weight of the yoke impoſed on them, and the Epiſcopalians themſelves had reaſon to fear, that under the pretenſe of humbling the Preſbyterians the King intended to deſtroy the Proteſtant religion. So far their caſe was the ſame with that of the Engliſh. And therefore the duke of Queenſborough, and ſome other Scotiſh gentlemen were come to London, to deſire a free parliament. Hence may be known what the Scots thought of their then condition. The lord chancellor, on the news of King James's withdrawing, immediately reſigned the great ſeal, and retired from Edinburgh. Upon which the populace of that city, inſulted and rifled, not only the Roman Catholics, but alſo thoſe who had appeared moſt devoted to the Epiſcopal party: ſo, the biſhops were forced to retire, to avoid the inſults of the Preſbyterians, who were now much ſuperior to their late perſecutors. On the other hand, ſeveral Scotiſh lords and gentlemen repaired to London, to obſerve the motions there, and to determine their conduct by that of the Engliſh.

Affairs of Scotland. Burnet, p. 804. Echard, Vol. III. p. 947.

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The Prince of Orange, who could not viſit Scotland, aſſembled all the Scotiſh nobility and gentry then in London, who meeting at St. James's, to the number of thirty lords and fourſcore gentlemen, he aſked their advice, what was to be done for the ſecuring the Proteſtant religion, and reſtoring their laws and liberties, according to his declaration? After this ſhort ſpeech, the lords and gentlemen repaired to the council chamber at Whitehall, and chuſing duke Hamilton their preſident, conſulted together, what advice was moſt proper to be given to the Prince. This affair was in effect ſetled the firſt day. But on the morrow, they were interrupted by a propoſal from the earl of Arran, that the King ſhould be deſired to return, and call a free parliament. The tendency of this propoſal was eaſily ſeen, and therefore it was unanimouſly rejected. At length, it was agreed to preſent an addreſs to the Prince of Orange to deſire him to take upon him the adminiſtration of all affairs both civil and military, and to call a general meeting of the ſtates to be holden the fourteenth of the following March. This addreſs being preſented to the Prince, he deſired time to conſider of it, and two days after returned much the ſame anſwer as he had to the Engliſh.

Jan. 7. State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 102.

The proſpect from Ireland was not ſo pleaſing. The earl of Tyrconnel, a zealous Papiſt and intirely devoted to the King, was lord lieutenant, and ſupported by an army, which he had taken care to compoſe of Popiſh officers and ſoldiers. There was room therefore to fear, that the earl would not ſubmit to the reſolutions taken in England, and that it would be difficult to force him to obedience. Mean while, the Prince of Orange having received addreſſes not only from the Engliſh lords and commons concerning Ireland, but likewiſe from the Proteſtants of that kingdom, could not but indeavor to procure the happineſs of a nation which depended on England. It was therefore held neceſſary to ſummon the earl of Tyrconnel, by a letter, to ſubmit to the preſent adminiſtration in England. The delivery of this letter was commited to colonel Hamilton, who promiſed to ſecond it with his perſuaſions. But it was afterwards known, that he, with Tyrconnel, acted in direct oppoſition to it.

Affairs of Ireland. Echard, Vol. III. p. 948. Burnet, p. 805.

The Prince, and the lords, as I have ſaid, had ordered the forces diſbanded by the earl of Feverſham to re-aſſemble. When this was done, the Prince diſcharged the arrears of the Engliſh army, with two hundred thouſand pounds advanced in four days by the city of London, ſixty thouſand of which was lent by ſir Samuel Daſhwood. After this, he ordered a reform of eight new raiſed regiments, beſide the troop of life guards, commanded by the lord Dover, who were all Papiſts. Then, ſeveral colonels and other officers having reſigned their commiſſions on account of the new oath exacted of them, he filled their places with Proteſtants, and in a word, took all poſſible care to put the army under ſuch a regulation, as might render it ſerviceable to the ſtate.

Kennet, p. 540. Echard, Vol. III. p. 950. Burnet, p. 806.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury had hitherto declined waiting on the Prince of Orange. But at length

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length he ſent a compliment to the Prince, and, with ſeven or eight biſhops more, ſigned the aſſociation, after ſome words were ſoftened in it, that gave them uneaſineſs.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury ſigns the aſſociation.

About the ſame time, ninety Diſſenting miniſters attended the Prince, and aſſured him of their fervent prayers for the preſervation of his perſon, and the ſucceſs of his indeavors for the defenſe and propagation of the Proteſtant intereſt. The Prince returned a favorable anſwer, tho' expreſſed in general terms, inſinuating, that it would not be his fault, if they were not made eaſy.

The diſſenting miniſters wait on the Prince. Echard, Vol. III. p. 951.

Mean while, the elections for the members of the convention proceeded with all imaginable freedom. The electors gave their votes according to their own inclinations, without any ſollicitations from the Prince, or his friends. Moreover, the Prince had ordered the ſoldiers to remove at a certain diſtance from the places of election, to take away all pretenſe of compulſion.

Elections for the convention. Burnet, p. 809. Gazette, No. 2416. Kennet.

During this interval, the Prince conſidering, that the convention was to ſettle the government, thought it proper to ſend for his Princeſs; ſince if, as it was probable, the convention ſhould declare the throne vacant, no perſon had a juſter pretenſion to it than ſhe. 'Tis alſo probable, he thought he had himſelf room to aſpire to it, by his late great ſervice to the Engliſh. But a ſevere froſt retarded her departure from Holland longer than he expected.

The Prince ſends for the Princeſs. Echard, Vol. III. p. 954.

The convention met the twenty-ſecond of January in two houſes, as a parliament. The peers choſe the marquis of Hallifax* for their ſpeaker, and the commons, mr. Henry Powle. In each houſe was read the following letter from the Prince of Orange, on the occaſion of their meeting:

The convention meets. Id. p. 955. Kennet, p. 541.

* George Savile.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Prince of Orange's letter to the convention.

"I HAVE indeavored, to the utmoſt of my "power, to perform what was deſired from me, "in order to the public peace and ſafety; and I do "not know that any thing hath been omited which "might tend to the preſervation of them, ſince "the adminiſtration of affairs was put into my "hands. It now lieth upon you to lay the foun"dation of a firm ſecurity for your religion, your "laws and your liberties. I do not doubt, but "that by ſuch a full and free repreſentative of "the nation, as is now met, the ends of my de"claration wil be attained: and ſince it hath "pleaſed God hitherto to bleſs my good intentions "with ſo great ſucceſs, I truſt in him, that he "will compleat his own work, by ſending a ſpirit "of peace and union to influence your counſels, "that no interruption may be given to a happy "and laſting ſetlement.

"The dangerous condition of the Proteſtants "in Ireland, requiring a large and ſpeedy ſuccor, "and the preſent ſtate of things abroad, oblige "me to tell you, that next to the danger of un"ſeaſonable diviſions among ourſelves, nothing can "be ſo fatal as too great delay in your conſultations. "The States, by whom I have been inabled to "reſcue this nation, may ſuddenly feel the ill "effects of it, both by being too long deprived of "the ſervice of their troops, which are now here, "and of your early aſſiſtance againſt a powerful "enemy, who hath declared a war againſt them. "And as England is by treaty already ingaged to "help them upon ſuch exigencies, ſo I am con"fident, that their chearful concurrence to pre"ſerve this kingdom with ſo much hazard to "themſelves, will meet with all the returns of "friendſhip and aſſiſtance, which may be expected "from you, as Proteſtants and Engliſhmen, when"ever their condition will require it.

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Given at St. James's the twenty-ſecond day of January, 1688-9.

After the reading of this letter, both houſes preſented an addreſs to the Prince, in which they acknowleged him, under God, the deliverer of the nation: they approved likewiſe of all that he had done ſince he had been intruſted with the adminiſtration, which they prayed him to continue till farther application ſhould be made to him by them, which ſhould be done with all convenient ſpeed. They promiſed alſo to diſpatch the matters recommended to them by his letter. The Prince in his anſwer accepted the offers made him by the two houſes, and ſtrongly preſſed them to a conſideration of the affairs of Europe.

The Prince addreſſed by the two houſes. Kennet, p. 541. Echard, Vol. III. p. 956. State Tracts, Vol. I. p. 104.

The firſt thing done by the two houſes, after their addreſs of thanks to the Prince, was to appoint a day of public thankſgiving to God, for the happy deliverance of the nation. As, on theſe occaſions, prayers ſuited to the day are always compoſed by the biſhops, they had an order to inſert a particular prayer for the Prince of Orange.

A thankſgiving appointed. Jan 31. Ibid. Echard.

Mean time, King James, perceiving the prejudice his flight would do him, indeavored to prevent it, by a letter directed to the lords, and others of his privy council. He repeated the reaſons contained in the writing left on his table at his departure from Rocheſter, and declared his intention to return to England for the holding a free parliament. He reproached the Prince of Orange with artifices to hinder his holding ſuch a parliament, and required their advice, "what was fit to be done by him "towards his returning." Tho' this letter was immediately printed and diſperſed, it was little regarded. Even the perſons to whom it was addreſſed, judged it not proper to return an anſwer, at a time the convention was ſiting. James therefore ſent a letter of the ſame tenor to both houſes of the convention, adding, a promiſe, on the word of a King, of a pardon even to thoſe that betrayed him (ſome few excepted) and a reſolution by an act of oblivion, to cover all faults. But both houſes returning the letters unopened, the King's friends complained of it, as of a great hardſhip.

A letter from King James to his privy council, Kennet, p. 543. Echard, Vol. III. p. 958.

and to the two houſes of convention.

Rejected.

The houſe of commons defered their ſiting till the twenty-eight of January, to give time to the reſt of their members to come up to town. That day, mr. Dolben, ſon to the late archbiſhop of York, made a long ſpeech to prove the vacancy of the throne, by the King's deſerting the kingdom. Upon this aroſe a debate, which held four or five hours, and ended with this memorable vote:

Kennet, p. 542. Echard, Vol. III. p. 959.

"That King James the ſecond, having in"deavored to ſubvert the conſtitution of the "kingdom, by breaking the original contract be"tween King and people; and, by the advice of "Jeſuits and other wicked perſons, having vio"lated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn him"ſelf out of the kingdom, hath ABDICATED the "government, and that the throne is thereby be"come vacant."

Votes of the commons.

Next day, the commons farther voted, "That "it hath been found by experience to be inconſiſtent "with this Proteſtant kingdom, to be governed "by a Popiſh Prince."

Another. Echard, Vol. III. p. 960.

They likewiſe preſented an addreſs to the Prince of Orange, for the ſtoping all ſhips that were going to France. Two days after, they voted, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the clergy of the church of England, who had refuſed to read in the churches the King's declaration for toleration; and alſo to the officers and ſoldiers, for having

Addreſs to the Prince of Orange.

testified their ready adherence to the Proteſtant religion; and to all ſuch as had appeared in arms for the defenſe of the ſame. All theſe votes were ſent up to the lords for their concurrence.

Great debates in the houſe of lords. Kennet, p. 543. Echard, Vol. III. p. 960. Burnet, p. 809, 813.

But matters were not carried on with that unanimity in the houſe of lords. There were ſeveral parties, who cauſed every queſtion to be nicely examined. It was on the twenty-ninth of January, that the lords began to conſider the vote of the commons, concerning the vacancy of the throne. The firſt motion was, "Not to agree with the "commons that the throne was vacant, but only "to ſuppoſe it for the preſent, leaving it to be far-"ther examined afterwards, in order to cut ſhort "ſeveral other queſtions, by determining this firſt, "'Whether the throne being vacant, it ought "to be filled up with a Regent or a King"?'

A regency is propoſed;

The * earl of Nottingham, who was at the head of the party for a Regent made a long ſpeech, alleging ſeveral arguments for a Regency, taken from the Engliſh and other hiſtories. He inſiſted particularly on what had very lately paſſed in Portugal, where, Alphonſo VI being depoſed, his brother don Pedro had only the title of Regent of the kingdom confered on him. But the marquis of Halifax and the earl of Darby demonſtrated, on the other ſide, the inſuperable difficulties attending the adminiſtration of the government under a Regent. At length, after a very long debate; the queſtion being put to the vote, fifty-one were for a King, and forty-nine only for a regency (1). Thirteen biſhops were among the laſt, and but two among the firſt, viz. dr. Compton biſhop of London, and ſir Jonathan Trelawney biſhop of Briſtol. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was abſent.

* Dan. Finch.

and rejected.

Remark on the Church of England.

If the principles advanced by the church of England in the reign of Charles II, and the doctrine of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance ſo ſtrenuouſly maintained, and publicly preached, be remembered, it will not be thought very ſtrange, that the biſhops ſhould refuſe to vote for depoſing King James, and ſeting another King on the throne. This was directly contrary to the maxims they had not long ſince approved, and from which they did not think proper to depart intirely. The truth is, by maintaining theſe extravagant principles, without admitting any limitations, at a time when they thought only of oppoſing the principles of the Republicans, they had thrown themſelves into a very dangerous ſtrait, of which they were not ſenſible, till they ſaw the Proteſtant religion expoſed to the danger attending theſe maxims. They perceived then, it was abſolutely neceſſary to limit the Regal authority, and were themſelves the firſt to do it, by openly refuſing to read the declaration for liberty of conſcience. Herein they acted directly contrary to the principle of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, maintained before with ſuch ardor by the church of England. This the King reproached them with, when he told them; He did not expect to meet with reſiſtance from the church: ſo, after eſtabliſhing, as an eſſential doctrine of the church of England, that the Royal power is by divine right, and that the King can never be diſobeyed without ſin, they ſhowed by their own practiſe, that it muſt be received with this reſtriction, "When the King in-"joins things according to law. But in caſe his "commands are contrary to law, he not only may, "but even ought to be reſiſted." A doctrine which would never have been conteſted, had it been thus explained at firſt. When I ſay the biſhops, I mean the church of England in general.

It is therefore certain, that when the queſtion was to be decided, Whether (on ſuppoſition of the vacancy of the throne) it ſhould be filled with a King or a Regent? the church of England was ſatisfied that James II had violated the laws, and no longer deſerved to be truſted with the government of the kingdom. This was the general opinion. The only point was to know, whether the title of King ſhould be left him, and a Regent appointed to govern in his room? or, whether another King ſhould be ſet on the throne? It is eaſy to ſee the little difference between a King actually depoſed, whoſe throne is filled by another, and a fugitive King from whom no more orders are to be received, and whoſe authority is exerciſed by a Regent not of his own chuſing. But, beſide the particular view ſome lords might have, of rendering the reſtoration of King James leſs difficult, by leaving him the title of King, the biſhops found a conſiderable advantage in a Regency. For by that they did not ſwerve ſo far from the principle they had before preached, and cauſed to be preached, that the Regal power is jure divino. Indeed when religion was in extreme danger, they had not thought fit to inſiſt upon this principle. They had not only ſuffered and approved the Prince of Orange's coming to the relief of their religion, but moreover, ſome had invited him into England: but the ſtorm being over, the King a fugitive, the Catholic party ſuppreſſed, and all fear vaniſhed, they believed they ought not intirely to depart from their principles. If for their own ſafety, they were willing the kingdom ſhould be governed not by King James but by a Regent, they could not, on the other hand, reſolve openly to recede from what they had maintained, that the Regal power is jure divino, and the King's character indelible.

The queſtion, whether there be an original contract? Kennet, p. 544. Echard, Vol. III. p. 961. Burnet, p. 811, 815.

On the morrow, January thirty, this queſtion was put in the houſe of lords, "Whether or no there "was an original contract between the King and "people?" This queſtion was warmly debated, ſeveral maintaining, that ſuch a contract was only a chimera. Others rejecting the general aſſertions urged by the firſt, and the inſtances brought from the practiſe of other countries, confined themſelves to the particular conſtitution of the Engliſh government. They indeavored to ſhow, that it muſt have been by virtue of ſuch a contract, that the parliament were poſſeſſed jointly with the King, of the legiſlative power; otherwiſe, the right of the parliament, in their opinion, could be founded only upon cuſtom, which was not ſufficient to balance the King's pretended divine right: whence it would follow, that the King, in virtue of his divine right, might aboliſh this cuſtom, and render himſelf abſolute. But that the prevention of ſuch a misfortune was the occaſion of their preſent meeting. The queſtion being put to the vote, fifty-three were for the original contract, and forty-ſix only againſt it.

It paſſes in the affirmative.

Debate about the word Abdicated.

Next day, they took into conſideration the word Abdicated, and entered into a grammatical diſpute, to know whether the word could be underſtood only of a voluntary abdication, without any mixture of compulſion, and it was concluded, that the word Deserted was more proper. They next examined the word Vacant, and put this queſtion, "Whether King James, having broke that "original contract between him and his people, "and deſerted the government, the throne was "thereby vacant?" The debates on this queſtion were longer, and more warm than any of the former. In ſhort, the party who maintained it was

It is rejected.

Queſtion about the Vacancy.

Rejected.

(1) The chief of thoſe who voted for a regency, were, the dukes of Somerſet and Beaufort; the earls of Kent, Pembroke, Clarendon, Rocheſter, Craven, Weſtmorland, Scarſdale, Cheſterfield, Litchfield, Yarmouth, and Lindſey; the lords Weymouth, Coventry, Brooke, Leigh, Ferrars, Chandois, Jermyn, Arundel of Trerife, Dartmouth, Godolphin, Griffin, &c. Kennet, p. 544.

a law

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a law maxim, That "the King never dies," and conſequently that the throne can never be vacant, carried the negative of the queſtion by eleven voices. But on the morrow, forty lords entered their proteſtations againſt the vote. As the lords vote was founded upon the crown's devolving, on the King's demiſe, immediately to the next heir, without any vacancy, ſome of the other party moved, that, ſuppoſing King James to be dead in law, the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared King and Queen. But this was alſo, by five voices, carried in the negative.

Proteſtation.

Motion to ſet the Prince and Princeſs of Orange on the throne rejected. Echard, Vol. III. p. 962.

If theſe ſeveral reſolutions be conſidered, and compared together, the lords will doubtleſs ſeem to have rendered it impoſſible to ſetle the government any way. In the firſt place, the firſt vote by which the Regency was rejected, was founded on the ſuppoſition of the throne's being vacant, and yet by the laſt vote it was carried, that the throne was not vacant. Secondly, it appeared, that they were not for King James. It was agreed, he had broke the original contract, and deſerted the government, and yet it was decided, that the throne was not vacant. Thirdly, in voting that the throne was not vacant, becauſe the King never dies, and the Regal authority devolves, after the King's natural or civil death, to the next heir, they refuſed to acknowlege the Princeſs of Orange for Queen. There remained therefore but one expedient, viz, to recognize for King the Prince of Wales, who was conveyed into France; a Prince that, by moſt of the Engliſh, was believed ſuppoſititious, and beſide would probably be educated in the Romiſh religion. But the commons had voted, and the lords concurred afterwards to the vote, that it was inconſiſtent with a Proteſtant kingdom, to be governed by a Popiſh King. The ſeveral reſolutions of the lords on the queſtions propoſed, ſeem therefore to tend ſolely to render the ſetling of the government impracticable. This, no doubt, was the aim of ſome among them, that the difficulties might not poſſibly be ſurmounted, but by recalling King James. Many were ſatisfied of this, and therefore a petition was drawn up to be preſented to the lords, deſiring, in plain terms, that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange might be ſetled on the throne. Care was taken to get this petition ſigned by all ſorts of people, that by the great number of ſubſcribers it might paſs for the ſenſe of the nation. But the Prince of Orange, not liking this way of proceeding, ſent the lord mayor orders, to put a ſtop to this tumultuous project, which was accordingly done.

Remarks on theſe votes.

A petition to the lords drawn up in London. Id. p. 962.

Suppreſſed by the Prince of Orange.

The ſecond of February, the lords ſent a meſſage, to acquaint the commons with two amendments they had made to their vote of the twenty-eighth of January. The firſt was, inſtead of the word ABDICATED, they would have DESERTED be put in. The ſecond, that the words, "and "that the throne is thereby become vacant," ſhould be left out. The commons, not pleaſed with theſe two amendments, appointed a commitee to draw up reaſons why they muſt inſiſt on their vote, and deſired a conference with the lords upon that ſubject. This conference produced no effect, each houſe perſiſting in their opinion. Only the earl of Nottingham intimated from the lords, that they inſiſted upon the amendments, not to favor King James, but ſolely to maintain hereditary right, in the fear that the election of a King might deſtroy that right. But the commons perſiſting ſtill in their opinion, by a ſuperiority of two hundred and eighty two, againſt one hundred and fifty one, appointed twenty-four of their moſt able members to manage on this extraordinary occaſion at a free conference, for which the lords named on their part, the earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, Rocheſter, Pembroke, with the biſhop of Ely, and ſome others.

The lords ſend down the vote with two amendments.

Conference upon the occaſion. Feb. 4. Debates about the Abdication, p. 4—9.

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As this conference between the two houſes is the moſt remarkable ever known in England, as well for the importance of the thing itſelf, as for the ability of the managers, I ſhall inſert it at large, and take the liberty to add ſome remarks, for the illuſtration of the ſpeeches made on this occaſion.

Mr. Hampden, who opened the conference, ſaid, My lords,——"The word ABDICATED, the "commons conceive, is of a larger ſignification "than the word your lordſhips are pleaſed to uſe, "DESERTED; but not too large to be applied to "all the recitals in the begining of the commons "vote, to which they meant it ſhould be applied. "Nor ought it to be reſtrained to a voluntary expreſs reſignation, only in word or writing; "overt-acts there are, that will be ſignificant "enough to amount to it. My lords, That the "common law of England is not acquainted with "the word, it is from the modeſty of our law, "that it is not willing to ſuppoſe there ſhould be "any unfortunate occaſion of making uſe of it.

"Your lordſhips next amendment is, that your "lordſhips have left out the laſt words in the commons vote, 'and that the throne is thereby "vacant." My lords, The commons conceive it "a true propoſition, and that the throne is vacant; "and they think they make it appear, that this "is no new phraſe; neither is it a phraſe that perhaps ſome of the old records may be ſtrangers "to, or not well acquainted with: but they think "it not chargeable with conſequences that your "lordſhips have been pleaſed to draw from it, "'That it will make the crown of England become elective.' If the throne had been full, we "know your lordſhips would have aſſigned that, as "a reaſon of your diſagreement, by telling us who "filled it; and it would be known by ſome public "Royal act, which might notify to the people, in "whom the Kingly government reſided; neither "of which hath been done, and yet your lordſhips "will not allow the throne to be vacant."——

Mr. Sommers (1) ſaid,——"If it be an objection that the word Abdicated hath not a "known ſenſe in the common law of England, "there is the ſame objection againſt the word Deſerted: ſo that your lordſhips firſt reaſon hath "the ſame force againſt your own amendment, as "it hath againſt the term uſed by the commons. "The words are both latin words, and uſed in the "beſt authors, and both of a known ſignification; "their meaning is very well underſtood; tho' it be "true, their meaning be not the ſame: the word "Abdicate doth naturally and properly ſignify, "'intirely to renounce, throw off, diſown, relinquiſh any thing or perſon, ſo as to have no farther "to do with it; and that whether it be done by "expreſs words, or in writing (which is the ſenſe "your lordſhips put upon it, and which is properly "reſignation or ceſſion;) or 'by doing ſuch acts "as are inconſiſtent with the holding, or retaining "of the thing;' which the commons take to be "the preſent caſe, and therefore made choice of "the word Abdicate, as that which they thought "did, above all others, moſt properly expreſs that "meaning: and in this latter ſenſe it is taken by "others." [Here, to ſhew that it was the true ſignification of the word, he urged the authorities of Grotius, Calvin, Briſonius, Budæus, and Praleius.] "But the word, Deſerted, hath not only a "very doubtful ſignification, but, in common ac-"ceptance, both of the civil and common law,

(1) A famous lawyer, who was afterwards lord chancellor in the reign of King William III. Rapin.

doth

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" doth ſignify only a 'bare withdrawing; a tempo-
" rary quiting a thing; a neglect only which leaveth
" the party at liberty of returning to it again."
[For this he quoted Spigelius and Bartolus, adding,]
" Hence it appears, that that is called Deſertion,
" which is temporary and relievable: that is
" called Dereliction, where there is no power or
" right to return. So in the civil law, the word
" Deſert is uſed to ſignify, ſoldiers leaving their
" colors. And in the canon law to Deſert a bene-
" fice, ſignifies no more than to be Non-reſident.
" In both caſes, the party hath not only a right of
" returning, but is bound to return again: which,
" my lords, as the commons do not take to be the
" preſent caſe, ſo they cannot think that your lord-
" ſhips do; becauſe it is expreſly ſaid in one of your
" reaſons given in defenſe of the laſt amendment,
" 'That your lordſhips have been, and are willing,
" to ſecure the nation againſt the return of King
" James;' which your lordſhips would not, in juſ-
" tice do, if you did look upon it as no more than
" a negligent withdrawing, which leaveth a liberty
" to the party to return. For which reaſons, my
" lords, the commons cannot agree to the firſt
" amendment, to inſert the word Deſerted inſtead
" of Abdicated; becauſe it doth not in any ſort
" come up to their ſenſe of the thing: ſo they do
" apprehend it doth not reach your lordſhips mean-
" ing, as it is expreſſed in your reaſons; whereas
" they look upon the word Abdicated, to expreſs
" properly what is to be infered from that part of
" the vote, to which your lordſhips have agreed,
" 'That King James the ſecond, by going about
" to ſubvert the conſtitution, and by breaking the
" original contract between King and people, and
" by violating the fundamental laws, and by with-
" drawing himſelf out of the kingdom,' hath
" thereby renounced to be a King, according to
" the conſtitution, by avowing to govern by a
" deſpotic power, unknown to the conſtitution,
" and inconſiſtent with it; he hath renounced to
" be King according to the law, ſuch a King as he
" ſwore to be at the coronation, ſuch a King to
" whom the allegiance of an Engliſh ſubject is
" due; and hath ſet up another kind of dominion,
" which is to all intents an Abdication, or aban-
" doning of his legal title, as fully as if it had
" been done by expreſs words (1).

Remark (1). It is eaſy to perceive, that theſe two ſpeeches of mr. Hampden and mr. Sommers refer to what was objected by the lords in a former conference againſt the word Abdicated, and the " vacancy of throne." I thought proper to omit that firſt conference, becauſe moſt of the things therein alleged, are repeated in this. However, it may be ſeen here, by the commons anſwers, what the lords objections were.

Mr. ſerjeant Holt added,—" For that part of
" your lordſhips objection, 'That it is not a word
" known to the common law of England,' that
" cannot prevail; for your lordſhips very well know
" we have very few words in our tongue, that are
" of equal antiquity with the common law; your
" lordſhips know the language of England is
" altered greatly in the ſeveral ſucceſſions of time,
" and the intermixture of other nations; and if we
" ſhould be obliged to make uſe only of words
" then known and in uſe, what we ſhould deliver
" in ſuch a dialect, would be very difficult to be
" underſtood.

" Your lordſhips ſecond reaſon for your firſt
" amendment, in changing the word Abdicated for
" the word Deſerted, is, 'becauſe in the common
" acceptation of the civil law, Adbication is a vo-
" luntary expreſs act of renunciation.' That is the
" general acceptation of the word, and I think the
" commons do ſo uſe the word in this caſe, becauſe
" it hath that ſignification: but I do not know whe-
" ther your lordſhips mean a voluntary expreſs act
" or formal deed of renunciation: if you do ſo, I
" confeſs I know of none in this caſe: but my lords,
" both in the common law of England, and in the
" civil law, and in common underſtanding, there
" are expreſs acts of renunciation that are not by
" deed; for if your lordſhips pleaſe to obſerve,
" the government and magiſtracy is under a truſt,
" and any acting contrary to that truſt, is a re-
" nouncing of the truſt, tho' it be not a re-
" nouncing by formal deed: for it is a plain decla-
" ration by act and deed, tho' not in writing, that
" he who hath the truſt, acting contrary, is a diſ-
" claimer of the truſt; eſpecially, my lords, if
" the actings be ſuch as are inconſiſtent with, and
" ſubverſive of this truſt; for how can a man in
" reaſon or ſenſe, expreſs a greater renunciation of
" a truſt, than by the conſtant declarations of his
" actions to be quite contrary to that truſt?"

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Then the earl of Nottingham ſpoke on the ſide of the lords, and ſaid, —— " The main reaſon of
" the change of the word Deſerted, is upon the
" account of the conſequence drawn in the con-
" cluſion of your vote, 'That the throne is there-
" by vacant:' that is, what the commons mean
" by that expreſſion, whether you mean it is ſo
" vacant as to null the ſucceſſion in the hereditary
" line, and ſo all the heirs to be cut off, which
" we ſay will make the crown elective? And it
" may be fit for us to ſetle that matter firſt, and
" when we know what the conſequence of the
" throne being vacant means in the vote as you
" underſtand it, I believe we ſhould much better
" be able to ſetle the difference about the two
" words". (2.)

Rem. (2.) It does not appear that the commons had any thoughts of making the crown elective. This was a conſequence aſcribed to them by the lords, to have an occaſion to contradict the vacancy of the throne.

To this it was replied by ſerjeant Maynard, "My
" lords, when there is a preſent defect of one to
" exerciſe the adminiſtration of the government,
" I do conceive, the declaring a vacancy, and
" proviſion of a ſupply for it, can never make
" the crown elective. The commons apprehend
" there is ſuch a defect now; and by conſequence
" a preſent neceſſity for the ſupply of the govern-
" ment, and that will be next for your lord-
" ſhips conſideration, and theirs afterwards. If
" the attempting the utter deſtruction of the ſub-
" ject, and ſubverſion of the conſtitution, be not
" as much an Abdication as the attempting of a
" father to cut his ſon's throat, I know not what is.
" My lords, the conſtitution, notwithſtanding the
" vacancy, is the ſame; the laws that are the
" foundations and rules of that conſtitution are the
" ſame; but if there be in any particular inſtance,
" a breach of that conſtitution, that will be an
" Abdication, and that Abdication will infer a
" vacancy. It is not that the commons do ſay,
" 'The crown of England is always and perpetually
" elective; 'but it is more neceſſary that there be
" a ſupply, when there is a defect, and the doing
" of that would be no alteration of the Monarchy
" from a ſucceſſive one to an elective."

Then the biſhop of Ely, on the ſide of the lords, ſaid, " Gentlemen,——— That Abdicated may
" be tacitly by ſome overt-acts, mr. Sommers
" very truly did allege out of Grotius: But I
" deſire to know whether Grotius, that great au-
" thor, in treating on this ſubject, doth not in-
" terpoſe this caution, 'If there be a yielding to
" the times: if there be a going away, with a
" purpoſe of ſeeking to recover what is for the
" preſent left or forſaken: In plain Engliſh, if

" there

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" there were any thing of force or juſt fear in " the caſe, that doth void the notion of Ab- " dication."

Mr. ſerjeant Maynard replied, " But, my lords, " that is not any part of the caſe declared by the " commons in this vote; when the whole king- " dom and the Proteſtant religion, our laws " and liberties have been in danger of being " ſubverted, an inquiry muſt be made into the " authors and inſtruments of this attempt; and " if he who had the adminiſtration intruſted to " him, be found the author and actor in it, what " can that be but a renunciation of his truſt, " and conſequently his place thereby vacant? Ad- " dication (under favour) is an Engliſh word; " and your lordſhips have told us, the true ſignifi- " cation of it is a renunciation. We have indeed, " for your lordſhips ſatisfaction, ſhewn its mean- " ing in foreign authors; it is more than a De- " ſerting the government, or leaving it with a " purpoſe of returning."

The biſhop of Ely replied, " The objection of the " lords againſt the word Abdicated, is, 'That it " is of too large a ſignification for the caſe in hand. " It ſeems to be acknowleged, that it reaches a " great way; and therefore the lords would have " a word made uſe of, which ſignifies only, the " ceaſure of the exerciſe of a right. (3)

REM. (3) Hitherto the lords had not clearly diſcovered why they rejected the word Abdicated. It appears here, by what the biſhop of Ely ſays, that it was becauſe this word expreſſed the commons meaning too well, and therefore the lords would have another word in its ſtead, from which the vacancy of the throne could not be infered.

The biſhop added,——— If there be ſuch a " defect as hath been ſpoken of, it muſt be ſup- " plied; there is no queſtion of that. And I " think we have, by another vote, declared, 'That " it is inconſiſtent with our laws, liberties, and " religion to have a Papiſt to rule over this king- " dom: which I take to be only as to the actual " exerciſe and adminiſtration of the government. " It is Grotius his diſtinction between a right, and " the exerciſe of that right; and as there is a na- " tural incapacity for the exerciſe, as ſickneſs, lu- " nacy, infancy, doating old age, or an incura- " ble diſeaſe, rendering the party unfit for hu- " man ſociety, as leproſy, or the like; ſo, I " take it, there is a moral incapacity; and that I " conceive to be a full irremoveable perſuaſion in a " falſe religion, contrary to the doctrine of chri- " ſtianity. Then there muſt be a proviſion un- " doubtedly made for ſupplying this defect in the " exerciſe, and an intermediate government taken " care for; becauſe become neceſſary for the ſup- " port of the government, if he to whom the " right of ſucceſſion doth belong, makes the ex- " erciſe of his government unpracticable, and our " obedience to him, conſiſtently with the conſti- " tution of our religion, impoſſible; but that, I " take it, doth not alter that right, nor is an Ab- " dication of the right. (4)

REM. (4) It muſt be remembred, that the biſhop of Ely's poſition, which was afterwards maintained by others, was, that there was a real diſtinction between a right, and the exerciſe of that right. They readily agreed, that James II, ſhould be deprived of the exerciſe of the right to govern, but not of the right itſelf. Upon this diſtinction all the arguments of the lords are grounded.

" Abdication (continued he) no doubt is, by " adoption, an Engliſh word, and well known to " Engliſhmen converſant in books. Now it is " objected, that it is not a word as ancient as the " common law of England. We find it in Ci- " cero,—— where it ſometimes ſignifies, 'The re- " nouncing the actual exerciſe of a right, and ſome- " times, the renouncing of the very right,' ſo " that the ſignification is doubtful; and ſuch " words we hope the commons will not think fit " to uſe in a caſe of this nature and conſequence " as ours now in debate. And beſide, the lords " apprehend, that great inconveniencies will fol- " low upon the uſe of this word, if it mean " a renouncing abſolutely of that right. ——— " Then there is another diſtinction in thoſe au- " thors that write concerning this point, which " are chiefly the Civilians. There may be an " Abdication that may forfeit the power of a " King only; and there may be one, that may " forfeit both that and the crown too. It is a " diſtinction indeed in other words, but to the " ſame ſenſe. Thoſe Abdications that are of " power only, are incapacities; whether thoſe " I call natural and involuntary, as defects of " ſenſe, age, or body, or the like; or moral or " voluntary, as contrariety in religion; an inſtance " whereof there was lately in Portugal, which was " a forfeiture only of the power, and not of the " name, and honor of a King; for tho' the ad- " miniſtration was put into the younger brother's " hand, the patents, and other public inſtruments " ran in the elder brother's name". (5)

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REM. (5) If the biſhop of Ely had only a view to James II, the inſtance of the natural incapacities which made Alphonſo VI King of Portugal, forfeit the exerciſe of the Regal power, does not ſeem to be to his purpoſe; ſince theſe incapacities were not the point in queſtion, with regard to James II, which may make it ſuſpected, that he had an eye to the Prince of Wales. For, as will hereafter appear, the lords in maintaining, that the throne was not vacant, pretended, that by the civil or natural death of the King, the next heir was immediately to fill the throne, and this heir, according to ſome, was the Prince of Wales. But as he was a minor, an intermediate governor muſt be appointed to govern in his name.

" This is not without all doubt naturally an Ab- " dication in the full extent of the word; nor do " I here (as I ſaid) conſider, whether that the " King be gone out of the kingdom, or ſtay in " it; but only, whether he be fit for the adminiſtra- " tion, which muſt be provided for, be he here, " or gone away. But the higheſt inſtance of an " Abdication, is, when a Prince is not only un- " able to execute his power, but acts quite contrary " to it; which will not be anſwered by ſo bare a " word as 'indeavor.' I take theſe to be all the " diſtinctions of Abdications. Now, if this laſt " inſtance of an 'Abdication of both power and " right,' take place in a ſucceeding Monarchy, the " conſequence will be, 'That there is a forfeiture " of the whole right;' and then that hereditary " ſucceſſion is cut off; which, I believe, is not " intended by the commons. But here is one thing " that is mentioned in this vote, which I would " have well conſidered, for the preſervation of the " ſucceſſion, and that is the original compact: " we muſt think, ſure, that meant of the compact, " that was made at the firſt time, when the go- " vernment was firſt inſtituted, and the condi- " tions, that each part of the government ſhould " obſerve on their part, of which this was the " moſt fundamental, 'That King, lords, and com- " mons, in parliament aſſembled, ſhould have the " power of making new laws, and altering of old " ones:' and that being one law which ſetles the ſuc- " ceſſion, it is as much a part of the original compact " as any: then if ſuch a caſe happens, as an Abdi- " cation in a ſucceſſive kingdom, without doubt, " the compact being made to the King, his heirs, " and ſucceſſors, diſpoſition of the crown cannot

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" fall to us, till all the heirs do Abdicate too. " There are indeed many examples, and too many " interruptions in the lineal ſucceſſion of the crown " of England: I think I can inſtance in ſeven ſince " the conqueſt, wherein the right heir hath been " put by: but that doth not follow, that every " breach of the firſt original contract, gives us " power to diſpoſe of the lineal ſucceſſion; eſpecially, " I think, ſince the ſtatutes of Queen Elizabeth, " and King James the firſt, that have eſtabliſhed " the oath of allegiance to the King, his heirs and " ſucceſſors; the law is ſtronger againſt ſuch a diſ- " poſition: I grant, that from King William the " firſt, to Henry VIII, there has been ſeven in- " terruptions of the legal line of hereditary ſuc- " ceſſion; but, I ſay, thoſe ſtatutes are made ſince " that time, and the making of new laws, be- " ing as much a part of the original compact, as " the obſerving old ones, or any thing elſe, " we are obliged to purſue thoſe laws, till al- " tered by the legiſlative power, which, ſingly or " jointly, without the Royal aſſent, I ſuppoſe, we " do not pretend to. (6)

Rem. (6) By this reaſoning the lords and commons being agreed, that a Catholic King could not exerciſe the right of government, and James II, being Catholic, and as he might poſſibly have an infinite ſeries of ſucceſſors from father to ſon, all Catholics, it would follow, that England might be always governed by Regents.

" Theſe laws being made ſince the laſt interrup- " tion, we are not to go by any precedent that was " made before the making theſe laws. So that, all " that I conceive ought to be meant by our vote " is, ' But the ſeting aſide the perſon that broke " the contract: and, in a ſuceſſive kingdom, an " Abdication can only be a forfeiture, as to the per- " ſon himſelf.' I hope, and am perſuaded, that " both lords and commons do agree in this, ' Not " to break the line of ſucceſſion, ſo as to make " the crown elective.' And if that be declared, " that this Abdication of King James the ſecond, " reacheth no farther than himſelf; and that it is to " continue in the right line of ſucceſſion, that, I " hope, will make all of one mind in this im- " portant affair. (7)

Rem. (7) For the better underſtanding the biſhop of Ely's ſpeech, as well as ſome others that follow, it muſt be obſerved, that among the lords who had voted for the vacancy of the throne, by a majority of eleven voices, there were two ſorts of men. The one, without any deſire to favor King James, or the Prince of Wales, had no other view than to oppoſe the Republican party, who, under color of gratitude to the Prince of Orange, were laboring with all their power to have him elected King, reckoning it would be a large ſtep towards advancing the authority of the people, and rendering the crown elective. Some of the lords voted againſt the vacancy of the throne, chiefly in oppoſition to this party. But there were others who carried their views farther, and by rendering the ſetling of the government impracticable, labored indirectly, either to cauſe King James to be recalled, or the Prince of Wales to be acknowleged for King, knowing it would be impoſſible to prove him ſuppoſititious in a legal manner. But as theſe concealed themſelves among the others, and pretended only to defend hereditary right, it is hard to know by the ſpeeches, who deſigned only to maintain hereditary right, and who had farther views. This the reader is to remember, that he may not imagine, all the lords who voted againſt the vacancy of the throne, were for King James.

Then the earl of Clarendon ſpoke on the lords ſide, and ſaid, ——— " This breaking the origi- " nal contract is a language that hath not been " long uſed in this place; nor known in any of " our law-boks or public records; it is ſprung " up, but as taken from ſome late authors, and " thoſe none of the beſt received. It is not de- " nied, ' That the King is bound by law, and " bound to perform the laws made, and to be " made.' But I would take notice, that his obli- " gation thereunto, doth not proceed from his coro- " nation oath; for our law ſaith, ' He is as much " King before he is crowned, as he is after- " wards; and there is a natural allegiance due to " to him from the ſubjects immediately upon the " deſcent of the crown upon him.' I was in great " hopes, that you would have offered ſomething " in anſwer to one of my lord of Ely's reaſons " againſt that part of the vote, which declares, " ' The throne to be vacant,' viz. ' That no act " of the King's alone can bar, or deſtroy, the " right of his heir to the crown, which is here- " ditary, and not elective." (8)

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Rem. (8) The earl of Clarendon begins with repreſenting the original contract between King and people, as an imaginary thing. And yet he owns " the King is bounded by law (tho' he " cites none) and bound to perform, &c." But that this obligation proceeds not from his coronation oath. What is it then that binds him?

" And then, if this matter goes no farther than " King James the ſecond, in his own perſon; " how comes the vacancy and the ſupply to be " devolved upon the people? For if he only be " ſet aſide, then it is apparent, where the crown " is to go, to the perſon that hath the next right " of ſucceſſion, and conſequently there is no va- " cancy. (9)

Rem. (9) The lords always ſpoke of the next heir, but without naming the Prince of Wales. The reaſon is, that by raiſing, as they thought, invincible obſtacles to the election of a new King, they deſigned by degrees to lead the commons to propoſe the examination of the Prince of Wales's birth. But the managers for the commons carefully avoided that ſnare, and therefore the Prince of Wales was not ſo much as once mentioned by name in the conference.

The earl of Nottingham added, ——— " The " lords having declared that they are willing, ' to " ſecure the nation againſt the return of King " James into this kingdom; and will therefore " concur with the commons in any act that ſhall " be thought neceſſary to prevent ſuch his return,' " it ſhould ſeem we were agreed in that matter; " and if that were the point, we ſhould find " words proper ſoon enough to expreſs our mean- " ing by. But I find neither of the words, Ab- " dicated or Deſerted, will, on the one ſide or " on the other, be allowed to ſignify this mean- " ing. Therefore we ſhould come preſently to " think of ſome other that would. But the rea- " ſons why my lords did chiefly inſiſt upon the " alteration of the word Abdicated, was, ' Be- " cauſe they did apprehend, that it being a word " not known to our laws, there might be other " inferences drawn from it than they do apprehend " our laws will warrant, from the caſe, as it is " ſtated in the fact of this vote; and, as they " conceive is done in the concluding of the " throne's being vacant.' Therefore, I think it " would ſhorten the preſent debate, if we did " ſetle the point of the vacancy firſt. For if we " were ſure, that the throne were, or were not " vacant, we ſhould eaſily light upon what word " were proper to be uſed in this caſe."

Sir George Treby ſpeaking on the ſide of the commons ſaid, ——— " I think, my lords the " preſent debate is to begin, where the difference " between the two houſes doth begin, and that is

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" at the word Abdicated. Original contract, is a " phraſe and thing uſed by the learned mr. Hooker, " in his book of Eccleſiaſtical Polity. But I have " a greater authority than this, and that is your " lordſhips own, who have agreed to all the " vote, but this word Abdicated, and the vacancy " of the throne. But it is very much beyond what " the vote before us doth lead us unto, 'To talk " of the right of thoſe in the ſucceſſion:' for that " goes farther than the very laſt part of our vote, " and it is ſtill to lead us yet farther, to ſay any " thing about making the crown elective."——

Then he indeavored to prove that King James had actually Abdicated the kingdom, alleging the authority of Grotius, who ſays, " That if there be " any word or action that doth ſufficiently manifeſt " the intention of the mind and will, to part with " his office, that will amount to an Abdication or " Renouncing. 'Now (added he) I beg leave to " put this caſe, that had King James the ſecond " come here into the aſſembly of lords and com- " mons, and expreſſed himſelf in writing or words, " to this purpoſe: 'I was born an heir to the " crown of England, which is a government li- " mited by laws, made in full parliament, by " King, nobles, and commonalty; and, upon the " death of my laſt predeceſſor, I am in poſſeſſion " of the throne; and, now I find, I cannot make " laws without the conſent of the lords and repre- " ſentatives of the commons in parliament; I can- " not ſuſpend laws that have been ſo made, with- " out the conſent of my people; this indeed is " the title of Kingſhip I hold by original contract, " and the fundamental conſtitutions of the govern- " ment; and my ſucceſſion to, and poſſeſſion of " the crown, on theſe terms, is part of that con- " tract; this part of the contract I am weary of, " I do renounce it, I will not be obliged to ob- " ſerve it; nay, I am under an obligation not to " comply with it; I will not execute the laws " that have been made; nor ſuffer others to be " made, as my people ſhall deſire, for their ſe- " curity in religion, liberty and property, which " are the two main parts of the Kingly office in this " nation.' I ſay, ſuppoſe he had ſo expreſt him- " ſelf, doubtleſs, this had been a plain renouncing " of the legal regular title which came to him by " deſcent: if then he, by particular acts, ſuch as " are enumerated in the vote, has declared as " much or more than theſe words can amount to, " then he hath thereby declared his will to re- " nounce the government.——And this doth " amount to a manifeſt declaration of his will, no " longer to retain the exerciſe of his Kingly office " according to law; he has ſufficiently declared " his renouncing of the very office, and therefore " I cannot depart from inſiſting upon the word " Abdicated, which doth ſo well correſpond to the " fact of the caſe, and ſo well expreſs the true " meaning of the commons in their vote."

The earl of Nottingham ſaid,—— " I will " not undertake to diſpute, whether a King of " England may, or may not, renounce his king- " dom. For my own part, I think he can, and " I may go ſo far in agreement with thoſe that " have ſpoken to this point, 'To yield that he " may do it by implicit acts, contrary to the " Kingly office.' For a King to ſay, he will not " govern according to law; and for a King to act " wholly contrary to law, and do that which would " ſubvert the conſtitution, is (I think) the ſame " thing. But then I muſt ſay alſo, that I think " there is a difference between ſaying ſo, and do- " ing ſomething inconſiſtent with what the laws " require; for every deviation from the law, is " a kind of breach of the fundamental conſtitu- " tions; as the laws are neceſſary, ſo far as to " ſupport the foundation. But if every tranſgreſ- " ſion, or violation of the law, by the Prince's " connivance or command, were ſuch a breach " of the fundamental laws, as would infer an Ab- " dication, then were it in vain to call any of his " miniſters or officers to account for any ſuch ac- " tion. Then the action is the King's, and not theirs; " and then adieu to the maxim of, 'A King's not " doing wrong.' I take this matter to be ſo plain, " as to the diſtinction that I have mentioned, that " nothing can be more; and it has been thought ſo " eſſentially neceſſary to have it clear and manifeſt, " that thoſe two great inſtances of Edward II, and " Richard II, were expreſs ſolemn renunciations, " and thoſe confirmed in parliament by the lords " and commons, by the act of depoſing them. " Therefore I cannot infer from the facts enume- " rated in the vote, that this ſhould be an Abdi- " cation for himſelf and his heirs."

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Sir George Treby replied,——" When a King " breaks the law in ſome few particular inſtances, " it may be ſufficient to take an account of it from " thoſe evil miniſters that were inſtrumental in it, " why ſuch a thing was done, which was againſt " laws? Why ſuch a law was not executed by " them, whoſe duty it was to ſee it put in execu- " tion? You may, in ordinary caſes of breaking " the law, have remedy in the ordinary courts and " courſe of juſtice. But ſure! he does not take " this to be ſuch a caſe, or theſe to be ordinary " violations of the law: and therefore, in the ex- " traordinary caſes, the extraordinary remedy is " to be recured unto. And where ſhall any man " come to have any redreſs in ſuch a caſe as this, " when the malefactor comes to be party, unto " whom all applications for relief and redreſs " from injuries ſhould be made, and ſo he himſelf " ſhall be a judge of his own breaches of law? " This moſt apparently was the caſe as to the Quo " Warranto's, which was a plain deſign to ſubvert " the conſtitution in the very foundation of the le- " giſlature. It is becauſe the King hath violated " the conſtitution, by which the law ſtands, as the " rule both of the Kingly government, and the " people's obedience, that we ſay, he hath Abdi- " cated and Renounced the government; for all " other particular breaches of the law, the ſubject " may have remedy in the ordinary courts of " juſtice, or the extraordinary court of parliamen- " tary proceedings: but where ſuch an attempt as " this is made on the eſſence of the conſtitution, " it is not we that have brought ourſelves into this " ſtate of nature, but thoſe who have reduced our " legal well eſtabliſhed frame of government into " ſuch a ſtate of confuſion, as we are now ſeeking " a redreſs unto."

The lords objecting nothing farther againſt the uſe of the word Abdicated, the commons proceeded to the ſecond amendment, viz. the leaving out the words, 'and that the throne is thereby vacant.'—— Mr. Sacheverell opened the debate, and ſaid,---" My " lords, the commons, in uſing the words Abdica- " tion and Vacancy, had no thoughts of making the " kingdom elective, neither can any ſuch thing be " deduced from their words." (10)

REM. (10) As the principal reaſon which induced the lords to oppoſe the commons vote, was, the conſequence drawn from thence, that the crown would thereby become elective, the commons were very careful to deny this conſequence, by ſaying, That not only they had no ſuch thought, but that it could not be infered from their vote. This was a material point. For if the lords could have drawn from the commons a confeſſion, that the conſe- quence was juſt, they would have pretended, that by declaring the throne vacant, the conſtitution was ſubverted, and the crown made elective inſtead of hereditary

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hereditary. It ſeems, that the commons might have denied that the crown was originally hereditary, and maintained, it was ſo only by the ſtatutes made in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. From whence they might have infered, that the parliament which ſetled the crown upon the deſcendents of James I, in the direct, and afterwards in the collateral line, had likewiſe power to alter the order of the ſetlement. But they avoided all diſcuſſions of this nature, being ſenſible that the deſign of the lords was to multiply the ſubjects of diſpute, in order to increaſe the obſtacles of the projected eſtabliſhment.

Mr. Sacheverell continued, "The commons reaſon for their diſagreeing to this amendment, was, "becauſe they conceive (that as they may well infer) "from ſo much of their own vote, as your lordſhips have agreed unto, 'That King James the "ſecond hath Abdicated the government; and "that the throne is thereby vacant:' ſo, if they "ſhould admit your lordſhips amendments, 'That "he hath only Deſerted the government;' yet, "even thence would follow, 'It is vacant, as to "King James the ſecond:' Deſerting the government being, in true conſtruction, Deſerting "the throne. If King James had only given over "the exerciſe of the government, [as their lordſhips pretended] he continues in the office, and "is King ſtill; and then all the acts that we have "done in this convention, are wholly (as we conceive) not juſtifiable; you are in no place or "ſtation to relieve yourſelves, or the nation, in "this exigence; unleſs you will think of ſeting up "another Regency by your own authority, without his conſent; which, I conceive, by the laws "of England, you cannot do. What then follows upon all we have done? We have drawn "the nation into a ſnare, by the ſteps we have "taken; and leave all in ſuch an intricacy, as we "have no power by law to deliver them out of; "nor can we anſwer for what we have done, unleſs "the King ſhould die, and that would leave the "ſucceſſion uncertain."

Mr. Pollexfen purſuing the ſame argument, maintained, "That the lords ſaying in their vote, 'that "the government was Deſerted,' could not mean "only the exerciſe of it, but a vacancy: the "King's power, and the exerciſe of that power, "was, in conſtruction of the law, one and the "ſame, and ſo joined, that they could not be ſevered; and therefore, the ſuppoſed diſtinction "was only national, and altogether diſagreeing to "the laws of England. That it was utterly unlawful, and as great a crime, to take away from "the King the exerciſe of the government, as to "take from him the government; it might do "well for their lordſhips to conſider, whether they "were not guilty of the ſame crime, which they "would decline by their amendment. That the "commons therefore could not admit, That there "ſhould be a taking away the exerciſe of the government from the King, any more than the "taking away the government, which, the commons ſaid, he had himſelf given away by Abdication; and that if King James was King ſtill, "they could not by any means agree to the keeping him out of the kingdom. That to have a "regency upon King James, without his own conſent, or till his return, while the right was ſtill "in him, would be a ſtrange and impracticable "thing, and introductive of a commonwealth, inſtead of the ancient government by a limited "Monarchy; and that the concluſion, That ſuch "a vacancy in the throne would make the crown "elective, had no premiſſes either from their "actions, their ſayings, their votes, or any thing "elſe in that caſe. (11)

Rem. (11) The lords anſwered but weakly mr. Pollexfen's reaſons. Several of thoſe who were againſt a vacancy verily believed, it was as unlawful to deprive King James of the exerciſe of the regal power, as of the power itſelf. But they durſt not directly undertake his defenſe, becauſe they knew his perſon was odious to the whole nation. Wherefore, they had deviſed this diſtinction between a right, and the exerciſe of that right, to leave room for his reſtoration. Mr. Pollexfen, as appears, maintains, that this diſtinction is imaginary. Let the reader examine, whether it was well proved, or only ſuppoſed; or whether, in ſuppoſition of its reality, it was applicable to the point in hand.

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The earl of Clarendon interpoſed and ſaid, "He "would not declare his opinion about the vacancy "as to King James, but deſired to know the "meaning of the commons, how far the vacancy "was to extend?"

This gave occaſion to mr. Pollexfen to aſk the lords, "whether their lordſhips did agree, 'that the "throne was vacant as to King James the ſecond?' "that if ſo, or if they ſhould ſay it was full of "any body elſe, and would name whom it was full "of, it would then be time for the commons to "give an anſwer."

To which the ſame earl replied, "That admiting, "for diſcourſe ſake, that the throne was vacant "as to King James the ſecond, it muſt then be ſupplied by thoſe that ſhould have come if he were "dead; this government being, by all our laws, "an hereditary Monarchy, which is to go in ſucceſſion by inheritance in the Royal line. That "if the commons ſaid this government was vacant, "that would be to put all thoſe by that ſhould "take it by ſucceſſion, which would make the "kingdom elective for that time: that the lords "ſaid, there was no vacancy; but ſince the commons ſaid, the throne was vacant, he might "very well aſk, who had the right of filling up that "vacancy?"

Mr. ſerjeant Maynard anſwered, "That was "not the queſtion before them, tho' it would "come properly in debate, when they were agreed "upon the vacancy; that he granted the Engliſh "Monarchy to be hereditary; but tho' it ſhould "in an ordinary way deſcend to the heir, yet as "their caſe was, they had a maxim in law as certain as any other, which ſtoped the courſe; for, "ſaid he, no man can pretend to be King James's "heir while he is living: Nemo eſt hæres viventis." (12)

Rem. (12) Mr. ſerjeant Maynard ſeems to have juſtly remarked, that it was proper to agree upon the vacancy before they proceeded to the queſtion, "who ſhould fill the throne?" Otherwiſe the conſequence would be examined before the premiſſes were ſetled, on which it was founded.

The earl of Pembroke replied, "That to that "point the lord Clarendon had given an anſwer, "'That it ſhould go to the next heir in the line, "that were to take it if the King were dead.' "And that as they ſhould be underſtood, they "ſhould make it a caſe of demiſe of the King's, as "the law calls it; that is, the King was dead in "law, by his Abdication or Deſertion. That to "anſwer the queſtion of the commons, 'who the "throne was full of?' it was ſufficient to know, "that there were heirs, who were to take by lineal "ſucceſſion, tho' they did not, or could not poſitively name the particular perſon." (13)

Rem. (13) If the lords had gained this point, that in caſe the throne were vacant with regard to the perſon of King James only, it ſhould be filled by the next heir, they would have thereby ingaged the commons in a diſcuſſion of the Prince of Wales's birth,

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birth, wherein they would have had great advantages. But the commons desired, above all things, to avoid this examination, into which the lords would have artfully drawn them.

The earl of Nottingham argued, "That if the "lords should grant a vacancy as to the King him-"self, yet they might justly do these acts men-"tioned in the commons reasons; for if barely "the exercise of the government were Deserted, "there must be a supply of that exercise in some "person's taking the administration; and as none "so fit, because of the Prince's relation to the "crown, and in his presense here, to address unto "about it, so none so proper to make that address "as the lords; since, in the absense of the King, "they were the King's and kingdom's great coun-"cil, and might have done by themselves without "the commons but being met in a full representa-"tive body, they joined with them. (14)

REM. (14) This concerns only the vindication of the lords conduct, which had been a little censured by mr. Sacheverell and mr. Pollexsen. This vindication is wholly founded upon the distinction between a right, and the exercise of that right, which the earl of Nottingham supposes, without undertaking to prove it.

"They were told, 'That the next heir in suc-"cession could not take it, because no one could "be heir to one alive;' yet still he thought the "answer given by the lords a very good one, 'That "tho' the King was not dead naturally, yet if, as "they infered, he was so civilly,' the next of "course ought to come in by hereditary succession; "for he knew not any distinction between successors "in the case of a natural death, and those in case "of a civil one: that he would know, if the "next heir should be set aside, and another put in, "Whether that King of England should be King "to him and his heirs, and so being once upon the "throne, the ancient lineal succession be altered? "which indeed would sufficiently make the king-"dom elective, by taking it from the right heir? "That if it was not so, then he asked, Whether "such a King as should be put in, should be King "only during King James's life? That, he sup-"posed, was not the meaning of the commons; "but at least, he must be made a King during his "own life; that then if there was a distinction "made as to the succession, between a natural and "a civil death, if King James should die during "the life of the new King, what would become of "the hereditary Monarchy? Where must the suc-"cessor come in, when the next heir to King James "might not be the present heir to the present suc-"cessor? That therefore they must reduce all to this "point, Whether this would not make the kingdom "elective? That if they made it once elective, it "was enough to make it ever so; for he would be "bold to say, They could not make a stronger tie "to observe that kind of succession, than what lay "upon them to preserve in this case.

He added, "That if the throne was vacant, he "would know whether they were obliged to fill it? "That if they were, they must fill it either by the "old laws, or by the humor of those who were to "chuse. That if they filled it by the old laws, "they declared it was an hereditary kingdom, and "they were to take the next successor, to whom "the succession would belong, and there would be "no need of standing upon a vacancy: that if they "were to fill it according to the humor of the times, "that diverted the course of inheritance; and that "he could not see by what authority they could do "that, or change the ancient constitution, without "commiting the same fault they had laid upon the "King. But, said he, if you please to suppose "the throne vacant as to King James, that is, That "he has no right, then let us go on to the next "step." (15)

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REM. (15) The earl of Nottingham enumerates here all the inconveniencies, difficulties, and contrarieties to the law which could arise from the commons vote, and all ended in the danger of rendring the crown elective. But he took care not to mention the difficulties which flowed from the lords opinion. The consequences of their opinion were, either that the kingdom should be left in its present confusion, or King James recalled, or the Prince of Wales acknowleged for King. In all three, the danger was as great as in running the hazard of making the crown elective, which was the only danger the earl would have to be considered. As if the danger of leaving the kingdom in confusion, of recalling the King, of owning a Prince who was by most people thought suppositious, who was absent and a minor, who would be bred in France in the Catholic religion, and from whom the same inconveniencies as had caused King James to be rejected, were to be feared when he should be of age: as if I say, all these dangers were to be reckoned as nothing in comparison of the hazard of a breach in the lineal succession. Beside, it was only by way of consequence that the lords pretended that the crown would become elective by this breach, tho' the commons affirmed they had no such intention,

But mr. Sacheverell replied, "That all their "business was to maintain, That the throne was "vacant."

And mr. Sommers added, "That the lords al-"leged as a reason against the word Abdicate, "That it was not a word known to our laws, but "that the word Vacant could not have that objec-"tion made to it, since it was in our records, and "even applied in a parallel case to this in the first "of Henry IV."

To which the earl of Rochester answered, "That as that was the only precedent for the word "Vacant, yet it was attended with this very con-"sequence, that it would make the Monarchy "elective; for it being there declared, That the "Royal seat was vacant, immediately did follow "an election of Henry IV, who was not next in "the Royal line."

The same argument was pursued by the earl of Clarendon, who said, "That it was plain in the "case of Richard II, who had absolute Resigned, "Renounced, or Abdicated, in writing under his "own hand; that after that, the parliament being "siting, they did not think that sufficient to go "upon, because that writing might be the effect of "fear, and not voluntary: that thereupon they "proceeded to a formal deposition upon articles: and "then came in the claim of Henry IV: that this "was undoubtedly an election; tho' he was really "the next heir, the earl of March not appearing. "Henry claimed it as his undubitable right being "the next heir that appeared: that all the Kings "that were thus taken in or elected (for the elec-"tion was not of God's approbation) any one year "scarce passed in any of the reigns, without being "disturbed in the possession: that Henry IV, did not "care to owe the crown to the election, but claimed "it as his right; that it was a plausible pretense, "and kept him and his son upon the throne; but "in the time of his grandson Henry VI, there was "an utter overthrow of his title and possession too: "for, in the first of Edward IV, all the proceed-"ings against Richard II, as well as all the rest "of the acts during the usurpation (as that record "rightly calls it) were annulled, repealed, revoked "and reversed, and all imaginable words used to

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" ſet thoſe proceedings aſide, as illegal, unjuſt and " unrighteous: that act deduced the pedigree " of the Royal line from Henry III to Richard II, " who died without iſſue; and then Henry IV, ſays " the act, uſurped; but that the earl of March, " upon the death of Richard II, and conſequently " Edward IV from him, was undoubted King by " conſcience, by nature, by cuſtom, and by " law." (16)

Rem. (16) All the arguments from the acts of parliament relating to the differences between the houſes of Lancaſter and York, muſt be very weak. Becauſe theſe parliaments did not all proceed upon the ſame principle, and becauſe the one pulled down what the other ſet up. This evidently appears, in that both ſides in the preſent caſe, alleged ſome of the acts of theſe parliaments, in ſupport of their cauſe.

Hereupon ſir Robert Howard exerted himſelf, and replied, " He would not ſay that the record of " Henry IV was not a precedent of election; for " the parliament did not much mind his claim, " knowing that he claimed by deſcent, where there " was a perſon that had a title before him: thus " the commons did not doubt but that power which " brought in another line then, upon the vacancy " of the throne by the leaſion of Richard II, was " ſtill, according to the conſtitution, reſiding in " the lords and commons, and was legally ſufficient to ſupply the preſent vacancy: that he would " aſk the queſtion of any lord there, whether, had " there been an heir to whom the crown had " quietly deſcended in the line of ſucceſſion, and " this heir certainly known, their lordſhips would " have aſſembled without his calling, or would have " either adminiſtered the government themſelves, " or adviſed the Prince of Orange to have taken " it upon himſelf? That he doubted they had been " all guilty of high-treaſon by the laws of England, if a known ſucceſſor of the throne " were in poſſeſſion of the throne, as he muſt be if " the throne were not vacant: that from hence " their lordſhips ſaw, that the difficulty in this " matter aroſe from this, That they would all agree " the throne to be vacant, when they knew of " none that poſſeſſed it; that ſome ſuch thing had " been pretended to as an heir-male, of which " there were different opinions, and in the mean " time they were without a government. Muſt we " ſtay, added he, till the truth of the matter be " found out? What ſhall be done to preſerve our " conſtitution, and in a little time it will, perhaps, " through the diſtraction of our conſtitution, be utterly irremediable. He confeſſed it would be a " difficult thing to go upon the examination who " was heir, or elſe their lordſhips would have explained themſelves before. But, continued he, it not " being clear, muſt we always remain thus? Uſe " what words you will, fill up, or nominate, or elect, " it is the thing that we are to take care of, and it " is high time it was done. There is no ſuch conſequence to be drawn from this vote, as an intention or likelihood of altering the courſe of " the government, ſo as to make it elective; the " throne has all along deſcended in an hereditary " ſucceſſion, the main conſtitution has been preſerved. The precedent of Henry IV is not like " that of elections in other countries; and I am " ſorry there ſhould be any occaſion for what " is neceſſary to be done now; but when ſuch " difficulties are upon the nation, that we cannot extricate ourſelves out of, as to the lineal " ſucceſſor, your lordſhips, I hope, will give us " leave to remember, 'Salus populi eſt ſuprema " lex.' And if neither you nor we can do any " thing in this caſe, we, who are met under the " notion of the convention of the ſtates, have then " met to no purpoſe; for after we have voted ourſelves to be without government (which looks as " if ſomething were really intended as to a ſetlement) " all preſently ſinks, and we are as much in the " dark as we were before. Your lordſhips ſay, " you will never make a precedent of election, or " take upon you to alter the ſucceſſion. With " your lordſhips favor, the ſetlement of the conſtitution is the main thing we are to look after. " If you provide for the ſupply of the defect there, " that point of the ſucceſſion will, without all queſtion, in the ſame method, and at the ſame time, " be ſurely provided for. But, my lords, have " not you yourſelves limited the very ſucceſſion, " and cut off ſome that might have a lineal right? " Have you not concured with us in our vote, 'That " it is inconſiſtent with our religion and laws to " have a Papiſt to reign over us?' Muſt we not " come then to an election, if the next heir be a " Papiſt? Nay, ſuppoſe there was no Proteſtant " heir at all to be found, would not your lordſhips " then break the line? If your lordſhips then in " ſuch a caſe muſt break through the ſucceſſion, " I think the nation has reaſon to expect you ſhall " take care to ſupply the preſent defect, where the " ſucceſſion is uncertain; or what can we do further, but even part in confuſion, and ſo leave " the nation to extricate itſelf as well as it can out " of its diſtraction. But even at whoſe doors that " will lie, I muſt leave to your lordſhips own " thoughts."

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It is ſaid this ſpeech, wherein good ſenſe, and a zeal for the nation equally ſhined, made a deep impreſſion upon ſome of the lords who aſſiſted at the conference, and upon all the reſt of the audience. However, as the earl of Clarendon, to prove the lineal ſucceſſion, had alleged what paſſed with regard to Edward IV, ſir George Treby undertook to explain that matter, and ſaid:

" That it was very well known, that Edward " IV came in diſ-affirmance of the title of the " houſe of Lancaſter: that as thoſe times went, " whenever there was a turn in government, as " there were ſeveral, there were new and contrary " declarations about the title to the crown, made " conſtantly in parliament; and what one parliament ſetled, another undid: but then, that this " advantage the commons had on their ſide; that " as they had this firſt precedent for them, ſo " they had the laſt, viz. The parliament-roll of " the firſt of Henry VII, where the record is ſet " right again: that the act for depoſing Richard " II, was indeed repealed by Edward IV, and " thereupon it proceeds to attaint Henry VI; " but then came in Henry VII, in the firſt year of " whoſe reign there was an act made, that ſet aſide " all the acts and atttainders made againſt his line, " and conſequenly it repealed the firſt of Edward IV, " which had repealed the firſt of Henry IV: that " Henry VII, was of the line of Lancaſter, and " tho' he had the heireſs of the houſe of York in " his boſom, yet after he came to the throne, he " would not indure to have his crown reckoned " matrimonial, or ſuffer the ſtile to go in the name " of Henry and Elizabeth, as he muſt have done if " he had ſtuck to the title by the right line of " ſucceſſion. That therefore this act for reſtoring " the record of the firſt of Henry IV again, was " as good an authority as it was before, and ſomewhat better; for it had the laſt act on its ſide, " which was yet unrepealed."

Here the earl of Pembroke replied, " That " Henry VII had a good right and title by marriage to the crown, 'in re uxoris;' but that his " own title, as deſcended from Henry IV, was an " uſurpation;

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" uſurpation; and therefore he would not ſuffer " any one to preſcribe which was beſt, as long as " it was acknowleged he had one good."

Sir George Treby returned, " That if Henry VII's " title by deſcent was an uſurpation, it was hard " to determine what title he did govern by; ſince, " tho' his wife was lineal heir, yet ſhe had no part, or " ſo much as a name in the adminiſtration. But ad- " ded he, if we ſhould allow none for acts of par- " liament, but thoſe that were made in the reigns " of hereditary Kings, and in the right line, I " doubt we ſhould want the greateſt part of thoſe " laws that compoſe the volume of ſtatute-books, " and the records by which we injoy a great part " of our inheritances and poſſeſſions."

Sir Richard Temple alleged, " That if laws " made about the ſucceſſion be ſo obliging, what " then ſhould they ſay to the ſucceſſion of Queen " Elizabeth, who had an act of parliament both " againſt her and her ſiſter."

The earl of Pembroke replied, " That to ſhew " what opinion ſhe herſelf, and the wiſe men of " her time, had in that point, there was an act " made in her reign, and yet in being, which de- " clared it to be a Præmunire, to affirm, the par- " liament cannot ſetle the ſucceſſion of the crown, " or alter it. That intails of the crown had been " in parliament, both ancient and modern; yet " the authority of another ſubſequent act had pre- " vailed againſt ſuch an intail, ſo that they ſhould " be done in parliament."

Sir Richard returned, " He thought they were " in as full a capacity to take care of the govern- " ment, as any of their predeceſſors; and that if " they did as their predeceſſors had done before " them, that ought not to be called a changing " of the Monarchy from an hereditary to an " elective."

Here the earl of Nottingham once more inter- poſed and ſaid, " He could not imagine how a " kingdom could be hereditary, and that the " King, who had children in being at the time of " his forſaking the government, could have the " throne vacant, both of him and his children; " that the courſe of inheritance, as to the crown " of England, was by law a great deal better " provided for, than that of any other inheritance, " 'That no attainder of the heir of the crown " could bar the ſucceſſion to the throne,' as it did " the deſcent to any common perſon; and that " the very deſcent by order of birth would take " away any ſuch defect. That this was the opinion " of the great lawyers of England, in the caſe of " Henry VII; and therefore he could not ap- " prehend, how any act of the father, could bar " the right of the child; ſince even the act of the " ſon, which might indanger an attainder in him, " could not do it; ſo careful was the law of the " Royal line of the ſucceſſion, which was declared " by ſeveral acts of parliament, and very fully and " particularly by the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII.-- " That he deſired to know, whether the lords and " commons had power by themſelves to make a " binding act or law? And whether, according to " the legal conſtitution, every King of England, " by being ſeated on the throne, and poſſeſſed of " of the crown, was not thereby King to him and " his heirs? And that without an act of par- " liament he knew not what determination they " could make of his eſtate. That it was urged " indeed, that the lords had in effect already " agreed to the vacancy, by voting, 'That it " was inconſiſtent with our religion and laws, to " have a Popiſh Prince to rule over us:' But that " a vote of either houſe, or both houſes together, " could not alter the law in that or any other " point; yet becauſe he was deſirous that that " vote ſhould have its effect, he deſired that " every thing of that nature might be done " in the ancient uſual method of parliament. " That ſince they were happily delivered from the " fears of Popery and arbitrary power, God for- " bid they ſhould aſſume any ſuch power to them- " ſelves; for what advantage ſhould they then " give to thoſe who would quarrel with their " ſetlement for the illegality of it? Would not this, " which they indeavor to cruſh break forth into a " viper? That in all the breaches that were made " upon the line of ſucceſſion, ſuch was the force of " the laws, that the uſurpers would not take the " crown upon them, unleſs they had ſome ſpe- " cious pretenſe of an hereditary title to it. That " what he would have avoided by all means, was " the miſchievous conſequences that he feared " would inſue upon the vacancy of the throne, " namely, the utter overthrow of the whole con- " ſtitution; for if the lords and commons only " remained as parts of the government, and if the " head be taken away, and the throne vacant, by " what laws or conſtitutions was it that they re- " tained lords and commons? That they were knit " together in their common head; and that if one " part of the government was diſſolved, he ſaw " not any reaſon but that all muſt be diſſolved. " He confeſſed, that any government was better " than none; but he earneſtly deſired they might " injoy their ancient conſtitution." (17)

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REM. (17) The earl of Nottingham, in his ſpeech, reaſoned like Charles I, in his diſputes with the parliament. That is, he ſuppoſed the govern- ment in its natural ſtate, and on that ſuppoſition, his arguments were ſtrong. But it is hard to con- ceive a greater diſorder in the government than at the time of this conference. King James had reigned three years in an arbitrary manner. He had violated, not ſome particular laws of little moment, but fundamental laws, whereon the ſe- curity of the national religion and liberties de- pended. After which, he had withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, without taking any order about the government. Moſt men thought his ſon ſup- poſititious, and he had ſent him into France. Could the government therefore be ſuppoſed in a natural ſtate? And if it was not, the reaſoning built upon ſuch a ſuppoſition, ought to fall to the ground. However expreſs the laws may be, they always ſuppoſe ſome certain conſtitution of government. But if this conſtitution is broke, as may happen in all countries under the ſun, how, in order to re- medy this evil, can the laws be taken for rule, which ſuppoſe the government in its uſual and na- tural ſtate, and which have not provided for ex- traordinary unforeſeen caſes?

What the earl of Nottingham would intimate, tho' he does not ſpeak plainly, is briefly this: The lords, and commons are but two of the branches of the government, and can make no law without the third, that is, the King, who is their head. The King has abſented himſelf. He muſt therefore be recalled, or waited for till he returns, or elſe his next heir muſt be owned for King. Now this heir is the Prince of Wales. This is evident from the care that was taken not to name him. Or if none of theſe methods be followed, the kingdom muſt be left in a ſtate of Anarchy, or a Regent ap- pointed to govern in the King's name, during his abſenſe.

The whole debate was cloſed with two ſhort ſpeeches made by mr. Paul Foley, and mr. Eyre: The former ſaid, " He hoped there was no danger " of ſhaking our fundamentals in this caſe; that " they were purſuing thoſe methods which agreed " with

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" with our laws and conſtitution; for tho' the " Monarchy of this nation be hereditary in the " ordinary courſe of ſucceſſion, yet there might " fall out a caſe wherein that could not be " complied with, and a plain vacancy might in- " ſue. For, ſaid he, put the caſe the whole legal " line ſhould fail, ſhould we in that caſe have no " government at all? And who then ſhould we " have but lords and commons? And I think that " comes neareſt to the caſe in queſtion, where the " ſucceſſor is not known; for if he had been, we " ſhould have heard of him before now. And " what is the reaſon that it ſhould then, in the former " caſe, devolve to the lords and commons, but " that there is no King? And they being the re- " preſentative body of the kingdom, are the only " remaining apparent parts of the government, " and are only to ſupply the defect by providing " a ſucceſſor?"

Mr. Eyre ſubjoined, " That they were led out " of the way, hunting after the conſequences of " a vote not yet agreed unto; that they had made " a right and apt concluſion from the premiſſes, " otherwiſe all the vote was but hiſtorical: we " declare, adds he, 'That the late King James " has broke the original contract; has violated the " fundamental laws, and has withdrawn himſelf " out of the kingdom; that he has abdicated the " government.' What occaſion was there for ſuch " a declaration as this, if nothing were concluded " from it? That were only to give the kingdom " a compendious hiſtory of thoſe miſeries they have " too well learned by feeling them. Therefore " there was a neceſſity to make ſome concluſion; " and none ſo natural as this; that we are left with- " out a King, that the throne is thereby vacant, " which it may be as to the poſſeſſion, and yet the " right of ſucceſſion no ways prejudiced. But, my " lords, we are come here by the commands of " the houſe of commons, to debate the reaſons of " their vote, and your amendments, not to diſpute " what will be the conſequences, which is not at " preſent our province." And here ended this famous conference.

The Prince of Orange leaves every one at liberty. Burnet, p. 820.

During all theſe debates in the convention, the Prince of Orange ſtaid at St. James's, without taking the leaſt pains to gain any one perſon to his party. He was never leſs affable, being deſirous to ſhew, by his behavior, that his intention was not to deprive any man of the liberty to vote as he ſhould think fit. The two houſes were ſurpriſed that no body ſpoke to them in the Prince's behalf.

He declares his mind to ſome lords.

At length, finding that his ſilence might be ill conſtrued, as if he was unwilling to take upon him the burden of Royalty, he ſent for the marquis of Hallifax, the earls of Danby, Shrewſbury, and ſome others, and told them:

Ibid.

" He had been till then ſilent, becauſe he would " not ſay or do any thing that might ſeem in any " ſort to take from any perſon the full freedom of " deliberating and voting in matters of ſuch im- " portance: he was reſolved neither to court " nor threaten any one. Some were for puting " the government in the hands of a Regent: he " would ſay nothing againſt it, if it was thought " the beſt mean for ſetling their affairs: only he " thought it neceſſary to tell them, that he would " not be the Regent: ſo, if they continued in that " deſign, they muſt look out for ſome other per- " ſon to be put in that poſt: he himſelf ſaw what " the conſequences of it were like to prove: ſo he " would not accept of it. Others were for puting " the Princeſs ſingly on the throne, and that he " ſhould reign by her courteſy: he ſaid, no man " could eſteem a woman more than he did the " the Princeſs; but he was ſo made, that he could " not think of holding any thing by apron-ſtrings: " nor could he think it reaſonable to have any " ſhare in the government, unleſs it was put in his " perſon, and that for term of life: if they think it " fit to ſetle it otherwiſe, he would not oppoſe " them in it: but he would go back to Holland, " and medle no more in their affairs: He aſſured " them, that whatſoever others might think of a " crown, it was no ſuch thing in his eyes, but " that he could live very well, and be well pleaſed " without it: In the end he ſaid, he could not re- " ſolve to accept of a dignity ſo as to hold it only " the life of another: yet he thought that the iſſue " of the Princeſs Ann ſhould be prefered in the " ſucceſſion, to any iſſue he might have by any " other wife than the Princeſs."

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This declaration being immediately divulged by thoſe it was made to, did not a little contribute to bring the debates in the houſe of lords to a ſpeedy determination. As for the commons, about two thirds were for the Prince.

The lords concur with the commons vote. Burnet, p. 821.

When the report of the conference between the two houſes was made to the lords, there was a very warm debate, whether they ſhould inſiſt upon the amendments. During the debate, it was moved, that the birth of the Prince of Wales might be examined into. But this motion was at length rejected for ſeveral reaſons: 1. The Prince of Wales was now ſent out of England to be bred up in France, an enemy both to the nation and the eſtabliſhed religion. What therefore would ſuch an examination ſignify? 2. It was impoſſible for the people of England to know, whether he was the ſame perſon that had been carried over or not. 3. In caſe he ſhould die, another might be put in his room, in ſuch manner, that the nation could not be ſure concerning him. 4. The Engliſh nation ought not to ſend into another country for witneſſes to prove that he was their Prince, much leſs receive one upon the teſtimony of ſuch as were not only aliens, but ought to be preſumed enemies. 5. It was known, that all the perſons who had been the confidents in that matter, were conveyed away; ſo it was impoſſible to come at them, by whoſe means only the truth of that birth could be found out. It is pretended, there were ſome who thought it a deep piece of policy, to let the Prince of Wales's title remain undecided, in order to deter the ſucceeding Kings from imitating King James.

Reaſons againſt examining the Prince of Wales's birth. Id. p. 816.

At length, the majority of the lords, after a long debate, departed from their two amendments, and agreed with the vote of the commons, " That " King James had Abdicated the government, " and that the throne was thereby become va- " cant." Probably, they who had deſerted the party of the earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, and Rocheſter, conſidered, that the ſuggeſted danger of the crown's becoming elective, was not to be compared to that which muſt neceſſarily happen, if the kingdom was left in the preſent confuſion, or King James recalled, or the Prince of Wales acknowleged for King. It is ſaid however, that the ſcale was turned to this ſide, by the arrival of ſome lords, who were not preſent in the houſe when the two amendments were voted: but they are not named. It is hardly probable that the pretended arrival of theſe lords ſhould have occaſioned the change in the houſe of peers. There muſt have been a dozen at leaſt, and all of the ſame ſide, which is not very feaſable.

Kennet, p. 547. Echard, Vol. III. p. 977.

This great ſtep being made, the next thing to be debated was, who ſhould fill the vacant throne. The marquis of Hallifax moved, that the crown ſhould be given to the Prince of Orange alone, and to the two Princeſſes after his death. But he was

Debates about filling the throne. Burnet, p. 818.

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was not ſeconded (1). If dr. Burnet biſhop of Saliſbury is to be credited, Bentinck (2), the Prince's favorite and confident, ſtrenuouſly ſupported this propoſal. The debate on this affair was very long. It was readily agreed, that the Princeſs of Orange ſhould be placed on the throne; but the queſtion was, whether the Prince ſhould be King of himſelf, or as huſband of the Princeſs? Upon this, parties began to be formed in both houſes. Mean time, as the Princeſs was detained in Holland by the froſt, and by contrary winds after the thaw, the earl of Danby ſent one over to the Princeſs, with an account of the preſent ſtate of the debate, and to tell her, that if ſhe deſired it, he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to carry it, for ſeting her alone on the throne. The Princeſs anſwered, ſhe was the Prince's wife, and would never be other than what ſhe ſhould be in conjunction with him, and under him. Adding, ſhe would take it very ill, if any, under a pretenſe of their care for her, would ſet up a divided intereſt between her and the Prince. Not content with this, ſhe ſent the lord Danby's letter, and her anſwer to the Prince, and thereby broke all the meaſures of thoſe, who wiſhed to create a miſunderſtanding or jealouſy between them. The earl of Danby received not the leaſt mark of diſpleaſure from the Prince of Orange, who continued ſtill to imploy and truſt him.

The lord Danby propoſes to the Princeſs to be Queen alone.

She refuſes. Burnet, p. 819.

At length, both houſes agreed, and voted ſeverally, that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be King and Queen of England, but that the ſole and full Regal power ſhould be in the Prince only, in the name of both. However, this was carried in the houſe of lords but by two or three voices only, and not without a proteſtation entered againſt it by the contrary party (3).

It is concluded that the Prince and Princeſs ſhould be King and Queen. Feb. 7. Kennet, p. 547. Burnet, p. 821.

The laſt debate in the convention, was concerning the oaths that ſhould be taken to the King and Queen. To avoid all cavils upon the terms, ["rightful and lawful King"] in the uſual oath, it was thought proper to reduce the oath to the ancient ſimplicity of ſwearing, "to bear faith and "true allegiance to the King and Queen." Hence aroſe the famous diſtinction of a King 'de facto,' and a King 'de jure,' ſome pretending, that they took the oath to the King and Queen, only as King and Queen 'de facto,' whom they were bound to obey no longer than they continued in quiet poſſeſſion; but that it was lawful for them to aſſiſt King James, if he ſhould come to recover his crown, as being ſtill their King 'de jure.' This diſtinction proceeded chiefly from the clergy, who had ſo far intangled themſelves with thoſe ſtrange conceits of the divine right of Monarchy, and had ſo ingaged themſelves by publicly preaching Paſſive-obedience and Non-reſiſtance, as an eſſential doctrine of the church of England, that they did not know how to diſingage themſelves from the ſnare they themſelves had laid, at a time, when they little thought of being ever taken in it.

The oath of allegiance is altered. Id. p. 821.

Whence the notion of a King de jure and a King de facto.

At length, on the twelfth of February, the Princeſs of Orange arrived at London, and ſeemed very well pleaſed with what had been reſolved, that the adminiſtration of the government ſhould be in the Prince only, in the name of both. Thus the ſtrict union between the Prince and Princeſs broke the meaſures of ſuch as hoped to create a miſunderſtanding between them, in order to ſerve their old maſter.

Arrival of the Princeſs of Orange. Kennet, p. 547. Burnet, p. 825. Echard.

Next day, the Prince and Princeſs of Orange being ſeated on two large chairs, under a canopy of ſtate in the Banqueting-houſe, both houſes of the convention waited upon them in a full body, to offer them the crown. But before they proceeded to this ſolemn offer, they cauſed the clerk of the crown to read the following declaration of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons aſſembled at Weſtminſter.

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The convention make a ſolemn offer of the crown. Feb. 13. Kennet, p. 547. Echard, Vol. III. p. 978.

"WHEREAS the late King James the "ſecond, by the aſſiſtance of diverſe evil "counſellors, judges, and miniſters imployed by "him, did indeavor to ſubvert and extirpate the "Proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties "of this kingdom; by aſſuming and exerciſing a "power of diſpenſing with, and ſuſpending of laws, "and the execution of laws, without conſent of "parliament: by commiting and proſecuting "diverſe worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to "be excuſed from concuring to the ſaid aſſumed "power: by iſſuing and cauſing to be executed, "a commiſſion under the great ſeal, for erecting "a court, called, 'The court of commiſſioners "for eccleſiaſtical cauſes:' by leaving money for "and to the uſe of the crown, by pretenſe of pre-"rogative, for other time, and in other manner, "than the ſame was granted by parliament; by "raiſing and keeping a ſtanding army within this "kingdom in time of peace, without conſent "of parliament; and quartering ſoldiers contrary "to law; by cauſing ſeveral good ſubjects, being "Proteſtants to be diſarmed, at the ſame time, "when Papiſts were both armed and imployed "contrary to law; by violating the freedom of "election of members to ſerve in parliament; by "proſecutions in the court of King's Bench for "matters and cauſes cognizable only in parliament; "and by diverſe other arbitrary and illegal courſes. "And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and "unqualified perſons, have been returned and "ſerved on juries in trials, and particularly diverſe "jurors in trials for high treaſon, which were not "freeholders; and exceſſive bail hath been required "of perſons commited in criminal caſes, to elude "the benefit of the laws made for liberty of the "ſubjects; and exceſſive fines have been impoſed; "and illegal and cruel puniſhments inflicted; and "ſeveral grants and promiſes made of fines and "forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment "againſt the perſons upon whom the ſame were to "be levied. All which are utterly and directly "contrary to the known laws and ſtatutes, and "freedom of this realm.

"And whereas the ſaid late King James the "ſecond, having Abdicated the government, and "the throne being thereby vacant, his Highneſs "the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleaſed "Almighty God to make the glorious inſtrument "of delivering this kingdom from Popery and "arbitrary Power) did (by the advice of the "lords ſpiritual and temporal, and diverſe principal "perſons of the commons) cauſe letters to be "written to the lords ſpiritual and temporal, being "Proteſtants, and other letters to the ſeveral "counties, cities, univerſities, boroughs, and "cinque ports, for the chuſing of ſuch perſons to "repreſent them, as were of right to be ſent to "parliament, to meet and ſit at Weſtminſter, "upon the twenty-ſecond day of January, in this

(1) Burnet ſays, many of the Republican party approved of this; for by it they gained another point: the people in this caſe would plainly elect a King without any regard to the order of ſucceſſion, p. 818.

(2) Afterwards earl of Portland.

(3) Burnet, p. 822, ſays, that things were ſo near an equality in the houſe of lords (one hundred and twenty being preſent) that it was carried by a very ſmall majority of two or three, to agree with the commons in voting the Abdication and the Vacancy of the throne, and that the vote by which the Prince and Princeſs were declared to be King and Queen went very hard: Echard ſays by twenty voices; ſixty-five againſt forty-five.

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" year 1688, in order to ſuch an eſtabliſhment, as " that their religion, laws, and liberties, might " not again be in danger of being ſubverted. " Upon which letters, elections having been ac- " cordingly made; and thereupon the lords ſpi- " ritual and temporal, and commons, purſuant to " their reſpective letters and elections, being now " aſſembled in a full and free repreſentative of " this nation, taking into their moſt ſerious conſi- " deration the beſt means for attaining the ends " aforeſaid, do, in the firſt place (as their anceſtors " in like caſe have uſually done) for the vindicating " and aſſerting their ancient rights and liberties; " declare,

" 1. That the pretended power of ſuſpending of " laws, or execution of laws, by regal autho- " rity, without conſent of parliament, is illegal.

" 2. That the pretended power of diſpenſing " with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal " authority, as it hath been aſſumed and exerciſed " of late, is illegal.

" 3. That the commiſſion for erecting the late " court of commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, " and all other commiſſions and courts of the like " nature, are illegal and pernicious.

" 4. That the levying of money for or to the " uſe of the crown, by pretenſe of prerogative, " without grant of parliament, for longer time, " or in any other manner than the ſame is, or ſhall " be granted, is illegal.

" 5. That it is the right of the ſubjects to peti- " tion the King, and all commitments and proſe- " cutions for ſuch petitioning, are illegal.

" 6. That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding " army within the kingdom in time of peace, " unleſs it be with conſent of parliament, is againſt " law.

" 7. That the ſubjects, which are Proteſtants, " may have arms for their defenſe, ſuitable to their " condition, and as allowed by law.

" 8. That election of members of parliament " ought to be free.

" 9. That the freedom of ſpeech, and debates " or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be im- " peached or queſtioned, in any court or place out " of parliament.

" 10. That exceſſive bail ought not to be re- " quired, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel and " unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

" 11. That jurors ought to be duly impannelled " and returned; and jurors, which paſs upon " men in trials for high treaſon, ought to be free- " holders.

" 12. That all grants and promiſes of fines " and forfeitures of particular perſons, before con- " viction, are illegal and void.

" 13. And that for redreſs of all grievances, " and for the amending, ſtrengthening, and pre- " ſerving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held " frequently. And they do claim, demand, and " inſiſt upon all and ſingular the premiſſes, as their " undoubted rights and liberties; and that no de- " clarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, " to the prejudice of the people in any of the ſaid " premiſſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn here- " after into conſequence or example. To which " demand of their rights, they are particularly in- " couraged by the declaration of his Highneſs the " Prince of Orange, as being the only means for " obtaining a full redreſs and remedy therein.

" Having therefore an intire confidence, that " his ſaid Highneſs the Prince of Orange will perfect " the deliverance ſo far advanced by him, and will " ſtill preſerve them from the violation of their " rights, which they have here aſſerted, and from all " other attempts upon their religion, rights, and li- " berties; the ſaid lords ſpiritual and temporal, and " commons, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, do reſolve, " That William and Mary, Prince and Princeſs of " Orange, be, and be declared King and Queen " of England, France, and Ireland, and the domi- " nions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown " and Royal dignity of the ſaid kingdoms and domi- " nions, to them the ſaid Prince and Princeſs during " their lives, and the life of the ſurvivor of them; " and that the ſole and full exerciſe of their regal " power be only in, and executed by, the ſaid Prince " of Orange, in the names of the ſaid Prince " and Princeſs, during their joint lives; and after " their deceaſe, the ſaid crown and Royal dignity " of the ſaid kingdoms and dominions to be to the " heirs of the body of the ſaid Princeſs; and for " default of ſuch iſſue, to the Princeſs Ann of " Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for " default of ſuch iſſue, to the heirs of the body of " the ſaid Prince of Orange.

" And the ſaid lords ſpiritual and temporal, and " commons, do pray the ſaid Prince and Princeſs " of Orange, to accept the ſame accordingly. " And that the oaths hereafter mentioned, be taken " by all perſons of whom the oaths of allegiance " and ſupremacy might be required by law inſtead " of them; and that the ſaid oaths of allegiance " and ſupremacy be abrogated:

" I A. B. do ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, That " I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to " their Majeſties, King William and Queen " Mary. So help me God. I A. B. do " ſwear, That I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, " and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damn- " able doctrine and poſition, That Princes excom- " municated or deprived by the Pope, or any au- " thority of the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or " murdered by their ſubjects, or any other what- " ſoever. And I do declare, That no foreign " Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, " hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, " ſuperiority, pre-eminence or authority, eccleſiaſ- " tical or ſpiritual within this realm. So help me " God."

After the reading of this declaration, the marquis of Hallifax, ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their Highneſſes, in the name of both houſes, whereupon the Prince of Orange returned the following anſwer: Kennet, p. 549. Echard, Vol. III. p. 980.

" My lords and gentlemen, This is certainly the " greateſt proof of the truſt you have in us, that " can be given, which is the thing that makes us " value it the more; and we thankfully accept " what you have offered. And as I had no other " intention in coming hither, than to preſerve your " religion, laws, and liberties, ſo you may be " ſure, that I ſhall indeavor to ſupport them, and " ſhall be willing to concur in any thing that ſhall " be for the good of the kingdom, and to do all " that is in my power to advance the welfare " and glory of the nation."

All this was followed with the acclamanions of the people, which quickly flew over the whole city. The ſame day the Prince and Princeſs were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, by the names of William and Mary, to the inexpreſſible joy of the people (1).

(1) King James the ſecond's natural iſſue was as follows:
1. By mrs. Arabella Churchill, ſiſter of John duke of Marlborough, afterwards married to colonel Godfrey, he had
(1) James Fitz-James, grandee of Spain, marſhal of France, knight of the Golden Fleece, commonly called duke of Berwick. Outlawed

Outlawed in 1695. (2) Henry Fitz-James, commonly called the Grand Prior, born 1673. Outlawed in 1695. Lieutenant general and admiral of the French gallies. He died in France, December 7, 1702. (3) Henrietta, born 1670, who married Henry lord Waldgrave, 1683, father of James the preſent lord Waldgrave, born in 1684.

2. By mrs. Catharine Sedly, daughter of ſir Charles Sedley, baronet; created baroneſs of Darlington, and counteſs of Dorcheſter, afterwards married to ſir David Collier, the late earl of Portmore, he had Catherine Darnley, preſent ducheſs dowager of Buckingham, born 1681. She married (1) James Anneſly, earl of Angleſey, in October 1699. By whom ſhe had Catherine Anneſly, January 7, 1701, who married William Phips, eſq; ſon of ſir Conſtantine Phips. (2) John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamſhire and Normanby, March 1, 1705. By whom ſhe had Edmund, the preſent duke of Buckinghamſhire, born January 11, 1716.

END of the TWENTY-FUORTH BOOK.

A DISSERTATION on the Riſe, Progreſs, Views, Strength, Intereſts, and Characters of the two Parties of the WHIGS and TORIES. Firſt publiſhed in the Year 1717.

THO' the two parties or factions which divide England, have been long talked of, it is but of late years that all Europe, as I may ſay, is ingaged in their quarrel. Before the laſt peace, foreigners generally looked upon the differences between the Whigs and the Tories, as a matter of curioſity, which no way concerned them. If any ſeemed to regard them, it was ſolely on account of the diverſity of the opinions of the two parties, concerning the hierarchy or government of the church. To this was confined the idea, which moſt private foreigners formed of the Engliſh diviſions. I ſay private foreigners; for Princes and their miniſters knew what influence they had in the political affairs of Europe, according as the one or the other party prevailed in the court or parliament of England; but as for the people, it may be ſaid that in general, they knew not the conſequence of them.

The Peace of Utrecht has opened numberleſs eyes, becauſe it is clearly ſeen to flow from the late revolution in the court of England, by the change of the Whig, into a Tory miniſtry. As all Europe was ingaged in the war, and conſequently concerned in the peace by which it was terminated, thoſe who before only talked of the Engliſh diviſions, as of a foreign affair, are but too ſenſible of what conſequence they are to other States. From that time this matter has been reaſoned and diſputed upon with more warmth. In ſhort, moſt foreigners are become Whigs or Tories, according as they have believed to ſee in the two parties, principles agreeable or contrary to their intereſts. Tho' Whigs and Tories equally profeſs the Proteſtant religion, and tho' their differences ſeem not much to concern either Proteſtants or Roman Catholics, it has happened, that the Papiſts have declared for the Tories, and the Proteſtants for the Whigs. The reaſon of this proceeding is obvious, viz. that the one have conſidered the Tories as men laboring to ſet a zealous Popiſh Prince on the throne of England, while the others have believed, that the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion was the ſole aim of the Whigs. There is yet another motive which has determined foreigners to ſide with one of the parties, that is, their inclination to France, or their fear of the ambitious deſigns of that crown. In this reſpect the adherents of France are Tories, and her enemies Whigs. Every one therefore has made a choice, without troubling themſelves otherwiſe, with the differences of the two parties. This conduct in foreigners is the leſs ſurpriſing, ſince in England itſelf, many are Whigs or Tories, without having a diſtinct idea of the party they have imbraced.

It is very ſtrange, that hitherto the public has not been exactly informed concerning theſe two parties, which by the ſuperiority either may have in England, are in a capacity to influence the moſt important affairs of Europe. It is true, we have tranſlations of ſeveral Engliſh books, or rather pamphlets, upon this ſubject. But it is not from thence, that the true ſtate of the affairs of the two parties may be learned. Theſe writings are publiſhed by Whigs or Tories, and conſequently by authors viſible ſuſpected. Accordingly, there is not one but what carries evident marks of the partiality of its author. It is therefore rather from a foreign pen, that we are to expect a fair account of this matter, tho', to ſpeak the truth, there are few foreigners but what either are not ſufficiently informed, or are biaſſed to one of the factions. However the author of this Diſſertation, tho' a foreigner, thinks himſelf qualified to give the public a more extenſive knowlege of the two parties, than many people have hitherto had. He reſided a long time in England, and has, many years, diligently ſtudied the Engliſh hiſtory. Beſide, he is attached neither by inclination nor intereſt to any one of the parties, and is now in a country where he has nothing to hope or fear from either. His impartiality will evidently appear in the Diſſertation itſelf. To give a diſtinct knowlege of the two parties, the author was unavoidably obliged to deſcend to many particulars of the Engliſh hiſtory, without which the riſe and

progreſs

progreſs of theſe parties could not have been clearly explained. If the Engliſh think this Diſſertation defective in ſome points, and too large in others, they are deſired to remember, it was not penned for their uſe; that the author's aim was to confine himſelf to general ideas; in a word, that the things which paſs for common and well known in England, are myſteries abroad, and require a full explication.

It will perhaps be thought ſtrange, that the author, who was born under a government purely Monarchical, ſpeaks in ſome places, ſo as it may be thought he approves not of ſuch a government. To obviate this ſuſpicion, he deſires his readers to conſider, that he could not ſpeak pertinently of his ſubject, without aſſuming an Engliſh ſpirit, and conforming himſelf to the principles which are common in England. It is thus only that he believed he ſhould be able to diſcover the ſtrength and weakneſs of the two parties. All his reaſonings are founded upon this principle, of the ſolidity of which he is perfectly convinced; "That every private perſon is in conſcience obliged quietly to ſubmit to the government eſtabliſhed in the country where he was born, or Providence has placed him." Wherefore it is his opinion, that all ſecret practiſes, all cabals, all means direct or indirect, tending to the diſſolution of ſuch government, are ſo many crimes for which the authors are reſponſible to God and their ſuperiors.

THE government of England is of a particular kind, of which there is not the like at preſent in all the world. It is, however, the ſame which was formerly eſtabliſhed in all the kingdoms of Europe, formed out of the ruins of the Roman Empire. The preſent difference between England and other States, in this reſpect, is owing to this, that the Engliſh have preſerved the form of their government ever ſince their ſetling in Great Britain; whereas in other nations, it has been loſt by degrees, or extremely altered. This government, which has ſo long ſubſiſted in this iſland, appears, in ſome reſpects, Monarchical, in others, Republican; and yet, properly ſpeaking, it is neither. It cannot be called purely Monarchical, ſince the nobility and the people have a ſhare in the legiſlative power jointly with the King, nor can the King impoſe any tax, without the people's conſent. Neither is it Republican, ſince there is a King, who exerciſes the ſovereign authority, who diſpoſes, as he pleaſes, of all places and dignities eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military; and can make peace or war, without conſulting his ſubjects. It would be therefore in vain to pretend to deſcribe this government, by the uſual names of Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, Democracy, which agree not with it. It is a mixed government, differing from, and yet compoſed of all three. The prerogatives of the Sovereign, and the privileges of the nobles and people, are ſo tempered together, that they mutually ſupport one another. At the ſame time, each of the three powers, concerned in the legiſlature, may inſuperably obſtruct the attempts of one or both the others, to render themſelves independent. In ſhort, it is very near the ſame form of government, eſtabliſhed by the Saxons in Germany, by the Francs in Gaul, by the Viſigoths in Spain, by the Oſtrogoths, and after them, by the Lombards in Italy. Theſe Northern nations introduced this government into the moſt Southern parts of Europe when they ſetled there, and founded new States upon the ruins of the Roman Empire.

If, therefore, it be aſked, How long this government has been in England? I ſhall not ſcruple to anſwer, Ever ſince the Anglo-Saxons finiſhed the conqueſt of that part of Great Britain, which their deſcendents poſſeſs to this day. It is true, a doubt may ariſe, whether the commons, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons, were part of the parliament, and I confeſs this point is hard to be determined. But however, when England was divided into ſeven kingdoms, Engliſh and Saxon, each of theſe had its King and parliament. This laſt was called the Wittena-Gemot, or Aſſembly of Wiſemen; and there was alſo the like for the common affairs of the whole Heptarchy. This ſame form of government ſubſiſted, when the ſeven kingdoms were reduced to one and the ſame ſtate. The Fields of Mars [March] or of May, called ſince the States General in France, the Cortes in Spain, and perhaps the Diets of the German Empire, are the remains of this ancient form of government, introduced by the Northern nations, wherever they ſetled.

William, duke of Normandy, ſurnamed th Baſtard or Conqueror, having ſubdued England in 1066, became abſolute, and eſtabliſhed a deſpotic power, tho', in all likelihood, he preſerved the ſhadow of a parliament. To ſecure his conqueſt, he tranſplanted many Norman, French, Breton, and Angevin families, inriching them with the lands, of which he inceſſantly diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh. Theſe tranſplanted families multiplied greatly in a ſhort ſpace, and became in the end ſo powerful, as to make head againſt their Sovereigns, ſucceſſors of the Conqueror. At firſt, they gloried in their intire dependence upon the King, who had put them in poſſeſſion of their lands. Their intereſt required, that they ſhould ſupport that power by which they held all their Engliſh poſſeſſions: but when they were once firmly ſetled they began to dread, that the regal power, which had inriched them, might with the ſame eaſe ſtrip them of their eſtates, if the King ſhould ſo pleaſe. For this reaſon, they wiſhed the government reſtored to the ſame ſtate, as in the times of the Saxon Kings. This was the only means to avoid the inconveniencies of an arbitrary power (which might, in time to come, turn as much to their prejudice, as it had to their advantange) and to perpetuate the poſſeſſion of their lands. What at firſt was only a bare wiſh, ſoon roſe into hope, and at laſt into right, by the methods I ſhall preſently ſpeak of. To explain this fully, a large detail of the Engliſh hiſtory would be neceſſary, and a particular enumeration of all the cauſes which have contributed to put the nobility, and afterwards the people in poſſeſſion of a right, which they did not injoy, under the firſt Norman Kings. But as this detail would lead me too far, I ſhall content myſelf with a ſhort abridgment, concerning the ſubject in hand.

William the Conqueror, in 1087, left the kingdom of England to his ſecond ſon William, ſurnamed Rufus, in prejudice of Robert his eldeſt ſon, who had only Normandy. Robert made ſome attempts to diſpoſſeſs his brother of a crown, of which he believed himſelf unjuſtly deprived. But Rufus defeated them by his addreſs, ingaging as well the Normans as the Engliſh in his intereſt, with promiſes of re-eſtabliſhing the ancient government, and reviving the Saxon laws. He knew that both were paſſionately deſirous of what he made them hope

hope. By the Normans, I mean here the foreigners newly ſetled in England. This promiſe of Rufus was therefore the firſt foundation of their pretenſions. I ſay the firſt, for the Normans had no right to demand of the King what he was pleaſed to promiſe them, and the conquered Engliſh had as little, to limit the power of their conquerors. It is true, the Engliſh might ground their pretenſions upon ſome general promiſes made them by William the Conqueror, when he received their firſt homages. But this Prince never pretended that they ſhould found a right on theſe promiſes. Accordingly, he always treated England as a conquered nation. However, Rufus kept his word with neither Normans nor Engliſh.

Upon his death Henry I, his younger brother, aſcended the throne in 1100, in prejudice of his eldeſt brother Robert, ſtill alive. To ſecure his uſurpation, he purſued the ſame courſe as his predeceſſor Rufus. He promiſed to reſtore the ancient government, and confirmed his promiſe by a charter in form, but executed it no better than his brother. However, the rights of the ſubject received ſtrength from theſe promiſes, tho' ill performed.

Henry I dying, Maud his daughter, widow of the Emperor Henry V, and wife to Jeffery Plantagenet earl of Anjou, ought to have mounted the throne; but in 1135 was defeated of her right by Stephen earl of Boulogne, ſon of the Conqueror's eldeſt daughter. He bound himſelf more ſtrongly than his two predeceſſors to reſtore the Saxon laws, but in all appearance with as little intention to perform his ingagements. At laſt, the great men, finding he ſought pretenſes to evade his promiſes, haraſſed him with a war which laſted the moſt part of his reign. In the begining, they called into England the Empreſs Maud, and her ſon Henry by the earl of Anjou; and the war ended in a treaty, which ſecured the crown to Henry after Stephen's demiſe, tho' he had ſons.

To Stephen, in 1154, ſucceeded Henry II. During his reign, and that of his eldeſt ſon Richard I, there were no conteſts between the King and the barons, for ſo the great men of the kingdom were then called. But very conſiderable diſputes aroſe in the reign of King John, ſurnamed Lackland, brother and ſucceſſor of Richard I. An unhappy quarrel between this Prince and the court of Rome, having forced him to do homage to Pope Innocent III, for his kingdom, and bind himſelf to pay him tribute, this diſhonorable proceeding, added to many other cauſes, loſt him the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects. The barons improving ſo favorable a juncture, preſented to him the charter of Henry I, which had never been executed, and reſolved to oblige him to confirm it. John at firſt rejected it with great haughtineſs; but at laſt, compelled by his own weakneſs, and the united oppoſition of almoſt all the barons, he was obliged to grant them a charter, much more ample and advantageous to the ſubject, than Henry the firſt, and which was called Magna Charta, or the Charter of Liberties. By this charter, drawn as the barons pleaſed, the King's power was ſo curbed, that it was in a manner reduced to the ſame ſtate as under the Saxon Kings before the conqueſt. This charter has been ever ſince the principal foundation of the rights of the ſubjects. I ſhall not here pretend to decide a queſtion ſo much above my reach, whether this foundation is very ſolid. It will ſuffice briefly to remark, by what means a conceſſion ſeemingly ſo defective in its origin, ſince it was evidently extorted, changed, as I may ſay, its nature by the firmneſs of the Engliſh, and acquired an indiſputable authority, tho' it might have been conteſted at firſt. To this end, we muſt ſee what paſſed afterwards with reſpect to this charter.

King John who had ſigned it, deſiring to revoke it, drew upon himſelf freſh misfortunes, which laſted as long as he lived. The barons reſolving to adhere to their charter, took at laſt the deſperate courſe to call in to their aſſiſtance, Lewis ſon of Philip Auguſtus King of France, and to put him in poſſeſſion of all, or the greateſt part of the kingdom. John died during the war, deprived by a foreign Prince, or rather his own ſubjects, and left a ſon of ten years of age, little capable to maintain the quarrel. Some lords, who had remained faithful to the late King, appointed the earl of Pembroke Regent, during the minority of the young Prince, who was recognized by his few adherents by the name of Henry III, in 1216.

Shortly after the face of affairs was changed by the prudent conduct of the Regent, who ſeeing the barons bent to ſupport their charter, promiſed poſitively, it ſhould be confirmed and executed. Upon this aſſurance, they deſerted Prince Lewis, who was obliged to return to France.

Henry III was no ſooner out of his minority than he repealed Magna Charta, and thought of reigning uncontrouled. But as he had not a capacity equal to ſuch an undertaking, his long reign of fifty ſix years was one continued ſcene of troubles on account of Magna Charta. He was frequently forced to confirm it, and as often broke all his oaths and ingagements. At laſt, the barons took arms under the conduct of the earl of Leiceſter, ſon of the famous Simon Montfort general of the Cruſade againſt the Albigenſes. The King had the misfortune to loſe a battle, and to ſee himſelf, his brother the King of the Romans, and his ſon Prince Edward, in the hands of the earl of Leiceſter, who obliged them to ſwear, they would never oppoſe the execution of Magna Charta. The earl of Leiceſter governed ſome time in the name of the King his priſoner. It is pretended, the commons were firſt received into parliament during his adminiſtration. But without ſtaying to examine ſo difficult a queſtion, I ſhall only obſerve, that at leaſt it cannot be denied, that ſince the end of Henry III's reign the commons have ever injoyed this privilege.

Prince Edward, ſon of Henry III, having happily made his eſcape from the earl of Leiceſter, gained a battle in which the earl was ſlain. This victory reſtored the King to his liberty, who uſed it not agreeably to the oath he had been obliged to take. But his reign and life ended a few years after his deliverance. Tho' the barons party was very much humbled, yet Edward I, who in 1272 ſucceeded his Father Henry III, confirmed Magna Charta. However, ſome ſteps taken by him afterwards, diſcovered a deſign to revoke it; but the barons begining to ſtir, he retracted, and confirmed it once more.

Edward II, his ſon and ſucceſſor, in 1307, was depoſed by the parliament, for intending to eſtabliſh an abſolute power contrary to Magna Charta.

Edward III, ſon and ſucceſſor of this unfortunate Prince in 1327, confirmed it ten times during the courſe of his reign, which the victories obtained by himſelf and his ſon the Prince of Wales, over France, rendered extremely glorious.

Richard II, grandſon and ſucceſſor to Edward III, in 1377, was ſolemnly depoſed, for having violated, in many inſtances, the privileges of the people, founded on Magna Charta.

Henry IV, who had uſed that pretenſe to dethrone Richard II, in 1399, and put himſelf in his place, made ſome attempts to diminiſh the privileges of the parliament; but did not carry very far the execution of this project.

Henry V, his ſon, who ſucceeded him in 1413, maintained the parliament in all its rights, and

left the privileges of his ſubjects untouched. His reign was one continued ſeries of victories and ſucceſſes againſt France. He died in 1422.

From that time the government of England remained ſo well ſetled, and ſo firm upon its foundations, I mean, the prerogatives of the King, and the privileges of the parliament, that for near two hundred years, not one King appears to have had any intention to ſhake it. The policy of the Kings, turned wholly upon governing their parliaments by ſecret intrigues, without diſcovering any deſire of altering the conſtitution. True it is, that ſome Kings, as Henry VIII, did what they pleaſed, but without any prejudice to the privileges of parliament. On the contrary, by ſupporting the parliament in its rights, they had the addreſs to make it ſubſervient to their ends. This, by the way, is the beſt, and perhaps the only method for a King to render himſelf powerful and eaſy.

After ſo long a continuance of the ſame form of government, and ſo uninterrupted a poſſeſſion of the privileges of Magna Charta, the Engliſh nation was ſo accuſtomed to it, that it ſeemed impoſſible to make any alteration without throwing the kingdom into confuſion. Nay, it ſeemed there was no fear that any King ſhould ever think of attempting ſo difficult a thing, at the hazard of his crown, as had been the caſe of ſome former Kings. Notwithſtanding all this, James I, ſucceſſor to Queen Elizabeth in 1603, failed not to take ſome ſteps in this dangerous courſe, and indeavor to diminiſh the privileges of parliament, It was by the pernicious counſels of the duke of Buckingham, his favorite, that he ingaged in this deſign, which probably would have ended unfortunately for him, had not death ſurprized him before he had plainly diſcovered his intention. This duke of Buckingham ought to be conſidered as the firſt author of the troubles, which have ſo long infeſted England, and ſtill do infeſt it to this day.

It was under Charles I, ſon and ſucceſſor of James in 1623, that the project to render the King abſolute, and independent of the laws, was vigorouſly puſhed and advanced by all methods. The duke of Buckingham, favorite to Charles I, as he had been to his father, inſpired him with maxims directly contrary to the eſtabliſhed government, and thereby occaſioned his ruin. The duke being aſſaſſinated, the deſign was purſued by Charles, which had been begun by the deceaſed favorite. He imagined, the nation might be governed without a parliament, or at leaſt that parliaments were only to ſupply him with money. He had diſſolved three in the four firſt years of his reign, and even ſignified his intention of calling no more. Twelve years paſſed without a parliament, during which the King levied taxes by the bare act of his will, upon his ſubjects, and by his conduct diſcovered a deſign to reign arbitrarily. Unhappily for him, he admited to his perſon and council two men imbued with the ſame maxims, by whom he was puſhed on to his ruin: viz. William Laud archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Thomas Wentwotrh earl of Strafford.

While this Prince had no difficulties to ſtruggle with from abroad, he injoyed his uſurped power with ſome tranquillity, but not without the open murmurings of the people. Mean time, no perſon dared to oppoſe ſo violent a torrent. At laſt, the archbiſhop of Canterbury adviſing him to finiſh the reſtoration of the Scotiſh hierarchy, and introduction of the Engliſh liturgy, he followed the pernicious advice, but could not execute his project, without ingaging in an open war, in 1639, with his ancient kingdom of Scotland. He levied forces, and maintained them by taxes, which he himſelf had impoſed. Money failing him after the firſt campain, he at laſt, in April 1640, called a parliament, which was diſſolved in a few days, for the ſame reaſon as the three firſt, and the arbitrary impoſitions continued as before. But the King quickly perceived, that the continuation of his power, depended upon the happy ſucceſs of his arms. The people ſerved him with regret. The lords on diverſe pretenſes withdrew from court. The validity of his orders, by virtue whereof his impoſitions were levied, were conteſted in town and country. In ſhort, the King ſaw his ſubjects every where ready to deſert him, on the firſt occaſion.

This occaſion preſented itſelf ſooner than he expected. His army having received a check, and the Scots ſurprized Newcaſtle, the King was forced to ſeek means to drive them out of England, whereas he had hoped to become abſolute in Scotland. But inſtead of finding his Engliſh ſubjects ready to aſſiſt him, he ſaw them on the contrary rejoice at his diſgrace, and conſidered it as a proper opportunity to recover their privileges. In this extremity, he aſſembled the peers at York, in order to adviſe with them upon what was to be done. Their unanimous opinion was, that the only way to free himſelf from the preſent difficulties, was to call a parliament. He then perceived, that an interval of fifteen years was not capable to efface out of the minds of the Engliſh, the memory of their parliaments, which they looked upon as the ſtrongeſt ſupport of their liberties. Mean while, he was under a ſort of neceſſity to follow the advice of the peers, in calling a parliament (1).

In the preſent diſpoſition of the people to the King, ſuch repreſentatives were choſen, as were eminent for their ability, courage, and firm attachment to the privileges of the ſubject. The parliament being met, inſtead of thinking to drive the Scots out of the kingdom, as the King had hoped, believed they ought, before all things, to ſecure the liberties of the nation, by ſeting bounds to the illegal authority, which the King had for fifteen years aſſumed. This reſolution was no ſooner diſcovered, than all the people adhered to the parliament. From that time the King was ſo deſtitute of friends, that he ſaw himſelf unable to reſiſt the torrent. His only refuge was, to comply with his parliament, and paſs almoſt every bill preſented to him to curb his authority. He hoped, by this condeſcenſion, to convince his ſubjects of his intention to return to the ancient courſe from which he had been diverted by evil counſels, and perhaps he really deſigned it, but could gain no belief. On the contrary, it was thought, that mere neceſſity obliged him to meaſures ſo oppoſite to the former. Hereupon, mutual confidence, ſo neceſſary between the King and his people, being intirely loſt, the parliament would no longer depend upon the ſincerity of a Prince, whom they believed they had juſt cauſe to diſtruſt. They therefore inceſſantly labored to ſecure the liberties of the ſubject from any future invaſion. To this end, they were not ſatisfied with obtaining the King's conſent to acts which reduced the Royal power within its ancient limits, but alſo extorted his aſſent to laws, which conſiderably leſſened the juſt prerogatives of the crown. The friends of the parliament ſcrupled not to affirm, that the ſubject could never be ſecure in his property, while the King had power to return to his former courſes. Thus King Charles, who had hoped to

(1) For the 13th of November 1640. Before the peers met, he knew they would be for calling a parliament; and ſo, for his own honor propoſed it firſt. Rapin.

carry

carry the Royal authority higher than any of his predeceſſors, ſaw himſelf, on the contrary, deprived of great part of his legal power. He even had the mortification to ſee himſelf forced, in May 1641, to ſign the earl of Strafford's ſentenſe, who had acted nothing without his orders, or at leaſt his approbation. The archbiſhop of Canterbury alſo, loſt his head on the ſcaffold in 1644.

Had the parliament contented themſelves with ſetling the government upon its ancient foundations, very probably, it would not afterwards have been eaſily ſhaken. But on ſuch occaſions it is difficult to keep a juſt medium. The leading members, willing to ſcreen themſelves from the attemps of the Royal power, almoſt intirely changed the ancient conſtitution, by ſtriping the crown of the beſt part of its prerogatives. It was no longer the King and parliament which governed the nation, but the parliament alone, or rather the houſe of commons, managed all affairs. The houſe of peers had ſcarce any other power, than that of an implicit aſſent to the bills offered to them, and the King was but the ſhadow of a Sovereign. However, it was this very thing that procured him adherents, whom doubtleſs, he would never have had, if the balance had been kept even. Many thought it as ſtrange that the parliament ſhould, as I may ſay, govern without a King, as that the King ſhould attempt to rule without a parliament. The conſtitution of the government ſuffered equally by both uſurpations. But that which brought the ſtrongeſt acceſſion to the King's party was, that the parliament, to gain the Scots to their intereſt, were poſſeſſed with the project, of changing the Epiſcopal government of the church, into Preſbyterian, which they accompliſhed with open force. Moſt of the Engliſh, accuſtomed to ſee the church under the direction of biſhops, could not bear this change without murmuring. But as theſe were not the ſtrongeſt, becauſe the parliament had the treaſure, army, and places at their diſpoſal, their only refuge was to unite with the King.

Then it was that two parties appeared in the kingdom, one for the King, and one for the parliament, with a ſort of equality, which quickly made it believed, they would not long remain quiet, without coming to arms. The King's adherents at firſt had the name of Cavaliers, which was afterwards changed into that of Tories: and thoſe of the parliament, then called Roundheads, have received the name of Whigs. The oirgin of theſe two famous diſtinctions is this: at that time a ſort of Iriſh banditti, or robbers, who kept in the mountains and iſles formed by the vaſt bogs of that country, were called Tories, and at preſent are known by the name of Raparees. As the King's enemies accuſed him of favoring the Iriſh rebellion, which broke out about that time, they gave his adherents the name of Tories. Theſe, on the other hand, to be even with their enemies, who were cloſely united with the Scots, called them Whigs, a name of reproach uſed in Scotland (1). Hence it appears, that theſe two names are as ancient as the troubles, tho' they were not in vogue till many years after. I cannot preciſely fix the time, but am of opinion, that Cavalier and Roundhead, continued till the reſtoration of Charles II, and then by degrees, were changed into Tory and Whig. Theſe are the two parties which began to divide England in the time of Charles I, and which ſtill divide it to this day. The Roman Catholics, called Papiſts in England, joined, from the firſt, the King's party, which was more favorable to to them than that of the parliament, and have always remained united with the Tories.

What has been ſaid, ſufficiently ſhows, that the King's party was compoſed of two ſorts of men, of which the one had principally in view the political intereſt of the King and the crown, and the others, that of the church of England. But they were all re-united in this point, that they found their mutual advantage in the King's proſperity, without which they could not hope to ſucceed in their reſpective deſigns. For this reaſon, they were conſidered but as one party, under the ſame name of Cavaliers or Royaliſts. This mixture of two different views in the ſame party, ſubſiſts to this day, and is not one of the leaſt cauſes of that confuſion of ideas, which the word Tory occaſions. To remove this ambiguity as much as is poſſible, I ſhall call the firſt, the Political or State-Cavaliers, and the others, the Eccleſiaſtical or Church Cavaliers. Each of theſe two branches were again ſubdivided. For among the political Cavaliers there were ſome, who following the maxims of the duke of Buckingham, archbiſhop Laud, and the earl of Strafford, wiſhed to ſee the King inveſted with abſolute power, and able to deſtroy the privileges of the parliament. Theſe may be called the rank Cavaliers. Their number was ſmall, and little capable to ſupport the King in his adverſity, tho', during his proſperity, they made a great noiſe. The other branch of the political Cavaliers, was compoſed of men whom I ſhall call moderate. Theſe deſired indeed the reſtoration of the Royal authority, but according to the ancient conſtitution. The other Cavaliers, whom I call Eccleſiaſtical, were alſo ſubdivided into two branches, one of which was compoſed of rigid Churchmen, who were againſt the leaſt change in the diſcipline of the church of England. Thoſe who compoſed the other branch, were leſs ſcrupulous and obſtinate, and may be called the Low or Moderate Churchmen.

In oppoſition to the Cavaliers or Royaliſts, the Roundheads, or Parliamentarians, were divided into two principal branches, namely, the Political and Eccleſiaſtical. The firſt had principally in view, the maintenance of the rights of the people, and the ſecond, the advancement of Preſbytery. Each of theſe branches was likewiſe ſubdivided into two, one whereof was compoſed of Republicans, who aimed at undermining the Regal power, and erecting a commonwealth; the other, of the Moderate Roundheads, or Parliamentarians, deſired only to reduce the King to an incapacity of abuſing his power, by leaving him the poſſeſſion of his juſt rights. This relates only to the political Roundheads, or Parliamentarians. As for the eccleſiaſtical they alſo formed two branches, of which the firſt was compoſed of the rigid Preſbyterians, who would be contented with nothing leſs than the deſtruction of the Hierarchy; and the other, of the moderate Preſbyterians, who would have been ſatisfied with much leſs, and perhaps with a bare toleration. It was abſolutely neceſſary to premiſe thus much, in order to inable the reader to underſtand the ſequel of this Diſſertation. I ſhall more largely ſpeak of the views and intereſts of the different branches of the two parties, after I have finiſhed the abridgment which their riſe obliged me to interrupt.

While the King was in a deplorable ſtate, without money or friends, and reduced to bear every thing from the parliament, who had him, as I may ſay, at their mercy, he beheld a ray of hope

(1) Rapin by miſtake ſays, they were ſo called from certain robbers in Scotland. But Burnet tells us the name is derived from the word Whiggam, uſed by the Weſtern Scots in driving their horſes, from whence thoſe drivers were called Whiggamors, and by contraction, Whiggs, p. 43.

ſhine

ſhine in the riſe of the two parties, I have been ſpeaking of. He thought immediately, that to foment the diviſion could not but be advantageous to him, wherein he ſucceeded. He thereby ſaw himſelf at laſt in a condition to hope to do himſelf juſtice, by his arms, for the injuries of which he thought he had reaſon to complain. In this expectation he raiſed an army, and ingaged in an open war againſt the parliament, who on their ſide had now taken all the neceſſary meaſures to reſiſt him.

The particulars of this war are needleſs here, ſince the ſad concluſion of it is ſtill recent. It will ſuffice to ſay, that Charles I was vanquiſhed, and beheaded the 30th of January 1648. Thus the King himſelf, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Strafford, archbiſhop Laud, authors of the project to render the King abſolute, came all to a tragical end. If to theſe we add, the examples of John, Henry III, Edward II, Richard II, and laſtly, of James II, who had all the ſame deſign, and all miſcarried in the execution, it will be eaſy to ſee how difficult and dangerous it is for a King of England, to attempt to ſubvert ſo well cemented a government.

Oliver Cromwell, author of Charles I's death, remained maſter of the government. He durſt not however aſſume the title of King; and if he had the addreſs to render himſelf abſolute, it was under the ſpecious pretenſe of maintaining the nation's liberties. He is the ſingle inſtance in England, of an uſurper dying a natural death in his uſurpation.

While the ſovereign authority was in Cromwell's hands, the Cavaliers were extremely humbled. But they revived on the death of this formidable enemy. To give their adverſaries no advantage againſt them, they put themſelves under the conduct of thoſe of their party, who were the moſt moderate, ſo that there ſeemed to be no more rank or rigid Tories. This policy was abſolutely neceſſary, at a time, when the Royal prerogative, and the rights of the church were not to be inſiſted on, as there were neither King nor biſhops. At laſt, by a moſt ſurprizing revolution, aſſiſted by the prudent conduct of general Monk, the Engliſh united to ſet Charles II on the throne, ſon of the deceaſed King, and to reſtore the Monarchy and the Church to their former ſtate.

Charles II reigned peaceably at firſt. He was a Prince who wanted neither wit nor penetration, but was indolent, and addicted to his pleaſures. His intention was to live quietly, and avoid all diſputes with his ſubjects. He was too weary of a long exile, during which he had often wanted common neceſſaries, to be willing to hazard the being again reduced to the ſame ſtate. On the other hand, the Engliſh had time, and frequent occaſion, to open their eyes, and diſcover, that by a pretended maintenance of their liberties, they had been drawn into ſervitude. For it may be affirmed, that England had never injoyed leſs freedom, than under the government of the long parliament, and afterwards of Oliver Cromwell. However, Charles II ingaged himſelf by degrees, farther than he ever intended. This, doubtleſs, was owing either to his indolence, or too great condeſcenſion to his miniſters, who were all Cavaliers, and whom, for the future, I ſhall call Tories, as I ſhall give the Roundheads the name of Whigs, tho' I do not know exactly when theſe two names were firſt uſed. The Tories therefore, who alone were in the King's confidence, were inceſſantly urging him to reſtore the Monarchy and Church to their ancient luſtre. The court of France, for intereſts of their own, labored to inſpire him with the ſame deſign. In a word, his miniſters took great care to hinder the Whigs from inſinuating themſelves into the King's favor.

The Tory party had at their head the duke of York, the King's brother, a Prince naturally impetuous and violent, who having imbraced the Roman Catholic religion in his exile, formed the project of eſtabliſhing it in England. This project could not be executed, without firſt extending the Royal power beyond the bounds preſcribed by the law, that is to ſay, without reſuming and purſuing the ſame deſign, wherein his father had unhappily miſcarried. But the duke, by reaſon of his impetuous temper, was very improper to conduct ſuch an undertaking. He purſued it eagerly during his brother's reign, who had no legitimate iſſue, hoping that the work then begun, would be more eaſy to finiſh on his own acceſſion to the throne.

To ſucceed in this deſign, he had no other way than to begin it with the utter ruin of the Whigs, whoſe principles were directly contrary to the duke's deſigns, both with regard to the church and the ſtate. It muſt be obſerved, that moſt of the Whigs were then Preſbyterians. So, in pretending only to attack Preſbyterianiſm, the duke of York projected the deſtruction of thoſe who oppoſed the increaſe of the Regal power, without alarming the nation. Indeed, after humbling the Whigs, he might fear to meet with great obſtacles from the moderate Tories, whoſe principles did not intirely agree with the arbitrary power he intended to eſtabliſh. But he deſpaired not to ſurmount, if the Whigs, his more dangerous enemies, were once removed out of the way. To this end, he induced his brother to perſecute the Preſbyterians, wherein he was aſſiſted by all the Tories, who with pleaſure beheld this firſt occaſion of being revenged on their enemies, the Whigs. So Preſbyterianiſm was furiouſly attacked, under a pretenſe of reſtoring the church to the ſtate it was in before the troubles. An act was paſſed, forbiding the Preſbyterian aſſemblies, which were called Conventicles; and another known by the name of the Teſt-act, which indeed more directly concerned the Roman Catholics. This act ordained, that no perſon ſhould be admited to any public office, without producing a certificate of his having communicated in an Epiſcopal church. Moreover, it was called the Conformity-act, becauſe all who were to be admited to any office, were obliged, by this ſtatute, to conform to the church of England.

The Whigs ſoon perceived, that under color of maintaining the rights of the church of England, the duke of York's deſign was to change the government of the ſtate, and ruin the Proteſtant religion in England. It required ſome time to take juſt meaſures; and at laſt, with the aſſiſtance of the moderate Tories, who feared the duke of York's going too far, they obliged the King to ſend him out of the kingdom. Nay, the commons prepared a bill, called the Excluſion-bill, to deprive him of the right of ſucceſſion. But the paſſing of this bill was prevented by the diſſolution of the parliament. Another was called at Oxford, in expectation of finding the members leſs violent. But the King was miſtaken, and, after a ſhort ſeſſion, was again obliged to diſſolve them, upon their indeavoring to paſs the like bill.

It will perhaps ſeem ſtrange, that the ſcene ſhould be thus changed, and the Whigs, who were extremely low, ſhould ſuddenly become ſuperior. To let the reader into the reaſon of this change, it is neceſſary to remark, that the moderate Tories promoted the deſigns of the court, while they believed them levelled only againſt the Preſbyterians. But perceiving, by all the proceedings of the King, the duke of York, and the miniſters, that

a project

a project was formed to ruin the conſtitution of church and ſtate, and undermine the foundation of Magna Charta, they readily joined with the Whigs to oppoſe the execution of this project. It was therefore this union which gave the Whigs a ſuperiority, to which, otherwiſe, they could never have pretended. On the other hand, the State Tories and rigid Churchmen, deſiring to recover the ground they had loſt, indeavored to gain the people to their intereſt, by accuſing the Whigs of a ſetled deſign to ruin the church, and theſe in their turn accuſed the others, of intending the ſubverſion of the government, and of favoring the duke of York's pernicious deſigns. Thus the enmity of the parties, which ſeemed to have been much weakened by the reſtoration, was revived. It may truly be ſaid, that the Tories were in fault, who to revenge the wrongs received from the long parliament, and Cromwell's uſurpation, raſhly threw themſelves into the duke of York's party. They afterwards repented, when they ſaw to what the duke intended to make them ſubſervient.

Some time after, the minds of the people being a little calmed, the duke of York returned into England, and continued without interruption to foment diviſion, without which he could not hope to effect his deſigns. So this Prince (by an exceſs of zeal for his religion, by a deſire of revenge, and perhaps excited by the ambition of accompliſhing a project, which had been in vain attempted by ſeveral Kings of England) and Charles II, thro' a too great condeſcenſion to his brother, kindled a flame in England, which is not yet extinguiſhed.

Charles II died during theſe tranſactions, and the duke of York aſcended the throne, by the name of James II, without any oppoſition. He at firſt made great promiſes to his ſubjects, that neither religion, nor the conſtitution, ſhould ſuffer any change in his reign. But he was far from performing his promiſes. Shortly after, the duke of Monmouth, natural ſon of Charles II, relying on the diſcontent of the people, left the Low-Countries, where he had lived ſome time in exile, made a deſcent in England with a handful of men, and aſſumed the title of King. But his royalty laſted but few days. His party being much weaker than he had expected, he was defeated, taken, and beheaded. The King was ſo elated by a victory, obtained with ſuch eaſe, that he ſcrupled not to diſcover his deſigns, ſo ſecure did he think himſelf of the ſucceſs. The judges, who were devoted to him, gave their opinion, that the King might diſpenſe with the laws. Their deciſion was founded upon ſome ſtatutes lodging this power in the Sovereign, with regard to certain laws; and upon examples of ſome of his predeceſſors, who had, in this reſpect, exceeded the bounds of their power. Thus theſe corrupted judges drew from particular caſes a general concluſion, and founded a permanent right upon ſome tranſient uſurpations.

This door being opened, the King by his ſole authority repealed the penal laws, inacted by ſeveral parliaments to prevent the deſigns of the Papiſts. He next filled his army with officers of that religion, and beſtowed preferments and titles upon men, who by the laws were unqualified. He took away the charters from London, and other corporations, and reduced them to a dependence upon his pleaſure. In ſhort, by a bare proclamation he granted a full liberty of conſcience, and permited to each ſect the public profeſſion of their religion. This proclamation had a double view, to favor the Papiſts, and to amuſe the Preſbyterians. The King was perſuaded, that as the latter were ſtill liable to the penal laws inacted againſt them in the late reign, they would be glad to be freed from them, and that the fear of forfeiting the liberty granted by the proclamation would keep them in ſubmiſſion. But they were not deceived by an artifice directly tending to their ruin. I omit many other ſteps taken by the King, which were but too capable to fill all his ſubjects with terror.

Hitherto the Tories in general had favored the King's deſigns. But when they perceived, all his proceedings tended to a ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed government, and ruin of the Proteſtant religion, they began to repent of their paſt conduct. They clearly ſaw, that by the courſe they were made to take, it was intended to lead them where they deſigned not to go, and that they could not attain their end, the ruin of the Whigs, without the loſs of their religion and liberty. In this danger, which could not be more imminent, they joined the Whigs, and with them, reſolved to call in the Prince of Orange to free them from their dangerous ſtate. From that time the King's party became extreamly weak, being compoſed of only Papiſts, rank Tories, and ſome lords, ſlaves of the court, and their fortune. Mean while, the King appeared outwardly as powerful as ever, and near the end of his undertaking; becauſe thoſe who yet ſeemed attached to the court, did not think proper to declare before the time. The Prince of Orange was landed before the King's weakneſs was viſible. His army, his fleet, the lords whom he thought moſt devoted to his perſon, forſook him at once, and he was reduced to the ſad neceſſity of trying in a diſguiſe to eſcape out of his kingdom. But failing even in this attempt, he had the mortification to ſee himſelf at the mercy of the Prince of Orange, and, in all appearance, indebted to his generoſity, or perhaps his policy, for the indirect means which were furniſhed him, of flying into France. This example ſhows, that tho' the Engliſh are divided into two parties, and there is great enmity between them, their paſſion does not however cauſe them, in general, at leaſt, to abandon the intereſts of religion and liberty.

William and Mary being crowned, on the flight, or, as it was called, the Abdication of King James, their chief care was to ſtifle the ſeeds of diviſion ſtill ſubſiſting between the Whigs and Tories, tho' the danger had united them. In order to this, it was neceſſary to remove from the miniſtry and their confidence, the favorers of King James's deſigns, and the bigots to the minuteſt rites and ceremonies of the church of England. Whithout this, the Whigs could never have injoyed any quiet, ſince they ever conſidered the rank and rigid Tories, as their irreconcileable enemies. On the other hand, it was not leſs neceſſary to remove from the council the moſt rigid Whig Preſbyterians, for fear of giving occaſion to think, there was a deſign to change the church government. This fear would have been the more juſt, as the new King having ever profeſſed in Holland the Preſbyterian religion, the leaſt ſtep in its favor, might have raiſed a ſuſpicion of his deſigning to eſtabliſh it upon the ruins of the national church. Great addreſs was therefore to be uſed to remove all cauſe of fear and jealouſy in the Tories. It was for theſe purpoſes that, during the reign of William and Mary, the offices were generally confered on the moderate men of both parties. This maxim was purſued by King William when he reigned alone, after the Queen's death. But as it was impoſſible to pleaſe both parties at once, unleſs there had been more places to give, he affected frequently to change his miniſtry, and imploy the two parties alternately. This was all he could do, till time ſhould have extinguiſhed intirely the flames of diviſion.

Under ſuch circumſtances, and a King of ſuch wiſdom and foreſight, it may be almoſt affirmed,

that no disturbance would have happened to the government from the difference of the principles of the two parties, if the Church Tories could have been contented with seeing their church remain established. But they could not be satisfied, so long as they saw the Presbyterians injoy an intire liberty of conscience, publicly exercise their religion, and fill offices, contrary to the conformity act of Charles II. They were jealous that the Whigs intended by degrees to undermine the church, and that the King concured with them in that design. What they had seen during the long parliament gave them occasion to fear the same attacks. The rank Tories, having lost King James, their patron and defender, inspired the Episcopal party with these fears and jealousies, to animate them against King William. They perceived, they were no longer able to suport themselves, unless means were found to ingage the church in their quarrel. Hence the rumors industriously spread among the people, of the church's being in danger. The Whigs saw by this, that the rank Tories had not relinquished their projects, but would, whenever they were armed with power, make use of the pretense of religion to ruin them, in imitation of King James. It was thus, that animosity was continued between the two parties, notwithstanding King William's care and indeavors.

It seemed therefore, that religion was then the sole point in question between the two parties; the junctures not allowing either the rank Tories, or the republican Whigs, to push their principles. This has given occasion to a false idea of the differences between the two parties, and to an imagination, that they solely consist in a diversity of sentiments concerning church-government. But this is certainly a mistake. When an opportunity offers, the rank Tories show, that the safety of the church is not the sole motive of their conduct, and probably the Republican Whigs would also remember their maxims, at a favorable juncture.

As to the Papists, who may be considered as a branch of the Tories, they would have had reason to be satisfied with King William's moderation, if their extreme desire to see King James again on the throne, had not caused them to look upon the reigning King as their enemy. Some of them were even ingaged in conspiracies against his person, which only turned to their own confusion and ruin. This immoderate desire expressed by the Papists, and even by some Tories, for the restoration of King James, obliged King William to seek means, not only for the prevention of their ill designs during his life, but also to render their indeavors fruitless after his death. Accordingly, by an act of parliament, the succession of the crown was setled in the illustrious house of Hanover, without any regard to the pretensions which birth or nearness of blood could give to any Papist whatsoever. William died shortly after, and Anne, daughter of James II, and Princess of Denmark, mounted the throne.

This Queen had been educated in the principles of the rigid Tories with respect to religion, and, probably in those of the rank Tories, with regard to government. At least, all who had any power over her, or were concerned in her education, were of this character. Charles II her uncle, James II her father, the earl of Rochester her mother's brother, were all rank Tories, deeming any opposition to the Sovereign's will, a manifest rebellion. Queen Anne was beside of no great capacity, and naturally obstinate. An accidental quarrel with her sister Queen Mary, having made her resolve to withdraw from court, she was so punctual to her resolution, that she would not even visit the Queen her sister, when on her death-bed. The meaness of her genius foretold the power which her ministry would have in the government. On the other hand, her education made it feared, she would be guided by the rank and rigid Tories, of whom her uncle the earl of Rochester, was considered as the head. This lord was equally dreaded by the Whigs and moderate Tories, as a dangerous man, and capable of carrying things to extremities. He was otherwise a person of great parts, but very fond of his principles. Probably, he was going to be at the helm of the government, by the accession of the Queen his niece to the throne. But it is pretended, that the fear of the moderate Tories to see him in so high a post, made them resolve to join with the Whigs, to prevent it. At least it is certain, that such an union was made, which forced the Queen to throw herself into their arms, and trust them with the management of affairs. I am a stranger to the intrigues used to bring the Queen to these measures. The lords Godolphin, Marlborough, and some other leaders of the moderate Tories, were among those who joined the Whigs, and strengthened them more by their ability, than their credit and numbers. From this time, the moderate Tories and the Whigs made but one party.

It is needless to relate here, with what glory to England, and to the Queen in particular, these new ministers directed the public affairs. This is a thing universally known, and the memory of it still recent. But it is pretended, that by reason of the meaness of the Queen's genius, they held her in a kind of servitude, tho' they outwardly affected to give her the honor of all her glorious successes. During their administration, the rank and rigid Church Tories were excluded from all civil imployments, and ecclesiastical dignities. Had this continued to the death of the Queen, these two branches of the Tory party would doubtless have been considerably lessened in number and credit.

Mean time, the Queen saw herself, not without some impatience, forced, as it were, to follow the counsels of those whom she had a right to command, and who, if public report is to be credited, left her not free to pursue her own inclinations or judgment. The rank Tories perceiving, or perhaps suggesting these sentiments to the Queen, industriously cherished her discontent, by the assistance of a certain lady, who was in her confidence. Such was their success, that after they had satisfied her, that she was a slave, they brought her to a resolution of freeing herself. This intrigue was conducted with such art and secresy, that her ministers found themselves supplanted, before any measures could be taken to prevent their ruin. Immediately, their places were filled with rank and furious Tories. The parliament, in which the Whigs had a great superiority of votes, was dissolved, and another called, to which the new ministers took care to have members returned devoted to their party. Any person, ever so little acquainted with the affairs of England, knows what influence the court has in the elections. It may, however, be affirmed, that in respect of number, the party of the ministry was still inconsiderable. But they had the Queen and the parliament on their side. Beside, they were very careful to strengthen their party, by infusing jealousies on the account of religion, and persuading the Episcopalians that the church had been in great danger, during the late administration, and would always be so, as long the Whigs had any share in the government. These insinuations revived the passion of the Church Tories, and carried them to such excesses against the Presbyterians, as should not be allowed in a well ordered state, but which these ministers affected to connive at. Indeed, their

design

deſign was not to leſſen, but rather to increaſe the animoſity between the two parties, becauſe their own was thereby ſtrengthened.

Hitherto every thing ſucceeded to the wiſh of the new miniſtry. But they were very ſenſible, that the preſent advantages, procured by theſe imaginary terrors, would be of no long continuance. Beſide, tho' they could have kept the people always in this diſpoſition, the Queen might die very ſoon, eſpecially as ſhe was very infirm. In that caſe, they had reaſon to fear, the fabric they had raiſed, would be demoliſhed, by the Elector of Hanover, who was to ſucceed the Queen, by virtue of the act of ſucceſſion, for which he was chiefly indebted to the Whigs. They were therefore to think of preventing this danger without loſs of time. Their party was too weak to ſtruggle with the Sovereign, ſhould he happen to be againſt them, as had been often ſeen during the reign of King William, and in the firſt years of Queen Anne. They therefore concluded, at leaſt, if we may judge by their proceedings, that their ſureſt way would be to ſecure the crown to the Pretender, in order to have a protector when the Queen ſhoud fail them. It is however ſtill uncertain, whether the earl of Oxford, that able miniſter, now in the Tower, was of this opinion. But it cannot be denied, that they believed the aſſiſtance of France to be abſolutely neceſſary for their ſupport. Accordingly, to ſecure it, they made a diſhonorable and haſty peace, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, and forced the allies of England to follow her example. Probably had not the Queen died ſo ſoon after the peace, the oppreſſed Whigs would have been obliged to call in to their aſſiſtance, the Elector of Hanover, as they had before the Prince of Orange, but with far leſs hope of having the general concurence of the people. The reaſon is, becauſe King James's deſign to ſubvert the church and ſtate, was ſo open, that it could not be doubted, whereas againſt the Pretender there were only bare preſumptions.

What has lately happened ſince King George's acceſſion to the throne, ſhows, there was a formed deſign to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the Pretender, had not the death of the Queen happened, before the authors of it had time to take all their meaſures. It is however uncertain, whether they could have executed their deſign, or whether, if they could, the Pretender's reign would have been of any long continuance. The Engliſh in general are extremely jealous of their laws and liberties, nor are they leſs ſo of their religion. This is what I think I may venture to affirm, tho' ſome of them ſeem indifferent as to the latter. But, thanks be to God, theſe are far from being the majority. Now it would have been very difficult for the Pretender, advanced to the throne by foreign aid, profeſſing a religion contrary to the national, and guided by rank Tories, to keep himſelf within the bounds of moderation, neceſſary to gain the hearts of his ſubjects, without which a King of England can never ſit firmly on his throne. However, without ſtaying to gueſs what might have happened, let us only obſerve that the rank and rigid Tories have been diſappointed. Not only, the Pretender is not King, but his hopes of becoming ſo were never leſs. King George is in peaceable poſſeſſion of his crown; the Tories are humbled, and the Whigs, lately oppreſſed, are now at the top of the wheel.

After this brief account of the riſe and progreſs of the Tories and Whigs, it will not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader to know more particularly the views, intereſts, ſtrength, and characters of the two parties. For this purpoſe the different branches before-mentioned muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed. It is therefore neceſſary to repeat here that the two parties may be conſidered under two different relations; namely, with reſpect to the ſtate, and with regard to the church. I ſhall firſt ſpeak of the State Tories and Whigs, after which; I ſhall conſider them with reſpect to religion.

The State Tories are, as I ſaid, divided into two branches, one of which may in French be called, Rank. In England they are known by the name of High Flyers. This idea, taken from birds that by ſoaring above the common flight, loſe themſelves in the clouds, is very ſuitable to men who cannot contain themſelves within the limits of the eſtabliſhed government. Theſe are for having the Sovereign abſolute in England, as he is in France and ſome other countries, and for erecting his will into law. They regard not what I have ſaid in the begining of this Diſſertation, that all the governments at this day in Europe were originally like that eſtabliſhed in England; and conſequently there is no reaſon why the Engliſh ſhould imitate nations who have ſuffered it to be loſt, or at leaſt very much altered. It may be imagined that in ſuch a country as England, this party cannot be very numerous, and yet they are very conſiderable for three reaſons. Firſt, becauſe the heads of this party are perſons of the higheſt rank, and commonly favorites and miniſters of ſtate, or ſuch as hold the greateſt offices at court, and the moſt eminent dignities in the church. Theſe men, who would not willingly put themſelves under the conduct of others, being thus advantageouſly ſituated, become, generally, the leaders of all the Tory party. They manage them as they pleaſe, not only for the advantage of the whole party, but chiefly for their own particular ends. Thus very often, under pretenſe of acting for the intereſt of the party, their proceedings tend only to their own advantage, and the Tories are led by them much farther than moſt of them deſire. It is this which gives occaſion to many perſons to accuſe all the Tories of being for arbitrary power, tho' it is certain that only the High Flyers are chargeable with this principle. But 'tis no great fault, it ſeems, to aſcribe to a whole party what is done by their leaders.

Secondly, this particular branch of Tories is conſiderable, in that, when they are in the miniſtry, they ingage the Church Tories ſtrenuouſly to maintain the doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, which goes a great way towards gaining the people to their party. They inſinuate to the Epiſcopal miſters, that they have only in view the ruin of the Preſbyterians, and under that pretenſe cauſe them to preach a doctrine, the conſequence of which extends to all the ſubjects. This was experienced in the reigns of Charles II, of James II, and of Queen Anne, towards the concluſion.

Laſtly, the party of the High Flyers becomes very powerful, when as it frequently happens, they are ſupported by the King, and then it is that the liberty of the nation is in danger. Proofs of this, have been ſeen in the reigns of James II, and Charles I, Richard II, Edward II, and Henry III; for the High Flyers are more ancient than is imagined.

The ſecond branch of the State Tories is compoſed of thoſe I called moderate. Theſe are for having the King injoy all his prerogatives, but they pretend not, with the High Flyers, to ſacrifice to him the privileges of the ſubject. They are true Engliſhmen, who have the welfare of their country at heart, and are for preſerving the conſtitution tranſmited to them by their anceſtors. They have often ſav'd the ſtate, and will again ſave it, when in danger from the Rank Tories or Republican Whigs, by oppoſing, with all their power, thoſe who ſhall attempt to alter the government. It would be

be injuſtice, to confound them with the High Flyers under the general denomination of Tories.

As there are two branches of State Tories, ſo there are two of State Whigs, viz. republican, and moderate Whigs. The Republican Whigs are the remains of the party of the long parliament which indeavored to turn the government into a commonwealth. Theſe at preſent are ſo inconſiderable, that they ſerve only to ſtrengthen the other Whigs with whom they uſually join. The Tories would perſuade the public, that all Whigs are of this kind. And in like manner the Whigs would have it believed that all Tories are High Flyers. But this is only an artifice to render one another mutually odious.

The ſecond branch of the State Whigs contains the moderate Whigs, who are nearly allied to the moderate Tories in principle; and conſequently are to be conſidered as true Engliſhmen, who deſire, the government may be maintained upon its ancient foundations. Herein they would be exactly like the moderate Tories, were it not that theſe incline more to the King, and the moderate Whigs to the parliament. The moderate Whig is perpetually hindering the peoples rights from being invaded, and ſometimes even takes precautions at the expenſe of the crown. By him the triennal act was procured, with ſome others, which it is needleſs to mention, to prevent the abuſe of the Royal power. Hence it is evident that the High Flyers have no greater enemy than the moderate Whig, and that theſe two branches of Whigs and Tories properly form the oppoſition between the State Tories and State Whigs. Theſe laſt laugh at Paſſive-obedience when its conſequences are carried too far. Their principle is, that the Royal power has its bounds, which cannot be tranſgreſſed, without injuſtice. Conſequently they believe, that whenever the Sovereign exceeds his prerogatives, he may be reſiſted by his ſubjects. Hence it is eaſy to infer, they do not think the King can diſpenſe with the laws.

What has been ſaid is ſufficient to ſhow that the moderate State Whigs and Tories are almoſt of the ſame ſentiments. Their being of different parties proceeds from their mutual fear that either may make the ballance incline too much to the King's or the parliament's ſide. It is not therefore ſtrange, that theſe two branches of the oppoſite parties, unite in the preſſing exigencies of the ſtate. For, their views equally point to the preſervation of the government; tho' often they purſue their end by different paths. Accordingly ſince the union of theſe two branches upon the death of King William, they have remained inſeparable, and the moderate Whig and Tory form almoſt the ſame party, under the common appellation of Whig. I dare not however affirm that there are not yet moderate Tories who keep by themſelves, and are unwilling to be confounded with the Whigs.

It muſt be remembered that hitherto I have only ſpoke of the Tories and Whigs in relation to the government, without any regard to religion. I take care not to confound things which ought to be carefully diſtinguiſhed. It is not true that all Churchmen are Tories, or all Preſbyterians Whigs in point of government, as is commonly imagined. Many Preſbyterians are in this reſpect of the ſame principles with the moderate Tories, and would not be leſs concerned to ſee the King ſtriped of his prerogatives, than the ſubject of his privileges. In like manner, many Church-men, even biſhops themſelves, are Whigs, very good Whigs as to the government, and as conſidered in oppoſition to the High Flyers, which ſhows the neceſſity of diſtinguiſhing State Tories and Whigs, from Church Whigs and Tories, of whom we are now going to ſpeak.

I preſume the reader knows that the church of England, when ſhe received the reformation, admited only ſome alterations in her doctrine, but preſerved the Hierarchy with all the ceremonies in which ſhe ſaw nothing ſuperſtitious. The reformation was not properly compleated till the reign of Elizabeth. Then it was that ſeveral conſtitutions of the convocation, confirmed by acts of parliament, ſetled the public worſhip as it ſtands to this day. Mean while, many Engliſhmen who had fled from the rage of Queen Mary, returned home with favorable ſentiments of the reformation, as eſtabliſhed in France, Switzerland, Geneva, and other parts of Germany. Theſe men could not comply with the reformation in England, which in their opinion, had not been carried far enough from the church of Rome. For this reaſon they not only abſented themſelves from the aſſemblies of the eſtabliſhed church, but alſo compoſed ſeparate aſſemblies which were called Conventicles. Theſe Separatiſts were likewiſe ſtiled Preſbyterians, becauſe, refuſing their ſubmiſſion to the biſhops, they maintained that all prieſts or miniſters had an equal authority in the church, which ought to be governed by Preſbyteries, or Conſiſtories, compoſed of miniſters and Lay-elders. Upon this occaſion were two parties formed, who, wanting the mutual forbearance of perſons profeſſing in the main the ſame religion, began to moleſt one another with diſputes in conference and writing. The church of England men were very angry, that private perſons ſhould pretend to reform what, after mature deliberation, had been eſtabliſhed by national ſynods and parliaments. On the other hand, the Preſbyterians thought it no leſs ſtrange, that they ſhould be compelled to practiſe what they believed contrary to the purity of religion (1), and with what their conſciences could not comply. The Preſbyterians were long oppreſſed, becauſe their adverſaries ſupported their arguments with reaſons from the authority of the Queen and parliament.

The Preſbyterians conceived great hopes of the acceſſion of James I, becauſe that Prince had always profeſſed their religion while he reigned in Scotland. But as he readily conformed to the church of England, they were not much eaſed. Mean while, this party, tho' oppreſſed, ſo increaſed, that in the beginning of the troubles they were become very numerous. King Charles I, was ſo attached to the church of England, that it may be affirmed he died a martyr to it, as is evident from his hiſtory. His opinion of the purity of this church, made him hearken to William Laud archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſuggeſting to him the reduction of the church of Scotland under the ſame government with that of England, by introducing the Hierarchy. This undertaking ingaged him in a war with Scotland, and the war produced the long parliament, againſt which he thought himſelf obliged to take arms. This parliament wanting the aſſiſtance of the Scots, could not obtain it but by an ingagement to make the church of England Preſbyterian. A quarrel was therefore ſought with the biſhops, deans, and chapters, in a word, with the whole church of England, which ſaw its Hierarchy, eſtabliſhed by Queen Elizabeth, intirely ſubverted, and the Scotiſh Preſbyterian government introduced. In this diſtreſs the Epiſcopalians had no other reſourſe than to unite the Epiſcopal party

(1) This procured them the name of Puritans.

with

with the King's party, and as they had one common intereſt with the Cavaliers, viz. the maintenance of the King's cauſe, they were confounded with them under the ſame party denomination. The Preſbyterians were in the like manner reckoned among the Roundheads, becauſe they adhered to the parliament.

During the long parliament, and even to the death of Cromwell, the diviſion of the branches juſt mentioned, was hardly perceived. All who were known by the name of Roundheads, or Parliamentarians, were rigid Preſbyterians and Republicans. This was the party then in vogue, and the only one that could prefer ſuch as aſpired to the poſts in the gift of the parliament. In like manner the followers of the King's party appeared to be rank Cavaliers, or rigid Epiſcopalians, becauſe theſe were then moſt regarded at court. But on the reſtoration of Charles II, the ſeveral branches of the two parties began to be diſtinguiſhed. All being tired with the troubles which had ſo long haraſſed the kingdom, the moderate no longer feared to diſcover their ſentiments. Some of the Preſbyterians teſtified a readineſs to relax, and many Epiſcopalians were of opinion that, for the ſake of peace, ſome condeſcenſion might be uſed to the Preſbyterians. Theſe therefore were the men of both parties, who preſerving this moderation, formed the two branches of the moderate Whigs and Tories, with reſpect to religion. But ſtill the majority in both parties firmly adhered to their principles with inconceivable obſtinacy. Among the Epiſcopalians there were thoſe, who, upon no account whatſoever, could be perſuaded to recede in the leaſt from the practiſe of their church. On the other hand, there were Preſbyterians who were no leſs offended at ſeeing a miniſter officiate in a ſurplice, than at hearing him preach hereſy, and who branded with the name of Idolatrous and Superſtitious, every ceremony retained by the church of England. This gave birth to the two branches of the rigid Epiſcopalians and Preſbyterians, which ſubſiſt to this day. The hierarchy is the principal point, on which they are divided. They are both compriſed under the name of Whigs and Tories, becauſe the rigid Epiſcopalians join with the Tories, and the Preſbyterians with the Whigs.

From what has been ſaid concerning the ſeveral branches of Whig and Tory, it is eaſy to gather that theſe two names are very obſcure and equivocal terms, becauſe they convey, or ought to convey to the mind different ideas, according to the ſubject diſcourſed of. For inſtance, if I hear it ſaid, that the Tories and Whigs are at great enmity, this raiſes in my mind an idea comprehending all the ſeveral branches of Whigs and Tories in general. But if I am told, the Tories are for having the King abſolute and independent, or that the Whigs would be glad the regal power were aboliſhed, my idea can only extend to the High Flyers and the Republican Whigs. The reſt of the Whigs and Tories would doubtleſs be offended at any ſuch imputations. In like manner, if I hear that the Tories had rather ſee a Papiſt on the throne than a Proteſtant, favorable to the Whigs, I ſhould injure the Tories in general, by imputing ſuch a thought to them, which can only be entertained by the Popiſh and ſome rigid Church Tories, and perhaps ſome High Flyers. Laſtly, if I hear that the Whigs aim at the ruin of the church of England, I can underſtand this only of the Preſbyterian Whigs, ſince the Epiſcopal Whigs, among whom are ſeveral biſhops, cannot with juſtice be accuſed of laboring the ruin of their own church. Thus the names of Tories and Whigs convey to the mind certain confuſed ideas, which few are capable of rightly diſtinguiſhing. But this difficulty ſtill increaſes, when it is conſidered that the ſame perſon may be either Whig or Tory, according to the ſubject in hand. A Preſbyterian, for inſtance, who wiſhes the ruin of the church of England, is certainly for that reaſon in the Whig party. But if a Preſbyterian oppoſes with all his power the attempts of ſome of his party, againſt the regal authority, it cannot be denied that he is in that reſpect a true Tory. In like manner, when the church only is concerned, the Epiſcopal party are to be conſidered as Tories. But how many even of theſe are Whigs with reſpect to the government? Nor have foreigners only ſuch confuſed ideas in this matter; the Engliſh themſelves are liable to them. Nothing is more frequent than to hear a Whig charging all the Tories in general with an intention to deſtroy the rights and liberties of the ſubject; and a Tory arraigning the Whigs without diſtinction, as utter enemies to the church and ſtate. Every man uſes this confuſion of ideas, occaſioned by the names of Whig and Tory, to accuſe his adverſaries of what is moſt odious in both parties.

Having ſhown, as diſtinctly as I could, what is to be underſtood by the Tories and Whigs, I am next to examine the ſeveral motives and intereſts of the two parties. Were we to rely on what is ſaid by both, nothing is more juſt, more equitable, than the motives by which they are actuated, viz. the glory of God, the honor of the King, the public good, and the welfare of the nation. For my part, if I may ſpeak my mind, it is my belief, that as they are all men, intereſt is the main ſpring of all their actions. Since the two parties were formed, each has earneſtly labored to gain a ſuperiority over the other, becauſe this ſuperiority is attended with poſts, honors and dignities, which are confered on their own members by the prevailing, in excluſion of thoſe of the contrary party. This made King William ſay that, "If he had places "enough to beſtow, he ſhould ſoon reconcile the "two parties." There would be yet another expedient to ſupply what that Prince imagined, viz. to confer all the great places upon neutral lords. But where ſhall we find a ſufficient number of ſuch, who are qualified to exerciſe the higheſt offices? Certainly there are but very few. I own however, there are ſome, who, by their capacity, their impartiality, their diſintereſtedneſs, would deſerve a particular diſtinction. I wiſh I knew them all, that I might inſert their names, and give them in part their due praiſe. But theſe lords, ſo worthy of beign known, are little heard of in foreign parts, becauſe, as they make their court to neither party, the public poſts generally fall not to their ſhare. Nevertheleſs, it ſometimes happens that miniſters are in a manner obliged to find out theſe neutral lords, and advance them to the firſt dignities in the kingdom. We know one eſpecially, who without ever courting the Whig or Tory miniſters, was ſent embaſſador and plenipotentiary at the peace of Ryſwick, honored with the order of the garter, ſucceſſively raiſed to the offices of lord privy ſeal, lord preſident of the council, lord high admiral of England, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, tho' he never ſollicited theſe great offices. I ſpeak of the earl of Pembroke, whoſe reputation is better known to me than that of ſome other lords of the ſame character, who ought to receive no injury from my ſilence. Among all his other virtues, his integrity in the great poſts which he has filled, calls for much nobler incomiums than he can receive from a foreigner, who has neither the honor to know him perſonally, nor to be known by him. If there were in England twelve ſuch lords, advanced to the great offices, it would be an infallible means to

humble both parties at once. Then the aſpirers to imployments would make it a merit to eſpouſe neither party, and this impartiality would ſoon deſcend from the great men to the people. But this is a happineſs rather to be deſired than hoped. Neutrality, far from promoting perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit, is rather a ſure impediment to their riſing, becauſe the miniſters and party leaders think only of gratifying their creatures.

Intereſt, as I ſaid, is the principal motive which actuates the two parties, and this is but too apparent. If, for inſtance, the High Flyers wiſh to ſee the Sovereign in poſſeſſion of abſolute power, I very much doubt whether this flows from a deſire of procuring the welfare of the kingdom, tho' they ſhould be perſuaded that deſpotiſm is the moſt compleat form of government. If the public good was the ſole ſpring of their actions, they would not be ſo warm. The ſame may be ſaid of the other branches of the two parties. Each would have it believed, they have only the good of the kingdom in view, while in fact they are only laboring for themſelves, their family and poſterity. But when I ſay that intereſt is their principal motive, I pretend not to exclude intirely many others, which may actuate as well the heads as the members of each party. Some believe that their principles really tend to the good of the ſtate; others act from a religious motive; ſome are ſwayed by revenge, party ſpirit, and the deſire of ſuperiority. Numberleſs other motives there are on which I think it needleſs to inlarge, that I may not be led to examine the conduct of particulars. It is certain, many may purſue the ſame end from different motives. It will be better to ſhow the ſtrength and ſeveral intereſts of both parties. In order to this, it is neceſſary to proceed in this examination according to the different branches into which they are divided. I ſhall begin with the Tories.

It is difficult at firſt to conceive, that in a country like England, bleſſed with ſo many noble privileges which other nations do not at preſent injoy, there ſhould be men who wiſh to ſee the King inveſted with unlimited power. There are indeed but very few who openly profeſs themſelves to be of the party which I call High Flyers. Nevertheleſs it is but too true that ſuch a party has always been in England, and ſtill ſubſiſts to this day, tho' diſowned by moſt of thoſe who are ingaged in it. Can it be denied that ſuch a party exiſted under Charles I? The very judges of the kingdom, who are conſidered as the interpreters of the law, gave it as their opinion, that in caſes of neceſſity the King might impoſe taxes upon his ſubjects, and that the King himſelf is the ſole judge of ſuch caſes. This was rooting up the nobleſt prerogative of the parliament, and the principal cauſe of their frequent meetings. If the Sovereign could levy taxes upon his ſubjects, without authority of parliament, it may be affirmed, that their ſeſſion would be very rare, and perhaps in time, intirely ceaſe. But if the parliament were once laid aſide, what would become of the privileges and immunities of the ſubject? In all likelihood the caſe would be the ſame as in France, ſince the general aſſembly of the ſtates has been diſcontinued. Has it not alſo been ſeen under James II, that the judges aſcribed to the King a power of diſpenſing with the penal laws? And was not this making him abſolute? In ſhort, we have ſeen Charles I, Charles II, James II, taking large ſteps towards arbitrary power, which they would never have attempted, had they not expected to be ſupported by a numerous party. Let Queen Anne's proceedings in the laſt years of her reign be conſidered; for inſtance, the negociation and concluſion of the peace of Utrecht; the creation of twelve peers at once; the violences uſed in parliamentary elections; and it cannot be denied that they were ſo many advances towards deſpotiſm, to which ſhe was excited by the party I am ſpeaking of. It is therefore certain, there is ſuch a party in the kingdom. But as they dare not openly avow their principles, they cover them with the pretenſe of maintaining the rights of the crown, to which they ſeem to confine themſelves, willing to have it believed that they are of the party of the moderate Tories. But the principal High Flyers, being commonly favorites or miniſters of ſtate, it generally happens that they become heads of the whole party of the Tories, and ingage them to do more than they would. They begin with attacking the Preſbyterians, and ſo ingage the Church Tories to follow their meaſures, without knowing whither it is intended to lead them. On pretenſe of having the Diſſenters only in view, they cauſe the clergy to preach Paſſive-obedience, which tends directly to arbitrary power. It is this which renders the High Flyers more powerful than appears at firſt ſight. The main concern of this party lies in drawing the church into their quarrel, by pretending an extreme zeal for her rights. They are thereby confounded with the Church Tories, whoſe number is very conſiderable, who avoid giving the alarm to the moderate Tories, and ſo keep themſelves undiſcovered till they have made the whole party ſubſervient to their particular deſigns. But for all this, notwithſtanding their care to obſerve what I have been ſaying, they have the misfortune never to arrive at the end of their carreer. After they have made themſelves leaders of the whole Tory party, and by ſecret paths, conducted the Moderate and Church Tories to a certain point, they are at laſt forced upon ſome proceedings which diſcover their deſigns. Then they loſe many of their followers, who not only deſert them, but go over to the Whigs. This was the caſe of James II, who ſaw himſelf ſuddenly abandoned by all the world, juſt as he thought himſelf ſecure of his ends. If in the laſt years of Queen Anne, the High Flyers, who governed in her name, had attempted to procure a repeal of the act of ſucceſſion, very probably, they would have met with the ſame mortification, and I do not doubt but the ſame thing will happen upon every the like occaſion. The reaſon of what I advance ſeems to me evident, viz. that it can be advantageous but to very few Engliſhmen, to have a Popiſh or abſolute King.

The party or branch of the Moderate Tories much exceeds in number that of the High Flyers; whatever advantage this laſt may have from the quality of their leaders, the other is more powerful from the goodneſs of their cauſe, I mean the preſervation of the King's juſt prerogatives. This is properly the intereſt of all Engliſhmen, who cannot hope for greater happineſs under any other form of government, than under that which has been ſo long eſtabliſhed. This branch of the moderate Tories becomes ſtill more conſiderable as often as any attempt is made to extend or to abridge the Royal prerogative. If to abridge it, they are joined by all the Whigs; if to extend it, they are aſſiſted by all the reſt of the Tories. Nevertheleſs it ſometime happens, that the junctures produces ſome change in the principles, as well as in the intereſts of this party. When the Sovereign favors the Tories in general, by confering places and poſts upon them, nothing is capable to detach the moderate Tories from his intereſt: but their affection cools whenever he inclines to the other ſide. Then if they ſee the Whigs, by a precaution common to them, make any attempt upon the

prerogative

prerogative Royal, they are ready to join them. But herein their ſole aim is to let the King know that they deſerve his regard. This courſe was frequently taken by them in the reign of King William, who often changed ſides. In general, it is the intereſt of the moderate Tories to oppoſe the attempts of the Whigs againſt the authority of the Sovereign, becauſe this ſupports their credit at court and in the country. But withal they are to take care that the High Flyers do not, under the ſpecious pretenſe of being of the ſame name and party, carry them farther than is neceſſary.

As to the Church Tories, it may eaſily be conceived that they include almoſt the whole kingdom in their party, ſince this branch conſiſts of all the members of the church of England. Therefore when religion is in queſtion, between the Whigs and Tories, the former are not able to reſiſt their adverſaries. To this ſuperiority is owing the readineſs with which the Church Tories ſhow their reſentment againſt the Preſbyterian Whigs. It is not ſo with the Whigs, who even in their greateſt proſperity dare not ſo much as diſcover the leaſt thought of attacking the church. They did it once under the long parliament, and it will never be forgot by the Tories. They look upon the Whig party as an enemy always ready to undermine the foundations of their church; and, from what was once done, infer the deſire of doing the like again, when a favorable opportunity preſents. This makes them ſo readily receive every impreſſion which from time to time is given them of the church's being in danger, and ſuffer themſelves to be eaſily deluded on that account. Their leaders know ſo well how to improve this diſpoſition, that they project nothing in relation to the ſtate, without including the church. This is an infallible expedient to unite the whole party, which would be very much divided, were the government only concerned. This procured Charles I many adherents, whom aſſuredly he would have wanted, had the parliament not attacked the church of England. Moreover it was this, which, in the reign of Charles II, put the duke of York, tho' a Papiſt, at the head of the Epiſcopal Tories, who willingly concured with him in the deſtruction of their enemies. Whenever King William turned to the ſide of the Whigs, the Tories were full of imaginary fears of his laboring the ruin of their church. The ſame method was practiſed in the firſt years of Queen Anne, becauſe the miniſtry was then compoſed of Whigs or moderate Tories. The ſame imaginary fear threw the Epiſcopalians, towards the concluſion of that reign, into the ſchemes of men who had viſibly no religion at at all. In ſhort, on this very pretenſe, we lately ſaw in the reign of King George, a Popiſh Pretender called in to ſcreen the church of England from the pretended attempts ſhe had to fear from the Whigs. It is therefore religion which gives power to the Tory party. It is certain, if the ſecret of intereſting the church in the quarrel was not practiſed, the High Flyers would make a very contemptible figure, and the differences between the Whigs and moderate Tories would cauſe none of thoſe diſturbances in the Kingdom, which have ſo long prevailed.

It is true that among the Church Tories, there are many who are very ſenſible of the artifices by which the whole party is ingaged in a quarrel, advantageous but to few. Of this are thoſe I call Low-Churchmen, among whom ſome poſſeſs the firſt dignities of the church. But they are not the ſtrongeſt. The party of the rigid Churchmen is much more numerous. This laſt branch conſiſts of almoſt all the inferior clergy, of ſome biſhops, of both univerſities, particularly that of Oxford, and theſe bodies draw after them great numbers of the laity. It is theſe that compoſe what is called in England, High Church, that is, a church which has no mixture of Preſbyterianiſm. Theſe men are ſo attached to the leaſt ceremony of the church of England, that they would not relax upon any thing whatſoever, and by this ſtiffneſs, they diſcover more of the ſpirit of party, than of zeal for religion. I will even venture to ſay, that many of them would rather chuſe to ſee England under Popery than Preſbyterianiſm. Now, as the Low-Churchmen, tho' more moderate in their ſentiments, look upon the hierarchy as an eſſential point, it is not ſurprizing that the Tories unite when the growth of Whigiſm is to be oppoſed, which has all the Preſbyterians in its party. It is, perhaps, an artifice of the State Tories to have given, or at leaſt to continue with ſo much care, the name of Tories to the Epiſcopalians, in order to confound, in the ſame party, intereſts of a different nature, becauſe this confuſion is very ſerviceable to them.

The Papiſts are likewiſe conſidered as a branch of the Tories, becauſe they always remain attached to that party. As they can never hope to ſee Popery eſtabliſhed but by means of an abſolute King, it is not ſtrange that they rank themſelves with the High Flyers. Indeed, this aſſiſtance would not be very conſiderable to the Tories, if confined to the Engliſh Papiſts, ſince injoying neither places, nor votes in elections, they cannot have much credit. But this admiſſion of Papiſts, ingages likewiſe foreign Powers in the Tory intereſt, who can on certain occaſions be very ſerviceable. Nevertheleſs it cannot be denied, that by this, the Tories give their enemies great advantage againſt them, who uſe this pretenſe to render them odious.

If the leaders of the Tory party aimed only at maintaining the prerogatives of the King, and the rights of the church, it may be affirm'd, that party would be invincible, becauſe that is the true intereſt of the kingdom. But as it ſometimes happens, that theſe are only pretenſes to cover other projects, leſs agreeable to the good of the ſtate, when once their deſigns are diſcovered, their friends generally draw off; a diviſion of the Tory members being a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch diſcovery. This makes me think that it is almoſt impoſſible they ſhould ever ſucceed in ſeting the Pretender on the throne, or inveſting any King whatſoever with abſolute power. This opinion is founded upon its not being the intereſt or deſire of the nation in general. And hence it is, that they ſo firmly eſpouſe the intereſts of France, becauſe they are very ſenſible they want her aſſiſtance. It was ſeen in the laſt war, that the ill ſucceſſes of that crown were terrible mortifications to them, and therefore they indeavored, as much as poſſible, to leſſen them. Accordingly when they were at the helm, their firſt care was to cure the wounds France had received. However, it is very difficult for France to put them in poſſeſſion of their wiſhes. Great Britain is an iſland which can hardly be attacked unawares; and which, while there is a good underſtanding between the King and the parliament, can ſend out fleets which France is not in condition to oppoſe.

The High Flyers are therefore to be conſidered as a party, to which the junctures of the time are not at all favorable, and conſequently it ſhould be their intereſt to remain in a ſtate of inaction, till time ſhould produce ſome opportunity to exert themſelves. But to be quiet is no part of their character. They can't poſſibly be eaſy, while they ſee themſelves excluded from all places of honor and profit, which probably are the ſprings of their motions.

tions. It is however certain, that the disturbances raised by them from time to time, to very little purpose, are attended with great injury to themselves, as well as to all the Tories in general, who are always charged with the faults and passions of those who are looked upon as their leaders. This very consideration induces some to desert their party.

As to the three other branches of the Tories, namely, the moderate, the rigid, and the low, it would be folly in the Whigs to think of their ruin by violent methods. This could not be effected without over-turning the kingdom. They may indeed exclude them from public posts and imployments. But should they be so imprudent as to meddle with the church of England, they would run the hazard of raising a storm, which might cost them the superiority they at present injoy. Therefore it is the interest of the Whigs to leave the church unmolested, and their conduct shows they are perfectly convinced of this truth. Tho' they have lately had frequent provocations, it is not seen, that now they are in power, they seek to be reveng'd upon the Episcopal party. On the contrary, their grand aim is to divide that party if possible, from the rest of the Tories, by convincing them that they bear no ill-will to the church. If they could succeed, their victory over the High-Flyers would be certain. But these last, sensible of the prejudice, which this conduct does them, indeavor to prevent its effects by always ingaging the church in their quarrel, and inspiring the people with continual fears of the designs of the Whigs against the church.

Having shown the views, strength, and interest of the Tory party, I am next to speak of the four branches of the Whigs. As to the Republican Whigs, they are at present very inconsiderable, and their party daily diminishes. There is not the least probability of their ever finding again an opportunity like that during the troubles of Charles I's reign.

I have already observ'd that the principal difference between the moderate Whigs and moderate Tories is, that the latter are more inclin'd to the King's prerogatives, and the former to the privileges of the subject. But this prevents not their union when the state is in danger. Were the moderate Tories not Episcopalians, and had the moderate Whigs fewer Presbyterians among them, it might be hoped that these two branches of Whigs and Tories would remain for ever united, as they seem to be since the death of King William. But when I say that the one incline more to the King, and the other to the subject, I speak the truth, and not what they say themselves. The two parties affirm, on the contrary, they have no other aim, than the preservation of the government as established many ages. So to hear them, you would think they form, and always have formed one and the same party. It is however but too true, that their different inclination frequently obliges them to divide, tho' it is to be presumed, their intentions are equally good, and that they differ only in the means they imploy. The one perhaps are too jealous of the increase of the Royal prerogative, and the other fear it not enough. But it is religion which chiefly makes them to be considered as different parties, because the one is composed wholly of Episcopalians, and the other has a great mixture of Presbyterians. Now to separate the interests of the church from those of the state, requires abstractions of which all are not capable. Nevertheless it may be affirmed, that the branch of the moderate Whigs considered separately, and in itself, is not less powerful than that of the moderate Tories. But when both join together, they form a party which would be resistless, if religion were out of the question. The great business therefore of the moderate Whigs is to assist the people as much as possible, to discern the interests of the church from those of the state; for which purpose they are to treat the Episcopalians with great moderation. Nor ought they to be less careful how they listen to the Republican Whigs, for fear of alarming the moderate Tories, of whom they have frequent occasion. But, on the other hand, nothing ought to be neglected by them for breaking the measures of the High Flyers, who are their real enemies. Such is the course they must take to preserve their credit.

I proceed now to the Church Whigs, who are divided into two branches, of which the first is of the rigid Presbyterians, who absolutely reject not only the hierarchy, but moreover every ceremony practised in the church of England. Their number is very great in England, but they are still more considerable by having all Scotland for them. They are continually laboring the propagation of Presbyterianism, and on some occasions the leading Whigs, to content them, are obliged to take some steps prejudicial to the whole party. It is easy to conceive that the interest of the rigid Presbyterians requires an innovation in the established religion, because it can only be by some great revolution that their own can come to be uppermost. Wherefore they are considered as dangerous men, and very unfit to head the Whig party, who in all appearance, would be ill conducted by such leaders.

Lastly, there is another branch of Church Whigs, which includes the moderate Presbyterians, and to which may be added all the rest of the Non-conformists, as Quakers, Anabaptists, &c. who find more support from the Whigs than from the Tories, tho' their junction adds no great strength to the party. The moderate Presbyterians, less scrupulous, less passionate, and less obstinate than the rigid, make no difficulty to join the assemblies of the established church, and even to communicate therein, when their interest requires it. If it were left to their choice, Presbyterianism would be the reigining religion. But they do not think it prudent to labor to make it so by violent methods. They know, it would be an infallible means to unite all the Tories against them; whereas it is the interest of all the Whigs to keep them divided, by continually insisting upon the distinction between State and Church Tories, and showing that they have no ill design against the latter. These are doubtless, the most dangerous enemies of the High Flyers and rigid Tories, because by their moderate conduct they deprive them of the pretense to complain that the church is in danger. These were aimed at by the Tories in their act, towards the conclusion of Queen Anne's reign, against occasional conformity. As few are acquainted with the nature of this act, I shall briefly explain it.

In the reign of Charles II, an act was made called the Conformity Act, whereby any person admited to any public office was to bring a certificate of his having received the sacrament in the church of England. The intent of this act was to exclude all Non-conformists from places of any kind. Indeed, it produced this effect with regard to the rigid Presbyterians, who could not resolve to receive the communion from the hands of a bishop, or a minister of the Episcopal church. But the moderate Presbyterians were not so scrupulous. On their admission to any post, they scrupled not to receive the communion in an Episcopal church, and to take the proper certificates. It was not possible for

for the Tories to add any explication to this act during the reign of King James, who, on the contrary, granted an univerſal liberty of conſcience, nor in the life time of King William, or the firſt years of Queen Anne. But having the power in their hands, at the concluſion of her reign, they were not contented with reviving this act, but added to it a clauſe to prevent occaſional conformity, or the communicating in the church of England on account of ſome imployment. This excluded not only the rigid but alſo the moderate Preſbyterians from all public offices: for by this act, which is ſtill in force, to communicate once in an Epiſcopal church, is not a ſufficient qualification for a place, as before, but a man muſt ſhow that he is really a member of the church of England. If the Whigs, who at preſent prevail, dared to meddle with this act, it would ſoon be repealed. But for reaſons before intimated, very probably it will be ſuffered to ſubſiſt, and its violation only connived at.

The ſtrength of the two parties being ſuch as we have ſeen, and the intereſt of the ſeveral branches ſo oppoſite, it ſeems to me a natural conſequence, that the placing a Popiſh Prince upon the throne, while the King and parliament are in union, and the rights of the church are untouched, is a thing almoſt impoſſible. The people may from time to time be deluded by imaginary fears of the church's danger; but this deluſion muſt quickly vaniſh, when it is ſeen that the church is not really attacked. Now if religion is not concerned, that is, if the Epiſcopalians do not think themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of trying all ways to ſave their church from ruin, the indeavors in favor of the Pretender, will prove ineffectual. As often as it ſhall be attempted to place him on the throne, the moderate State and Church Tories will join the Whigs, and then, that party will be too ſtrong for the High-Flyers, tho' in matter of religion, they ſhould be joined by all the rigid Tories, which however is not very likely. For it muſt not be imagined, becauſe a few rigid Tories make a great noiſe, that the whole branch wiſh to ſee a Popiſh Prince on the throne. They are zealous for their church, but their church is Proteſtant, and this very zeal will not ſuffer them to indanger their religion. It will be ſaid perhaps that France will aſſiſt the High Flyers with all her forces. This is what I can hardly believe for reaſons I ſhall mention hereafter. But tho' France ſhould heartily ingage in this undertaking, the execution would be difficult on account of the ſituation and naval power of England. Nothing but a ſurpriſe can produce the effect deſired by the High Flyers, Papiſts, and ſome rigid Tories. However, the attempt lately made, will probably induce the King and parliament to take good precautions againſt ſuch ſurpriſes for the future.

There is ſtill another everlaſting obſtacle to the eſtabliſhment of a Popiſh Prince, and that is, the poſſeſſion of ſome part of the lands of the monaſteries ſurpreſſed by Henry VIII, by almoſt every noted family in England. The anceſtors of the preſent poſſeſſors either received them in preſents from the King, or purchaſed them at an eaſy rate. If therefore a Popiſh Prince ſhould now mount the throne, there is no doubt but he would try to eſtabliſh his religion. But ſhould his attempt prove ſucceſsful, in what danger would theſe eſtates be? In all probability the preſent owners would be diſpoſſeſſed. Nay, who knows whether they would not be called to account for the profits? It is therefore manifeſt, that the Tories and Whigs have an equal intereſt in the prevention of this danger. If the advocates for a Popiſh Prince were to be ſtrictly examined, it would be found, without doubt, either they have no poſſeſſions of this kind, or believe they have particular reaſons to flatter themſelves with an exemption from the general law, or with being made amends ſome other way.

I am now to give a more diſtinct idea of the two parties of Whigs and Tories, by ſhewing their reſpective characters.

The Tories in general are fierce and haughty. The Whigs are treated by them with the utmoſt contempt, and even with rigor when they have the ſuperiority. As the Tory party is compoſed of Epiſcopalians, who properly make the body of the nation, they look upon themſelves as the prevailing party, and cannot bear an equality, much leſs a ſuperiority, in their adverſaries. I cannot better compare the behavior of the Tories to the Whigs, than to that of the Roman Catholics to the Proteſtants in countries where the Papiſts have the advantage of number, and the ſupport of the government. It is with regret that the Tories allow the Preſbyterians liberty of conſcience. When the power is in their hands they ſeldom fail to prohibit their aſſemblies, and to exclude them from public imployments by acts of parliament. The laſt years of Queen Anne afforded flagrant inſtances of the haughtineſs of this party.

There is ſtill another character which belongs to them. They are exceeding paſſionate and precipitate in their motions. This often diſconcerts all their projects. When they have the reins in their hands they drive with amazing rapidity. Very remarkable proofs of this were ſeen under Charles II, James II, and the late Queen. Nevertheleſs it muſt be confeſſed that this rapidity is not always the effect of an impetuous paſſion, but is ſometimes founded in policy. As the High Flyers, who are commonly at the head of the party, ſometimes project the alteration of the government, they are obliged to imbrace, with great haſte, the opportunities which offer, becauſe theſe opportunities are naturally tranſient. For inſtance, under Charles II, it was neceſſary to put a ſpeedy ſtop to the progreſs of the Whigs, for fear the King, who was with ſome difficulty, and for other intereſts than his own, ingag'd in the plot, ſhould alter his mind. Beſide, there was no time to loſe, becauſe it was well known that the Whigs were laboring with all their power to inform the people of the true deſigns of the court. So again, when James II aſcended the throne, the preſumptive heir to the crown was his eldeſt daughter the Princeſs of Orange, who was firmly attached to the Proteſtant religion. Wherefore as the King might die without ſons, all his projects would vaniſh by his death, if his work was not finiſhed during his life. It was neceſſary therefore to make haſte, becauſe the like opportunity would probably never offer again after his death. For the ſame reaſon, Queen Anne having no children when ſhe put the miniſtry into the hands of the High Flyers, a peace was quickly to be concluded with France, and ſpeedy meaſures taken for ſecuring the crown to the Pretender, leaſt her death ſhould prevent the execution of their projects, as it really happened. It was undoubtedly on this account that a peace was ſo haſtily concluded with Lewis XIV, becauſe his aſſiſtance was thought neceſſary to accompliſh the work. Probably, if the Queen had lived a little longer, the act of ſucceſſion had been repealed. But this precipitation which ſeems ſo neceſſary to the Tories, is on the other hand, prejudicial to them, inaſmuch as it too ſoon diſcovers the deſigns of their leaders, which require a gradual execution. In order to ſucceed, they muſt have a long and

peaceable reign, a King favorable to their deſigns, and of great ability, or at leaſt ready to be guided by their counſels.

Another character of the Tories is, their change of principles as their party prevails or is humbled. When they have the Prince on their ſide, the doctrine of Paſſive-Obedience is ſupported with all their power, and every ordinance of the King is to be obeyed without examination, becauſe then, they would have the Whigs ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſſed without any reſiſtance. But when the government is in the hands of the contrary party, this doctrine lies dormant, or is forgotten. Thus, in all the Tory writers, who have tranſmited the troubles of the reign of Charles I, Paſſive-Obedience is eſtabliſhed as a principle certain and inconteſtable. This is owing to their intention of repreſenting the meaſures of the parliament for their own defenſe, and in oppoſition to the deſigns of the King, as a horrible rebellion. When the Preſbyterians were perſecuted in Charles II's reign, Paſſive-Obedience was every where talked of. But it was ſtill much worſe under James II. I remember to have heard, from the pulpit, the conſequences of this doctrine carried as far, and perhaps farther than ever they were in France, under Lewis XIV. Great ſtreſs was laid upon a canon of a convocation of the church of England, which imported, that arms taken up againſt the King by the ſubject, on any pretenſe whatſoever, is direct rebellion: That whether the ſubject be upon the offenſive or defenſive, he is clearly condemned by St. Paul, who ſays, "he ſhall receive to himſelf damnation." But the convocation in which this canon was made, was held under archbiſhop Laud, when Charles I govern'd in an abſolute manner, a little before the the begining of the troubles. But when King William was on the throne, the doctrine of Paſſive-Obedience was no longer inforced, becauſe that King was conſidered as no friend to the Tories. The caſe was the ſame under Queen Anne, while the miniſtry was compoſed of Whigs and moderate Tories. But the doctrine revived when that Princeſs delivered herſelf up to the conduct of the High Flyers. But ſince King George has filled the throne, the High Flyers and rigid Tories plainly ſhow, this doctrine is only admited by them when they have a Prince of their own party, but is rejected without any ſcruple when the government is not for them. For this purpoſe they have a diſtinction ready between a King de jure, and a King de facto, and maintain that only the King de jure has a title to this obedience, but ſuch is every King who favors them, whether he is upon the throne, or has only pretenſions to it.

Let us now ſpeak of the character of the Whigs. Thoſe of this party who are rigid Preſbyterians, are a ſtubborn and obſtinate generation, who perhaps would be as hot and as paſſionate as the Tories were they in poſſeſſion of power. But as, ſince the long parliament, the party have never been under their direction, it is not upon them that we are to form the general character of the Whigs, whereas that of the Tories is to be taken principally from the High Flyers and rigid Tories, who are their leaders and directors.

The heads of the Whig party, are much more moderate than the leaders of the Tories. Beſide, they proceed generally upon fixed principles, from which they never ſwerve, except when they are obliged to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Preſbyterians to keep them from deſponding. Far from deſiring, like the Tories, to carry things with a high hand, they advance gradually, without heat or violence. Their greateſt trouble is to curb the paſſion of ſome among them, who, were they unreſtrain'd, would quickly ruin the party. By this moderation, they try to inſinuate mildly into the people, that they have no ill deſigns againſt the church of England, in order to ſeparate the Church Tories from the High Flyers. As it is the intereſt of the Tories to confound all the branches of their party, and unite them into one body, to be directed by the leaders; ſo it is the buſineſs of the Whigs to have theſe ſeveral branches diſtinguiſhed, that the Epiſcopalians may be prevented from promoting the deſigns of the High Flyers. But they would never be able to gain this point were they to uſe violence. Thus the gentleneſs and moderation of the Whigs is no leſs founded in policy, than the haſtineſs and precipitation of the Tories.

The Whigs are charged with being greedy of riches and honors, and ungrateful to their adherents, which makes their friends often forſake them. I can ſay nothing to this, not being ſufficiently informed of the particular concerns of the party. Beſide, the examination of this charge would lead me to conſider the conduct of thoſe who think themſelves ill uſed, which I would avoid, as contrary to my intent of confining myſelf to general ideas. However, it may be ſaid for the moderate Whigs, that generally they ſupport a good cauſe, viz. the conſtitution of the government as eſtabliſhed by law. They err indeed ſometimes thro' too much care and diſtruſt, which throws them now and then upon proceedings contrary to their true intereſt and their own principles, ſince on certain occaſions they maintain the privileges of the nation and parliament, at the expenſe of the Royal authority.

As to the eccleſiaſtical Whigs, who are no other than the Preſbyterians, all that can be ſaid of them, is, that they are extremely prejudiced againſt biſhops, and the whole hierarchy. Now, the queſtion is, whether this prejudice be well grounded, or being ſo, whether it affords juſt cauſe for ſeparation. For my part, I look upon this diſpute between the Epiſcopalians and Preſbyterians as of little conſequence. And therefore I cannot approve of the ſtiffneſs of the Preſbyterians in a country where the reformation is eſtabliſhed according to the church of England, ſince the two churches differ in no eſſential point. I ſay the ſame thing of the Epiſcopalians of Scotland, and perhaps in England itſelf, greater regard ſhould be had to the ſcruples of the Preſbyterians. But this is only my private opinion, which I do not pretend to give for a rule to the one or the other.

Before I proceed, it will be proper to obviate an objection which may naturally occur to the reader, viz. that every thing in England being done by way of parliaments, theſe unions above mentioned, whether of the branches of the ſame party, or of the branches of two different parties, ſeem to no purpoſe, unleſs made in the parliament itſelf between the members. But ſo far are ſuch unions from taking place in the parliament, that one of the parties generally ſo prevails there, as to render the union of the reſt of the members intirely fruitleſs.

To this I anſwer, firſt, that the parliament conſiſting of two houſes, whereof that of the lords remains always the ſame without any conſiderable change, theſe unions may take place in that houſe whoſe principles are not ſo variable as thoſe of the commons. Now as the upper houſe has power to throw out the bills ſent up by the lower, it follows that the lords, by means of ſuch unions, may break the commons meaſures. Conſequently theſe unions may produce great effects.

Secondly,

Secondly, these unions may influence the elections of members. For instance, on suspicion that a Popish Prince is intended to be set on the throne, the moderate Tories and Low-Churchmen may join with the Whigs, and cause such representatives to be chosen as are against what is feared, and thereby break the measures of the High Flyers and rigid Tories.

Thirdly, even in a house of commons, consisting mostly of Tory members, the moderate among them seeing some design in hand prejudicial to the nation, may join with the Whigs, and hinder the execution of it. The moderate Whigs might also unite with the Tories, if they saw the Republican party growing too strong.

It must however be owned, that party spirit; the cabals of the leading men; the intrigues of the court; the interest of particular persons, have but too much influence upon the debates of parliament. To say all in a word, the parliament is composed of men who are not free from passions. If the parliament were to answer the idea which those conceive of it who are not thoroughly acquainted with its nature, it should be composed of perfect men. But as that is impossible, it would be proper, at least to reform certain abuses, for which hitherto no remedy has been found, or perhaps sought. Tho' this leads me a little from my subject, I shall stay a moment and take the liberty to point out some of these abuses. This may at least serve to give a more extensive knowlege of the English constitution, which tho' excellent in its nature, is however liable to some imperfections.

The first abuse lies in the too great influence of the court in the elections of members, and consequently in the resolutions of the parliament. This influence is visibly owing to the division between the Whigs and Tories which gives the King an advantage, he would doubtless not have, were all the people well united. When one of the parties gets into the ministry, the lieutenancies of the counties, and all the court places, are confered on persons devoted to them. After which, a new parliament is called. Then beside the money privately distributed by the ministry, if report is to be credited, those who are in authority in the towns and counties, use all their interest and skill to get members chosen favorable to the court, that the ministry may have the superiority of votes in the house of commons. We may judge of the effect of these intrigues by this single consideration, that commonly there is a Whig parliament when the ministry is so, and a Tory parliament when the ministers are Tories. Nevertheless the thing is not so very certain, but that we find sometimes most of the elections carried against the court. But this rarely happens, unless the nation in general is satisfied that the court has designs pernicious to the state or the liberties of the subject. I say nothing of our seeing in the late reign twelve peers created at once, with the sole view of procuring the court a majority of votes in the house of lords. This is a palpable as well as a very dangerous abuse.

Another abuse lies in many small boroughs having a right to send representatives to parliament, whose votes have the same weight with those of the members of London and Westminster, notwithstanding the great disproportion between the electors of the one and the other. In these inconsiderable boroughs, by the influence of the court, members are chosen that have not a foot of land near the place. It is pretended by some, that these boroughs have a right as ancient as the parliament itself, having injoyed it ever since the time of the Anglo-Saxons. Others think it of much later date. But however, it is at present a monstrous abuse, that villages of four or five thatched houses, should be upon the level in parliament with the largest cities of the kingdom.

A third abuse there is of great importance, and which ought to be reformed, since it is in some measure contrary to Magna Charta, on which the English found their liberties and privileges. In this charter, King John promises, in expres terms, for himself and successors, to declare beforehand the causes of calling a parliament. As long as this custom was observed, the points debated in parliament were not many, for which the members came prepared, and the session lasted but a few days. If this was observed now, the boroughs and counties might give their representatives instructions upon the affairs for which the parliament should be called, or at least, might chuse such members as are of the same sentiments with the electors. But at present, several abuses spring from the non-observance of this method.

In the first place, the sessions hold as long as the King pleases, and are ended when he thinks proper. Henry IV, improved this advantage by keeping the parliament assembled, till the desired subsidy was granted. In the next place, the electors not knowing the busines on which the parliament is to proceed, are forced to give their representatives an unlimited power. Hence arises another abuse, that the representatives of a borough or county are often of a contrary opinion to those that send them. It may therefore happen, nay it has frequently happened, that the resolves of the lower house are directly opposite to the sentiments of the people whom they represent. So it is not the people or commons of England that share the legislative power with the King and peers, but their representatives, who injoy a privilege which belongs only to the people in general, to whom however they are not accountable for their conduct. All they can suffer, in case they have acted contrary to the sense of their borough or county, is not to be chosen another time. This seems therefore to be lodging too great a power in bare representatives. It was not so in France, when the states of that kingdom were convened. Every province drew up, beforehand, their particular instructions (1), from which their deputies were not allowed to swerve. In like manner, in important affairs to be debated by the States General of the United Provinces, the deputies receive instructions from their Provinces; and in the particular states of each province, the magistrates of the towns give their orders and instructions to their deputies.

A fourth abuse lies in the public canvassings at the time of elections, with great expense. It costs some men several thousands of pounds to be elected, and this openly in the face of all the world.

Lastly, there is another sort of abuse in the house of commons, viz. that the members are allowed to go and come, or absent themselves as they please,

(1) Called in French, les Cabiers.

except

except on certain great occaſions, ſo that of five hundred and thirteen members (if I miſtake not) there are not preſent ſometimes above one hundred and fifty. This makes it much more eaſy for the parties to cabal, than if the houſe was full. Moreover many members, tho' in London, do not conſtantly attend the houſe, but keep away upon any the ſlighteſt affair of their own. This puts me in mind of a pleaſant ſtory, with which I ſhall cloſe this digreſſion. A Whig member telling one of the ſame party in great anger, "That if "he had been at the houſe that morning, they "ſhould have carried an important point." The other calmly aſked him, "By how many they loſt "it?" By one ſingle vote, ſays he. The other replies, "Had I been there, we ſhould have loſt "it by four, for there would have been four Tories "more, whom I have kept all this morning on "purpoſe at a tavern."

It remains only that I briefly ſpeak of the intereſts of the neighboring States, with regard to the Whigs and Tories. Tho' the differences between the two parties ſeem only to reſpect England, they have a great influence on the affairs of the other States. The peace of Utrecht clearly ſhows of what conſequence they are to all Europe.

Every one knows that the States General of the United Provinces are friends of the Whigs, and very juſtly, ſince the Whigs have all along ſupported their intereſt in England. The Whigs obliged Charles II, to make a peace with Holland, when he was in league with Lewis XIV againſt her. From that time, they have ever conſidered the intereſt of the Dutch as their own. Accordingly in their turn they have received ſignal ſervices from them, particularly in the aſſiſtance given by the States General to the Prince of Orange, to go and break King James's meaſures. This good underſtanding is ſtill cultivated, ſo that the Dutch may be ſaid to be Whigs, and the Whigs to be Dutch. The reaſon of this union is evident. For France, perpetual enemy of Holland, ever ſupported the Tories; whence it follows, that Holland is obliged to ſtand by the Whigs, ſince ſhe cannot expect aſſiſtance from England, but by their means. This is ſo clear, that it needs no farther illuſtration.

For the ſame reaſon, the Emperor, as Sovereign of the Netherlands, ought to be a friend to the Whigs. As he muſt look upon the King of France, as a very formidable and dangerous neighbor, he can expect the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, in caſe his dominions are invaded, but when the Whigs are in power. In all appearance, the Tories would not exert themſelves in the defenſe of the Netherlands againſt the invaſions of France. But, ſhould the Emperor, thro' exceſſive zeal for his religion, lend his forces to the Pretender to aſcend the throne of England, he would only render France ſtill more powerful, and add to the ballance of Europe a weight which would make it intirely incline to one ſide.

The intereſts of France with regard to the Whigs and Tories, afford matter for many more obſervations. In general, it is doubtleſs the intereſt of that crown to cultivate a good underſtanding with England. Since the growth of the houſe of Auſtria, that is, ſince about two hundred years, England has ever had it in her power to incline the ballance either on the ſide of Auſtria or on the ſide of France, as ſhe pleaſed. But it has been her ſtanding intereſt to keep the ballance even between theſe two powers. This has been the hinge on which all the policy of the Kings of England has turned, for two centuries. Henry the eighth's varying ſometimes from this courſe is to be aſcribed wholly to the private intereſts of cardinal Wolſey his prime miniſter, or to his own caprice. So it was ever the intereſt of France to keep fair with England. Accordingly Lewis XIV, has politicly indeavored, theſe fifty years, either to get England on his ſide, or at leaſt, to prevent her from eſpouſing that of his enemies. But as it was not eaſy for that Monarch to perſuade the Engliſh that to incline the ballance to his ſide was for their advantage, he confined his indeavors to hinder them from concerning themſelves in the affairs of Europe, to the end he might proceed without any oppoſition from them. But it muſt be obſerved, that this policy reſpected only his vaſt deſigns of inſlaving all Europe. Otherwiſe, he would have had no need to trouble himſelf about the Engliſh. To ſet this matter in a clearer light, it will not be amiſs to ſhow briefly how this Monarch managed with regard to England.

Lewis XIV, as every one knows, formed the project of an univerſal Monarchy in Europe. As he was not ignorant that England was concerned to keep the ballance of Europe even, and that the Engliſh conſidered this maxim as the chief foundation of their ſecurity, he was juſty apprehenſive of their oppoſing the execution of his deſigns. For prevention of which, he uſed all his addreſs to gain Charles II to his intereſt, when he had reſolved upon a war with Holland in 1672. The miniſtry being Tory, he drew Charles by their means into a league with him. But this league was of no long continuance. It was ſo evidently againſt the intereſt of England, that the parliament obliged the King to make peace with Holland. Nay, they would have conſtrained him to declare againſt France, if the proſpect of an approaching peace between that crown and the States-General, had not hindered them from going ſo far.

The peace of Nimeguen, concluded in 1678, cauſed not the King of France to diſcontinue the proſecution of his grand deſigns. But as he was very ſenſible, King Charles would not have it in his power to follow his own inclination, he reſolved to take another method, in order to diſable England at leaſt from interpoſing in the affairs of Europe. And that was to raiſe troubles in the kingdom, and then to foment them, that the Engliſh might be imployed at home. The duke of York's plots; the King his brother's eaſineſs to be guided by his counſels; the choice of paſſionate and perhaps corrupt miniſters, proceeded, in all appearance, from Lewis's ſecret practiſes in England. This method ſucceeded to his wiſh. The conſpiracy diſcovered by Titus Oates; the pretended Proteſtant plot; the perſecution of the Preſbyterians; the people's murmurs; the diſcord between the King and parliament, found the Engliſh ſo much imployment at home, that it was not poſſible for them to look abroad. In the mean time, Lewis XIV was rendering himſelf formidable to all Europe, having nothing to fear from the Engliſh who remained idle, when they ſhould have uſed their utmoſt indeavors to put a ſtop to his progreſs.

Upon the acceſſion of James II to the throne, Lewis gave not over a method that had proved ſo ſucceſsful. On the contrary, he preſſed the new King of England to execute the projects he had formed when duke of York, in favor of

Popery

Popery and arbitrary power. He knew theſe two points were ſufficient to keep England long imployed; however, as his aim was only to imbroil the nation, he never aſſiſted King James to any purpoſe. The too ſudden execution of that Prince's deſigns was not for his intereſt. When he ſaw him on the point of being attacked by the Prince of Orange, he never ſtirred in his defenſe, but rather made uſe of the juncture to carry war into Germany. He imagined that the troubles he had raiſed in England would long diſable that kingdom from oppoſing his ambitious deſigns. This was the ſole end of all his proceedings. Afterwards, when King William proclaimed war againſt him, he ſent King James into Ireland with ſeven thouſand men, an aid too weak to reſtore him to his throne, but ſufficient to make a diverſion, and feed the hopes of the male-contents. Thus is it demonſtrable from Lewis's whole conduct, that his ſole intention was to imbroil England, and that King James was the dupe of his policy. It ſeems however at firſt ſight, that King James's reſtoration would have been for Lewis's advantage. But moſt aſſuredly it was againſt his intereſt for a King of England to be at peace in his dominions. The reaſon is plain; as it is the intereſt of England to keep the ballance even in Europe, Lewis, who had formed vaſt projects, would have been in danger of being oppoſed by a King of England, who having no diſtractions at home, might in the end purſue his true intereſts, or be forced to it by his parliament. And therefore, Lewis XIV, has been ſatisfied to keep England imbroiled, and for that purpoſe, to hold ſecret correſpondence with the leading Tories, who at length have diſcovered themſelves in the laſt years of Queen Anne.

It ſeems therefore to be the French King's intereſt to preſerve a good underſtanding with the Tories, in order, by their means, to foment the troubles in England. This is ſtrictly true, when he forms deſigns againſt the reſt of Europe. But if he aims to live in peace, and ſtand upon his defenſe, in caſe of invaſion, nothing can be more for his advantage than to cultivate the King of England's friendſhip, according to the conſtant maxim of Lewis's predeceſſors, whether the miniſtry be Whig or Tory. France may now be ſaid to be invincible, as long as England declares not againſt her. But if the King of England is provoked, and enters into a new alliance with Holland and Germany, the laſt war's experience ſhows that France is very far from being invincible. It may therefore be affirmed, that if the illuſtrious Prince (1) now at the helm of the French affairs, intends not to purſue the vaſt deſigns of Lewis XIV, it is not his intereſt to cheriſh the troubles of England, which, inſtead of being for his advantage, may greatly turn to his prejudice (2). I confeſs in the indirect aſſiſtance given the Pretender in France, the regent's proceedings ſeem to deſtroy the maxim I mean to advance. Time will unfold, perhaps, the myſtery of this policy. But in the mean while, I cannot forbear thinking that he is miſinformed of the true ſtate of the two parties in England, and has given too much credit to intereſted and prejudiced perſons. Perhaps, the Pretender himſelf has been deceived in the ſame manner.

I have but one obſervation more to make, with which I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay concerncerning the Whigs and the Tories. In ſpeaking of their ſeveral views, intereſts and characters, I pretend not to include every particular perſon of either party, but only their leaders and managers, with ſome of the moſt active of both ſides. Tho' the people in general, by inclination or intereſt, are either Whigs or Tories, it does not follow that every ſingle perſon acts in the views I have aſcribed to them. It is certain moſt ſuffer themſelves to be led without knowing where it is intended to conduct them, or examining the courſe preſcribed them. Conſequently they are far from being concerned in the intrigues and cabals of their leaders. Such a one has liſted himſelf a Tory, as being attached to the church of England, and afterwards, without knowing how, finds himſelf obliged to maintain the principles of the High Flyers and rigid Tories, tho' contrary to his inclination. There are thouſands of good Engliſhmen, without doubt, who grieve to ſee their country thus rent with diviſions, and would gladly imbrace all expedients to put a ſtop to them. But it is not eaſy to obſerve a juſt neutrality, becauſe it is difficult to be without ambition and avarice. Thoſe who ſtand neuter, as I ſaid, are neither prefered nor truſted, by reaſon that one of the parties are always in power, and have nothing more at heart than the advancing their friends, or gaining ſome of their adverſaries. Conſequently there can be no poſts or offices for men, from whom the prevailing party can expect no manner of ſervice. Moreover, how can a man be neuter between two parties, each of whom repreſent their adverſaries as deſigning thoſe evils which are moſt apt to fill men with fears, I mean, the deſtruction of the religion they profeſs, and the diſſolution of a government, which alone, in their opinion, can render ſubjects happy? A man muſt be very inſenſible not to be moved with ſuch dangers, when convinced of their reality.

All Engliſhmen therefore are not to bear the blame of theſe unnatural diviſions, but only thoſe who cheriſh them for their own private intereſt. Who are they that would inveſt the King with abſolute power? Who are they that would debar free-born ſubjects of liberty of conſcience? Who are they, in a word, that labor to introduce Popery? Can it be ſaid that theſe are the views of every particular Tory? No, by no means. But they are the aims of the leaders, who, for their own ends, ſeduce the poor people, and make no ſcruple to involve them in the danger of a civil war.

It may be affirmed, that it is not the kingdom's intereſt for one of the parties to become ſo ſuperior as to meet with no oppoſition. Should it be the High Flyers, they would introduce arbitary power. And if it were the moderate Tories, their biaſs to the prerogative of the crown, would at length inable the Sovereign to ſhake off the galling yoke of parliaments. Were it poſſible for the Papiſts to be ſuperior, England would ſoon loſe her religion and liberty. On the other hand, if the Republican Whigs ſhould recover the advantage they have loſt, you would hear no more of the kingdom but the commonwealth of England, as in Cromwell's days. Laſtly, were the moderate Whigs to have the management, they would ſo guard againſt the incroachments of the regal power,

(1) The duke of Orleans.

(2) It muſt be obſerved, that what Rapin ſays here of the intereſt of France, with regard to the Whigs and Tories was written before the concluſion of the alliance between that crown, England and Holland, ſigned January 4, 1717, this diſſertation being finiſhed in February 1716.

that the Sovereign would be reduced to the condition of a Doge of Venice.

As for the two parties with regard to religion, it is certain, if the Preſbyterians can ever act without controul, they will not be ſatisfied till the hierarchy of the church of England be intirely demoliſhed. But then, if the rigid Epiſcopalians have nothing to ballance their power, the Preſbyterians muſt expect to be openly perſecuted. And who knows whether they will ſuffer them to injoy a bare liberty of conſcience?

Aſſuredly the welfare of the kingdom conſiſts not in any of the ends propoſed by the leaders of both parties. The only way to reſtore peace and tranquillity, would be to leave the government upon its ancient foot, and the church, as eſtabliſhed at the Reformation. It would alſo be neceſſary to grant a toleration to the Preſbyterians who are very numerous in the kingdom. If this way be not uſed, it will always be better for the ſtate that the people remain in diviſion, than if one of the parties ſhould acquire a ſuperiority, which would be more fatal to the public than the equality which cheriſhes diſcord. I do not ſee what can put an end to this ſort of civil war, but the prudence of a juſt and equitable Sovereign, moderate in his deſires and paſſions, a lover of the Proteſtant religion, and that makes the good and happineſs of his ſubjects his ſole care and ſtudy. This is what may with reaſon be expected from the King who now fills the throne, ſince he poſſeſſes all thoſe virtues in an eminent degree. May Heaven proſper his deſigns, and may he live to ſee the happy effects of his pains and indeavors!

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

By Mr. RAPIN DE THOYRAS,

Continued, to the Acceſſion of King GEORGE I to the Throne.

BOOK XXV.

WILLIAM III, TWENTY-EIGHTH King of ENGLAND ſince the Conqueſt.

The ſtate of England under James II.

JAMES II had happily put an end to the rebellion in England and Scotland, and the blood of Monmouth and Argyle, ſhed round the throne, had fixed its ſecurity for the future, if the King could have prevailed with himſelf to make a right uſe of the patience of the Engliſh. It was ſomething very extraordinary in a Proteſtant nation, where there were hardly thirty or forty thouſand Catholics, and ſeveral millions of the reformed religion, to ſee the crown unanimouſly placed on the head of a Roman Catholic, whom the fundamental laws of the kingdom declared incapable of wearing it (1). But ſtill farther, he was quietly allowed to have maſs celebrated in his palace, that is in a place which belonged more to the nation than to him, and to harbor prieſts and even monks there. A nation, by whoſe conſtitution the title of Head and Defender of the church of England is inſeparably connected with that of King, peaceably acknowleged as Sovereign and Prince, who was an enemy of that church, and in duty ſubject to the Pope, that is, to a biſhop, whoſe authority he was obliged to make his ſubjects formally renounce by the oath of ſupremacy. In ſhort, in a kingdom, where the taking of the Teſt oath was a neceſſary qualification for the injoyment of all manner of preferments, a Prince was raiſed to the firſt dignity, who was by his religion obliged to an abhorrence of the Teſt; and no notice was taken of ſo ſhocking a contradiction between the government and the laws, or thought of having recourſe to the latter for relief.

(1) This muſt not be underſtood, as if there was, at that time, any particular law for the excluſion of a Popiſh Prince from the crown, but intimates the inconſiſtency of a Popiſh Prince with the act of ſupremacy, coronation oath, &c.

James every day made ſome addition to what the good nature of the Engliſh granted him. The duties on goods exported and imported were ſtill raiſed in contempt of the act of parliament which had granted them only during the life of Charles II. The additional exciſe was continued by the aſſiſtance of a ſhuffling explication of the act which authorized it. The elections of members for the Engliſh parliament had been irregular, and under an undue influence; and a ſort of political inquiſition was eſtabliſhed in Scotland. The nation, however, taking no notice of theſe attempts, repaid his verbal promiſes in favor of the Engliſh religion with real grants; and all Europe, attentive to what then paſſed in England, knew not whether more to admire the complaiſance of a people ſo jealous of their liberty, or the aſſurance of a Prince, who put them to ſuch trials.

The happy ſituation of that Prince.

Theſe firſt advantages, and the intire deſtruction of the rebels, induced him to judge that the time for raiſing his religion was now at hand; and it is certain he found very favorable conjunctures. A victorious army ſtill on foot; ſubjects full of ſubmiſſion; a parliament choſen by the court; foreign Princes eagerly preſſing for his friendſhip, and the eſteem of thoſe Sovereigns, who imagined they ſaw in him the umpire of the differences of Europe, appeared to him more than preſages of a glorious and peaceable reign.

His abuſe of it.

His firſt ſtep was to continue the Catholics in the army, whom he had incorporated in it for three months only. In the three kingdoms he prefered noblemen to the firſt poſts from whom he expected a docility which was not promiſed by thoſe, whom he diſplaced in their favor. By his favors and bounties he gained ſeveral proſelites of the firſt rank to the Romiſh church. He at the ſame time affected to condemn all ſorts of perſecution. Not ſatisfied with publicly expreſſing his compaſſion for the French proteſtants, who fled to his kingdom for refuge, and reproaching Lewis XIV with their misfortunes; he aſſiſted them liberally, and ordered very large collections to be made for them. His whole diſcourſes to the Engliſh Nonconformiſts turned on moderation and toleration; and he flattered himſelf that, content with their being ſuffered in England, they would in their turn indulge the Roman Catholics.

Sequel of this matter.

After theſe preliminaries, he declared to the parliament his intention of keeping an army on foot, and continuing the Catholic officers in commiſſion. Both houſes took the alarm at the laſt article, and complained that this was aboliſhing the Teſt, that is, depriving the Proteſtant religion of its ſtrongeſt rampart; and that in ſhort, if the Royal authority was allowed to ſupercede ſo clear and ſo ſtrong a law, no barrier would be able to defend the liberties of the nation, and prevent the Engliſh Monarchy from becoming arbitrary and deſpotic. James, incenſed at the parliament's oppoſition, prorogued it for eighteen months, and then diſſolved it. He brought ſuch perſons into the courts of juſtice as were dependent on him and devoted to his will: he cauſed the judges of the King's-bench, and the other judges, to declare the diſpenſing power inherent in the crown; he erected an eccleſiaſtical court, which he inveſted with a power independent of the laws, and by the aſſiſtance of which he deſigned to conquer the indocility of the High-church, and puniſh their zeal againſt that of Rome; he diſſolved the parliament of Scotland, for refuſing to repeal the penal laws; he filled the army in Ireland with Catholics; he confered biſhoprics on thoſe eccleſiaſtics who were either diſpoſed to give into his views, or incapable of oppoſing them. After which he attempted, by acts of abſolute authority, to force into the univerſities "perſons of the King's reli-" gion;" for that was then the language. At the ſame time, by a proclamation directed to the council of Scotland, he eſtabliſhed an univerſal toleration in that kingdom, and abrogated the penal laws; he ſoon after prevailed with the council of England, tho' not quite ſo tractable, to ſuſpend the oaths in force againſt the Catholics, and exempt from the penal laws all ſuch as had entered into or ſhould enter into public imployments, without taking them.

He offers an univerſal toleration.

The conſiderate part of the Preſbyterians, Independents, Anabaptiſts, and Quakers, had judged from the begining, that if the King was pleaſed to careſs them, it was not becauſe he loved them; and that the church of Rome, by offering them a toleration, labored only to obtain it for herſelf, being fully reſolved to puniſh both them and the members of the church of England for their ſeparation, when it ſhould be in their power. However they had declined both writing and acting openly againſt the Romaniſts: and left that care to the members of the Anglican communion, who were in poſſeſſion of the dignities and benefices, and who put themſelves into motion, not with a deſign of dividing thoſe advantages with their Diſſenting brethren, but with that of ſecuring them to themſelves. They had even apprehended that thoſe two churches, weary of uſeleſly diſputing the ſuperiority, might agree to divide it, and cruſh them at laſt; for which reaſon they had taken care to keep fair with the court and the epiſcopal party.

April. 1687. How it was received.

Theſe diſpoſitions ſeemed changed, when the proclamation was publiſhed, granting a full liberty of conſcience. The Preſbyterians and others, tranſported with joy and gratitude, ran to the King with addreſſes full of the moſt ſhameful and extravagant flattery. In ſome of them the epiſcopal church was accuſed of tyranny: the King's clemency was extolled to heaven, for opening their churches that had been ſo long ſhut, and declaring his ſubjects, of whatever religion, capable of public imploys: they made ſtrong proteſtations of fidelity; and ſome of them even went ſo far as to promiſe him their hearty concurence for procuring the election of ſuch members as ſhould ratify his orders. The pleaſure of ſeeing themſelves put on a level with the epiſcopal church, and the hope of making that church proper return for the treatment they had received from it, furniſhed ſeveral of thoſe new flatterers, with the expreſſions here mentioned. On that conſideration, they readily conſented that the Catholics ſhould injoy a larger indulgence.

The court's ſhort triumph.

The court on its part, triumphed in having brought perſons into a good homour with the religion it protected, who till then had been its enemies. The King himſelf, deceived as well as his confidents, now kept no meaſures with the church of England: he ſeverely condemned the violence it had uſed againſt the Proteſtant Separatiſts. According to him, ſome of the members of that church had retarded the publication of his orders for the toleration, by promiſing him to favor the Romiſh communion, on condition he would give up thoſe who had ſeparated from the national church; and named the authors of this odious bargain. He had given orders at the ſame time for reviſing the proceedings in the eccleſiaſtical courts againſt the Non-conformiſts (1), and making a report of the pecuniary compoſitions, by means of which they had thought themſelves but too happy in pur-

(1) In this his Majeſty ſuffered much in his honor, for as the perſons denied the whole thing, ſo the freedom of diſcourſe in any ſuch treaty ought not to have been made uſe of to deſame them. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 715.

chaſing

chaſing their ſecurity. People were perſuaded, and not without reaſon, that this inquiry would end in the confuſion of the eccleſiaſtical courts, and incourage the ſectaries to take their revenge on the epiſcopal party.

Meaſures taken by the church of England againſt it.

But before theſe laſt abuſes, the Epiſcopalians had taken private meaſures, with the Prince of Orange, to ingage him to maintain the national church and the Engliſh liberties, by force of arms. They had even prevailed with him to ſend the baron Dykvelt into England, to form the party with them, and ſoon eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with the court at the Hague. The King's late proceedings worked up their reſentments to the higheſt pitch. It was to no purpoſe that ſome biſhops ſtrove to perſuade the clergy to thank his Majeſty for having promiſed, in his declaration for liberty of conſcience, to maintain the church of England. The Eccleſiaſtics looked on that promiſe as falacious; and the moſt moderate were thoſe who teſtified their diſcontent only by ſilence. The parliament in its turn, acting on the ſame principles, refuſed to confirm the liberty of conſcience, and abrogate the teſt, which at laſt obliged the King to diſſolve that body. The cities and towns which had likewiſe particular ſubjects of complaint, ſeemed ſenſibly affected at them, and ſaw with grief that by the abuſe of new charters, inſtead of reſtoring the old, as had been promiſed, their magiſtrates were diſplaced, to make room for others (1). The whole nation in general was incenſed at ſeeing that, to ſo many violent proceedings againſt the country and religion, James added that of ſending an embaſſy of obedience to Rome, and publicly receiving a miniſter from that court. Thouſands, who had not been affected with things much more eſſential, were aſtoniſhed at ſo extraordinary a ſight as that of a Pope's nuncio at London; and concluded that a King, who ſeemed to fear them ſo little, had put himſelf into a condition of being feared, and of inſulting the laws of the kingdom with impunity.

Meaſures taken by the King.

By theſe tokens James ought to have known that the warmth of his counſellors and that of his own zeal had hurried him too far. However, whether he did not perceive it, or whether he made it a point of honor and duty not to give ground in a cauſe where both the Royal dignity and his conſcience were concerned, he went on as he had begun; flattering himſelf that in a little time a parliament, which ſhould be intirely at his devotion, would conſecrate his enterpriſe by laws. In this view he did all he judged neceſſary for making himſelf maſter of the elections. The King's lieutenants of the ſeveral counties received orders to interrogate the chief inhabitants on theſe three articles: "Whether they would agree to the revo- "cation of the teſt and penal laws, in caſe they "ſhould have a ſeat in the lower houſe: whether "they would give their votes for ſuch perſons "as ſhould be in the ſaid diſpoſition; and whe- "ther they approved of ſupporting the order for "the toleration." The court furniſhed the towns and cities with mayors and ſheriffs, on whom much depended in the approaching election. It was given out, with a certain air of aſſurance, that the King would go thro' with what he propoſed, and people were thus made to believe, that he would obtain by force what his ſubjects would not grant him voluntarily. He himſelf frequently ſaid, with ſome fire, "That he was King; that he knew how to "command obedience, and that who ever was "bold enough to reſiſt him, ſhould feel the weight "of his anger." But the reſolution of the people rendered theſe efforts uſeleſs; as were all the pains he took, ſometimes to reconcile the Princeſs of Orange, his daughter, to the Catholic religion, and ſometimes to ingage her at leaſt, with the Prince her huſband, to conſent to the revocation of the teſt and penal laws, or make the Engliſh believe their Highneſſes conſented to it.

He quarrels with the foreign powers.

He had the misfortune to quarrel with the foreign powers at the ſame time. The United Provinces had three regiments of Engliſh, and three of Scots in their ſervice. Some of them old ſoldiers, whom the Dutch had kept even in their two laſt wars with England; the reſt had been raiſed ſince that time; no right of recalling them being reſerved by the capitulation. There were ſome Catholic officers among thoſe troops, whom it was pretended the King had gained, and who for that reaſon very much imbaraſſed the Prince, becauſe, in caſe of a rupture with his father-in-law, he could neither confide in them, nor honorable diſcharge them.

During theſe tranſactions, James re-demanded thoſe regiments, without vouchſafing to ſound the diſpoſitions of the deputies of the States, or the officers of the ſaid regiments. He was anſwered with an abſolute refuſal: only it was added, in order to juſtify or ſoften it, that in reality according to the treaties, if England wanted thoſe troops for her defenſe, they muſt be reſtored, as had been done in the time of the laſt rebellion; but that the kingdom now injoyed tranquility. That beſide, thoſe regiments were in great part compoſed of Hollanders, and properly ſpeaking, did not belong to the King, becauſe what Engliſh and Scots were in them, were the remains of thoſe who had long been in the ſervice of the commonwealth, and ſuch as it had purchaſed at a very dear rate.

James, exaſperated at this refuſal, forbid all his ſubjects, of what rank or condition ſoever, to ingage in the ſervice of any foreign Prince, without his conſent, under pain of corporal chaſtiſement. He afterwards publiſhed a ſevere proclamation againſt ſuch Engliſh expreſly as then ſerved the United Provinces, in what quality ſoever, whether on ſea or land, unleſs they immediately quited that ſervice. By this he deſigned to ſatisfy his reſentment, and intimidate the Dutch; but did not ſucceed. On the contrary they were well pleaſed, that by recalling thoſe regiments, he had furniſhed them with ſo ſpecious an opportunity of geting rid of perſons whoſe fidelity was ſuſpected, as that of teſtifying their readineſs to give him ſatisfaction; and thereupon offered thoſe Engliſh officers their diſcharge, who were diſpoſed to aſk it. Only ſuch as were miſtruſted preſented themſelves on that occaſion. But the animoſity of the Dutch was not abated, and it was ſuſpected that the recalling of thoſe troops, preſaged a war would ſoon break out between England and Holland.

What did that Prince ſtill more prejudice with the States General, as well as with the Emperor Leopold, and Charles II, King of Spain, was his conſtant refuſal of entering into a league, which they had made at Augſbourgh with the German Princes, againſt France. Thoſe powers concluded from his conduct that he was united in intereſt, and ingaged to Lewis XIV, by a private treaty. They thought this the more probable, becauſe Spain having promiſed him, on condition he would accede to the league, to make the parliament approve of all he had attempted to eſtabliſh in regard

(1) The Regulators, who were for the moſt part Diſſenters gained by the court, went on boldly, and turned men out upon every ſtory that was made of them, and put in others whom they confided in; but often ſo haſtily, that men were put in one week, and turned out another. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 719.

to

to religion, he had rejected an offer which would have been moſt advantageous to him, had he not expected more effectual ſuccors from ſome other quarter. I ſhall not undertake to decide the truth of this ſuſpicion. On one hand, Lewis XIV denied any ſuch ingagement, and James II. ſtill more ſtrenuouſly. On the other hand, all the actions of thoſe two Princes, for a conſiderable time, ſeemed to prove that formidable concert. To go back to the origin of things, it was ſaid that Charles II
In 1670. had concluded a private league with France, the end of which was to ſecure that Prince an abſolute authority over his parliament, on condition he ſhould eſtabliſh the Catholic religion in his kingdoms, and concur in the deſign of humbling the Dutch power, and it was improbable that James II, then duke of York, ſhould decline an alliance ſo ſerviceable to his religion. The letters of the famous Coleman, and father la Chaiſe, which were public at that time, contained ſome things, that one can hardly avoid looking on as undoubted proofs of the ſtricteſt and moſt intimate friendſhip between the three Princes, and of the ardor with which they jointly indeavored the deſtruction of the Proteſtant religion. Lewis XIV had then taken ſuch ſteps in favor of James II, as are not uſually the reſult of a common tie among Princes. He had propoſed the duke's marriage with the Princeſs of Modena, and treated that affair at his own expenſe: he received that lady in France with extraordinary magnificence, and bore her charges into England. It is added that he paid beſt part of her portion, if not the whole. James, in his turn, both before and after his acceſſion to the crown, ſeemed to act only by the impreſſions of France, and it might be ſaid he was no more than the firſt miniſter of that court in England. The principality of Orange three times
In 1660, 1673, and 1682. taken from its lawful Sovereign by Lewis XIV, which neither Charles the uncle, nor James, both uncle and father-in-law of that Prince, intereſted themſelves in his favor, was conſidered as a certain indication of the influence of the counſels of Verſailles over thoſe of St. James's. Beſide which, there were formal and public acknowlegments of a ſtrict alliance lately concluded between the two crowns (1). On theſe grounds the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria conceived a prejudice againſt James II, and conſidered him as a Prince inſeparably attached to France.

A league formed againſt Lewis XIV and James II. Intereſt ſoon brought them in allies. The Elector Palatine ſtood in need of a powerful protection, for ſupporting him againſt France, who would not fail of maintaining by arms the right of the ducheſs of Orleans to the ſucceſſion of the Elector her brother. The Prince of Orange had reaſon to apprehend his religion would exclude him from the throne of England; and even without that motive, his inveterate hatred of Lewis XIV, had been ſufficient; an hatred of which no one then doubted, and with which Lewis XIV was too well acquainted, not to repay. Nor were other Princes and States without their particular views. Thus was
In 1686. formed the famous league of Augſbourg between the Emperor, Spain, the United Provinces, the Elector Palatine, and thoſe of Saxony and Brandenburg, who were joined the year following by the
In Febr. 1687. dukes of Bavaria and Savoy.

King James publiſhes an order for reading his declaration for liberty of conſcience in the churches. Apr. 27. We ſhall now ſee by what a ſeries of events James II loſt the crown. His declaration for liberty of conſcience had been publiſhed a year and ſome days, when he renewed and confirmed it by an order, which was attended with terrible conſequences. Dr. William Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, thought of an officious innovation, when he propoſed reading in the pulpits a ſort of manifeſto, ſet out by Charles II, after the parliament of Oxford. James made his advantage of this dangerous example to the prejudice of the church of England. The council ſent an order to the biſhops to diſperſe copies of the new declaration in their dioceſes, and lay an injunction on the miniſters to read it two ſeveral Sundays in their churches at the time of divine ſervice. This order threw the clergy of London into extreme perplexity. In 1681.

The perplexity of the church of England on this occaſion. On one ſide it was ſaid that diſobedience to the commands of the Sovereign, expoſed the miniſters to criminal proſecutions; and that it did not ſeem prudent to run ſuch hazards for an affair like this. That the reading of the declaration did by no means infer the approbation of the order. That to read it, was only to notify an act of the King, and that the perſons ſo complying might be diſcharged from all blame, by declaring that this notification was a proof of their obedience, not a mark of their conſent.

On the other ſide, it was obſerved, that this declaration, tending to the ruin of the church of England, the epiſcopal miniſters were required to read it in their pulpits, only that they might draw the contempt and hatred of the nation on themſelves. That if the clergy betrayed the intereſt of the church, the nobility might, out of ſpite, come to an agreement with the court at the expenſe of the church: that if they now gave ground, it would be impoſſible for them ever to recover it: that proteſtations would not prevent this conſequence, and that for the ſame reaſons alleged for reading the declaration in queſtion, there would be none, which they could avoid reading: that therefore it ought to be agreed to publiſh only thoſe things in the pulpit, which the miniſters were ſuppoſed to approve of. That the preſent inquiry was not whether the tolleration is lawful or neceſſary: that the whole matter was reduced to an acknowlegment of a power in the kingdom ſuperior to the laws; a pretenſion, which abſolutely changes the form of the government: in ſhort, that it was certainly dangerous to diſobey; but that their ruin was reſolved unleſs they would ſave themſelves by an intire and baſe ſacrifice of their conſcience. That they ought therefore to prepare themſelves for ſuffering; and that it was not worth while to keep off the ſtorm for a ſmall time, by ſubmiting to a ſtep, which would only alienate the friends of the Epiſcopal clergy, and give their enemies an occaſion for triumph.

They all refuſe to obey. The reaſons alleged by the laſt, gained the conſent of the others. The diſobedience of the London clergy would however have been but a ſmall matter, if the example had not been at all followed in the country, or only by halves. On this occaſion a conſiderable part would have concluded for the whole; and perhaps the court, flattered by ſome biſhops, had really expected that the number of ſuch as ſhould obey would be large enough to give occaſion to boaſt of the ſuffrages of the church of England, and proceed againſt the refractory with ſome appearance of juſtice. The reſolution of the London clergy had its intended effect, and animated the country eccleſiaſtics.

Debates of the biſhops on that affair. Sancroft appeared at the head of them, with a vigor not expected from his former conduct. At his intreaty, ſuch of his ſuffragans as were able to

(1) Monſieur d'Avaux, embaſſador of France to the States General, had expreſly declared it in a memorial, which he preſented them, and monſieur de Croiſſy, miniſter from the ſame court to the Porte, had made the ſame confeſſion to the Engliſh miniſter.

come

An' 1687. come to London, repair'd thither to confer with him, and for thoſe whoſe age or infirmities would not allow of it, they were conſulted by letter. Conferences were held at Lambeth; whither ſeveral divines, who were noted for their learning and integrity, were invited, and previous to their deliberations, the aſſiſtance of the ALMIGHTY was intreated in prayer. Eighteen biſhops, and two thirds at leaſt of the inferior clergy, concluded not to read the declaration, and it was agreed that ſome of the prelates, together with the archbiſhop, ſhould deliver a petition to the King, as well in their own names, as in thoſe of their abſent brethren, to ſet forth the motives of their conduct. The archbiſhop ſigned it, and ſix biſhops carried it to Whitehall, viz. William Lloyd biſhop of St. Aſaph, Thomas Kenn biſhop of Bath and Wells, John Lake biſhop of Chicheſter, Francis Turner biſhop of Ely, John White biſhop of Peterborough, and ſir Jonathan Trelawney biſhop of Briſtol (1).

1688. The petition of the ſeven biſhops.

In this petition they ſet forth, "That their "averſeneſs proceeded neither from any want of "duty to the King, nor of due tenderneſs to Diſ"ſenters, in relation to whom, they were willing "to come to ſuch a temper as ſhould be thought "fit, when that matter ſhould be conſidered and "ſettled in parliament and convocation: But "that this declaration was founded upon ſuch a diſ"penſing power, as had been often declared ille"gal in parliament *. Beſide, as this matter was "of the greateſt moment to the whole nation, they "could not, in prudence, honor or conſcience, "make themſelves ſo far parties to it, as to publiſh "this declaration, even in GOD's houſe, and in the "time of divine ſervice.

* In 1662, 1672, and 1685.

Upon the reading of their petition, by the King's command, his Majeſty ſtartled, and being greatly provok'd, told them angrily: "He did not ex"pect this from the Church of England, eſpecially "from ſome of them; That, if he chang'd his "mind, they ſhould hear from him: If not, he ex"pected his command ſhould be obey'd." To which the biſhops replied, they reſign'd themſelves to the will of GOD, and immediately retired.

The King's anſwer.

He propoſes the matter to his council:

After a ſtep of this importance, in which the honor of the King and biſhops was equally at ſtake, it could not but be with great uneaſineſs, that every one was attentive to the conſequences of it, and impatient to ſee which would, in the end, obtain their point, the King or the nation. Some days were ſpent in conſultations. The court immediately indeavor'd to ſtifle the petition, but in vain. They then conſulted perſons of different perſuaſions. Some were for impriſoning the biſhops who had ſign'd it, and for this father Peters, who was now almoſt firſt miniſter, with the title of privy-counſellor, was very urgent. There were, however, other Roman Catholic lords, who were for the King's putting up the affront, and not inſiſting, with the clergy, upon a point, which might determine them to a profeſs'd diſobedience.

And follows the worſt advice.

This advice was by ſo much the more prudent as it is dangerous to drive matters to an extremity, with a body of men, who have a ſure refuge in the love of the people for religion, and whom oppreſſion itſelf renders venerable. James was ſenſible of this truth, by a fatal experience. There were but very few, and thoſe the moſt inconſiderable of the clergy, who ſubmited. In London no more than ſeven, and about 200 throughout all England, in which, it is computed, there are 9500 pariſhes. And it is obſervable, that of the few who were obedient, ſome read the declaration one Sunday only, and for the reſt, moſt of them declared from the pulpit, that it was by command, and not thro' inclination. One even turn'd it into ridicule, and told his pariſhioners, "That tho' he was oblig'd to read this piece, they "were not bound to hear it;" and did not read it, till they had all left the church. An' 1688.

Addreſſes on this occaſion.

The ſubmiſſion of the biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter, and ſome addreſſes which were preſented the King, were to him a ſufficient balance, for the marks of diſſatisfaction ſhewn by the epiſcopal party. That of Carliſle, in particular, deſerves, for its ſingularity, to be preſerv'd in hiſtory. "They thank'd "the King for having eſtabliſh'd a liberty of con"ſcience, and a royal army; an army which they "were convinc'd, whatever the Tekelites might ſay "or think of it, was undoubtedly for the honor "and ſecurity of the nation. They promis'd to "elect ſuch members, as would promote a revoca"tion of the teſt and penal laws, and who had ne"ver any ways declared in favor of ſuch cannibal "laws:" and concluded with theſe expreſſions: "Surely theſe men, that oppoſe your Majeſty in "ſo gracious a work, do not conſider what a ſove"reign Prince, by his royal power, can do. A "work which Heaven ſmiles upon, and will re"ward with no leſs a bleſſing than a Prince of "Wales, that we may never want a Prince of your "royal race, to ſway the ſcepter of theſe king"doms, while either Sun or Moon ſhall give light "to this world."

The biſhops ſummoned to appear before the council.

The King's hopes were greatly increaſed by the promiſes he drew from his counſellors, one by one, after about a fortnight's tampering with them, that they would comply with his meaſures. He then cauſed the biſhops to be ſummon'd before the council, and, upon their appearance, the petition being produced, they were ask'd whether they own'd it? They anſwer'd: "That if the deſign was to ac"count it a crime in them, they hop'd the King "would not take advantage of the confeſſion they "were about to make in his preſence, and that "they allowed it to be the petition they had "preſented." Being ask'd how they came to print and publiſh it, they proteſted "that they "had no hand, either in one or the other." And, indeed, it has been aſſur'd, that they had conceal'd it with all the care imaginable: the archbiſhop wrote the rough draught with his own hand, kept it in his own poſſeſſion, without ſuffering any one to ſee it, and the only engroſs'd copy was that which was ſign'd and preſented by the biſhops. It muſt therefore have been handed to the preſs by ſome one to whom the King had intruſted it, and perhaps by a miniſter who was then pretty much in the confidence, both of his Majeſty and the Prince of Orange.

The council declaring this petition to be a libel, publiſh'd with the ſiniſter deſign of diminiſhing the King's authority, told the biſhops, they muſt give recognizances to appear before the court of King's-bench, at a time limited, to anſwer this high miſdemeanor. This they all refus'd to do, alledging their peerage, as biſhops, which placed them above the juriſdiction of that court. This Reſolution threw the whole council into aſtoniſhment. They threatned to proſecute them as rebels, with the utmoſt ſeverity of the law; and that unleſs they immediately withdrew their petition, they ſhould be ſent to the Tower: and an order for their commitment was ſign'd by all the members preſent, excepting father Peters, whoſe name the King would not ſuffer to appear on this occaſion. They replied, "that the King of Kings "would be their Protector and their Judge, and

(1) Father Orleans and mr. Archdeacon Eachard are miſtaken in ſaying, that the archbiſhop himſelf preſented the requeſt. He was ſick, and did not ſtir out of his palace.

An' 1688.

" that they feared nothing from men, ſince they " had been wholly govern'd by their conſciences, " and the laws of the land.

And are committed to the Tower. * May 28.

Upon this Anſwer, they were conveyed to the Tower * by water, leſt the populace might be excited to riſe, by the view of ſo moving a ſpectacle: But, notwithſtanding this precaution, people flocked in ſhoals, on both ſides of the river, extolling the conſtancy of theſe prelates, and craving their benediction on their knees, with all poſſible marks of a moſt ſenſible affliction. The ſame ſcene preſented itſelf at the Tower, where as well officers as ſoldiers threw themſelves on their knees, to receive their priſoners. In ſhort, grief was viſible in the face of every one, and every eye was a teſtimony of that ſpecies of menacing ſorrow, in which rage ſeems to be predominant over dejection. It was, perhaps, no unneceſſary precaution, that ſome companies of ſoldiers were up in arms, that day, who had orders to fire on all that ſhould offer to diſturb the peace, without which a tumult might probably have inſued.

Diſpoſitions of the King and nation, on this account.

The King, far from being intimidated by theſe tacite reproaches, or the ſhare which his army, then incamped at Hounſlow-heath, publicly profeſſed to take in the affliction of the city, as if theſe circumſtances were only ſo many ſpurs to his rancor, diſcharged all thoſe ſoldiers who had knelt to the biſhops, and was deaf to the intreaties of thoſe prudent Catholics who adviſed the releaſe of the prelates. He anſwered, with great haughtineſs, that his authority would become deſpicable, ſhould he put up with this infraction of it: And choſe rather to be a ſacrifice to the empty honor of acting conſiſtent with himſelf, in hopes of concealing his error, or rather juſtifying his actions, by perſevering in them.

The biſhops, in the mean time, were continued in the Tower, in ſeparate apartments, where they were daily viſited by perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, ſome lords coming ſeventy, or more, miles to ſhew them this regard. After a week's impriſonment, they were brought before the court of King's Bench, by virtue of a Habeas Corpus, and were inlarged upon the moderate recognizances of 100 *l.* for each biſhop, and 200 for the archbiſhop. The court appear'd, on this occaſion, as ſplendid as it was numerous. Several lords accompanied the biſhops to and from the court, and the populace followed with loud acclamations. Bonefires ſucceeded, at night, in all parts of the town; and the following days, theſe confeſſors, as they were ſtiled, were imployed in receiving the viſits of their well-wiſhers.

Trial of the biſhops.

No leſs ſplendid was the day of their trial: they were attended to the bar, by ſeveral biſhops, and by above thirty temporal lords, (1) who were curious to know the event, and who came provided with ſums of mony, to pay the fines which it was apprehended would be laid upon them. The unwearied aſſiduity of the clergy, and eſpecially of dr. Tenniſon, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, contributed very much to the procuring of a ſplendid appearance for the priſoners, which had this double advantage, that it at once did honor to the church of England, and excited the zeal of the people. The council for the King, were ſir Thomas Powis, attorney-general, ſir William Williams, ſolicitor-general, ſir Bartholomew Shore, recorder of London, mr. ſerjeant Baldock, and mr. ſerjeant Trinder: and for the biſhops, ſir Robert Sawyer, ſir Francis Pemberton, ſir George Treby, mr. Heneage Finch, mr. Henry Pollexfen, and mr. John Somers. On the bench ſat ſir Robert Wright, lord chief juſtice, and the judges Holloway, Powel and Allybone, the latter of whom was a Roman Catholic (2). As for the jury, it conſiſted of ſir Roger Langley, baronet, ſir William Hill, mr. Roger Jennings, mr. William Avery, mr. Thomas Auſtin, mr. Nicholas Price, mr. Thomas Harriot, mr. Geoffrey Nightingale, mr. William Withers, mr. Michael Arnold, mr. Thomas Done, and mr. Richard Shoreditch; whoſe poſterity will probably not be diſpleaſed to find their names recorded in hiſtory.

An' 1688.

Pleadings on both ſides.

The debate was begun upon theſe two queſtions of fact: firſt, " whether the petition was compoſed " by the biſhops; and, ſecondly, whether they pub- " liſh'd it?" The council for the King not being able to prove the firſt, by any other evidence, than the ſelf-confeſſion of the biſhops before the council, it was ſtrenuouſly argued, that a certain confidence placed in the King, as a ſign of an intire dependance on his equity, ought not to be produced in evidence againſt them. All the proof they could bring on the ſecond queſtion was, that they had preſented the petition to the King, who was then alone, and afterwards acknowledg'd it to be of their compoſing before the council. The court, therefore, proceeded to the queſtion of law; " whether that petition " was a libel?"

" Williams and Powis took upon them to demon- " ſtrate that it tended to caſt a blemiſh on the " King's adminiſtration, and to defame his perſon;" to which the counſel for the biſhops anſwer'd, " that " their lordſhips having receiv'd a command, " which in conſcience they could not obey, they " thought it their duty, as biſhops and ſubjects, to " acquaint his Majeſty with the reaſons of their " non-compliance: that as peers, and members of " the great council of the nation, they had yet a " more ample right to do it: that in matters of " religion, it was, in a more eſpecial manner, their " duty; and that by the act of uniformity, paſs'd " in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, they were in- " joyn'd, under pain of incurring the curſe of the " Almighty, not to be remiſs in caſes of this na- " ture. That the diſpenſing power aſſumed by " ſome Kings had been frequently oppos'd in parlia- " ment, where it had always been adjudg'd illegal. " That King Charles II had allow'd as much when " he revok'd his proclamation for a liberty of con- " ſcience; and that, all theſe things conſider'd, the " biſhops had authority for what they had done."

To this the council for the King replied; " that " the reſolutions of the two houſes, whether jointly " or ſingly, have not the force of a law, 'till they " have the ſanction of the royal aſſent. That " King Charles II might decline his right, in a " particular caſe, without a precedent being made of " it. That the Majeſty of Sovereigns was ſacred; " that the writing might be a libel, and yet contain " nothing but the truth; and finally, that the parlia- " ment, in a body were, indeed, intitled to re- " monſtrate; but that it was criminal in every one " elſe, to aſſume that liberty."

The biſhops acquitted.

Theſe debates laſted above ten hours; during all which time, an incredible throng of people waited in expectation of the event. The witneſſes againſt the biſhops, were not only inſulted, but in danger of their lives, had not they been convey'd away by a private door, and by that means eſcaped the fury of the people. The judges themſelves were divided: Powel and Holloway averr'd the petition to be no libel; but Allybone inſiſted it was; Wright agreed

(1) Theſe lords were the marquiſſes of Hallifax and Worceſter; the earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Bedford, Pembroke, Dorſet, Bolingbroke, Mancheſter, Rivers, Stamford. Caernarven, Cheſterfield, Scarſdale, Carliſle, Burlington, Clarendon, Danby, Suſſex, Radnor, Nottingham and Abington: the viſcounts Falconbridge and Newport; and the lords Grey of Ruthyn, Paget, Chandois, Vaughan, Carbery, Lumley, Carteret and Oſſulſton.

(2) B. Burnet, inſtead of the latter, mentions Herbert, lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas.

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AN' 1688. ſo far with the latter; but at the ſame time, would not allow of the validity of the proofs of the publication. The jury it ſeems were no leſs at a loſs, for they could not agree in a verdict that evening; ſo were ſhut up, as uſual, the whole night, without any refreſhment. It is ſaid, that ſome inſiſted upon a fine being impos'd on the biſhops; but others aſſure us, that when they were agreed, they believed their verdict would carry a greater weight with it, and they be leſs expos'd to the King's reſentment, if it appear'd, that they had been long undetermin'd. Be this as it will, the next morning, they brought in the priſoners, NOT GUILTY.

Great joy of the nation on this account.

In a moment, the hall rung with loud and repeated acclamations, and perſons of the higheſt diſtinction were not aſham'd to join with the populace in their continued ſhouts. The marquis of Hallifax ſet them an example, by throwing up his hat and crying huzza; and ſome carried their exceſs of joy ſo far, to fire their muſkets in the very hall. The lord chief juſtice, having caus'd one who had been guilty of this indecency to be taken up, could not forbear ſaying; "I rejoice as much as you "can, that my lords the biſhops are acquited, "but the manner of your expreſſing your joy is "indecent in this place." Nor did theſe tranſports terminate here, the whole city ecchoed with them. Hardly a houſe but what was preparing a bonefire. The officers who were ſent by the court to put a ſtop to them, could not hinder the people from making illuminations, and firing great guns in every part of the town. Some put ſix lighted candles in their windows with a ſeventh in the middle, longer than the reſt, to denote the ſix biſhops and the archbiſhop. In ſome places they obliged the conſtables to drink a health to the biſhops bare-headed. Out of the juriſdiction of the lord-mayor matters were carried yet farther. From Temple-bar, along the Strand, to Charing-croſs, within ſight of Whitehall, and about Somerſet-houſe, the reſidence of the Queen Dowager, the ſtreets abounded with bonefires, and nothing was heard but ſhouts of "Long live the biſhops." The news ſoon got into the country, and occaſion'd the ſame rejoicings every where: In the very army, where the King happen'd to be, there was no ſtopping their courſe.

The King attempts, in vain, to gain the army.

James hoped, however, by means of his army, and eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, to recover the ground he had loſt by the court of King's-bench. To this end, he endeavour'd to induce the former to come into his meaſures, for repealing the teſt, and the penal laws. He caus'd the matter to be firſt open'd to the lord Litchfield's regiment, with orders, that thoſe who would not inſtantly comply ſhould lay down their arms. This, he imagin'd, would intimidate them, and that having gain'd one regiment the reſt would ſoon follow; but how was he ſurpriz'd to find, that excepting two captains and four or five ſoldiers, who were Catholics, they all prepar'd to incur the penalty injoin'd. He order'd them to take up their arms again; adding, "That "for the future, he would not do them the honor "to ask their advice:" and this diſcourag'd him from any farther attempt with the other regiments.

And to incorporate Papiſts into it.

This project miſcarrying, he was the more intent upon reſuming that of forming an army for his purpoſe, by recruiting it with Iriſh Papiſts. His firſt attempt this way was with the regiment commanded by the duke of Berwick, his natural ſon, by ordering five Iriſhmen to be incorporated into each company. Lieutenant-colonel Beaumont, captain Paſton, captain Pack, and three others oppoſed it: but to ſoften their refuſal, they alledged, that "they could depend upon the fidelity "of their men, which had been put to the trial, in "Monmouth's rebellion; that they could find "recruits ſufficient in England, and that to mix "Iriſh with them, would give ſuch diſtaſte to the "reſt, that the officers could be no longer anſwer-"able for them." In vain the duke of Berwick came in perſon to inforce the King's commands; and to as little purpoſe it prov'd, to threaten the refractory with death, and that a council of war ſhamefully broke them. All the court gain'd thereby was the vexation of ſeeing not the army only, but the whole nation eſpouſe the cauſe of the diſgraced captains; their pictures, as of ſo many confeſſors were engraven, and, together with thoſe of the biſhops, hung up in private houſes. AN' 1688

The eccleſiaſtical commiſſion broken.

His Majeſty ſucceeded no better with his eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. In vain this court ſummon'd the chancellors and archdeacons of each dioceſe, to give a liſt of ſuch as had refuſed to read the declaration. Some abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to this new juriſdiction, while others thought to wave it by civil excuſes: and as an additional misfortune, dr. Sprat, biſhop of Rocheſter, a member of that commiſſion, quitted it at once, and wrote a letter to his colleagues, ſetting forth his reaſons for it: He ſaid, "he could no longer join with them in it; that "he had indeed done it, in obedience to an order "of council, and proteſted he then thought it his "duty: that, nevertheleſs, he did not queſtion "but his brethren, who had been diſobedient to it, "had acted upon the ſame principles of conſcience, "and that he had rather ſuffer with them, than "concur any longer in giving them trouble." This unexpected blow put a ſtop to their farther proceedings, and thus ended the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the proſecution of the biſhops.

Birth of the Pretender.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the Queen was ſaid to bring forth a Prince, now known in Europe, by the melancholy name of the Pretender. The reader has already ſeen in the foregoing ſheets, that many, as well Engliſh as foreigners believed, or pretended to believe, that this Princeſs had not been with child at all; and that others would have it, ſhe had miſcarried, and ſubſtituted another child in the room of her own, which dying, as did likewiſe a ſecond, the place was ſupplied by a third. Be that as it will, this event, which was intended to have fix'd James more firmly on the throne, was one, among others, which contributed the moſt to his fall. Many Proteſtants in England had pretty patiently born with a Catholic Prince on the throne, in expectation of a Proteſtant ſucceſſor; but their hopes were fruſtrated by the birth of a Prince, who being brought up in the Roman perſuaſion, would undoubtedly, ſoon or late, attempt to make that the national religion. This conſideration greatly advanced the intereſt of the Prince of Orange, and increaſed the number of his friends. As well thoſe of the church of England, as the Diſſenters, concur'd in inviting him hither, that he might oblige the King to govern according to law. Several of the nobility waited on him at the Hague, and, in the name of the whole nation, privately intreated the aſſiſtance of the States, who gave them ready aſſurances of it. The Prince ſent a gentleman * to England, who, as he deſired, returned with an invitation in form, ſign'd by a great number of ſpiritual and temporal lords, and, at the ſame time, acquainted him with the ſtate of the nation.

* Monſieur de Zuyleſtien.

The Engliſh call in the Prince of Orange.

He informed him, "that the nation was highly "provok'd, and called aloud for a deliverer; that "the eyes of the people were fix'd on him, for "this glorious exploit, and that the law of nations "gave him a juſt call to it, the heir being, by that "law, intitled to prevent the diſſipation of an "eſtate, intail'd on him by ſucceſſion, when by "the default of the poſſeſſor, it is running to ruin; "that if the preſent diſpoſition of the minds of the "people was diſregarded, the like favorable op-

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" portunity would hardly ever return, that even " the army, notwithſtanding the horrid licentiouſ- " neſs, into which it had been ſuffer'd to plunge " itſelf, that it might become odious to the peo- " ple, and bear an averſion to them, in its turn, " was not backward in their wiſhes, that the chains " with which the nation was fettered, might be " broken. That the troops, tho' equally ſtrangers " to the knowledge as well as practiſe of their re- " ligion, ſhewed, nevertheleſs, a contempt and ha- " tred for the Roman church, and that this had " induced the King to diſperſe them in the ſeveral " counties: that the fleet gave him the ſame ſub- " ject of uneaſineſs, and beſide ſhewed no inclina- " tion to come to blows, with that of the United " Provinces; and that having been ſounded by " certain perſons, on that head, they made no " ſcruple to anſwer, that the Dutch were their " friends and brethren, and that the French were " the natural enemies of the Engliſh."

He accepts their invitation.

This relation fixed the Prince of Orange's reſolution; and the ſituation of affairs, at this time, very much facilitated the execution of it. The principles, by which the nation in general was actuated in his favor, have been already ſhewn. Some, by inviting him, intended nothing more, than with the help of his troops, to bring matters into their natural order: others, by far the ſmaller number, prompted either by their hatred for James, or by their ambition, made a ſhew of having the ſame views only, tho' their real deſign was to dethrone their Sovereign, and the event has made it be thought, that the perſon, for whom they intended the throne, was not unacquainted with their deſign, and approved of it.

Foreigners, in their turn, had more than one reaſon, not to be the greateſt friends to King James. There was nothing more wanting, than to render the ſupport of France of no ſervice to him, by giving her imployment in her own defenſe. In this the Prince ſucceeded, as much by the evil conduct of his enemy, as his own ability.

The ſtate of Europe about the time of the revolution.

The powers and intrigues of Lewis XIV had excited a great part of Europe againſt him, and peace itſelf had furniſhed him with means of extending his conqueſts, with greater advantage and ſecurity than ever. He had bought Caſal of the duke of Mantua, made himſelf maſter of Straſsburg, by the credulity or corruption of its magiſtrates, and by judiciary proceedings re-united to his crown almoſt all that the Emperor had retain'd in Alſace. He had, partly by the ſame means, and in part by open violence, depriv'd Spain of ſeveral towns and lordſhips in the Low-countries, and the haughty and oppreſſive behavior of the French miniſtry had every where thoroughly exaſperated thoſe who were before but too much injured by his incroachments.

The Empe ror and Spain uneaſy at the conduct of France

The two branches of the houſe of Auſtria had made ſome weak attempts, as well in their own defence, as to be revenged. The treaty of guaranty * between Spain, Holland, and Sweden had proved ineffectual. The conferences held at Frankfort and Ratisbon, in order to ſpirit up Germany againſt France, had been fruitleſs for two whole years, † and what by the favor of fortune, what by the efficacy of a refined policy, Lewis the XIVth triumphed over the juſt arguments and complaints of his enemies.

* Concluded in 1681.

† In 1682, and 1683.

Spain, inraged at the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained, and the contempt with which ſhe had been treated, reſolved at length, ‡ to ſeek an adequate ſatisfaction, by means of her own forces alone. The Prince of Orange, then ſtatholder of the United Provinces, would gladly have aſſiſted the Spaniards. But the city of Amſterdam oppoſing it, all he could obtain was the feeble and ineffectual ſuccor of 8000 men, ſtipulated by the treaty of 1672; ſo Charles II King of Spain, was reduced to the neceſſity of puting up with the diſadvantageous terms offer'd by France, after having loſt Courtray, Dixmuyde, Luxemburg, and ſome other places.

‡ In 1684.

The Emperor Leopold had ample cauſes of diſcontent. Neither the twenty years truce ſo lately concluded at Ratisbon, ‡ nor the league made at Augſburg, * in which he had ingaged ſeveral Princes, had been ſufficient to ſcreen him againſt the intrigues of France: ſhe bouyed up the malecontents of Hungary, and, by her agents at the Port, ſtired up the Grand-Signor to continue the war there.

‡ In Auguſt, 1684.

* In 1686.

Being conſtantly intent upon unfolding the Emperor's views, and perplexing his deſigns, France kept up ſuch correſpondences and alliances in the Empire, as inabled her to prevent the Emperor from imploying his forces, or his allies, in the defenſe of Germany, on the Rhine.

Conduct of Lewis XIV. towards the Proteſtants.

Nothing was wanting to crown theſe meaſures, but either to leave the Proteſtants unmoleſted, or intirely to root them out: but Lewis XIV was not able to effect either. He deprived the Proteſtants in his kingdom of their liberty of conſcience, by revoking the edict of Nantz, ‖ granted them by Henry IV, and by ſubjecting them to the moſt rigorous treatment if they perſevered in their religion. He conſtrained the duke of Savoy, to treat his Proteſtant ſubjects, in the vales of Piedmont, in like manner. The capitulation of Straſsburg could ſcreen the Proteſtants of that city, but from a part of the rigour of his edicts. The reformed of Orange were little the better for being the ſubjects of another power. That city and principality being rent from the houſe of Naſſau, and re-united to Dauphiny, the violences commited there by his dragoons eſtabliſh'd the authority and the religion of Lewis XIV. The ſtrict alliance that was between him and James II King of England, ingaged the latter to leave no ſtone unturned to re-eſtabliſh the Roman Catholic religion in Great Britain.

‖ In 1685.

But the too precipitate proceedings of theſe two Princes, far from extinguiſhing the Proteſtant religion, tended only to loſe France the friendſhip of the Proteſtant Princes and States, who had and would always have taken her part againſt the houſe of Auſtria. They ſtrengthned the enemies of Lewis XIV with 800,000 French ſubjects, who carried immenſe riches, and the moſt valuable manufactures out of his kingdom, and furniſhed their armies with ſoldiers, who, beſide their valour and experience, were ſtimulated by the deſpair and reſentment of an exile, to which they had been oblig'd to condemn themſelves. In ſhort, they drove James II, from the throne, and ſet William III, upon it.

Some Roman Catholic Princes even contributed to, or at leaſt ſhewed their approbation of, this change; England and France being ſo ſtrictly united as they had now long been, and governed by two Monarchs, who were animated by the ſame principles and paſſions, ſeemed to threaten Europe, with a ſhameful and burdenſome ſlavery. Others hoped that the eſtabliſhment of a new government in England would furniſh them with an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke laid upon them, or of ſhewing their reſentment for the injuries that had been done them. Pope Innocent XI was one of thoſe who were the moſt ſenſibly affected with theſe ſentiments.

Pope Innocent XI oppoſes France.

James II had omited nothing that might ingage him in his intereſt; he ſent an embaſſy to him, and once more let England ſee the entry and audience of a Papal nuncio. He talked of nothing but a ſpeedy reduction of the whole nation, to the obedience of the Holy See, and, indeed, he labor'd at it with more ardor than prudence: but every

An' 1688. every thing, at Rome, ran againſt him. His very manner of devotion, and want of ability were alone more than ſufficient to draw upon him the contempt of that politic court: and his miniſters ſeem'd made to be the ſport of it. They were ſenſible there, that the converſion of Great Britain, which he was ſo full of, would end in nothing, and be of no real benefit to the Pope: to all which they added James's partiality for Lewis XIV.

The two courts of Rome and France had been long at variance, concerning the regalia. The latter talked of nothing leſs, than withdrawing their duty from the See of Rome. The Gallican church had reviv'd the famous tenets of the councils of Conſtance and Baſil, againſt the pretenſions of the Popes, in four propoſitions. They threatned Rome with a formidable army, and the Pope, without any emotion, gravely told the terrified cardinals, "that he had courage enough to undergo martyr-"dom."

The buſineſs of the immunities had inflam'd his reſentment. He pretended they were limited to the palaces of embaſſadors, and to the perſons of their retinue: but France inſiſted very ſtrenuouſly on their privilege. The marquis de Lavardin, their embaſſador, had made his entry into Rome in a military manner, and as if it had been an enemy's town: his quarters, being carefully fortified, had the appearance of a ſtrong-hold, and it was no unreaſonable queſtion, whether his deſign was to ſtand a ſiege there, againſt the Pope, or to beſiege him in the Vatican? The Holy Father, at length, flew out beyond all bounds. Lavardin, whoſe credentials he would never allow of, was excommunicated, the church of St. Lewis, at Rome, was put under a ſuſpenſion; Chanlay, a ſecret agent of France, was diſmiſs'd with contempt, and new meaſures were taken with the Emperor and Spain.

Thus ſtood matters, when King James undertook the imprudent and odious commiſſion of exhorting Innocent XI to quit ſome of his pretenſions. He fondly believed, that all poſſible regard was due to his and Lewis XIV's zeal for the Roman church, and, according to him, the world could not, without offenſe, behold the ſovereign Pontiff continue to diſoblige two ſuch pious and mighty Princes. To crown his error, he on every occaſion ſhew'd his repugnancy to whatever could be propos'd to him, in oppoſition to France.

The Pope, on this occaſion, followed the example, which Sixtus V, left his Succeſſors in a caſe not much differing from this. He was not ſatisfied with having advis'd the States General, that Lewis XIV was preparing to fall upon their provinces, before he had declared war againſt them, and that King James would take his part: he went yet farther. About the time the revolution was concerting, France, who having poſſeſſion of Alſace, was miſtreſs of the Upper Rhine, had fortified Landau, to render Philipſburg thereby uſeleſs to the Imperialiſts. Luxemburg held the country of Triers in a dependance on France, and Mont-Royal was erected on the Moſel, to curb the Electors Palatine and of Mentz. The Electorate of Cologne was all they now wanted to ſecure, and, to this end, after having procured the election of Prince William of Furſtemburg to the co-adjutorſhip, they were actually bent upon obtaining the archbiſhopric for him.

Double election of the archbiſhop of Cologne.

The Pope was very eager to imbrace this opportunity in his turn, to mortify France, who diſtributed mony, and ſent troops to facilitate the election of this Prince; and he was indeed choſen by a plurality of votes, notwithſtanding all the intrigues of the Pope, the Emperor and Holland, who eſpouſed the intereſt of Prince Clement of Bavaria: but an obſtinate refuſal of the inveſtiture and bulls render'd this election of no effect, and Clement only was acknowledged elector and archbiſhop in the Empire and at Rome. An' 1688.

Circumſtances of the revolution.

Theſe conjunctures, I ſay, extremely favored the revolution in England. The marquis de Seignelay, ſon of monſieur Colbert, had diſcovered the deſign, and offered a fleet of forty ſail to oppoſe it. King James, whoſe falſe dependences had long impoſed on Lewis XIV, being recovered from that fatal ſecurity, preſs'd him urgently to make a diverſion, and had it been done on the ſide of Cologn or Maeſtricht, as he propoſed, it is certain the Dutch would have found too much buſineſs cut out for their troops, to have left their frontiers bare, for the ſake of the expedition to England: but Lewis XIV had other concerns more at heart. To render the election of Prince Furſtemburg valid; to ſupport the pretenſions of his ſiſter-in-law, the ducheſs of Orleans, againſt the Elector Palatine, and to prevent, at the ſame time, the irruption he was threatned with, by the league of the Empire, employed his thoughts: and thus begun that long war, which broke out by the invaſion of the Palatinate, and ſoon after ſpread over all Europe.

Holland, being thus freed from the apprehenſions the motions of the French had cauſed, lent their fleet and their forces, to the Prince of Orange. His deſcent in England met with no oppoſition. All declared immediately in his favor, and King James, being abandoned by his ſubjects and his allies, gave himſelf up to deſpair, and, by his flight, left the throne vacant for his ſon-in-law.

The INTER-REGNUM.

Diſpoſition of the Engliſh nation towards the Prince of Orange.

From that moment, there appeared a change in every thing: the Tories, who were united, by the ſame common intereſt, with the Whigs, to call in the Prince of Orange, loſt all remembrance of what they had done, and regreted the yoke they had but juſt ſhook off. Some of them, who had imbib'd the principles of the divine and indefeaſible right of Kings, and paſſive obedience, ſtill look'd upon the perſon, whom they themſelves had dethron'd, as their King: others were under apprehenſions for the High Church party, during the reign of a Prince who was born a Preſbyterian. Many were in fear of nothing but of being proſecuted for the faults they had commited during the two preceding reigns, or of ſeing the Whigs, and the Dutch, who came over with the Prince, prefered before them.

They had forgot the danger the church of England was expos'd to, when King James, having led father Peters into the council, made a ſpeech in his favor, and declared, "That he expected his "power ſhould be acknowledged abſolute, and to "be obeyed without reſerve." They no more called to mind the new law cited by the lord chancellor Jefferies, in the high commiſſion court; "it is the King's pleaſure, that you be ſuſpended, "fined and deprived." They no more conſidered an expreſſion King James had let fall, ſoon after his flight, "That he hoped never to return to "England, but by means of fire and ſword." They did not reflect, that by the aſſociation they were all become guilty of high treaſon againſt King James, and that his reſtoration could not but prove fatal to them. Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was one of thoſe who had the moſt reaſon to be liable to theſe fears; he who had diſplaced the governor put by this Prince in the Tower, and ſet the lord Lucas in his room. He was as forgetful of his danger as the reſt. The view of this prelate, of the other biſhops, and of the reſt of the Tories, in calling over the Prince, was merely to make uſe of his authority and forces, to obtain a redreſs of their grievances, and they imagined they had paid too dear for theſe bleſſings, when they ſaw a Prince aſcending

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cending the throne, who would grant his protection equally to all Engliſh Proteſtants, under whatever denomination.

Hence proceeded the many ſnares which were laid in the Prince's way, and the difficulties he had to incounter with, on every ſide. The firſt propoſal was a treaty between King James and the Prince, while the latter was yet at Littlecot, and they prevailed on the former to command writs to be iſſued for calling a parliament. This artful counſel would have excluded the Prince for ever from the crown of Great Britain. A free parliament, which he himſelf had deſired in his manifeſto, would have diſpelled the uneaſineſſes, allayed the heats, and mitigated the diſcontents of the nation. It would have bound King James by ſuch laws, as, at the ſame time they limited his power, would have fixed him more ſecurely on the throne: while the Prince muſt have been contented with a large ſum of mony, and fair promiſes: but King James, who was as weak in his counſels, as he was intrepid in battle, ſoon deſerted his friends, and after having ſign'd a commiſſion for this treaty, his fears threw him into the power of the Prince, who prudently wink'd at his flight.

Snares laid for him by his pretended friends.

The deſperate counſels, which King James followed, might reaſonably have diſpirited his friends: nevertheleſs, it has been affirm'd, that ſome of them, by pretending to adhere to the contrary party, continued to ſerve him with the ſame zeal as before; and that theſe counſeled the Prince to cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed King, by the army. This advice had a fair appearance, on one ſide. The Prince, being indebted to his ſword only for the crown, might have reign'd ſuperior to the laws, which had done nothing for him, and not have been liable, before his election, to the vexatious delays, and imperious caprices of a convention of the nation: but then the Engliſh looking upon themſelves as a conquer'd and inſlav'd people, would have own'd no obligation to him for his favors; becauſe they would have received them at the hands of a conqueror, and have ſuſpected his own intereſt to be the motives of them. The Prince avoided theſe ſnares, and reſolved to hold the crown of the nation only.

The lords offer him the adminiſtration.

The firſt thing the lords did was to tender him the adminiſtration, till the ſtates could be aſſembled, under the name of a convention, a name invented by the Royaliſts, and given that parliament which reſtored King Charles II. They then deſired his Highneſs "to cauſe letters, ſubſcribed by himſelf, "to be written to the lords ſpiritual and temporal, "being Proteſtants, as likewiſe to the ſeveral counties, univerſities, cities, boroughs, and cinque-ports of England, directing them to chuſe ſuch "a number of perſons to repreſent them, as they "had right to ſend to parliament, within the ſpace "of ten days." Theſe two addreſſes were ſign'd by 90 Peers (1). Beſide theſe ſuffrages, the Prince thought it neceſſary to have the ſanction of ſome others, which might be looked upon as thoſe of the people: he therefore ſummon'd all thoſe who had been members of the houſe of commons, in the reign of King Charles II, to repair to St. James's the 26th of December, at ten in the morning, when the Prince having acquainted them with the cauſe of his deſiring them to meet, they went to the houſe of commons, where they reſolved upon an addreſs conformable to that of the lords, which being preſented to the Prince, the next day, it was reſolved, that the convention ſhould meet the 22d of January inſuing.

On the day fix'd, every thing was prepared, and the conferences were opened by the reading of a letter from the Prince, directed to both houſes. Interreg An' 1689.

He aſſembles a convention.

"After modeſtly hinting at what he had done for "the nation, he, in a few words, took notice of "the dangerous ſtate of Ireland: he recommended "unanimity and diſpatch in their conſultations. "He repreſented the danger that might attend de-"lays; that the States, by whom he had been in-"abled to reſcue this nation, and whom they were "obliged, by treaty, to aſſiſt, might ſuddenly feel "the ill effects of it, by being too long deprived "of the ſervice of their troops, or for want of the "ſuccors, which they ſtood in need of againſt "France, which had juſt declared war againſt "them." In this letter, the Prince gave an image of himſelf; haughty, and at the ſame time modeſt: he did not value himſelf upon the ſervices he had done the Engliſh, and ſcorning to win their affections by adulation, he would receive no return, but what proceeded from their eſteem and good will. In a word, to give him intire ſatisfaction, it was requiſite, that a ſenſe of gratitude, and their own intereſt alone, ſhould inſtruct them what obligation they had to him.

The commons declare the throne vacant.

The firſt ſteps the convention took could not but be acceptable to him. Both houſes returned an anſwer to his letter, in an addreſs full of acknowledgments and praiſes; and they appointed a day of public thankſgiving for the happy deliverance of the nation. The lower houſe, after a debate of five or ſix hours, reſolved, notwithſtanding an oppoſition of 150 members; "That King James II having "indeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the "kingdom, by breaking the original contract be-"tween King and people, and, by the advice of "Jeſuits, and other wicked perſons, having vio-"lated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn him-"ſelf out of the kingdom, had abdicated the go-"vernment, and that the throne was thereby be-"come vacant." The next day, the ſame houſe voted, "That Popery was inconſiſtent with the "Engliſh conſtitution, and that all Roman Catho-"lics were for ever excluded from the ſucceſſion "to the crown of England," to which the houſe of lords gave their concurrence.

Several biſhops and lords diſſent from this vote.

And now the diſpoſition of the nation began to appear more and more. Archbiſhop Sancroft, on hearing of theſe votes, would no more appear in the houſe of lords. He did not conſider, that the public had a right to expect, upon ſuch an occaſion, at leaſt ſomething from a prelate of his rank; and the exalted ſtation to which he was raiſed, in church and ſtate, requir'd that he ſhould give a public teſtimony of his approving or condemning the Prince's cauſe. The archbiſhop of York followed his example, as did, likewiſe, the biſhops of Wincheſter, Ely, Norwich, St. Aſaph, Bath and Wells, Oxford, Gloceſter, Lincoln and Durham: the earls of Huntington and Mulgrave, likewiſe abſented from the houſe, and ſickneſs hindered the lord Churchill from being there. Some of the prelates, and among others the biſhops of Wincheſter and Durham, afterwards reſumed their places, and declared for a King.

Reaſons alleg'd by ſome for their diſſention.

The votes of the houſe of commons met, at firſt, with a very warm oppoſition. It was ſtrenuouſly objected, "That Europe could not behold, with-"out aſtoniſhment, the Engliſh nation declaring Pa-"piſts incapable of ſwaying that ſcepter, which "had been born by a ſucceſſion of forty Princes "of that perſuaſion, from Egbert to Elizabeth. "That the Kingdom had but lately diſavowed that

(1) Other hiſtorians ſay 60. See hiſtory of King William, vol. 1. p. 306.

"maxim

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" maxim in numerous addreſſes; That the univer-
" ſities of Oxford and Cambridge had cenſured it
" as an error; that as the whole nation had ac-
" knowleged King James for their ſovereign,
" tho' he openly profeſſed Popery, it was a ridi-
" culous incongruity to pretend any Prince could
" be diſqualified for the crown of England on that
" account."

Several peers exclaimed with more vehemency againſt the other vote: "How, ſaid they, could " the name of deſertion, and much leſs of abdication, " be given to the neceſſary retreat of a Prince, who " had no way but this left to ſcreen his royal cha- " racter from the inſults of the populace; who ſaw " himſelf the captive of a foreign power, in his " own kingdom; who from his receſs, did not " ceaſe to proteſt againſt the acts of the convention; " who had a continued recourſe to the loyalty of his " former ſubjects, for his re-eſtabliſhment, and " who by the ſteps he himſelf took, to recover his " crown, evidently ſhewed, that he had not given " it up, but ſtill looked upon it as his right? And " beſide, what errors had he commited on the " throne, that the re-iterated offers he made the " nation, of redreſſing their grievances, in a " free parliament, were not a ſufficient attonement " for? But then it is alledged, that he has fled the " kingdom: an enormous crime indeed, continued " they! Did not the Saxon King Ethelred retreat " into Normandy? and of the Plantagenets, did " not Edward IV retire into Flanders? By a parity " of reaſoning, the flight of theſe Princes muſt " likewiſe have been a crime: but it never was " imputed to them as ſuch. The Royal dignity " would be a melancholy ſtate, if Kings only were " debared from avoiding danger, by flight, when " no other remedy is to be found."

The anſwer to them.

The moſt minute words of this vote were therefore to be canvaſſed, with a ſcrupulous nicety; " the exiſtence of an original contract was proved " by many arguments. The word abdication, " which in the common acceptation of it ſignifies a " reſignation abſolutely ſpontaneous and free, was " ſhewn to be likewiſe in uſe, in ſpeaking of a pub- " lic perſon, who commits ſuch actions, as " by right authorize the diveſting him of his dig- " nity: but the vacancy of the throne was an ex- " preſſion which gave more trouble to juſtify."

Another objection of the houſe of peers.

Some peers urged the maxim; " that the King " never dies, and therefore, that the throne can " never be ſaid to be vacant: " and thence infered, " that ſuppoſing King James had abdicated, his " throne was actually devolved to his immediate " heir ": of which the oath of allegiance was an inconteſtable proof; ſince, " the perſon " taking it does not, thereby, bind himſelf more to " the King, then reigning, than to his heirs and " ſucceſſors."

Reply to it.

To this it was anſwered, that " King James " having broken that tie, by which his ſubjects " were bound to his perſon, had thereby broken " that to his poſterity. He who ſucceeds to the right " of a perſon deceaſed is properly called heir; for " no man can be heir to the living. If therefore, " King James had forfeited his right, in his life- " time, he could not tranſmit it to any one, at " his death. In caſe of high-treaſon, the perſon " condemned forfeits his eſtate, while living, and " being poſſeſſed of none, at his death, his heirs " have no pretence to any, their right being anni- " hilated before it could devolve to them; the " application of which to the caſe in queſtion was " eaſy: to which might be added, that after " having ſhaken off the yoke of a tyrant, it would " be imprudent to admit the ſucceſſion of an heir " who could carry a reſentment of the injury done " to his anteceſſor, with him, to the throne. If " neceſſity would juſtify a nation in oppoſing a vio- " lent invaſion, and preventing their intire ruin, the " purſuit of thoſe meaſures, as far as their ſecurity " required, muſt be allowable: they agreed, " that natural equity, and the public tranquillity " demanded a direct lineal ſucceſſion, as far as was " conſiſtent, and it was what they wiſhed, but they " denied being abſolutely fixed down to it."

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A propoſal made to inquire into the ſuppoſititious birth of a Prince of Wales:

After an anſwer like this, it was of little or no moment whether the birth of the Prince of Wales was ſuppoſititious or not; ſince, be that as it will, he was declared to have no right to the crown. Some, however, thought the pretended birth of that child ought to be inquired into, for the honor of King James's two daughters, the Princeſſes Mary and Ann. Dr. Burnet was imployed in it: but after he had gathered together a number of preſumptive circumſtances, which, in his opinion, proved the impoſture more clearly than any formal evidences, which might have been ſuſpected of corruption, could have done, the court, the lords, and many others, out of different views, agreed to drop the inquiry.

But dropped.

The opinion of the cabinet-council was, that the evidences of his legitimacy, publiſhed by King James, rather confirmed than removed the ſuſpicions, and it was feared, that imperfect teſtimonies of the impoſture might but make it more doubtful. The lords ſeemed to expreſs but very little concern about the matter. It was enough that he was to be educated in the court of Lewis XIV, an enemy to the nation and the Proteſtant religion; and in the caſe of his deceaſe, another might be trumped up, and the Engliſh no way able to diſcover the deceit; Should they go to France for evidence, and receive at her hands ſuch a King as ſhe ſhould pleaſe to give them? Beſide, ſeveral who were preſent at the Queen's labour, and they only could ſet this matter in a true light, were no more in being. Wildman, and others, found likewiſe in this incertitude, wherewithal to indulge their republican notions. The pretenſions of the excluded Princes, would keep the perſon in awe, who was about to reign in their ſtead, and the little regard which appeared to be had for the ſucceſſion, in a direct line, ſeemed to open a diſtant path towards rendering the crown elective. There were not wanting perſons in the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſtations, who looked on this matter with another eye, and thought the proofs offered by dr. Burnet againſt the birth not ſufficient. The Queen Dowager, the lord chancellor, the earl of Middleton, and ſeveral other lords aud ladies, of both religions, were preſent at the Queen's labor, and had given evidence in a legal manner, that the Prince of Wales was her ſon. He had been ſolemnly acknowleged as ſuch by the people of Great Britain, by the United Provinces, and even by the Prince of Orange, who did not ſeem to doubt of it 'till many months after. No objections, therefore, never ſo little probable, could be founded on any thing, but the abſenſe of the Princeſs of Denmark, and of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had a legal call to be evidences of the Queen's labor: but the Princeſs was then at the Bath, from whence the Queen's unexpected ſudden labor had not allowed time for her return: And as for the Primate he was in the Tower with the biſhops. Was it juſt that ſuch unhappy circumſtances ſhould forfeit the Prince's legitimacy? On this foot, how hard would not the caſe be of thoſe children, whoſe mothers falling ſuddenly into labor, in loneſome or deſert places, muſt bring them into the world without witneſſes: theſe and other arguments contributed to the ſudden dropping of the propoſal for an inquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales.

The throne declared vacant.

The houſe of peers then returned to the vote of the commons, which, after two conferences between the two

two houſes, at length paſſed, without any amendment, and the throne was declared vacant.

Debates on the queſtion for electing a King.

The next queſtion was whether a King was to be elected? This was oppoſed, among others, by the dukes of Ormond, Southampton, Grafton, Beaufort and Northumberland, the earls of Kent, Pembroke, Clarendon, Rocheſter, Craven, Scarſdale, Weſtmorland, Cheſter, Litchfield, Cheſterfield, Yarmouth, and Lindſay, the viſcount Weymouth, and the lords Coventry, Brooke, Leigh, Ferrers, Mainard, Jermyn, Arundel, Dartmouth and Griffin: (1) At the head of this party was the earl of Nottingham, who moved; "That King "James II having, by the abuſe of the regal authority, diſqualified himſelf for governing, they might "proceed, with regard to him, as in caſes of lunacy, that is, that the right of ſovereignty ſhould "remain in him, but the exerciſe of it be commited to the Prince, with the title of regent."

Reaſons alledg'd by thoſe who were for a regent.

His reaſons were, "That this expedient would "be a ſecurity to the nation, whereas all others "would indanger the honor of the church of "England, and the ſacred rights of the crown. "That if we once aſſumed the power of dethroning "Kings, the regal authority would become precarious: that the people being, for the future, "judges of their ſovereigns, would be the umpire "of the Monarchy, which would thereby degenerate into a Commonwealth. That both law and "hiſtory prove the perſon and authority of the "Kings of England to be equally ſacred. That, "indeed, they are under tuition during their minority, and guardians may be aſſigned them, "when arrived to a maturity of years, if they appear to be as incapable of governing of themſelves, as if they were in the ſtate of infancy: "but it was unprecedented, that this perſonal impediment ſhould exclude their heirs in a direct "line. That if we deviated never ſo little from "the right of deſcent, for the ſucceſſion, the "crown would ſoon become elective, which would "ſet the kingdom in a flame. That ſome inconveniencies would, without doubt, attend a "regency: but no method would be wholly exempt "from them. Beſide, this expedient would be "agreable to the greateſt, as well as the moſt "judicious part of the nation; whereas all others "would only pleaſe the republican party, which "conſiſted of Non-conformiſts and Atheiſts, who "aim at no more than the faint ſhadow of royalty, "dependent on the will of the people, whereby "they might ſoon or late, overthrow the Epiſcopal church, and the Monarchial government."

Their different motives.

Many others ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, tho' moved by different principles. King James's private friends believed a regency would be moſt conducive to his reſtoration: that the fears of the people being removed, they would, by degrees, be lulled into a ſecurity, and change their ſentiments with regard to him. The main point was, to keep up the title of King, for him, during his abſence; for whenever he returned in that quality, royalty itſelf they concluded would ſoon follow him. Others had no view, but to ſhew their upright intentions, and if they argued with ſome warmth, for the preſervation of King James's perſonal rights, it was from a principle of conſcience, as long as the matter remained undecided. "Otherwiſe, they declared "they ſhould, without difficulty, render obedience "to another King, when crowned, being ſatisfied, "as well from hiſtory as the laws of the land, that "an actual poſſeſſion of the crown juſtified the "obedience of the ſubject, even in oppoſition to "the excluded ſovereign, tho' inveſted with a "better right". Theſe, in particular, were the ſentiments of the earl of Nottingham, who ſaid, "That tho' his conſcience obliged him to vote for "a regency, he ſhould be very glad, if it was "carried againſt him, and that, tho' he was ſcrupulous in making Kings, he ſhould know how at leaſt "to obey them perhaps with greater loyalty, than "thoſe who put the crown upon their heads."

It will be proper to obſerve, that moſt of the lords, who, with different views, had taken this ſide of the queſtion, were, at firſt, for reſtoring the fugitive King, on certain terms, which they thought ſufficient to prevent all abuſe of the regal authority, and to ſecure the national religion and liberties, from all future attempts. Such were thoſe rigid church-men, who had ſtrained the doctrine of paſſive obedience to the utmoſt, and could not at once depart from it, without expoſing themſelves to cenſure, by a too open and incongruous change. But to theſe it was objected, that according to their principles, they ought to replace King James on the throne, without preſcribing him any terms, and then offer him their moſt humble remonſtrances; and this it was induced them to argue for a regency.

The anſwer of thoſe who were for a King.

The oppoſite party, who were for a King, grounded their arguments as follows: they ſuppoſed an original contract, between the ſovereign and the nation, by virtue of which the King was equally obliged to protect his ſubjects, as they were to be obedient to him. One of their proofs was taken from the form of the coronation: for before the crown is placed on the Prince's head, the people are aſked, "if they will have the perſon then ſet "before them for their King:" and he is obliged to promiſe, "that he will protect his people, and "govern according to law". Nor is the crown given, or homage paid him, 'till after the people have teſtified their conſent, and he has made this promiſe.

A ſecond argument was, that this relick of the ancient coronation-ceremony is conformable to the practiſe of thoſe times, which either preceded the conqueſt of the Saxons, or were immediately ſubſequent to it. William I, tho' a conqueror, promiſed to obſerve the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, and this promiſe, which was the original contract, between the nation, and the Norman race, was often re-iterated by his ſucceſſors. Edward II and Richard II were depoſed for no other reaſon but for violating it: and it is evident their depoſition was eſteemed legal, becauſe it was never repealed, or, properly ſpeaking, the right of the parliament, to proceed in that manner, was never called in queſtion.

"And how (added they) could it be queſtioned? "have we not inconteſtable proofs of it in the wars "with the barons, and in the Magna Charta, "granted by King John called Lackland. Beſide, "to what end are reſtrictions laid on the regal authority, and the limits which Kings have often ſet "to it themſelves, if the people have no right to "inforce them? They may, indeed, in ſome caſes, "make a wrong uſe of this right. But then if "this privilege be denied them, on any occaſion "whatſoever, what ſecurity have they for their "liberties? How ſhall they repreſs tyranny? Is it "not reaſonable to let tyrants once again ſee, "what they have to truſt to, ſince former inſtances "will not terrify them."

After this they gave a hideous deſcription of the preceding reign: the moſt venerable and ſacred

(1) Our hiſtorians take notice, beſide theſe, of five temporal lords, without mentioning their names; and of the ſpiritual lords, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of Norwich, Winchester, Ely, St. Aſaph, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chicheſter, Rocheſter, St. David's, Glouceſter, and Lincoln.

laws

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laws trodden under foot, and the King's will ſubſtituted in the room of them. The Roman church which is proſcribed by thoſe laws, incouraged and protected: proteſtants, who alone are thereby intitled to imployments, obliged to give way to Roman Catholics: cities and towns deprived of their charters; Ireland made a ſacrifice to its native Papiſts; and to crown all theſe wrongs, the church of England ſubjected to an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. "And not ſatisfied (added they) with all theſe acts "of tyranny, James has abandoned his dominions, "and chuſes rather to throw himſelf into the arms "of foreigners for aſſiſtance, to inſlave his ſub-"jects, than to take their advice in a free parlia-"ment. Thus he has abdicated the crown, and "left the throne vacant. The nation is therefore in "right, for its own preſervation, to nominate a "ſucceſſor."

Objections made againſt a regency.

The arguments againſt a regency were no leſs prevalent. "This expedient (ſaid they) is as con-"tradictory to the rights of the crown as the other, "if not more. It is liable to the ſame inconveni-"ency, with regard to the ill uſe the people may "make of it. To eſtabliſh a regent, is to give two "Kings to the ſame kingdom; one of which "would have the title, the other the authority; "while the ſubject would be at a loſs which to "obey. In the reign of Henry VII the parliament "adjudged the right of government to be in the "Prince who was in actual poſſeſſion, and by virtue "of that act, the people may, without crime or "danger, pay obedience to ſuch a Prince. But "what ſecurity can there be under the laws of a "regent, while the crown is on the head of another? "Muſt not that other be obeyed; or can he be diſ-"obeyed with impunity? It may be objected, that "this convention may make a law to remove that "difficulty: but this will be another ſubject of un-"certainty, becauſe it is without a precedent. If "it be pretended, that the oath of allegiance to "James is ſtill in force, by which the ſubject is ob-"liged to maintain his authority as well as his title, "with what conſcience can he be deprived of the "authority, and the title only be left him? To "trifle thus with the ſacredneſs of an oath would "be to mock both GOD and man. If this obliga-"tion does yet ſubſiſt, it ought to be, not in "one, but in both its parts. Which ever way it "be taken; ſo long as James is inveſted with the "title of King, and every thing is tranſacted in his "name, the body of the nation will always eſteem "him their lawful Sovereign. In this caſe, "plots laid againſt the perſon of the regent, in "favor of the King, can never be deemed high-"treaſon: nor can the conſpirators be puniſhed "with death, unleſs murder accompanies the per-"jury; and it is certain no jury will bring in a "verdict againſt them. In a minority, where the "King has yet no will of his own, that of the re-"gent muſt be accounted his: but will that "be the caſe here, where the will of the "King, and that of the regent will be in a conti-"nual oppoſition; one indeavoring to recover his "authority, and the other to keep it in his own "hands."

Private views of this party.

At the head of this party were the marquis of Hallifax, and the earls of Devonſhire, Macclesfield and Danby. The deſign of ſome in ſupporting this party, was only to take advantage of the preſent conjuncture, to weaken the regal authority, and thereby to render the crown precarious and elective, in order to raiſe the authority of the people on the ruins of the throne. With this view, ſome were ſo bold, to advance, "that the government was "diſſolved"; as raſh and dangerous a concluſion as poſſibly could be: for from thence would follow, that all rights, which had iſſued from the crown, were extinct and annihilated with the government. The moderate party was therefore ſatisfied with advancing, that JAMES II had broken that knot, by which his ſubjects were attach'd to his perſon; that in deſparate caſes, neceſſity takes the place of law; that England was now involved in ſuch circumſtances, and that the Sovereign having firſt acted like a public enemy, and afterwards abandoned the nation, ſhe was certain, in right, to provide for her own ſafety; that to object to theſe maxims, the wrong uſe which might hereafter be made of them, was to raiſe phantoms, in order to contend with them; that every man ſlept quietly in his own houſe, tho' no one was ignorant, that in caſe of fire it was lawful to pull it down. That what is not lawful at all times, every one allows, may become ſo upon extraordinary occaſions, where there is no other remedy; and, in ſhort, that to drive a tyrant from the throne, could not be deemed either aboliſhing the Monarchy, or opening the way to a Common-wealth.

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Debates of the two houſes concerning the choice of a King.

The force of theſe arguments, and the rapid torrent, which then hurried the nation away, removed the ſcruples of the peers, and they agreed to elect a King. The Republicans themſelves concured with the unanimity which now began to appear. They pleaſed themſelves with the hopes of geting King James depoſed by a trial in form, and of raiſing the Prince to the throne, by way of election: but this project ſoon miſcarried. That auguſt aſſembly, however, again diſcovered the ſame contrariety of opinions, which 'till then had been ſo viſible in their debates, and which ſo different intereſts could not fail of producing. What were the Prince's ſentiments, cannot be plainer ſhewn, than by a relation of what paſs'd, three years before, between the Princeſs Mary, and doctor Burnet (afterwards biſhop of Saliſbury) who was then at the Hague.

The Princeſs of Orange promiſes to transfer her right to the crown, to the Prince.

The doctor (ſays my author) aſked her one day, What ſhe deſigned the Prince ſhould be, if ſhe was Queen of England. Her highneſs, unacquainted with matters of this nature, imagined, that the matrimonial vow left her no right to any thing but in common with her huſband. This obliged the divine to ſhew her, by examples, that according to the law of England it was otherwiſe: but he repreſented to her, at the ſame time, that a Prince would not be ſatisfied with the bare name of royalty, eſpecially when it depended upon the life of another perſon, and that this ſhadow of honor might indanger a real and ſubſtantial authority, ſuch as the Prince poſſeſſed in Holland. He adviſed her to reſolve upon being only the wife of the King, that is, to tranſmit the royal authority to him, whenever it ſhould devolve to her, and to have it ſecured to him, by the laws, for life. This juſt condeſcenſion (he added) would ſtir up a new affection towards her in the Prince, who for ſome time, had ſhewn a ſort of coldneſs, and that he would then have the affairs of Great Britain, more at heart. She replied, without heſitation, "that ſhe had no occaſion to conſider of "a thing, where the teſtimony of her love and reſpect "for the Prince were in queſtion". She opened the matter to the Prince himſelf, and told him, "ſhe "had been 'till then ignorant, that the laws of Eng-"land were ſo repugnant to the laws of GOD as "ſhe now was informed. That ſhe never imagined "the huſband ought, in any caſe, to be obedient "to the wife: that he ſhould always be her maſter, "and that ſhe deſired no more on his part, than to "have regard to that precept which injoined huſ-"bands to love their wives, as ſhe, on her part, "would obſerve that which commands wives to be "in all things obedient to their huſbands." The Prince was reſerved and of few words; however, he could not forbear confeſſing, that during the whole nine years of his marriage, he had had this matter

at heart, but never preſumed to open his mouth of it to the Princeſs.

Some propoſe to give him the crown, with the intail to the Princeſſes.

The marquis of Hallifax was for doing yet more in favor of the Prince's perſon, and whether it was with a view of ſupplanting the earl of Danby, or to expiate his former luke-warmneſs, he propoſed, "to confer the crown on the Prince, with the intail to the two Princeſſes, Mary and Ann."

This pleaſed the Republican party, becauſe it was a ſtep towards making the crown elective. The immediate dependents on the Prince came into it with ſome warmth. They thought the nation owed too much to the Prince, to offer him any thing leſs than the crown in return, and to divide the regal authority was, in their opinion, to rob him of one half of his glory.

Others are for placing the Princeſs Mary alone on the throne.

Others were for placing the Princeſs Mary alone on the throne, and leaving her the power, when inveſted with the regal authority, to confer ſuch part of it on the Prince as ſhe ſhould think proper. This was the opinion of thoſe who were in the intereſt of the Princeſſes. The earl of Danby wrote thereupon to the Princeſs Mary, that it would be her own fault if ſhe did not ſit upon the throne ſingly. Her anſwer was, "that ſhe never deſired or intended "to be any thing but the wife of the Prince, and "that they could not diſoblige her more, than by "doing any thing to the prejudice of her huſband." The Princeſs Ann gave as little incouragement to her friends: and it is worthy of remark, that the Prince, who was informed by the Princeſs his ſpouſe, what temptation the earl of Danby had thrown in her way, was ſo far from reproaching him for it, that he continued the confidence he had repoſed in him, and confered new honors upon him.

Reſerved behavior of the Prince during theſe debates.

During theſe debates in the convention, the Prince was very reſerved in his conduct, and indeed, he could not well be otherwiſe. The States-general had declared, that they aſſiſted him with no other view, but to maintain the fundamental laws of Great Britain, which were already oppreſſed, and farther threatned, as well by the introduction of a deſpotic power, as the eſtabliſhment of the Roman Catholic religion. That it was for the intereſt and glory of their ſtatdholder to ſupport theſe laws, and to reconcile the King to his people. That his highneſs went to England, as he had aſſured their highmightineſſes, not to invade the kingdom, or in the leaſt to interrupt the lawful ſucceſſion, but to relieve the nation, and to maintain her religion and liberties, by calling a free parliament, who might deliberate upon proper meaſures to prevent the evils they were apprehenſive of. Theſe were, in a great meaſure, the very terms of the Prince's manifeſto; ſo that nothing but a well-managed reſervedneſs could, in any manner, reconcile his honor with his intentions; and this he was very obſervant in.

He kept retired in the palace of St. James's, went little abroad, was difficult of acceſs, heard every thing, and hardly ſpoke at all. He ſhewed none of thoſe affable and popular manners, ſo apt to beſpeak affection. He ſaid, with an air of gravity, "That he was come, as he had been deſired, to "deliver the nation; which being effected, it was "their buſineſs to regulate their own concerns. He "left that matter wholly to them, and only waited "the reſult of their debates, to return to Holland, "ſatisfied with what he had done." Many were of opinion, that there was a real diſguſt concealed in theſe words, under the veil of an affected indifference; and that they contained a tacite threat of leaving all things in confuſion, unleſs they made him abſolute arbiter of them. In this profound taciturnity, he continued near a month.

The Prince declares his mind to ſome lords.

At length, he laid aſide his reſervedneſs, and declared to the lords Hallifax, Shrewſbury, Danby and others, who were aſſembled by his order, "that if he had hitherto kept ſilence, it was to no "other end, but that the convention might injoy "an unlimited freedom in their debates. That "being reſolved not to influence any one, either by "promiſes or threats, he thought it unneceſſary to "declare his ſentiment. But that the diverſity "of opinions which appeared among them, ob-"liged him, at length to break ſilence: that as "for the expedient of a regency, he ſhould not "oppoſe it, if they judged that the moſt proper; only "this he thought neceſſary to inform them, that he "had his reaſons why he would not be regent; and "therefore, if they continued in that reſolution, "they muſt be thoughtful of ſome other perſon. "He ſaw what would be the conſequences of it, "and would not accept of that poſt. Others, he "was informed, were for puting the Princeſs "ſingly on the throne, and that he ſhould reign "by her courteſy: but that, tho' no man could "eſteem a woman more than he did the Princeſs, "yet he could not think of holding any thing by "apron-ſtrings, or that it was reaſonable for him "to have any ſhare in the government, unleſs it "was put in his perſon, and for the term of his "life; if they thought otherwiſe he would not op-"poſe them; but would return to Holland, and "concern himſelf no farther with their affairs. He "could aſſure them, that whatever others might "think of a crown, it had not ſuch an appearance in "his eyes, but that he could live, and be very well "pleaſed without it. But that tho' he could not "reſolve upon accepting a dignity, ſo as to hold it "precarioufly on the life of another; yet he thought "it reaſonable, that the iſſue of the Princeſs Ann "ſhould be prefered in the ſucceſſion, to any he "might have, by any other wife but the Princeſs."

This declaration was not made with the intent it ſhould remain a ſecret; it was ſoon divulged every where. Doctor Burnet, in particular, publiſhed what had paſſed between him and the Princeſs at the Hague. Theſe circumſtances contributed not a little to unite the oppoſite parties, upon which it was ſoon determined, "that William and Mary, "Prince and Princeſs of Orange, ſhould jointly "injoy the rights of ſovereignty, the admi-"niſtration being reſerved to the Prince alone.

The crown confered jointly on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

The liberties of the ſubject reduced into an act.

An act, or declaration of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in convention aſſembled, was accordingly prepared, in which by enumerating the abuſes of the regal authority, in the preceding reign, the liberties of the ſubject were ſtipulated, and a ſort of ſecond Magna Charta eſtabliſhed. In drawing up this declaration, a difficulty aroſe, which might have fruſtrated the deſign of it; for ſome perſons, to make their court to the Prince, took occaſion to ſay, that the diſcuſſion of this matter ought to be defered, till he was in poſſeſſion of the throne, leſt by precipitating it, they might render it ineffectual. The point in queſtion was, the right King James had aſſumed of diſpenſing with the laws in civil matters. It had always been cuſtomary, before his time, for the Kings of England to inſert, in their letters-patent, "any law to the contrary not-"withſtanding," which ſuppoſed the very authority King James had arogated. To conclude, this point was paſſed by, but was regulated afterwards by a particular law, which deprived the crown of this ancient prerogative.

The oath of allegiance altered.

The laſt thing which was done by the convention, was to regulate the form of the oath of allegiance. In the former oath, the title given the ſovereign was "rightful and lawful King" a title no ways proper for a Prince, who, like William, had no right but what was given by the people, it was therefore thought proper to reduce this oath to its ancient ſimplicity, of ſwearing "to be faithful and bear "true allegiance to the King and Queen."

From

BRITISH
20 AU 75
MUSEUM

Place before this Reign.

WILLIAM THE THIRD KING OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, &c.

DIEU ET MON DROIT

R. White ad vivum.

R. Sheppard Sculp.

Plate before this Reign.

MARY THE SECOND, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, &c.

HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE

DIEU ET MON DROIT

R. White delin:

R. Sheppard sculp:

BRITISH
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INTERREG AN' 1689.

Which gives occaſion to pernicious diſtinctions.

From this oath aroſe the famous diſtinction of a King de facto, and a King de jure. We have already obſerv'd that the laws of England allow of ſuch a diſtinction: but it is only with reſpect to the thing itſelf, and not with regard to the effect. They injoin obedience to the Prince, who is in actual poſſeſſion of the throne, by what means ſoever he acceded to it, and ſo far they are reaſonable; for otherwiſe every ſubject muſt ſcrupulouſly examine into the rights of his ſovereign, before he could tender him obedience, and this perplexing liberty, which would continually expoſe the ſubjects to be deceived in the choice of their ſovereign, muſt of courſe introduce confuſion and diſorder in the ſtate.

For this reaſon, the new oath was made to conſiſt only of very general expreſſions, and it was believed that thoſe who took it, would think themſelves thereby tied down to a ſtrict allegiance: but this proved a miſtake. The enemies of the revolution pretended that this oath laid them under no obligation to William and Mary. In their opinion, it amounted to no more, than that they were both uſurpers, whom they were obliged to obey as being in poſſeſſion of the crown, or King and Queen de facto: but that they were not thereby reſtrained from aſſiſting the late King to regain his crown ſince he ſtill remain'd King de jure. This ſhameful diſtinction proceded chiefly from the clergy, and many of them made uſe of it to reconcile the affection they ſtill bore for the late King to their preſent intereſt.

A ſalvo for the high church.

Doctor Lloyd, then biſhop of St. Aſaph, and afterwards of Worceſter, found an expedient, which being agreable to their notions, was very proper to remove the ſcruples of many of them. Moſt agreed that the Prince had waged a lawful war with his father-in-law. All juſt wars (ſaid the biſhop) are waranted from Heaven; the ſucceſs of ſuch a war is the deciſive award of the Almighty. Thus King James's defeat was the act of condemnation, by which GOD himſelf deprived him of his dignity, and tranſmited it to the Prince, by right of conqueſt. This ſyſtem of political theology was readily imbraced by all thoſe who having deeply intangled themſelves with the ſtrange conceits of the divine right of monarchy, ſtood in need of ſome expedient to retract their opinion, without ſeeming to do it: and they only were pleas'd with it.

INTERREG AN' 1689.

The 12th of February, the Princeſs of Orange arrived. Upon the reports ſpread, that ſhe was diſpleaſed as well with the treatment her father had met with, as with what had been done with regard to herſelf, the Prince had written a letter to her, "to deſire her to appear gay at her firſt arrival, "leſt by ſeeming otherwiſe ſhe ſhould diſcourage "thoſe who were friends to them both, or give "cauſe to ſuſpect ſhe was diſſatisfied." She made ſome poor attempts to ſhew her obedience, which gave occaſion to men of ſenſe, who were not let into the ſecret, tacitely to blame her, for puting on an air of gaiety ſo little becoming a Princeſs, who was taking poſſeſſion of the palace of a fugitive father, and whoſe throne ſhe was, likewiſe, about to mount.

The Princeſs arrives from Holland.

The very next day had been fixed by the convention to make an offer of the crown to her and the Prince. The marquis of Hallifax, as ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, was appointed to perform the ceremony, and the ſame day, they were proclaimed by the title of William and Mary, King and Queen of England, &c. The Prince, upon accepting the crown, reſerved to himſelf the right of croſſing the ſea to the aſſiſtance of Holland, whenever it ſhould be requiſite, and the ſame day, he wrote a letter to the States General, full of the moſt tender marks of his affection and gratitude.

The convention makes a ſolemn offer of the crown to the Prince and Princeſs.

King William and Queen Mary proclaimed.

Among other things, he aſſured them; "that "his new dignity, inſtead of diminiſhing the af-"fection he ever had, or the care he ever took for "the preſervation and proſperity of their republic "would only ſerve to inable him to diſcharge his "office of ſtatdholder, with more weight and ſucceſs, "towards the good and advantage of their ſtate, "and that during his reign, he would make it his "conſtant buſineſs and indeavor to eſtabliſh and "maintain a perfect intelligence, alliance and invi-"olable friendſhip between his kingdoms, and the "United Provinces, for the ſafety, welfare and "repoſe of both ſtates, and ſupport of the Proteſ-"tant religion."

K. William's letter to the States General.

With the ſame meſſenger who was diſpatched with this letter, was alſo ſent an order for the inlargement of the earl of Sunderland, who had been arreſted at Rotterdam, his lordſhip having ſufficiently juſtified his conduct by a letter, which, for the ſatisfaction of the public, was printed and diſperſed (1).

The earl of Sunderland ſet at liberty.

(1) It was thought his detenſion was by collufion, and that he was apprehended on purpoſe to be formally diſcharged, to make way for his more honorable return to England: for tho' he might not be originally in the ſecret of the Prince of Orange's intended expedition to England (which, however was well known to his lady) yet he certainly was very inſtrumental in the ſucceſs of it, by hindering King James from accepting the offer of a French army of 30,000 veteran troops to oppoſe him. Oldmixon, p. 3.

The Reign of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.

Some Reflections on the benefits accruing to Europe by the revolution.

THE hiſtory of the happy revolution having been ſo particularly given in the latter part of the preceding 24th book, as the recapitulation of ſome part of it is in the foregoing ſheets of this, it may now be expected, I ſhould give ſome account of the benefits which accrued from it, not to England only, but to the greater part of Europe, which was never nearer being inſlaved, than it was at this time, by the aſpiring views of Lewis XIV toward an univerſal Monarchy. Some particulars of theſe great benefits having, however, been already interwoven with the hiſtory of this wonderful event, and a far greater number, which are yet recent in every one's memory, having been too viſible in the conſequences to eſcape the notice of any conſiderate perſon (among which the ſecurity of our liberties and conſtitution in the happy eſtabliſhment of our preſent moſt illuſtrious royal family is none of the leaſt) I need to ſay very little on that head.

Next to the important and extenſive advantage which accrued, by means of the revolution, to the Proteſtant religion, in general, the total extirpation of which, as I have already obſerved, was one of the grand deſigns of the Monarch of France, in conjunction with King James; Great Britain and Holland, as they were in the moſt immediate danger, had the moſt reaſon to expreſs their gratitude for their happy deliverance, and to retain, as I hope they do, and ever will do, a due ſenſe of what they owe to the memory of the glorious inſtrument

William & Mary An' 1689.

ment of all the bleſſings they partake of, in the peaceable injoyment of their religion and liberties, the hero whoſe reign I am now going to write. But it was not the Britiſh dominions, and thoſe of Holland only, who were reſcued, by the revolution, from impending ruin, and received infinite advantages from thence: The Emperor and the whole Germanic body, Spain, the ſeveral ſtates of Italy, and diverſe other ſtates of Europe, were marked out to be victims to the inſlaving projects of Lewis XIV and James, and tho', I ſay, Great Britain and Holland were in the moſt immediate danger, yet had they been once brought under the yoke, it was more than probable, the other powers I have mentioned, would not long have been able to reſiſt the united force of thoſe two crowns, which would then have been equally active in the ſame deſtructive meaſures. Not only theſe Princes and ſtates, tho' moſt of them profeſs the Roman Catholic religion, but the very ſeat of Popery, Rome itſelf, were ſenſible, that unleſs ſome effectual ſtop was put to the tow'ring projects of France they ſhould all, ſooner or later, become ſlaves to the unlimited ambition of her grand Monarch. It was therefore no wonder, that they all joined in expreſſing the great ſatisfaction it was to them to ſee the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſiting on the Britiſh throne. This fortunate event ſoon quieted all their fears, and the grand alliance, which, as we ſhall ſee below, was one of the immediate conſequences of it, ſet up ſuch a barrier againſt the exorbitant power and incroachments of the French King, as he was never afterable to pull down: and tho' he once bid fair for it again, by the additional forces of Spain, and the dominions thereunto belonging, which he found means to bring under his yoke, yet the ſame happy principles which formed this firſt grand alliance, cemented another, yet more formidable, which reduced him to the very brink of total ruin: but to return from this digreſſion.

King William and Queen Mary being thus advanced to the throne, and proclaimed, with the greateſt ſigns of a univerſal and ſincere joy, at the uſual places, the firſt thing the King, in whom the ſole adminiſtration of the government was veſted, did, was to chuſe a ſet of counſellors, in whom he could confide, and with whom he might ſhare the important reſolutions of ſtate, in his privy-council. This he did, the 14th of February, the day after he was proclaimed, and the perſons named were theſe following:

K. William appoints a privy-council.

His royal highneſs prince George of Denmark.
William lord archbiſhop of Canterbury.
Tho. earl of Danby, lord preſident of the council.
Charles marquis of Halifax, lord privy-ſeal.
Henry duke of Norfolk, earl-marſhal.
Charles, marq. of Winchester.
Robert, earl of Lindſay, lord great chamberlain of England.
William, earl of Devonſhire, lord ſteward of the houſhold.
Charles, earl of Dorſet and Middleſex, lord chamberlain of the houſhold.
Aubery, earl of Oxford.
Charles, earl of Shrewſbury, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate.
William, earl of Bedford.
John, earl of Bath.
Charles, earl of Macclesfield.
(1) Daniel, earl of Nottingham.
Thomas, viſcount Falconberg.
Charles, viſcount Mordaunt.
Francis, viſcount Newport, treaſurer of the houſhold.
Richard, viſcount Lumley.
Henry, lord biſhop of London, dean of the chapel.
Philip lord Wharton.
Philip, Lord Montague, maſter of the great ward-robe.
Henry, lord Delamere.
John, lord Churchill.
Mr. Bentinck, groom of the ſtole, and lord privy-purſe.
Henry Sidney, eſq;
Sir Robert Howard.
Sir Henry Capel.
Henry Powle, eſq; ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.
Edward Ruſſel, eſq;
Hugh Boſcawen, eſq;
To whom were added,
Thomas Wharton, eſq; comptroler of the houſhold.
Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, vice-chamberlain to the King.

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Great officers of ſtate named.

At the ſame time, his Majeſty being deſirous to reward thoſe who had contributed moſt to his acceſſion to the throne, diſpoſed of ſeveral other offices of ſtate, beſide thoſe mentioned in the above liſt of privy-counſellors, as well to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves on that occaſion, as to others whoſe merit, in other reſpects, recommended them to his Royal favor. Monſieur d' Auverquerque was made maſter of the horſe; marſhal Schomberg, maſter of the ordnance; monſ. Zuyleſtein, maſter of the robes; lord Lovelace, captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners: the duke of Ormond, the earl of Oxford, the viſcounts Lumley and Mordaunt, the lord Churchill, and mr. Sidney, gentlemen of the bed-chamber; the earl of Wiltſhire, lord chamberlain to the Queen; John How, eſq; vice-chamberlain; mr. Villars, maſter of the horſe, and the counteſs of Derby, firſt lady of the bed-chamber, and groom of the ſtole to her Majeſty; ſir John Maynard, Anthony Kirk, and William Rawlinſon, eſq; commiſſioners of the great ſeal. (2) Admiral Herbert, the earl of Carbery, ſir Michael Wharton, ſir Thomas Lee, ſir John Chickley, ſir John Lowther, and mr. Sacheverel, lords of the admiralty; the lords Mordaunt, Delamere, and Godolphin, mr. Hampden, and ſir Henry Capel, lords of the treaſury, and the earl of Nottingham, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate. (3)

Inferior civil officers continued.

All theſe imployments, with ſeveral others of leſs conſideration, were diſpoſed of, at different times, but within the ſpace of two months. The ſame day the council was appointed, a proclamation was likewiſe iſſued, for continuing all inferior civil officers, who were Proteſtants, in their reſpective offices and places.

Dr. Burnet made biſhop of Saliſbury.

Of the inferior clergy, dr. Burnet, who had a conſiderable hand in the revolution, was the firſt who reaped the fruits of it; being elected biſhop of Saliſbury, purſuant to his Majeſty's Conge d'elire, of

(1) Some of the ſtaunch friends of the revolution expreſſed ſome diſguſt at the earl of Nottingham's being called to the privy-council; becauſe he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the vacancy of the throne, and ſtill perſiſted ſo far in the ſame ſentiments, that it was queſtioned whether he would accept of any office, under the new government.

(2) Biſhop Kennet, and ſome others, ſay, the great ſeal was offered to the earl of Nottingham; but that he refuſed accepting it, alleging, as an excuſe, his unfitneſs for an imploy, which required a conſtant application. The truth of this is very much queſtioned by others, as well becauſe it was well known that his lordſhip was capable of great application, but more eſpecially becauſe he afterwards accepted of the place of ſecretary of ſtate, which requires as much, or near as much attendance. The ſame authors ſay, the marquis of Hallifax likewiſe refuſed it.

(3) It has been ſaid (ſee Salmon's Modern Hiſtory) that he was prevailed on to accept of this office with ſome difficulty: perhaps he was ſo preſſed to it, that he could not well refuſe it. His great capacity and uprightneſs might be one motive: or, perhaps his having voted with an oppoſite party, at the head of which he was, it might be neceſſary for the King to ſecure him to his intereſt, by ſome diſtinguiſhing mark of his confidence.

the

WILLIAM & MARY. AN' 1689.

the ninth of March, directed to the dean and chapter of that cathedral, and conſecrated at Fulham, the 31ſt of the ſame month, by the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Lincoln, Landaffe, St. Aſaph and Carliſle, by virtue of a commiſſion from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who refuſed to perform the ceremony himſelf (1).

The King propoſes to turn the convention into a parliament.

Having given this account of preferments, in church and ſtate, in one connection, I now return to the King, who, the firſt time he met his council, which was the 14th of February, put the queſtion to them, "whether the convention might be legally "turned into a parliament"? Which his Majeſty thought the more neceſſary, not only becauſe the delays which muſt be occaſioned by calling of a new parliament, might be of evil conſequence, in this juncture, but that he might thereby preſerve a great number of members then ſiting, whom he knew were to be intirely depended on, as hearty well-wiſhers to the new ſettlement. The council did indeed divide upon the queſtion, but the majority was for the affirmative, and ſome inſtances were produced of the like tranſmutation. (2)

To put this project in execution, the King went to the houſe of lords, the eighteenth, with great ſolemnity, and being ſeated on the throne, the commons attending at the bar, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

His Majeſty's firſt ſpeech to both houſes,

My lords and gentlemen,

"I have lately told you how ſenſible I am of "your kindneſs, and how much I value the con- "fidence you have repoſed in me; and I come "hither to aſſure you that I ſhall never do any "thing which may leſſen your good opinion of me.

"I think it neceſſary to acquaint you, that the "condition of our allies abroad, and particularly "that of Holland, is ſuch, that unleſs ſome ſpeedy "care be taken of them, they run a greater hazard "than you would have them expoſed to.

"You yourſelves muſt be ſenſible, that the poſ- "ture of affairs here requires your ſerious conſide- "ration, and that a good ſettlement at home is "neceſſary not only for your own peace, but "for the ſupport of the Proteſtant intereſt, both "here and abroad.

"And particularly the ſtate of Ireland is ſuch, "that the dangers are grown too great to be ob- "viated by any ſlow methods.

"I muſt leave it to you, to conſider of the moſt "effectual ways of preventing the inconveniencies, "which may ariſe by delays, and to judge what "forms may be moſt proper to bring theſe WILLIAM "things to paſs, for the good of the nation, which & MARY. "I am confident are all your minds, and which, I on AN, 1689. "my part, ſhall be always ready to promote."

Meets with a general applauſe.

This ſhort and modeſt ſpeech, which ſhewed his Majeſty placed an intire confidence in the nation, and was ſatisfied with barely laying matters of fact before them, without attempting to influence them, by propoſing any means himſelf, met with unuſual marks of applauſe, ſuch as it juſtly deſerved. At the cloſe of it, there was that general hum, by which the numerous aſſembly of the commons of England are wont to ſhew their approbation, and it was ecchoed by the people every where, as ſoon as the report of it was ſpread abroad. (3)

A bill to turn the convention into a parliament.

The houſe of lords, purſuant to what was recommended to them from the throne, in the laſt clauſe of this ſpeech, and the motion made by ſome of their members, who were of the privy-council, brought in "a bill, to remove and prevent all queſ- "tions and diſputes concerning the aſſembling and "ſiting of this preſent parliament"; which they read twice, that ſame afternoon, and having paſſed it, the next day, ſent it to the commons for their concurrence.

Debates upon it in the houſe of commons.

Upon the receit of it, the commons went into a committee of the whole houſe, and mr. Hamden, their chairman, put the following queſtion: "whether "a King, elected and declared, by the lords ſpi- "ritual and temporal, and commons aſſembled at "Weſtminſter, the 22d of January, 1688-9, com- "ing to and conſulting with the ſaid lords and "commons, did not make as complete a par- "liament, and legiſlative power and authority, to "all intents and purpoſes, as if the ſaid King "ſhould cauſe new ſummons to be given, and a new "election to be made by writs?"

This queſtion having occaſioned a long and warm as well as memorable debate, an account of it will probably be acceptable to the reader. The party that was againſt it, and which ſtood up for the ſtrict ancient conſtitution, being headed by ſir Edward Seymour, ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, ſir Thomas Clarges, and Heneage Finch, eſq; maintained;

Arguments againſt the queſtion.

"That according to ſir Edward Coke, a parlia- "ment conſiſts of the King's Majeſty ſiting there, "as in his politic capacity, and of the three "eſtates of the realm, that is to ſay, (1) the lords "ſpiritual, (2) the lords temporal, and (3) the "commons. That as to the lords ſpiritual and "temporal, every one of them being of full age, "when a parliament is to be held, ought of right

(1) Biſhop Burnet, and the author of the continuation of Rapin, in French, remark, that in all theſe preferments, regard was principally had to the Whigs; and the latter obſerves, that the King's favor was likewiſe wholly diſpenſed the ſame way. It was divided (ſays he) between Monſieur Bentinck, a gentleman of a noble family, in Guelderland, whom he created earl of Portland, and mr. Henry Sidney, afterwards earl of Rumney, vice-roy of Ireland, maſter of the ordnance, governor of the Cinque-ports, and colonel of a regiment of foot-guards. A foreign favorite (continues the ſame author) was very diſagreable to the Engliſh nation: thoſe who were the beſt affected to the King were concerned for him, and accounted theſe viſible marks of diſtinction to certain perſons, an error in his conduct; tho' they concealed their diſſatisfaction, for the preſent; thinking it by no means becoming them, to arraign the conduct of a Prince, who, in the main, had ſhewn ſo much wiſdom in the choice of his miniſters, and more eſpecially in that of the judges. Lib. 25. p. 36.

(2) His Majeſty had the more reaſon for this precaution, becauſe the ſpirit of party, occaſion'd by the dangers the nation was lately in, which were in a manner ſuppreſſed, ſeemed to revive again, the very moment that things were ſettled on this foundation. Some out of a miſtaken principle of conſcience: ſome out of greedineſs for imployments, of which there were not enough to ſatisfy the leaſt part of the demands; ſome out of hatred to the Diſſenters, to whom the King had ſhewn his benevolence; and ſome biaſſed by the prejudices of education, or rather the natural inconſtancy of men, formed together a faction, which appeared in the convention, even before it was turned into a parliament: for it was ſaid in the houſe of commons, that what had been done was not valid, and that the convention not having been called by the King's writ, their acts were not of force. De Cize. p. 16.

(3) There were not, however, wanting thoſe, who being diſaffected to the happy eſtabliſhment, ſo lately brought about, ſtudied to turn this ſpeech to the King's diſadvantage, and to inſinuate from thence ſuch things as they thought moſt proper to excite the diſcontent of the people. They reported, that to conquer Ireland and ſupport the allies, would require a fleet of 90 men of war, and an army of 45 or 50,000 men, regular troops, which would coſt the nation three millions yearly. Malicious computations were made of the expences of the civil government, embaſſies, intelligences, ſecret ſervices, penſions, and the like, which they made to amount to above three millions more, that is (ſaid they) to more than the third part of the annual revenue of the kingdom. They indeavoured to perſuade the nation, that a war would certainly bring on a decay of trade, which would reduce the revenues of the exciſe and cuſtoms to a third of their value, that the latter alone would loſe 400,000 l. That the revenues in general would be diminiſhed to leſs than half. That there would be no imployment for the poor, and the like ungrounded inſinuations, by which they hoped to intimidate the people into a deſire of peace, and a concurrence with thoſe who blindly ſought to reſtore King James. French Cont. of Rapin. l. 25. p. 37.

" to have a writ of ſummons to come to that par-
" liament; and that as to the commons, the ſame
" author ſays, they are reſpectively elected by the
" ſhires, or counties, cities and boroughs, by force
" of the King's writs. That the lords and com-
" mons aſſembled at Weſtminſter the 22d of Janu-
" ary, were not ſummoned thither, by the King's
" writ, and therefore, that tho' the King afterwards
" came to them, yet ſuch a King, lords and com-
" mons could not be a parliament.

" And tho' ſomething like this had been done at the
" reſtoration, yet that was done by the conſent of the
" lawful King, and upon abſolute neceſſity, the King
" being abſent, and no great ſeal in being: and not-
" withſtanding this, the acts of that convention
" were ratified by a ſucceeding parliament, and
" from thence they received their authority; and
" therefore moved, that the convention ſhould be
" diſſolved, and a parliament ſummoned, in the
" uſual manner, by the King's writ."

Arguments for the queſtion.

The party for the affirmative, which happened to be the prevailing party, argued:

" That it was generally admited, that in an
" hereditary kingdom, if the King ſhould die with-
" out an heir, either lineal or collateral, the crown,
" in that caſe, would devolve, or, as it were, eſcheat
" to the whole people and nation, and that here-
" upon the eſtates and repreſentatives of ſuch a
" nation might diſpoſe of the crown to whom
" they pleaſed, or quite alter and change the govern-
" ment, into what form they thought fit; exam-
" ples of which were produced, out of Germany,
" Italy, France, and Portugal. That in like
" manner it was, where a King did abandon, for-
" ſake or deſert his government, by going or
" flying out of his kingdom, without appointing
" any guardian to protect and take care of his peo-
" ple, in his abſenſe, whereby the throne became
" vacant, the eſtates of ſuch a people might ap-
" point another King or governor. That King
" James II having abandoned his people, unguarded
" and undefended, at the mercy of a foreign army,
" even in the heart of the country, without ſo
" much as leaving a guardian, or great ſeal behind
" him, his great officers, and miniſters of ſtate, flying
" ſome one way, and ſome another, what could
" the nation do but what they had done? to wit,
" ſeveral of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, many
" of the knights, citizens and burgeſſes of a for-
" mer parliament, the aldermen and diverſe common
" council-men of the city of London, addreſſed
" themſelves to the Prince of Orange, deſiring him
" to take upon him the adminiſtration of public
" affairs, until the meeting of the intended conven-
" tion of the three eſtates, or great council of the
" realm; and to ſend letters, ſubſcribed by him-
" ſelf, both to the lords ſpiritual and temporal
" that were Proteſtants, to meet on the ſaid 22d of
" January, at Weſtminſter, and to the ſeveral
" ſhires, counties, univerſities, cities, &c. for
" electing of ſuch a number of perſons to repreſent
" them, as of right were to be ſent to parliament.
" That accordingly ſuch letters were ſent and
" elections made, and the convention thus convened,
" after mature deliberation, reſolved; that the
" Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be King
" and Queen of England. That after they were
" proclaimed King and Queen, and he came and
" conſulted with the three eſtates ſo aſſembled, what
" could be wanting in that aſſembly to make them
" a full and complete parliament? or what could
" be had more than was in this convention of King,
" lords and commons, if the ſaid King ſhould
" iſſue out writs, for calling a new parliament?
" That if (as was agreed by all) the ſubſtantial
" parts of a parliament be and conſiſt of an aſſembly
" or convention, or meeting together of the King
" and three eſtates, the difference of the lords
" and commons being called by writ, or by
" letter, was nothing material, ſince both writ
" and letter were both to the ſame effect; and that
" in ſome ancient records, it is mentioned; that
" parliaments ſhould be ſummon'd by letters, par-
" ticularly in King John's great charter, in the
" 17th of his reign, he promiſes to ſummon the
" biſhops, abbots, earls, &c. by his letters. That
" the Prince of Orange's not being King, at the
" time of his ſending forth his letters, mattered not,
" for he was the perſon, to whom the adminiſtra-
" tion of the government was then commited.
" That it was evident, that in many parliaments,
" it was not ſo material, how the King, lords
" and commons came together, as that they were
" together. That the manner of calling together
" the three eſtates of the realm, by the Prince of
" Orange's letter, was a much fairer proceeding,
" conſidering the ſtate of affairs, as to the calling
" of them together, than was in ſeveral caſes, where-
" in they were never doubted to be a parliament,
" when joined with a King. That Edward II being
" impriſoned by his Queen, ſon and nobles, they
" iſſued forth writs, in the impriſoned King's name,
" to ſummon the lords, and to chuſe knights, citi-
" zens and burgeſſes, to meet at Weſtminſter (Jan.
" 16, 1325) That this, one would think, was
" pretty hard, and an abſolute force upon the
" King, by making uſe of his name, againſt his
" will, ſo that it could not be ſaid to be his act:
" yet the lords and commons being met, they
" depoſed Edward II, and declared his ſon Edward
" III King, and this new King, and the lords and
" commons ſo (as one might ſay) irregularly conve-
" ned together, made ſeveral acts of parliament, and
" have been ever ſince adjudged a good parliament
" to all intents and purpoſes, without any ſubſe-
" quent act of confirmation. That, in like man-
" ner, Richard II being taken priſoner, by Henry,
" duke of Lancaſter, the duke iſſued forth writs,
" in the King's name (the King then in priſon) to
" ſummon the lords, and to elect repreſentatives
" for the people, to meet at Weſtminſter, the
" 13th of September 1399. That thoſe being
" met by this irregular ſummons, they depoſed
" Richard II and declared the duke of Lancaſter
" King, and that new King, and the lords and
" commons ſo irregularly convened, being joined
" together, were alſo, and are to this day, ad-
" judged a good parliament, to all intents and pur-
" poſes. Laſtly, that the lords and commons aſ-
" ſembled at Weſtminſter, the 15th of April 1660,
" were convened by writs, in the name of the
" keepers of the liberties of England, who were
" uſurpers; yet when King Charles II came to
" them, and they received him as King, he and
" they together were adjudged a parliament,
" they inacted, that they ſhould be ſo taken; they
" made many laws which were put in execution,
" and they continued as a parliament until the 29th
" of December following: and tho' moſt or all
" thoſe acts were afterwards confirmed, by a ſub-
" ſequent parliament convened by the King's writs,
" in May 1661, yet that confirmation, according to
" many good judgments, was rather to ſatisfy ſome
" ſcrupuloſity, than out of neceſſity, moſt of the
" ſaid acts having, in a great meaſure, had their
" effects, before the ſubſequent parliament began.
" Therefore, that if upon the Prince of Orange's
" being declared and proclaimed King, he came
" to the convention of lords and commons, aſſem-
" bled at Weſtminſter; if the ſame number of lords
" was ſummoned, that of right ought to be ſum-
" moned to parliament, and the ſame number of
" knights, citizens, and burgeſſes duly choſen, as
" ought to be choſen, to repreſent the commons

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" in parliament, then conſequently, there were all " the ſubſtantial and eſſential parts of a parliament " met together, and being ſo, where was the neceſ- " ſity, advantage, or prudence, to diſſolve theſe, " and thereby give new trouble, of new ſummons, " and new elections, loſe a great deal of time, " ſuffer irrecoverable loſs and damage to Ireland, " and the allies abroad, and after all, at the " next meeting, be but where they now were, as " to the eſſential parts of a parliament, there being " nothing more to be had, at any time, but what " they had already. That a new election might oc- " caſion new diſturbances in the kingdom; and that " thoſe who had ſet the King upon the throne, " would probably be more zealous to eſtabliſh him " in it, than thoſe who would be choſen in their " ſtead, and ſome added, that there was as much " reaſon to ſubmit to a parliament de facto, as to a " King de facto."

The bill paſſes.

Upon theſe, and the like reaſons, the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, and ſome alterations and amendments being made, relating to the oaths, which, by that bill, were appointed to be taken by both houſes, the commons acquainted the peers, two days afterwards, that they had agreed to their bill, with theſe alterations and amendments, which being confirmed by the lords, the whole bill received the Royal aſſent, on the 23d of February. (1)

Debates concerning the revenue.

That there was yet a ſtrong diſcontented party in the houſe of commons appeared more plainly ſoon after: for, on the 26th of February, the queſtion being put: " whether the revenue was expired " by the vacancy of the throne, or whether it was " devolved on their Majeſties?" The firſt part of the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of the contrary party, who alleged it was devolved upon his Majeſty, having been granted to the late King for life. A committee was thereupon appointed, to regulate the revenue for their preſent Majeſties, ſome of the members whereof inclined to have it ſettled on them for three years only.

A bill for the better regulating the peers trials,

In the mean time, a bill was preſented to the lords, " for the better regulating of the trials of " the peers of England", which gave occaſion to great debates, inſomuch that when it was read a third time, fifteen lords entered their diſſents, for the following reaſons:

1. " Becauſe nothing ever was or could be put " into an act of parliament, that could reflect " ſo much on the honor of the peerage as this " would.

2. " Becauſe it ſet the honor of the peers and " commons upon an equal foot.

3. " Becauſe ſuch perſons as might have cauſes to " be heard at the bar of the houſe of lords, would " not be confident of the juſtice of the peers, and " conſequently be jealous of the rights that might " be expected from impeachments.

4. " Becauſe it ſtruck at the root of all the privi- " leges of the peers, moſt of which they claimed, " by reaſon of the great regard the law has to the " integrity and honor of the peers, above that of " the commons: the ſtatutes De Scandalis Magna- " tum being inacted for that reaſon only.

5. " Becauſe it would be in ſome ſort, a mark " of reproach upon every peer who ſhould be chal- " lenged, unleſs there be very great and apparent " cauſe for it.

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6. " Becauſe it would tend to maintain feuds and animoſities among the peers.

7. " Becauſe, at this time, it was unreaſonable, " conſidering the late diſputes and diviſions, that " had been in this houſe.

8. " Becauſe the honor of every man, much " more of a peer, is more valuable than his life."

Dropp'd.

Notwithſtanding theſe proteſts, the bill was ſent down to the houſe of commons, where, after a tedious delay, it was dropped at laſt, by the influence of thoſe peers who were againſt it.

A bill in favor of the Diſſenters.

His Majeſty, having found, by ſeveral inſtances, that the houſe of lords acted with more unanimity than the lower houſe, cauſed ſuch acts, as tended to the confirmation of the preſent ſettlement, to be ſet on foot in that houſe: and as the Diſſenters had been very active in bringing about the revolution, a bill for exempting them from the penalties of certain laws, was read there, the firſt time, on the 28th of February.

Upon this occaſion the earl of Nottingham moved, that a bill of comprehenſion, and another of toleration ſhould be preſented the houſe, whereby all moderate Preſbyterians might be reconciled to the church of England, and admited to eccleſiaſtical benefices. This motion was univerſally applauded, even by the biſhops who were preſent, ſo that the earl of Nottingham received the thanks of the houſe for it, and purſuant thereto a bill was brought in on the 11th of March following, " for uniting their " Majeſties Proteſtant ſubjects (2)."

An order for diſcovering of Papiſts.

On the ſame 28th of February, " upon informa- " tion that ſeveral Papiſts were harbored in the " cities of London and Weſtminſter, the lords " ordered ſir William Waller (a gentleman, who " had pretty much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, at the " time of the Popiſh plot) to ſecure, or cauſe to be " ſecured all ſuch Papiſts, or reputed Papiſts, and " return their names to the committee appointed " to bring in a bill for removing all ſuch from the " city of London;" which bill was accordingly preſented to the houſe, on the firſt of March.

Inquiries into the earl of Eſſex's death.

Some days before this, the houſe of lords had taken upon them to inquire into the circumſtances of the late earl of Eſſex's death, who was ſaid to have murthered himſelf in the Tower, the 13th of July 1683. Captain Holland was, by their lordſhips order, commited to Newgate, on ſuſpicion of having murthered the earl, and ſeveral perſons, particularly ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave and mr. Baker, were examined as witneſſes concerning it: but, notwithſtanding all theſe inquiries, no ſufficient diſcovery could be made of that fatal accident.

A meſſage from the King to the lords.

The firſt of March, the King ſent two remarkable meſſages to the two houſes: the firſt was to the houſe of lords, by the lord viſcount Mordaunt, late earl of Peterborough, who acquainted their lordſhips, " That in this conjuncture of affairs, and " for the public ſafety, his Majeſty had ſecured " ſome perſons, as dangerous to the government,

(1) The paſſing of this act rather increaſed than removed the diſcontents of ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, who had before proteſted, that they neither would ſubmit to the deciſions of ſuch a parliament, nor fit in it: and indeed, ſome of them kept their words, as to this laſt point, retiring into the country upon frivilous pretences, which occaſioned the dilatory proceedings of this ſeſſion, and gave King James an opportunity, to get conſiderable footing in Ireland, and the hopes of reaſcending his throne. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 9. Kennet's reign of King William.

Of the lords, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of Gloceſter, Worceſter, Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, Chicheſter, and Peterborough, refuſed to take the oaths appointed by that act, as did likewiſe ſeveral temporal peers, and in particular, the earls of Clarendon, Exeter, Strafford, the duke of Newcaſtle, the lord Stawel, and two or three more. However ninety of the temporal lords, and eight of the biſhops took the oaths in that houſe. Salmon's Modern Hiſtory, Vol. 24. p. 6. Oldmixon (p. 4.) mentions ten biſhops, who took the oaths, by name, viz. the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of St. Aſaph, Briſtol, London, Lincoln, Wincheſter, Rocheſter, Landaff, Carliſle, and St. David's.

(2) Some of the Diſſenters, however, put a ſiniſter conſtruction upon the earl's motion, and pretended that it was with no other deſign, than to try how they ſtood affected towards the church of England. Hiſtory of King William III. vol. I. p. 11.

" and

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" and thought it might be convenient to ſecure more, " and being extreme tender of doing any thing, that " the law did not fully warrant, had given order " that the lords might be acquainted with what he " had thought himſelf obliged to do, for the public " peace and ſecurity of the government". A committee was thereupon immediately appointed to prepare an addreſs to be preſented to the King, upon this occaſion, from both houſes, " expreſſing their " moſt humble thanks, for his Majeſty's great " care of their liberties, and for his gracious com- " munication of this matter; and humbly to ad- " viſe and deſire his Majeſty, to take ſuch extraor- " dinary care of the government, in this conjuncture, " by ſecuring all diſaffected perſons, as might pre- " vent any diſturbance of the public peace, and " that ſuch perſons as were, or ſhould be ſo com- " mited, might be detained till the firſt day of " the next term, if his Majeſty ſhould ſee cauſe " for it."

Reſolutions of the lords thereupon;

The commons were not ſo ready to concur in this addreſs, becauſe it ſeemed to allow the King a power of diſpenſing with the Habeas-corpus act, and therefore thought it more legal to bring in " a bill to impower his Majeſty, to apprehend " and detain ſuch perſons, as he ſhould find juſt " cauſe to ſuſpect were conſpiring againſt the go- " vernment." This bill went thro' both houſes, in a few days, and paſſed into an act, by the royal aſſent. (1)

And of the commons.

Mr. Wharton delivered the other meſſage to the commons, which was, " that the King being ſen- " ſible what a grievous burden the duty ariſing " from fire-hearths was to his people (2) eſpecially " to the poorer ſort, his Majeſty was pleaſed to " agree either to the regulation of it, or to the taking " of it wholly away, not doubting but the commons " would take care of his revenue another way". This political preſent had its effect; for, on the fifth of March, the commons voted an addreſs of thanks to the King, in which they acknowledged themſelves obliged " to declare that his " Majeſty had filled their hearts with an intire " ſatisfaction and gratitude, by his moſt gracious " and unprecedented offer, for the eaſe of his peo- " ple, humbly aſſuring his Majeſty, that they " would make ſuch grateful and affectionate re- " turns, and be ſo careful of the ſupport of the crown, " that the world might ſee, to the diſcouraging of " his enemies, and ſatisfaction of all good men, " that his Majeſty reigned in the hearts of all his " people". This ſeeming liberality of the Sovereign was alſo thankfully acknowledged by the city of London, in an addreſs preſented to the King on the 12th of March.

A meſſage from the King to the commons.

Their addreſs of thanks.

The King had acquainted the houſe of commons, on the 27th of the foregoing month, that he had certain news of the late King James's having ſailed from Breſt, with a conſiderable body of French troops, for Ireland, upon which they unanimouſly voted: " That they would ſtand by " and aſſiſt the King, with their lives and fortunes, " in ſupporting his alliances abroad, in reducing of " Ireland, and in defence of the Proteſtant religion, " and the laws of the kingdom." They communicated this vote to the peers, who confirmed it by entering the ſame into their journal, and on the 5th of March, they concured with the commons in the following addreſs:

A vote of the houſe of commons.

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Addreſs of both houſes.

" We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and faith- " ful ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and tempo- " ral, and commons, in parliament aſſembled, " being highly ſenſible of our late great and ſignal " deliverance from Popery and arbitrary power, " whereof it has pleaſed Almighty God to make " you the glorious inſtrument, and deſiring, to the " utmoſt of our abilities, to expreſs our gratitude " to your Majeſty, for ſo great and generous an " undertaking, no leſs neceſſary to ſupport the " Proteſtant intereſt in Europe, than for reco- " vering and maintaining the civil rights and liber- " ties of theſe nations, ſo notoriouſly invaded, and " undermined, by Popiſh counſels and counſellors, " and being likewiſe fully convinced of the reſtleſs " ſpirits, and continual indeavors, of your Majeſty's " and the nation's enemies, for the extirpation of " the Proteſtant religion, and the ſubverſion of " our laws and liberties, do unanimouſly declare " that we will ſtand by and aſſiſt your Majeſty, " with our lives and fortunes, in ſupporting the " alliances abroad, in reducing of Ireland, and " in defenſe of the Proteſtant religion and laws of " the kingdom."

The ſum of 400,000 l. which was all the commons had hitherto voted, falling very ſhort of the King's neceſſities, his Majeſty laid hold of this favorable diſpoſition in his parliament, to urge a more ample ſupply, and having, to this end, appointed the 8th of March to receive this addreſs of both houſes, he, in the mean time, prepared the following artful anſwer, which he then gave them accordingly: (3)

The King's memorable anſwer.

" It any thing (ſaid his Majeſty) could add to " the eſteem and affection I have for parliaments, " and particularly for this, they would be much " increaſed by the kindneſs you ſhew to me, and " the zeal you expreſs for the public good, in " the addreſs you have made, which in the manner " as well as the matter, has every thing in it, that " ought to recommend it to me.

" I will aſſure you, that I will never abuſe the " confidence you have put in me, being fully per- " ſuaded, that there is no ſure foundation of a " good agreement between a King and his people " but a mutual truſt; when that is once broken " a government is half diſſolved.

" It ſhall be, therefore, my chief care, never " to give any parliament cauſe to diſtruſt me, and " the beſt methods I can uſe, for that purpoſe, is " never to expect any thing from them, but what " ſhall be their own intereſt to grant.

" I came hither for the good of the kingdom, " and ſince it is your deſire, that I am in this " ſtation, I ſhall purſue the ſame ends that brought " me.

" God has been pleaſed to make me inſtrumental " to redeem you from the ills you feared, and it is " ſtill my deſire, as well as my duty to ſerve you, " in your religion, laws and liberties, which were " the only inducements, that brought me into " England, and to theſe I aſcribe the bleſſings " that attended this undertaking.

(1) This meſſage was occaſioned by the ſecuring the earl of Arran, ſir Robert Hamilton, and two other Scotſmen, who, by ſome intercepted letters from France, were ſuſpected to be in a conſpiracy with ſeveral others of the Scotiſh nation, for the reſtoration of King James, and were thereupon commited to the Tower. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 13. There were likewiſe, at the ſame time, in cuſtody, the late lord chancellor Jefferies, the lord Montgomery, the earl of Saliſbury, the earl of Caſtlemaine, the earl of Peterborough and the lord Clifford, who were all, excepting Jefferies, ſoon after admited to bail.

(2) This duty, whereby all perſons were required to pay two ſhillings for every fire hearth in their houſes, had occaſioned great murmuring, eſpecially among the mean ſort of people, and particularly, on occaſion of the diſorders frequently cauſed by the manner of levying it: and it being thought proper, that the King ſhould begin his reign with ſome popular act, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, he was adviſed to this: tho', as it afterwards proved, it was but removing one burden to make way for others. It was oppoſed by ſome of the tory-party, and they were, on that account, accuſed of indeavoring to deprive the King of the opportunity of making himſelf agreable to his people.

(3) It was ſuppoſed that this anſwer proceeded from the pen of mr. Powle, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; or, at leaſt, was drawn up in concert with him.

" When

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" When I ſpoke laſt to you, I told you of the " neceſſity of aſſiſting our allies, and more eſpe- " cially the ſtates of Holland, whoſe readineſs to " relieve you, at ſo great a hazard and expenſe, from " the extremities you lay under, needs no other ar- " gument, to move you to the conſideration of it.

" As I was then a witneſs of their zeal and af- " fection to promote the expedition, and to ſecond " my indeavors, even with the neglect of their " own ſafety, ſo I am now ſenſible of the inevi- " table ruin they have drawn upon themſelves, in " giving you their aſſiſtance, if you ſhould not " return it to them.

" They have really exhauſted themſelves to ſuch " a degree, both as to men and mony, that it is " not eaſily to be imagined; and I am confident " your generoſity will have as little bounds towards " them, as theirs had towards you, and that you " will not only inable me, to make good the treaty " with them, and repay what they have actually " laid out, upon this occaſion (of which an ac- " count ſhall be given you) but that you will farther " ſupport them, to the utmoſt of your ability, " againſt the power of their enemies, who muſt " be yours too, by their intereſts and their religion, " and do certainly deſign the ruin of Holland to " be a ſtep to your deſtruction.

" I need not take pains to tell you the deplo- " rable condition of Ireland, which by the zeal and " violence of the Popiſh party there, and by the " aſſiſtance and incouragement they have from " France, is brought to that paſs, that it is not advi- " ſable to attempt the reducing of it, but by a conſi- " derable force, which I think ought not to be leſs " than 20,000 horſe and foot, which, by the " bleſſing of God, will make the work ſhorter, and " in conſequence, the charge eaſier, tho' the firſt " expence muſt, of neceſſity, be very great.

" You are to conſider, that towards the moſt " ſpeedy and effectual ſucceſs, in relation to Ire- " land, as well as with a regard to France; there " muſt be ſuch a fleet, as may, in conjunction " with the ſtates, make us ſo intirely maſters of " that ſea, that nothing may be ſent from France " to Ireland, or any where elſe, that may give " diſturbance to us or our allies.

" I muſt alſo recommend to you the conſidera- " tion of the revenue, that it may be ſo ſettled, " as that it may be collected without diſpute.

My lords and gentlemen,

" Theſe things will amount to a great ſum, and " muſt of conſequence be a preſent weight upon " the people: but conſidering that neither your " religion, nor your ſafety, can probably be ſecured " without theſe means, I conclude nothing can be " too great a price for their preſervation. And I " will ingage my ſolemn word to you, that what- " ever you ſhall give, to theſe public ends, ſhall " be ſtrictly applied to them: and as you ſo " freely offer, to hazard all that is dear to you, " ſo I ſhall as freely expoſe myſelf, for the ſup- " port of the Proteſtant religion, and the ſafety " and honor of the nation.

This anſwer, together with the addreſs of both houſes to which it was made, being publiſh'd, were both highly applauded, and the city of London, which had generouſly advanced 200,000 l. to the Prince of Orange, before the throne was declared vacant, and continued in the ſame diſpoſition, expreſſed their ſatisfaction, in a particular manner, by an addreſs of thanks to the houſe of lords, which they preſented the 12th, and was very well taken by the court (1).

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Satisfaction of the public, on this account.

Notwithſtanding this ſeeming harmony, the King had continually one uneaſineſs or other to incounter with; it was not the diviſions in parliament alone which gave him diſturbance, the defection of part of the army was an addition to the weight of them. The royal Scotiſh regiment of horſe, which was in quarters at Abingdon, almoſt totally deſerted, and refuſing to ſerve under King William, marched towards Scotland, being followed by above 500 ſoldiers of Dunbarton's regiment, headed by five captains, and carrying with them four field-pieces. (2)

Defection in the army.

His Majeſty no ſooner received news of this defection, than he ordered mr. Herbert to communicate it to the parliament; whereupon both houſes agreed, on the fifteenth of March, on an addreſs; " humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, to take effectual " care for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, " and to iſſue forth his proclamation declaring thoſe " officers and ſoldiers, and their adherents, to be " rebels and traitors, and requiring all his ſub- " jects to apprehend and proſecute them as " ſuch."

Purſuant to this addreſs, the King iſſued out his royal proclamation, and ſent a ſufficient force of horſe and dragoons, under Monſ. Ginkel, the Dutch general, to ſuppreſs the rebels, who quickly brought them to ſubmit: and tho' they had juſtly deſerved a more ſevere treatment, their puniſhment was only to be ſent to Flanders, to ſerve againſt the French; and, to prevent the like for the future, an act paſſed, and had the Royal aſſent, the third of April, for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion.

Act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion.

I juſt mentioned above, that two bills had been brought into the houſe of lords, one on the 28th of February, and the other on the 11th of March, in favor of the Diſſenters. The diſaffection of ſo many ſpiritual and temporal lords, as I have already ſaid, expreſſed by their reluctance to the oaths, and abſenting from the duty of parliament, on that account, gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the King, and inclined him more and more to favor the Preſbyterians. When his Majeſty, therefore, came to parliament, the 16th of March, to give the royal aſſent to the act, whereby he was impowered, to apprehend and detain ſuch perſons, as he ſhould find juſt cauſe to ſuſpect were conſpiring againſt the government, and another for reverſing the attainder of the late lord Ruſſel, grandfather to his grace the duke of Bedford, by which act, the death of that illuſtrious perſon is declared a murder; he told both houſes, " that " he would put them in mind of one thing, which

Proceedings in parliament, in favor of the Diſſenters.

(1) The next day, to ſhew the ſenſe they had of the conduct of the houſe of commons, they preſented the following addreſs to that houſe:

" We, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, preſume to addreſs " our-ſelves to this honorable houſe, with our moſt humble thanks for your excellent conduct of affairs in the time of our " great emergency and extremity, when our religion, our lives, and eſtates were ſo iminently threatned, and eſpecially " for your addreſs to his Majeſty, the 5th inſtant, declaring your reſolution to aſſiſt and ſtand by his Majeſty in ſupporting " his allies abroad, in reducing Ireland, and in defenſe of the Proteſtant religion." The Anſwer returned to this addreſs by the ſpeaker, to the ſheriffs, upon a reſolution of the houſe directing him thereunto, ſhew'd the mutual and happy harmony which at that time reigned between the repreſentatives of the great body of the nation, and its head or metropolis, the city of London, and the true ſenſe the former had of the courage, conſtancy, and liberality of, and ſervices done by, the latter to the whole kingdom, on this occaſion, when the ſtate of affairs ſo much required it.

(2) It has been ſaid, that this diſguſt proceeded from an apprehenſion, that the Dutch were more confided in, and favored, than the national troops. Salmon's Modern Hiſtory, Vol. 24. p. 11.

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" would conduce much to their ſettlement, as that " would to the diſappointment of their enemies. " That he was, with all the expedition he could, " filling up the vacancies that were in offices and " places of truſt, by the late revolution. That he " knew they were ſenſible, there was a neceſſity of " ſome law to ſettle the oaths, to be taken by all " perſons to be admited to ſuch places; that he " did recommend it to their care to make a ſpeedy " proviſion for it: and as he doubted not but they " would ſufficiently provide againſt Papiſts, ſo he " hoped they would leave room for the admiſſion of " all Proteſtants, that were willing and able to " ſerve; which conjunction in his ſervice would " tend to the better uniting them among themſelves, " and ſtrengthening them againſt their common " adverſaries."

His Majeſty had ſignified this deſire of his to the privy-council, before he made this ſpeech, and it was probably approved of there; for the courtiers, indeed, urged this admiſſion of all Proteſtants indifferently into imployments, with great earneſtneſs: but it was as vigorouſly oppoſed by the Church-party, who looked upon it as a means to introduce a common-wealth, or at leaſt, to let Diſſenters into places of truſt. According to the King's deſire, ſignified in council, a bill was preſented, the 14th of March, in the houſe of peers, " to abrogate " the former oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, " and appoint other oaths in their ſtead;" which being read a ſecond time, a ſelect committee of the houſe was appointed to draw two clauſes, the one to explain the abrogating thoſe oaths, and the other to take away the neceſſity of receiving the ſacrament, to qualify a man for holding an office. The latter of theſe clauſes being drawn up accordingly, and reported to the houſe, was rejected by a great majority, tho' ſeveral lords inſiſted: (1) that a " hearty union among Proteſtants was a greater ſe- " curity to the church and ſtate, than any teſt which " could be invented. That this obligation to re- " ceive the ſacrament was a teſt on the Proteſtants " rather than on the Papiſts: that as long as it was " continued, there could not be that hearty and " thorough union among Proteſtants, as had always " been wiſhed, and was, at this time, indiſpenſably " neceſſary. And laſtly, that a greater caution " ought not to be required, from ſuch as were ad- " mited into offices, than from the members of the " two houſes of parliament, who are not obliged " to receive the ſacrament to inable them to ſit in " either houſe."

This point being loſt, the court-party made another attempt, in favor of the Preſbyterians, which was by inſerting a clauſe in the ſaid bill, " to pre- " vent the receiving the ſacrament, upon any other " account than in obedience to the holy inſtitution " thereof, and by freing perſons to be admited " into any office or imployment, from the neceſſity " of receiving the ſacrament, in ſuch a manner as " is appointed by an act made the 25th of King " Charles II, that is, according to the church of " England; provided they produced a certificate, " of their having received the ſacrament, under " the hands of a miniſter, and two other credible " perſons;" but this clauſe was alſo rejected, notwithſtanding the warm oppoſition of ſeveral peers, (2) who alledged:

" That it gives great part of the Proteſtant free- " men of England reaſon to complain of inequa- " lity and hard uſage, when they are excluded " from public imployments by a law: and alſo, " that it deprived the King and kingdom of diverſe " men fit and capable to ſerve the public in " ſeveral caſes; and that for a meer ſcruple of " conſcience, which could, by no means render " them ſuſpected, much leſs diſaffected to the " government. That his Majeſty, as the com- " mon indulgent father of his people, having ex- " preſſed an earneſt deſire of liberty to tender con- " ſciences, and to his Proteſtant ſubjects, and the " biſhops having, diverſe of them, on ſeveral oc- " caſions, expreſſed an inclination to, and owned " the reaſonableneſs of ſuch a Chriſtian temper, " they apprehended it would raiſe ſuſpicions in " mens minds, of ſomething different from the caſe " of religion, or the public, or a deſign to heal " our breaches, when they ſhould find, that by " confining ſecular imployments to eccleſiaſtical " conformity, thoſe were ſtruck out from civil af- " fairs, whoſe doctrine and worſhip might be " tolerated, by authority of parliament, there " being a bill before them, by order of the houſe, " to that purpoſe: eſpecially when without this " excluſive rigor, the church is ſecured in all its " privileges and preferments, no body being here- " by let into them, who is not ſtrictly conforma- " ble. That to ſet marks of diſtinction and humi- " liation on any ſorts of men, who have not ren- " dered themſelves juſtly ſuſpected to the govern- " ment, as it is, at all times, to be avoided, by " the making juſt and equitable laws, ſo might it " be of ſo ill effect to the reformed intereſt, at " home and abroad, in this preſent conjuncture, " which ſtood in need of the united hands and hearts " of all Proteſtants, againſt the open attempts, " and ſecret indeavors of a reſtleſs party, and a " potent neighbor, who was more zealous than " Rome itſelf, to plant Popery in theſe kingdoms, " and labored with his utmoſt force, to ſettle his " tyranny upon the ruins of the reformation, all " thro' Europe. That it turned the edge of the " law (they knew not by what fate) upon Pro- " teſtants, and friends to the government, which " was intended againſt Papiſts, to exclude them " from places of truſt, as men avowedly dange- " rous to our religion and government; and the " taking the ſacrament, which was injoined only " as a means to diſcover Papiſts, was now made a " diſtinguiſhing duty, among Proteſtants, to weaken " the whole, by caſting out a part of them. That " myſteries of religion and divine worſhip are of " divine original, and of a nature ſo wholly diſ- " tant from the ſecular affairs of politic ſociety, " that they cannot be applied to thoſe ends, and " therefore, the church, by the law and the goſ- " pel, as well as common prudence, ought to take " care not to offend either tender conſciences within " itſelf, or give offenſe to thoſe without, by mix- " ing their ſacred myſteries, with ſecular intereſts. " That they could not ſee how it does conſiſt " with the law of God, common equity, or the " right of any free-born ſubject, that any one be " puniſhed without a crime. That if it be a crime " not to take the ſacrament, according to the uſage " of the church of England, every one ought to be " puniſhed for it, which no body affirms: and if " it be no crime, thoſe who were capable, and " judged fit for the King's ſervice, ought not to be " puniſhed by a law of excluſion, for not doing

(1) The lord Delamere, Stamford, North and Grey, Cheſterfield, Wharton, Lovelace and Vaughan.

(2) Particularly the lords Oxford, Mordaunt, Lovelace, Montague, Wharton and Paget. The earl of Nottingham, as a late hiſtorian obſerves, tho' he did not proteſt with theſe, nor ſpeak in public, on that ſide of the queſtion (yet as he ſays he has been credibly informed) both then and afterwards, declared againſt the teſt-act, as it regards Proteſtants; and the biſhop of London was very far from promoting it, tho' he was ſilent at the paſſing of it into a law, with reſpect to Proteſtant Diſſenters. Oldmixon, p. 7.

" that

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" that which is no crime to forbear: and laſtly, " that if it be urged ſtill, as an effectual teſt, to " diſcover and keep out Papiſts, the taking of the " ſacrament in theſe Proteſtant congregations, " where they are members and known, would be, at " leaſt, as effectual to that purpoſe." After a long debate the bill was read the third time, paſſed, and ſent down to the commons for their concurrence.

Bill againſt Papiſts.

Both houſes were likewiſe amuſed, for a conſiderable time, by another buſineſs of much leſs importance: which was the bill for removing Papiſts from the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and ten miles diſtance from the ſame, which having paſſed the houſe of lords, the 28th of March, the commons added a proviſo to it, by which the Queen Dowager's articles of marriage were greatly infringed. To this proviſo the peers diſagreed, and alleged: " That her Majeſty had, for ſo many " years, made ſuch moderate uſe of the ſaid articles, " that there had not been any juſt cauſe of com- " plaint in the injoyment of them; and it might " ſeem to be a kind of ſeverity upon her Majeſty " to have thoſe articles ſtill reſtrained by virtue of " that act, which was made for the preſervation of " the perſon of the King her huſband, which reaſon " now ceaſed. That it was evident, that in the " time of the late King James, when her Majeſty " might have been incouraged to entertain more " perſons of her own religion, moſt of her ſer- " vants, and thoſe of the moſt conſiderable places, " were continued, and alſo others received into her " family tho' Proteſtants: and that it might be of " ill conſequence, if her Majeſty, by not living " eaſily here, ſhould be obliged to retire into " foreign parts.

On the other hand, the commons, on the 8th of April, inſiſted on the proviſo, by them added:

" Becauſe it was no new clauſe, and therefore " impoſed no new condition upon her Majeſty, it " being the ſame that was inacted, in the 30th of " King Charles II for the more effectual preſerving " the King's perſon and government.

2. " Becauſe to make an alteration in the law, " as it then ſtood, might look like ſome kind of " countenance to thoſe of that perſuaſion, at a time " when the lords themſelves had judged the reſort " of Papiſts to London, to be of ſo dangerous " conſequence to the government, as to make this " act to remove them ten miles from it. And,

3. " Becauſe the Papiſts were not, at this time " leſs active in their deſigns and practices to diſ- " turb the peace and quiet of the kingdom, than " they were in the thirtieth year of King Charles II, " and therefore the like reaſons, which induced " the parliament to make that ſtatute, remained " at this time, to perſuade the houſe of commons " to keep the force of it intire."

Theſe reaſons being offered by the commons, at a free conference with the lords, their lordſhips, after having duly weighed them, agreed to propoſe that the Queen Dowager ſhould have thirty ſervants, of the King's Engliſh ſubjects, provided none of them were prieſts, monks or friars, to which expedient, the commons, after ſeveral conferences, and warm debates, gave their concurence, the 28th of April. The King gave his aſſent to this act purely out of complaiſance to his parliament, having often declared, that he came over to deliver the Proteſtants, but not to perſecute the Romaniſts.

An act of pardon, indemnity, and oblivion.

I muſt now go back again to the 28th of March, when the earl of Shrewſbury acquainted the houſe of lords; " that his Majeſty, out of an earneſt deſire " to deliver his people from the guilt, reproaches, " and penalties which many of them might be liable " to, and to put an end to all controverſies, ariſing " between the ſubjects, by reaſon of any diſcord " in latter times, and to take away all diſtinction " and occaſions of diſcord among them, to the end " they, having an intire confidence in his Majeſty, " and perfect union among themſelves, might be in- " couraged in their duty to his government, and " more fully and ſecurely injoy the benefit of it; and " his Majeſty judging, that the beſt way to render " this his gracious intentions moſt extenſive and ef- " fectual, was to paſs a free and general pardon, in- " demnity and oblivion, his Majeſty did moſt earn- " eſtly recommend the conſideration thereof to both " houſes of parliament: that with all the expedi- " tion a matter of that kind would admit, they " might prepare a bill for that purpoſe, for the " royal aſſent, with ſuch exceptions only, as to " them ſhould ſeem neceſſary, for the vindication " of public juſtice, the ſafety of their Majeſties, " and the ſettlement and welfare of the nation, for " the future." William & Mary. An' 1689.

The earl of Shrewſbury, deſired leave, at the ſame time, to bring in a bill for naturalizing the Prince of Denmark, whom his Majeſty intended to create a duke of this kingdom, in order to his taking a ſeat in that houſe, and to have the like precedency, as had been allowed to other Princes. The lords, hereupon, ordered the marquis of Winchester, and the earl of Bedford, to attend the King, with the thanks of that houſe, for his Majeſty's meſſage to them, concerning the bill of indemnity and free pardon, and for his intention of creating his Royal Highneſs, Prince George, a duke of this realm. The third of April, his Majeſty gave the Royal aſſent to the act for naturalizing the Prince of Denmark, and to an act for reviving actions and proceſs in the courts at Weſtminſter.

The fourth of April, the houſe of peers entered into a conſideration of the report of the amendments in the " bill for uniting their Majeſties Proteſtant " ſubjects;" and, upon debate, the queſtion was put, whether to agree with the committee, in leaving out the clauſe about the " indifferency of the poſ- " ture, at receiving the ſacrament?" the votes were equal, and therefore, according to the ancient rule, in the like caſe (ſemper preſumitur pro negante) it was carried in the negative. The next day the lords reſumed the debate of the report of the ſaid amendments, particularly of the clauſe concerning a commiſſion to be given out by the King, to the biſhops, and others of the clergy: and it being propoſed, " whether the laity ſhould be added"? the votes were again equal, and that was likewiſe carried in the negative: upon this ſome of the lords (1) entered their diſſents.

1. " Becauſe the act itſelf, being deſigned for " the peace of the ſtate, the puting the clergy into " commiſſion, with a total excluſion of the laity, " laid the humiliation on the laity, as if the clergy " of the church of England were alone friends to " the peace of the ſtate, and the laity leſs able, " or leſs concerned to provide for it.

2. " Becauſe the matters to be conſidered, being " barely of humane conſtitution, viz. the liturgy " and ceremonies of the church, belong to both, " for in what is of divine inſtitution, neither clergy " nor laity can make any alteration at all.

3. " Becauſe the pretending that differences and " delays might ariſe, by mixing laymen with the " eccleſiaſtics, fruſtrating the deſign of the com- " miſſion, was vain and out of doors, unleſs thoſe " which made uſe of this pretenſe ſuppoſed that the " clergy, part of the church, had diſtinct intereſts " from the laity, part of the ſame church, and " would be a reaſon as good, why one or other of

(1) The lords Winchester, Mordaunt, Lovelace, and Stamford.

" them

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" them ſhould quit the houſe of lords, for fear of " obſtructing the buſineſs of it.

4. " Becauſe the commiſſion being intended for " the ſatisfaction of Diſſenters, it would be con- " venient that laymen of differents ranks, nay per- " haps, of different opinions too, ſhould be united " in it, the better to find expedients for that end, " rather than clergymen alone, of the eſtabliſhed " church, who are generally obſerved to have " all very much the ſame way of reaſoning and " thinking.

5. " Becauſe it is the much readier way to facili- " tate the paſſing the alterations into a law; that " lay-lords and commoners ſhould be joined in the " commiſſion, who might be able to ſatisfy both " houſes of the reaſons upon which they were made, " and thereby remove all fears and jealouſies ill " men might raiſe againſt the clergy, of their in- " deavoring to keep up, without ground, a " diſtinct intereſt from that of the laity, whom " they ſo carefully excluded from being joined with " them, in conſtitutions of common concernment, " that they would not have thoſe ſhare any part in " the deliberation, who muſt have the greateſt in " determining.

6. " Becauſe, ſuch a reſtrained commiſſion lay " liable to this great objection, that it might be " made uſe of to elude repeated promiſes, and " the preſent general expectation of compliance " with tender conſciences, when the providing of it " was taken out of the ordinary courſe of parlia- " ment, to be put into the hands of thoſe alone, who " were lateſt in admiting any need of it, and who " might be thought to be the more unfit to be the " ſole compoſers of differences, when they were " looked upon by ſome as parties.

7. " Becauſe, after all, this carried a dangerous " ſuſpicion along with it, as if the laity were not " a part of the church, nor had any power to med- " dle in matters of religion. A ſuſpicion directly " oppoſite to the conſtitution both of church and " ſtate, which would make all alterations utterly " impoſſible, unleſs the clergy alone were allowed " to have power to make laws in matters of reli- " gion, ſince what was eſtabliſhed by law, could " not be taken away or changed, but by conſent of " lay-men in parliament, the clergy themſelves " having no authority to meddle in this very caſe, " in which the laity was excluded by this very vote, " but what they derived from lay-hands. Laſtly, " becauſe it was contrary to three ſtatutes, made " in the reign of King Henry VIII, and one in " Edward VI, which impowers thirty-two com- " miſſioners to alter the common eccleſiaſtical laws, " &c. whereof ſixteen to be of the laity, and ſixteen " of the clergy. "

The 6th of April, the reſt of the amendments were conſidered and agreed to, and the bill afterwards ſent to the commons for their concurrence.

As I am obliged to break off my relation of parliamentary affairs, in this place, to give ſome account of the coronation of their Majeſties, and of what preceded and was immediately ſubſequent to it, I ſhall take this opportunity to mention ſome things, which, for the ſake of connexion in theſe matters, I have hitherto omited.

An order of council was made, the 16th of February, for altering the Common-prayer, in relation to the Royal family.

There was ſoon after a talk of proceeding againſt ſome lords, and others, for having turned Papiſts, in compliance with the court, the latter part of the preceding reign, and ſome ſteps were even taken towards it, but nothing came of it.

The high church diſcontented

During the time of theſe tranſactions in parliament, with regard to the Diſſenters, the rigid High-church clergy, and their adherents, ſhewed great jealouſies and animoſities, and made no ſcruple to divulge, that the King and Queen, notwithſtanding they profeſſed to be of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, were Preſbyterians in their hearts. Two incidents, tho' exceeding trifling and indifferent in themſelves, were in particular made uſe of to raiſe a clamor, among the vulgar and zealous bigots, of the church being in danger: One of which was, that the King had been once obſerved to put his hat on, in ſermon-time, a thing ſo common in Holland, that it is reaſonable to conclude, it happened thro' inadvertency and not deſign: and beſide, what is there ſo very criminal in this? cuſtom has, indeed, made it an indecency with us to be covered in a place of public worſhip, but it is cuſtom only has made it ſo. The Jews think it as indecent to offer up their prayers to the Almighty, either in their ſynagogues, or their own houſes, with their heads uncovered. The other was, that the Queen had forbidden the uſe of violins in the chappel-muſic: a thing again abſolutely indifferent, and either good or bad, according to the ideas raiſed by it, in the different diſpoſitions of the minds of the hearers, and the management of the performers, a thing, the abuſe of which may have made it diſtaſteful to many more beſide her Majeſty, who were nevertheleſs true members of the church of England. It is a very great queſtion, if the uſe of inſtrumental muſick was to be injoined in all the churches, throughout England, whether by far the greater number of pariſhoners would not oppoſe it. The abuſe even of organs has given cauſe of great exceptions againſt them, and I myſelf know a clergyman of this church, who, in every reſpect, is an honor to his profeſſion, and who will not conſent to have an organ in his congregation, unleſs the organiſt be tied down to make a more ſolemn uſe of it, than moſt of thoſe light-fingered gentlemen are apt to do, who have as little true taſte for muſic, as thoſe dancers, who think the excellency of their art lies wholly in the agility of their heels.

Titles and honors confered.

The day appointed for the coronation drawing near, according to cuſtom, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer ſeveral titles and honors preparatory to it, viz.

His Royal Highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, was created baron of Ockingham, earl of Kendal, and duke of Cumberland.

The marquis of Winchester, was made duke of Bolton.

The earl of Danby, marquis of Carmaerthen.

Monſ. Bentinck, baron of Cirenceſter, viſcount Woodſtock, and earl of Portland.

Viſcount Fauconberg, earl of Fauconberg.

Viſcount Mordaunt, earl of Monmouth.

The lord Mountague, viſcount Mounthermer, and earl of Mountague.

The lord Churchill, earl of Marlborough.

Henry Sidney, eſq; baron of Milton, and viſcount Sidney of Sheppey, in the county of Kent.

Viſcount Lumley, of Waterford, in Ireland, viſcount Lumley, of Lumley-caſtle, in the county-Palatin of Durham, and earl of Scarborough.

The viſcount Cholmondley, of Kellis, in Ireland, baron of Cholmondley of Witchmalbanck, alias Namptwich, in Cheſhire: and,

Thomas Pilkington, eſq; lord-mayor of London was knighted by his Majeſty.

The marſhal de Schomberg (who with the earl of Devonſhire, and duke of Ormond, had already been elected Knight companion of the moſt noble order of the Garter) was naturalized, by act of parliament

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liament, and ſoon after created duke of Schomberg, marquis of Harwich, earl of Brentford, and baron Teys.

Sir George Hewet was likewiſe made lord Goran of Ireland, and the lord Coote, of Ireland, treaſurer to the Queen.

Act for eſtabliſhing the coronation oath.

On the ninth of April, the King went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to the act for naturalizing the marſhal de Schomberg, another for ſettling the precedency of the Prince of Denmark, and a third for re-eſtabliſhing the coronation-oath, which in complaiſance to King James II, had been altered from the ancient form, whereby the liberties of the people were ſecured, and inſtead thereof great regard had to the rights of the clergy, and the prerogatives of the crown. The oath appointed to be taken by King William and Queen Mary was in the following plain, but comprehenſive terms;

Form of it.

" Will you ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear to go-
" vern the people of this kingdom of England, and
" the dominions thereunto belonging, according to
" the ſtatutes, in parliament agreed on, and the
" laws and cuſtoms of the ſame."

K. William and Q. Mary crown'd.

It was provided, that this oath ſhould be adminiſtred either by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the biſhop of London: And the choice of one of theſe two prelates being left to the King, his Majeſty, leſt the firſt, who ſtill continued diſcontented, ſhould not accept of it, choſe rather to appoint the latter, who performed the ceremony accordingly; the ſermon being preached by the biſhop of Saliſbury. This ceremony being, otherwiſe, the ſame as uſual, as was likewiſe the proceſſion from Weſtminſter-hall to the abby, where it was performed, I ſhall not inlarge upon them, and only mention that part of the latter, which immediately preceded and attended upon their Majeſties perſons.

Towards the cloſe of this proceſſion came the marquis of Hallifax, lord privy-ſeal; the marquis of Carmaerthen, lord preſident of the council; dr. Lamplugh, archbiſhop of York; his Royal Highneſs, George, Prince of Denmark, then the Regalia, and then their Majeſties, in the following manner.

The earl of Mancheſter bearing St. Edward's ſtaff.

The lord Grey of Ruthen, the ſpurs.

The earl of Clare, the Queen's ſcepter.

The earl of Northampton the King's.

The earls of Shrewſbury, Darby, and Pembroke, the three ſwords.

Robert, earl of Lindſey, lord great chamberlain.

The earl of Oxford, with the ſword of ſtate, between the duke of Norfolk, earl marſhal, and the duke of Ormond, lord high conſtable for that day.

The earl of Bedford, with the Queen's ſcepter, with the dove.

The earl of Rutland, with the King's.

The duke of Bolton, with the Queen's orb.

The duke of Graſton, with the King's.

The duke of Sommerſet, with the Queen's crown.

The earl of Devonſhire, lord high ſteward of England, for that day, with the King's.

The biſhop of London with the Bible, between the biſhop of St. Aſaph, with the Patin, and the biſhop of Rocheſter with the Chalice.

The King, ſupported by the biſhop of Wincheſter.

And the Queen by the biſhop of Briſtol.

His Majeſty's train was born by Monſ. Zuleſtein, maſter of the robes, aſſiſted by the lord Eland, ſon to the marquis of Hallifax; lord Landſdown, ſon to the earl of Bath; the lord Willoughby, ſon to the earl of Lindſey; and the lord Dumblain, ſon to the marquis of Carmaerthen.

Her Majeſty's train was born by the lady Elizabeth Pawlet, daughter to the duke of Bolton, the lady Diana Vere, daughter to the earl of Oxford; the lady Elizabeth Cavendiſh, daughter to the earl of Devonſhire, and the lady Harriot Hyde, daughter to the earl of Rocheſter.

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The next day, the houſe of commons, in a full body, walked from Weſtminſter to the Banqueting-houſe, to congratulate their Majeſties upon their coronation, on which occaſion, mr. Powle, their ſpeaker, made the following ſpeech:

The houſe of commons congratulate their Majeſties.

May it pleaſe your Majeſties,

Speech on that occaſion,

" Your moſt loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the com-
" mons of England, aſſembled in this preſent par-
" liament, having, to their unſpeakable joy, ſeen
" your Majeſties placed upon the Imperial throne of
" this kingdom, they have deſired acceſs, at this
" time, to your royal preſenſe, humbly to con-
" gratulate your Majeſties, upon this occaſion, and
" to wiſh your Majeſties a long and proſperous
" reign, with all the bleſſings that ever did attend a
" crown.

" We are all ſenſible, that your Majeſties great-
" neſs is the ſecurity of your ſubjects. It is from your
" power, that we derive to ourſelves an aſſurance
" of being defended from our enemies; and from
" your juſtice that we expect a full injoyment of
" our laws and liberties: but that which compleats
" our happineſs, is the experience we have of your
" Majeſties continual care to maintain the Pro-
" teſtant religion: ſo that we can no longer appre-
" hend any danger of being deprived of that in-
" eſtimable bleſſing, either by ſecret practices, or
" by open violence.

To the King.

" May the ſame divine providence, that has
" hitherto preſerved your Majeſty in the greateſt
" dangers, and ſo often given you victory over
" your enemies, ſtill crown your undertakings with
" ſucceſs.

To the Queen.

" And may thoſe unparalel'd virtues, which
" adorn your Majeſty's royal perſon, be the admira-
" tion of the preſent age, and an example to the
" future.

" And may the luſtre of both your names, ſo
" far outſhine the glory of your predeceſſors, that
" the memory of their greateſt actions may be
" forgoten, and your people no longer date the
" eſtabliſhment of their laws and liberties, from St.
" Edward's days, but the moſt auſpicious King
" William and Queen Mary."

To which ſpeech his Majeſty made the following anſwer, in his Own and in the Queen's name.

Gentlemen,

The King's anſwer.

" We return you our hearty thanks for the kind-
" neſs that you have, upon all occaſions, ſhewed
" to both of us. We ſhall take care, to the beſt
" of our power, of all things that conduce to the
" good of the kingdom, and I do not doubt, but by
" God's aſſiſtance and yours, we ſhall be able, in a
" ſhort time, to make you a flouriſhing people."

Upon this occaſion, gold medals, of about three pounds value, were given to each member of the houſe of commons.

Medals given to the members.

It was not long after the coronation, before both houſes of parliament, began to ſhew a jealouſy, that the King was inclined to favor the Preſbyterians, rather than the members of the church of England; and to obſerve, that the former were, upon all occaſions, diſcountenanced, and the moſt profitable poſts confered upon the Whigs. The houſe of commons, thereupon formed an addreſs, to which the lords giving their concurrence, it was preſented by both houſes, on the 19th of April. In this addreſs, " they, with utmoſt duty and affection, ren-
" dered to his Majeſty their moſt humble and
" hearty thanks for his moſt gracious declaration
" and repeated aſſurances, that he would maintain

An addreſs in behalf of the church of England.

" the church of England eſtabliſhed by law, which " his Majeſty had been pleaſed to recover from the " dangerous conſpiracy that was laid for its de- " ſtruction, with the hazard of his royal perſon :" To which they added:

" That the doctrine and practiſe of the church " of England had evinced their loyalty beyond the " contradiction of the moſt malicious enemies, and " that the misfortunes of former Princes could be at- " tributed to nothing more than their indeavors to " ſubvert and diſable the members thereof from " contributing to their ſupport and defenſe. They " therefore prayed his Majeſty to continue his care " for the preſervation of the ſame, whereby he " would effectually eſtabliſh his throne, by ſecuring " the hearts of his Majeſty's ſubjects, within theſe " his realms, who could no way better ſhew their " zeal for his ſervice, than by a firm adherence " to that church, whoſe conſtitution is beſt ſuited " to the ſupport of the monarchy :" they likewiſe humbly prayed;

A convocation deſir'd.

" That, according to the ancient practiſe and " uſage of the kingdom, in time of parliament, his " Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, to iſſue " forth his writs for calling a convocation of the " clergy of the kingdom, to be adviſed with in ec- " cleſiaſtical matters, aſſuring his Majeſty, that it " was their intention forthwith to proceed to the " conſideration of giving eaſe to Proteſtant Diſ- " ſenters."

The King did not return an immediate anſwer to this addreſs; but, the 21ſt, the lord Nottingham, by his Majeſty's orders, acquainted both houſes: that

The King's anſwer.

" tho' he had had many occaſions of aſſuring them, " he would maintain the church of England, as by " law eſtabliſhed, yet he was well pleaſed with re- " peating theſe promiſes, which he was reſolved to " perform, by ſupporting this church, whoſe loy- " alty, he doubted not, would inable him to an- " ſwer their juſt expectations. That as his deſigns " in coming hither was to reſcue them from the " miſeries they labored under, ſo it was a great ſatiſ- " faction to him, that by the ſucceſs God had given " him, he was in a ſtation of defending that church " which had effectually ſhewn her zeal againſt Po- " pery, and ſhould always be his peculiar care. " And he hoped the eaſe they deſigned to Diſſen- " ters would contribute very much to the eſtabliſh- " ment of this church; he therefore earneſtly " recommended to them, that the occaſions of dif- " ferences and mutual animoſities might be remov'd, " and that as ſoon as might be, he would ſummon " a convocation."

A conference between the two houſes, concerning the oaths.

There was, the ſame day, a conference between both houſes, chiefly about an amendment made by the lords in the bill for abrogating the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy; by which the clergy were excuſed from taking the oaths; except by order of council. To this the commons diſagreed, alleging,

Arguments of the commons.

" That it has been the policy of the common and " ſtatute laws to oblige men to ſwear allegiance to " the King: that allegiance is the common and " neceſſary duty of all the ſubjects, and is moſt " ſtrictly to be required of archbiſhops, and thoſe " who have eccleſiaſtical dignities, benefices and " promotions, in regard they are highly intereſted " in the adminiſtration of the government, draw " great dependencies, and are exemplary to the " reſt of the people, and ſeveral of them are by " law to adminiſter the oath of allegiance to other " perſons. That allegiance is alſo ſtrictly to be " required of all governors, profeſſors and fel- " lows in univerſities, and ſchool-maſters; becauſe " to them the education of the youth of the king- " dom is commited, and therefore they ought to " be perſons of known loyalty to the government. " That the taking the oaths publicly, in open " court, would better manifeſt allegiance, than " the taking them privately, before perſons appoint- " ed by order in council, and would be much more " ſafe to the perſons who are obliged to take the " oaths. That the beſt and moſt certain means to " have the oaths taken was to impoſe it upon the " perſons concerned, to tender themſelves to take " the oaths, under penalties; but if the oaths were " not required to be taken unleſs tendered, the ſaid " perſons might, by abſenſe, or otherwiſe, avoid " them with impunity. That the clauſe which the " commons ſent to their lordſhips, allowed more " favor to the archbiſhops, biſhops, and thoſe who " had eccleſiaſtical dignities and promotions, than " to any lay-peers, or other perſons having offices " or imployments, and was more gentle in the " penalty, than the ſtatutes heretofore made, in " the like caſe. That it was unreaſonable and " unſafe to diſtinguiſh the archbiſhops, biſhops, " and perſons having eccleſiaſtical dignities, bene- " fices or promotions, and ſuch as are intruſted with " the education of youth, from the reſt of the ſub- " jects, in the declaration of their allegiance, and " might tend to make a diviſion in the kingdom, " expoſe the King's perſon and government to ha- " tred and danger, and occaſion a general diſcontent."

The houſe of lords adjourned after this into a committee, to debate and conſider the reaſons of the houſe of commons, and the houſe being reſumed, the lord Bridgwater reported, that, after a long debate in the committee, the queſtion, whether to agree with the houſe of commons, was carried in the negative: Upon which the earls of Macclesfield and Monmouth entered their diſſents, and alleged their reaſons for it.

The next day, the earl of Nottingham reported, from the committee appointed the day before, the reaſons to be offered to the houſe of commons, in anſwer to their reaſons given at the laſt conference, which were in ſubſtance, as follows:

Anſwers of the lords.

To the firſt and ſecond reaſon of the houſe of commons, the lords, in anſwer, agreed that, " the " policy of the law requires men to ſwear alle- " giance, and that it is the common and neceſ- " ſary duty of all ſubjects, and eſpecially of the " clergy; but that the lords did not exempt them " from taking theſe oaths, but only differed from " the houſe of commons, about the method by " which they ſhould be tendered." To the third reaſon it was alleged; " that if the lords ſhould " agree, that it was better to tender the oaths in " open court than privately, yet that was not a " ſufficient reaſon againſt tendering them by per- " ſons appointed by the King in council, becauſe " the officers and the judges of the court might be " ſo appointed, by virtue of the clauſe offered by " the lords." To the fourth, " that the clergy " would be required to take the oaths, by ſuch " order in council, as was propoſed by the lords, " and their not appearing when ſo ſummoned would " amount to a refuſal, or if it ſhould not, the " lords would agree to any ſuch addition as would " make it ſo." As to the other reaſons, they replied; " that the clergy, and the members of the " univerſities, were not diſtinguiſhed from the laity, " becauſe upon the preſenting to any degree or " preferment, they would be, equally with all others, " obliged to take the oaths, when required by or- " der of council. That it ſeemed more to the ſet- " tlement and ſafety of the government, that the " King ſhould be impowered to put the fidelity of " the clergy to a trial immediately, than leave any, " who were ill-affected to the government, ſo " much time as to the firſt of Auguſt, to undeter- " mine it. That the clergy were obliged, by the " prayers which they muſt uſe, in the daily ſervice, " to make ſuch expreſs and ſolemn declarations of

" fidelity

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" fidelity to the King and Queen, by name, that " the puting them to the taking of oaths was not " ſo neceſſary to the public ſafety, as in other " perſons who are not bound to make ſuch frequent " declarations of their fidelity. That in ſo critical " a time as the preſent, it was not to be doubted, " but upon any cauſe of apprehending their ill- " affections to the government, the tendering the " oaths by order in council, would not only take off " all imputations of hardſhips from his Majeſty, but " juſtify and even require a more rigorous way of " proceeding, againſt thoſe who ſhould give any " cauſe of offenſe. And laſtly, that ſince, during " Queen Elizabeth's long and glorious reign, in " which ſhe had both the pretended title of the " Queen of Scots, and the depoſing power, aſ- " ſumed by the Popes, to apprehend, this was " found to be the ſafeſt way for the public quiet ; " and the ill effects of leaving the tendering the oaths " to the Queen's diſcretion, not having appeared " in all that time of ſo much danger, the following " pattern, taken from the beſt part of our hiſtory, " ſeemed more ſuitable to the preſent time, than " the falling into other methods."

This anſwer having been communicated to the commons in a free conference, they inſiſted, that according to the ſtatute of the ſeventh of James I, all perſons ſhould be injoined to take the oaths, and held, there ſhould be no difference between the clergy and laity in taking them : but upon mature conſideration of the whole matter, and after a long debate, the lords propoſed a clauſe, whereby, " it " ſhould be left to the King, to allow ſuch of the " clergy as ſhould refuſe the oaths preſcribed by " this act, as he ſhould think fit, not exceeding " the number of twelve, an allowance out of their " eccleſiaſtical benefices or promotions, for their " ſubſiſtence, not exceeding a third part, and to " continue during his Majeſty's pleaſure and no " longer." This clauſe was approved by the commons, and ſo the bill for abrogating the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, having paſſed both houſes, received the ſanction of the royal aſſent, the 24th of April.

They agree upon an expedient.

At the ſame time, his Majeſty gave his aſſent to five other acts, viz.

Acts paſſed.

A ſecond act impowering his Majeſty to apprehend and detain all ſuch perſons as he ſhould find juſt cauſe to ſuſpect were conſpiring againſt the government, the former being expired.

An act for removing Papiſts from the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and ten miles from the ſame. (1)

An act for taking away the revenue ariſing by hearth-money.

An act for the incouragement of the exportation of corn ; and

An act for explaining and making effectual the ſtatute made in the firſt year of King James I, concerning the haven and peers of great Yarmouth.

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Tho' it is not my intent in the courſe of this hiſtory, to treat of the affairs of Scotlnd, farther than they have an immediate connexion with thoſe of England, yet it will be neceſſary to ſay a word or two of them, at the begining of this reign.

Brief account of the affairs of Scotland.

The Scotiſh nobility and gentry, in and about London, had addreſſed the Prince of Orange, to take upon him the government of that kingdom, in like manner as he did that of England, and to ſummon a convention of eſtates there, with which the Prince complied. This convention met, accordingly, the 14th of March, (2) when duke Hamilton was choſen preſident, by a great majority, being ſet up by the party that was for King William, in oppoſition to the marquis of Athol, who was propoſed by the biſhops, and the party which ſtill adhered to the abdicated King (3). The ſixteenth, one Crane, an Engliſhman, ſaid to be a ſervant of the late King James's Queen, brought a letter from that unfortunate Prince, and, at the ſame time, the preſident informed the aſſembly, that the lord Leven was arrived expreſs, with another from King William. Upon this a debate aroſe, which of theſe two letters ſhould be read firſt, and it being carried by a majority, for King William's, it was read accordingly (4). His ſaid Majeſty therein acquainted them, " he was ſenſible of the kindneſs and con- " cern that nation had ſhewn for the ſucceſs of his " undertaking, for the preſervation of their reli- " gion and liberties, which were in ſuch imminent " danger, and adviſed them to enter into ſuch con- " ſultations, as might ſettle them on laſting founda- " tions, which he hoped they would ſet about with " all convenient ſpeed, and lay aſide all animoſities " and factions that might hinder it ; that he was " glad to find ſo many of the nobility and gentry " about London, inclined to an union of the two " kingdoms, and ſo ſhould do all that lay in his " power to promote it, looking upon this, as they " did, to be the beſt means for procuring the hap- " pineſs of theſe nations ; eſpecially at this time, " when the enemies of both were ſo reſtleſs, in- " deavoring to increaſe jeaouſies and diviſions." This letter being read, a committee was appointed to draw up an anſwer to it, in the moſt thankful and dutiful terms.

The next queſtion was, whether the late King James's letter ſhould be read, which was indeed allowed, but before it was opened, they paſſed an act, aſſerting the lawfulneſs of that convention, notwithſtanding any thing that might be alleged, in the ſaid letter, and declared that they would continue to ſit until their government, religion, laws, liberties and properties were eſtabliſhed. This done, the letter was read, in which, " pardon was promiſed " to all who ſhould return to their duty before " the laſt of that month, and thoſe who ſhould

(1) During the debate about paſſing this act, an incident happened which gave occaſion to ſome merriment : an addreſs was preſented to the King, that the ducheſs of Mazarine might be obliged to depart the kingdom ; to which his Majeſty only anſwered, " he would take it into conſideration." The complaint laid againſt her was, that ſhe kept aſſemblies in her houſe, which, ſome would have it, were ſo many Popiſh cabals (that being her religion, if any) but others alleged theſe meetings were only for gaming and other innocent diverſions, as they termed them ; by the former of which, it was thought, ſhe chiefly ſubſiſted : ſhe had her friends, as well in the houſe, as without doors, of the latter the Dutch embaſſador, and his brother Monſ. d' Auverquerque interceded for her. The marquis de Seiſſac ſpoke likewiſe in her favor, and to the credit of the Engliſh nation, obſerved merrily enough, " that ſhe would ſtarve in any other country." The biſhop of Saliſbury made a motion in the houſe of peers, for an addreſs againſt her, but it dropped, and her grace was, by connivance, indulged in getting her bread in England by the polite profeſſions of Ombre, Hazard, &c.

(2) Before they proceeded to the choice of a preſident, prayers were publicly performed by the biſhop of Edinburgh, who prayed for his Majeſty King James's ſafety and reſtoration. Hiſt. of K. William III. Vol. 2. p. 36.

(3) A late author attributes the great majority the party for King William had above the oppoſite one, in part to the timidity of many of the Jacobites, who abſolutely refuſed to be preſent at the convention, and partly to the advice given by the lord Stairs, to allow all Proteſtants, without diſtinction, the fredom of voting at elections, which very much increaſed the number of the Prince's friends. Cont. of Rapin, in French. l. 25. p. 49.

(4) It was alleged, by the favorers of the revolution, that the aſſembly being convened by King William, it was but juſt that regard ſhould be had to his letter firſt, and beſide who knew but King James's letter might injoin a diſſolution of the convention. This latter obſervation had, likewiſe, the good effect, that it was, without doubt, the occaſion of the ſalutary act and reſolution, which preceded the reading of King James's letter.

" perſiſt

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" perſiſt in their rebellion againſt him (as he called " it) were threatned with puniſhment, according " to the utmoſt rigor of the laws." As the greater part of the members of this convention were Preſbyterians, it is eaſy to conceive this letter had no great effect upon them, to his advantage, and it was the more diſagreable, as it was counter-ſigned by the earl of Milton, than whom none was more odious to them. It therefore rather ſerved to heighten their reſentment of the injuries he had done them, and ſo no farther notice was taken of it : the meſſenger who brought the letter, was firſt ſecured, but ſoon after diſcharged, not being thought worthy their notice, and was diſmiſſed with a paſs inſtead of an anſwer. Inſtead thereof they imployed their time in conſulting how to provide for their own ſecurity and defenſe. In order to this, they commanded all perſons, from ſixteen to ſixty, to be ready to appear in arms, raiſed 800 men, and gave the command of them to the earl of Leven, to guard the city. The nineteenth they paſſed an act, by which they approved the addreſs of the Scotiſh nobility and gentry at London, to the Prince of Orange, and they alſo thankfully acknowleged, " the great benefit done to their nation by the " Prince of Orange, and deſired his Highneſs to " accept the adminiſtration of the government of " that kingdom. And having received ſome letters from the Proteſtants in Ireland, deſiring their aſſiſtance, they ordered 2000 muſkets, and 20 barrels of powder to be ſent them immediately, and a farther proviſion of arms to be bought up for them in Holland. They likewiſe ordered two ſmall frigats to cruize between Scotland and Ireland, for mutual intelligence between both kingdoms.

The duke of Gordon, a Papiſt, was, all this while, in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Edinburg, which he held for King James ; the convention therefore, had required it to be put into their hands. (1) The duke inſiſted upon an indemnity for all that was paſt, and ſecurity for the future. This the convention condeſcended to, in ſo far as he had acted as a Papiſt, and ſent him, by the earls of Tweedale and Lothian, a pardon for himſelf, and all that were with him : but it appeared he only trifled ; for after having deſired firſt twenty-four hours, and then twelve days, to give his reſolution, he, at length, declared, he would not ſurrender it all. The convention, hereupon, ordered it to be blocked up, and being informed, that the lord viſcount Dundee kept a correſpondence with the duke, they ſummoned him to appear before them, but he retired, with 40 or 50 horſe, into the country. This done, they diſpatched the lord Roſs to England, with an anſwer to King William's letter, in which, " they acknowleged him to be, under God, their great " and ſeaſonable deliverer ; congratulated his ſuc- " ceſs, and deſired his Majeſty to diſpoſe the " Engliſh to an equal readineſs with them in the " affair of the union, and that, in the mean time, " he would continue to grant them his protection " in all their concerns." William & Mary. An' 1689.

Major-general Mackay having been ſent by King William to Edinburg, with four regiments of foot and one of dragoons, the convention gave a commiſſion, likewiſe, to that general, to command all the forces raiſed or to be raiſed in Scotland. The 26th they appointed a committee to ſettle the government (2) which came to the ſame reſolution the convention in England had done, viz. " that the " throne was vacant," and this was approved by the whole houſe, excepting twelve. In conſequence of this reſolution they paſſed an act, by which they declared, " that King James, being a profeſſed " Papiſt, did aſſume the royal power, and acted " as King, without taking the oaths required by " law, and by the advice of evil counſellors, had " invaded the fundamental conſtitution of the king- " dom, and altered it from a legal and limited " monarchy, to an arbitrary, deſpotic power ; and " had governed the ſame to the ſubverſion of the " Proteſtant religion, and violation of the laws " and liberties of the nation ; inverting all the ends " of government, whereby he had forfeited his " right to the crown, and the throne was become " vacant." (3)

King William and Queen Mary proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland.

After this, the convention paſſed an act, to ſettle the crown on their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, and purſuant thereunto, they were proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland, the 11th of April, the very ſame auſpicious day, in which the crown was ſolemnly placed on their heads in England. Having recited in this act, the ſeveral inſtances, by which King James had invaded the conſtitution, digeſted under fourteen general heads, with their claim of right, in the ſame manner as the convention in England had done, comprehended in twenty-three articles, they concluded with " ſettling " the crown on their Majeſties, and their iſſue, " with the remainder to the Princeſs Ann and her " iſſue ; and that failing, to the heirs of the body " of King William.(4)

This act likewiſe abrogated the oath of allegiance, and ſubſtituted another very ſhort one, conformable to that which was preſcribed in England, " in the room of it, in theſe words: I, A B, do ſin- " cerely promiſe and ſwear, that I will be faithful, " and bear true allegiance to their Majeſties King " William and Queen Mary.

So help me God.

(1) It has been ſaid, that upon the Jacobites having loſt their point, in the choice of a preſident, they propoſed to the duke of Gordon, to fire upon the town, and diſperſe the convention ; but that their hopes were fruſtrated by the irreſolution of the duke, who would not do it without orders from King James. Cont. of Rapin, in French, l. 25. p. 49.

(2) This committee conſiſted of eight temporal lords, eight knights and eight burgeſſes, but no biſhops, which confirms what I obſerved above, that this convention conſiſted moſtly of Preſbyterians: however there is this farther reaſon alleged for it, that they had diſguſted the generality of the ſtate, both by their former compliance, with King James's arbitrary government, and by their prayers at the begining of the ſeſſion.

(3) The committee was obliged to have recourſe to theſe violations of the fundamental laws and conſtitutions, to juſtify their vote of the throne being vacant. In England, it was founded upon King James's withdrawing himſelf ; which reaſon could not take place in a kingdom where he had never been in perſon, after his acceſſion to the throne, and where he had left the frame of the government intire at his departure from England. This expedient was firſt propoſed by ſir John Dalrymple, and it had this advantage, that upon the ſuppoſition of King James having forfeited the crown, they thereby excluded the pretended Prince of Wales, from all future expectations.

(4) By the 21ſt article of their claim, which contained theſe words, " that prelacy and ſuperiority of an office in the church " above Preſbyters, is and has been a great and inſupportable burden to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the " generality of the people, ever ſince the reformation, they having reformed Popery by Preſbytery, and therefore ought to be " aboliſhed :" by this article, I ſay, a fatal blow was ſtruck at the very root of Epiſcopacy, which occaſioned great uneaſineſſes not only in Scotland, but in England, and rendered the union of the two nations very difficult.

I own (ſays the author of the hiſtory of King William, Vol. 2. p. 51.) the Scotiſh prelates, by reading King James's declaration for liberty of conſcience, and for repealing the teſt and penal laws ; by aſſuring that Monarch, that they looked upon the Prince of Orange's enterpriſe, as a deteſtable invaſion ; in a word, by being the inſtruments of a Popiſh arbitrary King, and by thwarting the proceedings of the convention, had drawn upon themſelves the general odium of the people ; whereas had they imitated the conſtancy of the Engliſh biſhops, their zeal and virtue had gained them the affection of the Scotiſh nation, and given them an opportunity, to ſettle Epiſcopacy, among them : but yet (continues my author) the convention would have done well to have diſtinguiſhed between the function itſelf, and the perſons that exerciſed it.

The

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The convention having deputed the earl of Argile, ſir James Montgomery, and ſir John Dalrymple to carry this act to England, it was by them preſented to their Majeſties, in the banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, the 11th of May: and his Majeſty was pleaſed to tell the deputies, "he took it very "kindly, that Scotland had expreſſed ſo much "confidence in him, and that he ſhould be ready "to aſſiſt them, in every thing that concerned the "welfare of that kingdom." Their Majeſties then took the coronation (1) oath, and thus the happy revolution was juſtified and perfected in Scotland, with as great or a greater unanimity than in England.

Edinburg caſtle being in the mean time beſieged, a breach was made in the walls, and there being great want of ammunition in the place, the duke of Gordon ſurrendered it the 13th of June, on condition of ſecurity for the lives, liberties, and fortunes of the gariſon. The lord Dundee continued, however, at the head of 6000 foot, and 100 horſe of King James's troops in the hi hlands; major-general Mackay, therefore marched againſt them, with a body of 4000 foot, and four troops of horſe and dragoons. Theſe two little armies met on this ſide the blair of Athol, and fought with great obſtinacy from five in the afternoon till night, when Mackay was obliged to leave the field, and retire, in ſome diſorder, toward Sterling: but Dundee being killed in the action, his party was worſted every-where, and could never appear in any conſiderable body afterwards.

I ſhall mention nothing farther of the affairs of Scotland, in this place, but that the Scotiſh convention being to be turned into a parliament, King William gave his commiſſion to duke Hamilton, and, among other inſtructions, gave him the following: "You are to paſs an act for turning the meeting "of the eſtates into a parliament. You are to paſs "an act for recognizing Our and the Queen's royal "authority, &c. You are to paſs an act eſtabliſhing "that church-government, which is moſt agreable "to the inclination of the people, reſcinding the "act of parliament, 1669, and all the other acts "inconſiſtent therewith." (2)

I might now proceed to give an account of the affairs of Ireland, in the ſame brief manner I have done thoſe of Scotland, but that kingdom having been, in this and the ſucceeding year, a grand ſcene in the actions of war, I ſhall firſt, to go on regularly, return to England, and give ſome account how the tedious and expenſive war which inſued was begun, and premiſe ſome other matters which happened in the mean time there.

King William having pretty well ſettled his domeſtic affairs, and eſtabliſhed his throne in England and Scotland, began now to imploy his thoughts for the general good of Chriſtendom, and to conſider the neceſſities of his allies, who had favored his expedition into England. The Imperial, Spaniſh and Dutch miniſters repreſented to his Majeſty, that France had declared their reſpective maſters her enemies, for being his friends, and therefore earneſtly preſſed him to proclaim war againſt that crown.

King William had ſeveral cogent reaſons to urge him to a compliance with the deſires of his confederates, among which gratitude, and that noble ardor, which he had ever ſhewed to ſuppreſs the exorbitant power of France were not the leaſt: but he knew the nature of an Engliſh parliament too well, to enter into ſo important and expenſive a war, as this muſt neceſſarily be, without their conſent. He managed this with ſo much prudence, that on the 25th of April, the houſe of commons preſented his Majeſty an addreſs, in which: "they moſt "humbly laid before his Majeſty their earneſt de- "ſire, that he would be pleaſed to take into his "moſt tender conſideration, the deſtructive me- "thods, taken of late years, by the French King, "againſt the trade, quiet, and intereſt of the king- "dom, and particularly the preſent invaſion of Ire- "land, and ſupporting his Majeſty's rebellious "ſubjects there. Not doubting, in the leaſt, but "that thro' his Majeſty's wiſdom, the alliances al- "ready made, with ſuch as might, hereafter, "be concluded, on this occaſion, by his Majeſty, "might be effectual to reduce the French King to "ſuch a condition, that it might not be in his power "hereafter, to violate the peace of Chriſtendom, nor "prejudice the trade and proſperity of the kingdom. "And to this end, they moſt humbly beſought his "Majeſty, to reſt aſſured, upon this their ſolemn "and hearty promiſe and incouragement, that when "his Majeſty ſhould think fit to enter into a war "againſt the French King, they would give his "Majeſty ſuch aſſiſtance, in a parliamentary way, "as might inable him to ſupport, and go thro' "with the ſame."

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The commons addreſs for a war.

To this addreſs, his Majeſty gave the following anſwer:

"That he received it as a mark of the confidence "they had in him, which he took very kindly, "and ſhould indeavor by all his actions, to con- "firm them in it. That his own ambition ſhould "never be an argument, to incline him to ingage "in a war that might expoſe the nation either to "danger or expenſe: but in this preſent caſe, he "looked upon the war ſo much already declared, "in effect, by France again England, that it was "not ſo properly an act of choice, as an inevit- "able neceſſity, in their own defenſe. That he "ſhould only tell them, that as he had ventured "his life, and all that was dear to him, to reſcue "this nation from what it ſuffered, he was ready "ſtill to do the ſame, in order to the preſerving it "from all its enemies; and as he did not doubt "of ſuch an aſſiſtance from them, as ſhould be "ſuitable to their advice to him, to declare war "againſt a powerful enemy, ſo they might rely "upon him, that no part of what they ſhould "give for the carrying it on with ſucceſs, ſhould "be diverted by him, to any other uſe."

The King's anſwer.

The 25th of April, his Majeſty iſſued his royal proclamation, whereby he declared: "that "finding in his ſubjects a true and juſt ſenſe "of their deliverance from the perſecution lately "threatning them for their religion, and of the "miſeries and oppreſſions the French Proteſtants "lay under, ſuch of them as ſhould ſeek their

Proclamation for the relief of Proteſtants.

(1) There being a clauſe in the oath, that their Majeſties ſhould be careful to root out heretics, when they came to that, his Majeſty declared, "That he did not mean by thoſe words, that he was under any obligation to become a perſe- "cutor:" to which the deputies made anſwer, "that neither the meaning of the oath, nor the law of Scotland did im- "port any ſuch thing:" upon which his Majeſty replied, "he took the oath in that ſenſe;" and deſired all that were preſent to be witneſſes of his ſo doing. The manner of taking this oath was thus: the earl of Argyle read it very diſtinctly word for word, and the King and Queen repeated it after him, holding up their right-hands, after the manner of taking an oath in Scotland.

(2) Theſe three acts were paſſed in the order they are placed above, ſo that the act for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, which paſſed the 22d of July, may be ſaid to be the firſt act of the firſt Scotiſh parliament after the revolution: for it was the firſt which paſſed, after they had any power to act, which they had not, as a parliament, till that power was conſtituted by the two acts which preceded it; and thus fell Epiſcopacy in Scotland. "It being left to that nation (ſays a known "author) to ſettle religion, in ſuch manner, as was moſt deſired by the people, there was not a mouth open to give a vote for "Epiſcopacy. Lackhart's memoirs, p. 299.

" refuge in, and tranſport themſelves into this king-
" dom of England, ſhould not only have his royal
" protection, but he would ſo aid and aſſiſt them, in
" their ſeveral trades and ways of livelihood, as
" that their being in this realm might be comfor-
" table and eaſy to them." (1)

Imports from France prohibited.

At the ſame time that his Majeſty incouraged the Proteſtants of France, he iſſued out another proclamation, by which he prohibited the importation of all ſorts of manufactures and commodities whatſoever, of the growth, production or manufacture of that kingdom, which was a fore-runner of the war.

His Majeſty, being now aſſured of the aſſiſtance of the commons, declared to the lords, that it was his intention ſpeedily to declare war againſt France, upon which their lordſhips took the unanimous reſolution to ſtand by and aſſiſt his Majeſty therein, to the utmoſt of their power.

A declaration of war was, hereupon, drawn up as it is ſaid, by that eminent civilian mr. (afterwards lord) Summers, and is equal to his extraordinary talents, both in eloquence and reaſon, bearing date the 7th of May, 1689, which was publiſhed as uſual, in the following words: (2)

Declaration of war againſt France.

William Rex,

" It having pleaſed Almighty God to make
" us the happy inſtrument of reſcuing theſe na-
" tions from imminent dangers, and to place us
" upon the throne of theſe kingdoms; we think
" our-ſelves obliged to indeavor, to the uttermoſt,
" to promote the welfare of our people, which can
" never be effectually ſecured, but by preventing
" the miſeries that threaten them from abroad.

" When we conſider the many unjuſt methods
" the French King hath, of late years, taken, to
" gratify his ambition: That he has not only in-
" vaded the territories of the Emperor, and the
" Empire, now in amity with us, laying waſte
" whole countries, and deſtroying the inhabitants
" by his armies; but declared war againſt our
" allies, without any provocation, in manifeſt vi-
" olation of the treaties confirmed by the guaranty
" of the crown of England; we can do no leſs
" than join with our allies, in oppoſing the de-
" ſigns of the French King, as the diſturber of the
" peace, and the common enemy of the Chriſtian
" world.

" And beſide the obligations we lie under, by
" treaties with our allies, which are a ſufficient
" juſtification of us, for taking up arms, at this
" time, ſince they have called upon us ſo to do, the
" many injuries done to us, and to our ſubjects,
" without any reparation, by the French King,
" are ſuch, that (however, of late years, they
" were not taken notice of, for reaſons well known
" to the world, nevertheleſs) we will not paſs
" them over, without a public and juſt reſentment
" of ſuch out-rages.

" It is not long ſince the French took licenſes
" from the Engliſh governor of Newfoundland,
" to fiſh in the ſeas on that coaſt, and paid a tribute
" for ſuch licenſes, as an acknowlegment of the
" ſole right of the crown of England to that
" iſland, and yet of late, the incroachments of the
" French, upon our ſaid iſland, and our ſubjects
" trade and fiſhery, have been more like the inva-
" ſions of an enemy, than becoming friends, who
" injoyed the advantages of that trade only by
" permiſſion.

" But that the French King ſhould invade our
" Caribbe iſlands, and poſſeſs himſelf of our terri-
" tories of the province of New York, and of
" Hudſon's-bay, in a hoſtile manner, ſeizing our
" forts, burning our ſubjects houſes, and inriching
" his people with the ſpoil of their goods and
" merchandizes, detaining ſome of our ſubjects
" under a hardſhip of impriſonment, cauſing others
" to be inhumanly killed, and driving the reſt to
" ſea, in a ſmall veſſel, without food and neceſſa-
" ries to ſupport them, are actions not becoming
" even an enemy: and yet he was ſo far from de-
" claring himſelf ſo, that, at that very time, he
" was negociating here in England, by his mini-
" ſters, a treaty of neutrality and good correſ-
" pondence in America.

" The proceedings of the French King againſt
" our ſubjects in Europe are ſo notorious, that
" we ſhall not need to inlarge upon them: his
" countenancing the ſeizure of Engliſh ſhips by
" French privateers, forbiding the importation of
" great part of the product and manufactures of
" our kingdom, and impoſing exorbitant cuſtoms
" upon the reſt, notwithſtanding the vaſt advan-
" tage he and the French nation, reap by their
" commerce with England, are ſufficient evidence
" of his deſign to deſtroy the trade, and con-
" ſequently to ruin the navigation, upon which the
" wealth and ſafety of this nation very much de-
" pends.

" The right of the flag, inherent in the crown of
" England, has been diſputed by his orders, in
" violation of our ſovereignty of the narrow ſeas,
" which in all ages, has been aſſerted by our pre-
" deceſſors, and we are reſolved to maintain,
" for the honor of our crown, and of the Engliſh
" nation.

" But that which moſt nearly touches us is, his
" unchriſtian proſecution of many of our Engliſh
" Proteſtant ſubjects, in France, for matters of
" religion, by ſtrange and unuſual cruelties; and
" impriſoning ſome of the maſters and ſeamen of
" our merchant-ſhips, and condemning others to
" the gallies, on pretenſe of having on board
" ſome of his own miſerable Proteſtant ſubjects, or
" their effects. And laſtly, as he has, for ſome
" years laſt paſt, indeavored, by inſinuation and
" promiſes of aſſiſtance, to overthrow the govern-
" ment of England; ſo now, by open and violent
" methods, and the actual invaſion of our king-
" dom of Ireland, in ſupporting of our ſubjects
" in arms, and in rebellion againſt us, he is pro-

(1) Some, who did not rightly conſider the unqueſtionable maxim, that the riches of a nation conſiſts in the number of her ſubjects, provided they are imployed either in trade, husbandry, or manufactures, repined at this invitation and incouragement given to foreigners, to ſettle here. They did not conſider of what advantage the incouragement Queen Elizabeth gave the Walloons was to the nation, by the improvements they made in our ſilk and woollen manufactures. They did not reflect that our neighbors, the Dutch, daily increaſed, in wealth and power, by the favor they ſhewed their perſecuted brethren; nor did they foreſee the benefit which has ſince accrued to this kingdom by the great number of wealthy merchants, laborious and induſtrious artificers, and brave and experienced officers and ſoldiers, who have, by this means, been incouraged to ſettle among us, and to become ſubjects of Great Britain.

(2) Tho' this declaration of war was generally approved by all the King's allies abroad, and was agreable in England, to the Whigs and moderate part of the Tories, yet it was as much exclaimed againſt by others who were either miſinformed or diſaffected to the government. They pretended that the injuries ſuppoſed to have been done by the French to the Engliſh, in America, were not perhaps ſo atrocious as repreſented, and that the Engliſh had drawn ſome of them on themſelves, and took ſufficient revenge for the others. And they found pretexts to palliate all the other grievances alleged. They affirmed that the defenſive treaty of March, 13, 1678, renewed in 1685 and 1689, mentioned by King William, only required England to aſſiſt the Dutch with their ſhips and forces, but not to enter into a war, on their account. They put the public in mind of ſeveral injuries the Dutch had done us, particularly, when, ſoon after the peace of Nimeguen, they ſeized a ſhip belonging to our Eaſt-India-Company, which they had lent to the King of Java, and when they drove away the Engliſh factories from Bantam and Maſulipatan, where they had eſtabliſhed a flouriſhing trade. Contin. of Rapin, in Fr. L. 25. p. 55.

" moting

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" moting the utter extirpation of our good and loyal " ſubjects in that our kingdom.

" Being, therefore, thus neceſſitated to take up " arms, and relying on the help of almighty GOD, " in our juſt undertaking; we have thought fit to " declare, and do, hereby, declare war againſt " the French King; and that we will, in conjunction " with our allies, vigorouſly proſecute the ſame, " by ſea and land (ſince he hath, ſo unrighteouſly, " begun it) being aſſured of the hearty concur- " rence and aſſiſtance of our ſubjects, in ſupport of " ſo good a cauſe. Hereby willing and requiring " our general of our forces, our commiſſioners for " executing the office of high admiral, our lieu- " tenants of our ſeveral counties, governors of " our forts and garriſons, and all other officers " and ſoldiers under them, by ſea and land, to do " and execute all acts of hoſtility in the proſecution " of this war, againſt the French King, his vaſſals " and ſubjects, and to oppoſe their attempts. Wil- " ling and requiring all our ſubjects, to take notice " of the ſame, whom we henceforth ſtrictly forbid " to hold any correſpondence or communication " with the ſaid French King, or his ſubjects. And " becauſe there are remaining in our kingdom, " many of the ſubjects of the French King; we do " declare, and give our royal word, that all ſuch " of the French nation, as ſhall demean them- " ſelves dutifully towards us, and not correſpond " with our enemies, ſhall be ſafe in their perſons " and eſtates, and free from all moleſtation and " trouble, of any kind.

" Given at our court at Hampton-Court, the " ſeventh day of May, 1689, in the firſt year of " our reign.

Judges conſtituted.

I have already obſerved, in my account of preferments above, that his Majeſty's choice of the judges was highly applauded by every body, it may not be amiſs to mention more particularly, what regard he had to the eſtabliſh'd laws, in reviving the proceedings in the reſpective courts of juſtice, by filling up the vacancies with ſuch perſons, as in the moſt difficult times had boldly aſſerted them, and were eminent for their learning and integrity; which was done the 4th of May. In the court of King's-bench, ſir John Holt was conſtituted lord chief juſtice, and ſir William Dolbin, ſir William Gregory, and Giles Eyres, eſq; juſtices. In the court of common pleas, ſir Henry Pollexfen was made lord chief juſtice, and ſir John Powel, Thomas Rokeby, and Peyton Ventris, eſqs; juſtices. In the court of exchequer, ſir Robert Atkins was appointed lord chief baron, and ſir Edward Nevil, Nicholas Lechmere, and John Turton, eſqs; barons of that court: Henry Wallop, eſq; was made curſitor-baron; and John Trenchard, eſq; chief juſtice of Cheſter. (1) Sir George Treby, attorney-general; John Sommers, eſq; ſollicitor-general; and ſir William Whitlock, ſir Charles Porter, ſir William Williams, John Coniers, eſq; Thomas Trevor, eſq; and ſoon after William Cowper, eſq; their Majeſties learned council at law.

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The declaration of war, which the readers has ſeen above, mentions, in general, ſeveral incroachments, depredations and real acts of hoſtility commited by the French, as ſo many provocations, which juſtly induced his Majeſty, at length, to take to arms: and, indeed, it was high time, for near a week before this proclamation was iſſued, an action happen'd, which more effectually began the war, and deſerves our particular notice, I mean the ſea-fight at Bantry-bay, the firſt of May.

His Majeſty was very ſenſible of what importance it would be to have a conſiderable fleet at ſea, to declare his juſt rights, at the begining of his reign; (2) and eſpecially to prevent the French King's ſending the late King James, with a body of his own troops into Ireland: and no preparations had been wanting for this end, which the ſhortneſs of the time would allow.

Sea-fight at Bantry-bay.

The fourteenth of March, his Majeſty appointed admiral Herbert (afterwards earl of Torrington) commander in chief of this fleet, who when he came to Portſmouth, the 20th of the ſame month, found that the ſhips, which were order'd to join him from the eaſt, lay windbound in the Downs. He had received intelligence that King James landed, at Kingſale, in Ireland, the 12th; he, therefore, reſolved to make for that coaſt, with what ſhips he could get together in haſte, hoping to intercept the convoy in its return. He gave orders for the reſt of the fleet to follow him, ſingly, as they could, and not to wait one for the other. When he came beforeCork, (3) the account he had before of King James being landed was confirmed, with the addition, that he had been convoyed over by 22 ſhips from France. He, thereupon, reſolved to proceed firſt off of Breſt, and to range to and fro in the ſoundings, in hopes of meeting thoſe ſhips, which, as he was now informed, were taking in a conſiderable ſupply at Breſt, for the ſervice of King James: but being diſappointed in theſe hopes, he return'd to the Iriſh coaſts, where, on the 29th of April, in the evening, he diſcover'd a fleet of 44 ſail, off of Kingſale, keeping their wind, which made him do ſo likewiſe, all night, to hinder their geting into that port.

(1) To prepare for theſe promotions, the following eminent lawyers were call'd, by writ, to be ſerjeants at law: ſir Henry Pollexfen, Nicholas Lechmere, Thomas Rokeby, Peyton Ventris, John Thurburne, William Wogan, William Pawlet, Roger Belwood, Nathaniel Bond, Giles Eyre, Henry Hatſel, John Blencoe, John Powel, John Tremaine, John Trenchard, and John Turton, eſqs; who very properly choſe, for the motto of the rings they gave, the following words. Veniendo reſtituit rem.

(2) As the royal navy of England was greatly increas'd and improv'd in this and the ſucceeding reign, it may not be amiſs to give the readers a ſtate of it, as it ſtood at the revolution, which I cannot do better than from the memoirs of mr. Pepy's, then ſecretary of the admiralty.

The ſtate of the royal navy of England, as it was on the eighteenth of December, 1688, being the day King James withdrew.

Ships and Veſſels.	At Sea, or going out.	In Harbours to be Repaired,	Repairing,	Repaired.	Newly come in from Sea.	Total.	Men.	Guns.
Rates, 1		5	3	1		9	6705	878
2		9	1	1		11	7010	974
3	15	22	1	1		39	16545	2640
4	31	3	3		4	41	9480	1908
5	2					2	260	60
6	4	2				6	420	90
Bombers	1	2				3	120	33
Fire-ſhips	26					26	905	218
Hoys		6				6	22	
Hulks	1	7				8	50	
Ketches	3					3	115	24
Smacks		5				5	18	
Yachts	9	5				14	353	104
	92	66	8	3	4	173	42003	6929

(3) He had then with him only 12 ſhips of war, 1 fireſhip, 2 yachts, and 2 ſmacks. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 623.

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The 30th, advice was brought him, that the enemy was gone into Baltimore, whereupon he bore away for that place: but finding no ſign of them there, and judging that they muſt be to the weſtward, he bore away, with the wind eaſterly to cape Clear, and, in the evening, ſaw them ſtanding in for Bantry-bay. He lay off the bay 'till morning, and as ſoon as day broke, ſtood towards them; the men of war being at anchor, and the tranſports (which had carried about 5000 men to Ireland) being at ſome diſtance, plying to the windward. (1)

The enemy, incouraged by their great ſuperiority got under ſail: and when admiral Herbert, not without great difficulty, worked up within two miles of them, they bore down upon him, in a very orderly line, of all the 28 men of war and 5 fire-ſhips. One of them, being within muſquet-ſhot of the defiance, which led the van, Monſ. de Chateau-Renaud put out the ſignal of battle, and they two began the fight, which was continued by the others, as faſt as they came up with one another. The admiral made ſeveral boards, indeavoring by that means, to gain the wind of the enemy, or, at leaſt, to ingage them cloſer than they ſeem'd willing to do: but finding he could not do either, and that it was not adviſeable to maintain ſo unequal a fight, he ſtretch'd off to ſea, not only to get his ſhips into a regular line, but, if poſſible, to gain the wind.

The French were ſo very cautious of bearing down, that the admiral could meet with no opportunity of obtaining his end; ſo that continuing the fight, and battering upon a ſtretch, till about five in the afternoon, the French admiral then tack'd about, and ſtood farther into the bay. Admiral Herbert could not follow them, his own, and ſeveral of the other ſhips having ſuffered ſo much in their maſts and rigging, that not one of them were in a condition for farther action, and it is not to be queſtion'd but the French, on their ſides, received conſiderable damage likewiſe. (2) If, therefore, all circumſtances be duly weigh'd, and particularly that moſt of the Engliſh ſhips were very ill-manned, they came off more fortunately, than could reaſonably have been expected: and it muſt be ſaid, to their honor, that both officers and ſailors behaved with all the courage and vigor, that could be expected from the braveſt men. There were no more than 94 men kill'd, and about 250 or 300 wounded. Captain George Aylmer, of the Portland, and one lieutenant, being the only officers who were kill'd in the action. The ſhips received little or no damage, except what they had in their ſails and rigging. (3)

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This action being over (4) the admiral repaired to his rendezvous, two leagues weſt from Scilly, where he was in hopes of meeting with ſuch an additional force, as might inable him to proceed in ſearch of the French: but being deceiv'd in this his expectation, he returned to Spithead, where I ſhall leave him refiting, and waiting the arrival of the reſt of the fleet to join him (5); and, in the mean time, give an account of the affairs of Ireland: obſerving only previouſly that about or before, this time, moſt of the Princes and Potentates of Europe, acknowleged their Majeſties titles, and congratulated their happy acceſſion to the Imperial crown of England, by their public miniſters: in particular the Emperor by monſieur Hofman; the King of Spain, by don Pedro de Ronquillo; the King of Sweden, by monſieur Leeuenberg; the King of Denmark by meſſieurs, Pleſs and Gerſtorff; the Elector of Brandenburg, by mr. Schmettau; the dukes of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, by baron Van Schutz; the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſtle by baron Van Goertz, and the States General of the United Provinces by meſſ. Van Engelnburg, Van Witſen, Van Odyck Van, Cittern, and Van Dyckvelt, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt, by a moſt magnificent entry.

Moſt of the Princes of Europe acknowledge the King and Queen's titles.

To give a clearer idea of the affairs of Ireland, at this time, it will be neceſſary to premiſe, that the earl of Tyrconnel (whom King James had made deputy, or lord lieutenant) animated with a zeal for his unfortunate maſter, had ſeized the moſt important places of that kingdom for his uſe, and had diſarmed, pillag'd and impriſon'd the chief of the Proteſtants in Munſter, Lemſter and Connaught. (6) This obliged the Engliſh to retire to their brethren

Affairs of Ireland.

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(1) Admiral Herbert had, by this time, increas'd the force of his little fleet, to twenty or two and twenty ſail, the enemy had 28 men of war, moſt of them from 60 to upwards of 70 guns, and ſome larger (there being 18 of them, the leaſt whereof was as big as the Elizabeth, in which the Engliſh admiral was) with five fire-ſhips, under the command of monſ. Chateau-Renaud. Lediard's naval hiſtory. Vol. 2 p. 623-4.

(2) How far the French admiral was reſtrain'd by his order is not known: but certain it is, that he made a very little uſe of the great advantages he might have taken: for he had not only the wind, but double the force, conſidering the bulk of his ſhips, and the advantage of having fireſhips. Lediard's naval hiſtory. Vol. 2. p. 624.

(3) As the French aſcribe to themſelves the honor of this day, and rejoicings were made on acconnt of it, in France, it may not be unaceptable to the reader to hear what they ſay of the action. F. Daniel ſays, that the count de Chateau-Renaud, lieutenant-general of the French fleet, was ordered to carry over a conſiderable convoy of proviſions and ammunition, with three thouſand men to Ireland. While he was landing his forces, he received advice, that the Engliſh admiral Herbert, was approaching to attack him, at the head of the Engliſh fleet. The two fleets were pretty near of an equal force, and monſieur de Chateau-Renaud advanced to receive the Engliſh, whom he defeated and follow'd, 'till night gave them an opportunity of eſcaping. After having landed his men he returned to Breſt, where he was welcomed with loud acclamations of joy; having (ſays my author) made a voyage to Ireland and back again, landed his troops, routed the Engliſh fleet, taken ſeven Dutch veſſels, richly laden, on his return, brought back his fleet in as good condition as when he went out of harbor, and all this within the ſpace of eleven or twelve days. A ſhip commanded by the chevalier de Coetlogon was ſet on fire, during the fight, by a cannon-ball, which accidentally fell among the granadoes and a barrel of powder, and part of the ſtem was blown away. De Larrey, in his hiſtory of France, under Lewis XIV, does yet more honor to the French, and pretends their fleet conſiſted of but twelve ſhips of war. He adds, that with this ſmall fleet they defeated the Engliſh admiral with two and twenty ſhips.

(4) When King William received the news of this ſea-fight, he is reported to have ſaid; "That ſuch an action was neceſſary "in the begining of a war, but it would be raſh in the courſe of it."

(5) The King went himſelf a fortnight after this, to Portſmouth, as well to haſten the refittng of the fleet, as to diſtribute rewards to theſe officers and ſoldiers, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ingagement. Admiral Herbert was declared, and ſoon after made earl of Torrington, captain John Aſhby of the Defiance, and captain Cloudeſly Shovel of the Edgar, were knighted, and every ſeaman had a gratuity of ten ſhillings: and beſide this, a bounty was added to the relicts of thoſe who had loſt their lives.

(6) It is a very great queſtion, whether, if proper meaſures had been at firſt taken, Tyrconnel might not eaſily have been induc'd to declare for King William; and thereby the great expenſe of blood and treaſure, which it afterwards coſt to redeem Ireland been ſav'd. As ſoon as the Prince of Orange came to London, the nobility and gentry of Ireland, who were then there, met at the duke of Ormond's houſe, in St. James's-ſquare, and drew up an addreſs to be preſented to his highneſs, together with a draught of the chief ports of that kingdom, humbly praying him to take them into his protection, which the lords and commons of England had before deſir'd. The negoication with colonel Richard Hamilton, who undertook to prevail with the deputy, Tyrconnel, to deliver up the ſword to ſuch perſon as the Prince of Orange ſhould commiſſion to receive it, and the ill advice of the marquis of Hallifax, not to give that commiſſion to the earl of Clarendon, out of a pique to that lord, who would doubtleſs have been moſt acceptable to the people of Ireland, were the two chief obſtacles to the relief of the Proteſtants.——

Hamilton,

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thren in Ulſter, who declared for King William and Queen Mary, and ſeiz'd the towns of Coleraine, Kilmore, Inniſkillin and Londonderry. King James, in the mean time, having in vain implor'd the aſſiſtance of ſeveral Princes, and finding he had no friend, upon whoſe help he could rely, but the French King, reſolv'd to make his laſt trial, for the recovery of his dominions, in Ireland, with the ſuccors given him by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: to which he was, likewiſe, incouraged by Tyrconnel, who ſent baron Rice and the lord Mountjoy, to France, to invite him. (7)

King James lands in Ireland.

Induced by theſe motives, the unhappy Monarch took ſhiping at Breſt, with about 1500 men, who were commanded by experienced French, Scots, and Iriſh officers (having with him a ſmall ſupply of arms, ammunition and mony) and landed ſafely at Kingſale, the 12th of March. He went, the next day, to Cork, with a numerous attendance, and was there received by the earl of Tyrconnel. The 24th, he enter'd triumphantly into Dublin, and having call'd a council, the next morning, diſplaced the earl of Granard, chairman, judge Keating, and others, and put in their rooms, the French embaſſador, count d'Avaux (who attended him as a ſort of ſpy upon his actions) the biſhop of Cheſter, and lieutenant-colonel Dorrington. The reſult of this counſel was iſſuing of five proclamations, by King James's order; viz. 1ſt, "To require all his Pro-

Five proclamations.

"teſtant ſubjects, who had left the kingdom, to "return, and remain upon the premiſſes, with "aſſurance of his protection, and all his ſubjects, "of what perſuaſion ſo ever, to join him againſt "the Prince of Orange. 2d, To commend his Ro-"man Catholic ſubjects for their vigilance, in "arming themſelves, but requiring all, who were "not actually under pay in the army, to lay up "their arms in their reſpective abodes. 3d, To in-"vite the country to carry proviſions to the army. "4th, To raiſe ſuch money as was current in "Ireland; 5th, for the parliament to meet "at Dublin, the 7th of May." At the ſame time, he created the earl of Tyrconnel duke, and gave the royal regiment, which the duke of Ormond had, to colonel Dorrington.

The firſt of theſe had very little effect, the Proteſtants reſolving to ſtand on their defenſe; and they made a ſhow of oppoſing King James's forces in the field, but were defeated by lieutenant-general Hamilton at Dunmore; upon which the King and Tyrconnel march'd, with near 20,000 men, towards the north, to drive the reſt of them out of the towns they had ſeiz'd, before the Engliſh ſuccors could arrive; which reduced the Proteſtant cauſe in Ireland, to a very deſperate condition.

King James takes Coleraine and Kilmore.

King James having taken Coleraine and Kilmore, after a ſtout reſiſtance, hoped the ſame ſucceſs at Londonderry, towards which place he, therefore, moved with his army. King William had indeed, already ſent captain James Hamilton, with arms and ammunition thither (the latter conſiſting of about 500 barrels of powder, and the former being ſufficient for 2000 men) and named colonel Lundee, to be governor of the place. In the mean time, mr. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, in the county of Tyrone, had, out of zeal to his religion, raiſed a regiment for the defenſe of it. This gentleman having received intelligence, the 13th of April, that King James was drawing his forces towards London-derry, haſtened thither in perſon to give an account of it, and upon advice of their being advanced to Cledyford, returned to Lyfford, where he joined colonel Crafton. He afterwards, purſuant to the directions given by colonel Lundee, took poſt at the Long-cauſey, which he defended, with great courage, the whole night, 'till, being over-powered with numbers, he was obliged to retreat to Londonderry, where he indeavored, tho' in vain, to prevail on Lundee to take the field; which he might have done, with ſome probability of ſucceſs, before the late King's army was fully formed (8).

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This officer ſoon ſhewed how miſtaken King William had been in his reliance upon him: for notwithſtanding colonel Cunningham, and colonel Richards, were arrived with their regiments, and all other neceſſaries, in the harbor, to reinforce the gariſon, in a council of war, held the 17th, he influenced the reſt of the officers of the council, which was chiefly packed by him, in ſuch manner, that it was reſolved the town was "not tenable, as "well becauſe they had not proviſions for above "eight or ten days, as becauſe the works were "not in a condition to be defended againſt ſo formi-"dable an army as King James had under his "command." This reſolution being taken, he would not ſuffer the two regiments to land, but, notwithſtanding all indeavors that were uſed, by mr. Walker, and others, to perſuade him to continue his government, he abandoned the place; and, leaving the inhabitants, and the Proteſtants who had retired thither, as a place of ſecurity, to ſhift for themſelves, returned thro' Scotland in his way for England; but was there ſecured, and ſent priſoner to London, where he was confined to the Tower, to anſwer for the neglect of duty laid to his charge. Colonel Cunningham and colonel Richards ſailed back with their regiments to England, where, tho' they urged, in their juſtification, that they were inſtructed to obey the orders of colonel Lundee, they were juſtly caſhiered.

Treachery of col. Lundee.

Theſe poor people being thus abandoned, by thoſe whoſe duty it was to have ſupported them, reſolved nevertheleſs, to maintain their town againſt the whole force of King James's army, in which brave reſolution they were greatly ſtrengthened by that bold and reverend divine, mr. George Walker, whom, together with major Baker, an officer of great courage and experience, they choſe their joint governors. The eighteenth, King James appeared before the town, at the head of a powerful army, when the two new governors, having formed the men in the place, who were able to bear arms, into regiments and companies, to the number of 7020, under eight colonels, and 333 other officers, made a briſk

Londonderry inveſted by K. James.

Hamilton, inſtead of influencing Tyrconnel to ſubmit to the Prince of Orange, perſuaded him to ſtand out for King James, and accepted of the command of his army of Iriſh Papiſts under him.——By the advices from Ireland, there was ſome reaſon to believe, that Tyrconnel was not at firſt determin'd in that reſolution: for the day after the late King left Rocheſter, in order to go out of England, which he could not then have heard, he held an extraordinary council, in the caſtle of Dublin, to conſult and adviſe of the then cogent affairs, which were debated at that board. Lord chief juſtice Keating, the only Proteſtant judge in the kingdom, ſpeaking in favor of the Prince of Orange, Tyrconnel heard him with patience.——Being preſs'd to follow the fate of England, and ſubmit to that government, he replied haſtily, "What would you have me fling the ſword over the "caſtle walls?" nay he ſeem'd to comply ſo far with the moderate men, that it was agreed by him and them, to ſend perſons to King James in France, to repreſent the impoſſibility of holding out the kingdom of Ireland, and to deſire permiſſion to treat. ——Thus did Tyrconnel diſguiſe his intentions, if he then really deſigned to enter into a war for reſtoring King James. Oldmixon, p. 16.

(7) Their firſt inſtructions were (as I have mention'd above) to deſire leave to treat with the Prince of Orange: but a French ingineer landing at that time, with a meſſage for the deputy, other meaſures were ſoon taken.

(8) Sir Arthur Rawdon, had two or three hundred horſe well mounted, and the lord Kingſton 1000 horſe, and 2500 foot, ready to have joined him, had he appointed any place of rendezvous, without the walls of Derry. Oldmixon, p. 20.

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And beſieg'd.

ſally upon the King's troops, and forced them to retire to St. John's town. (1)

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, the King inveſted it the 20th, and the next day the batteries began to fire. The governors immediately diſpatched mr. Bennet, with an account of their diſtreſs to England, declaring, at the ſame time, that they were reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity, and intreating a ſpeedy ſuccor.

The 29th the King was obliged to leave the care of this ſiege to his general, to go and meet the parliament he had ſummoned for the 7th of May, at Dublin. This did not, however, hinder the proſecution of it; many were the attacks of the beſiegers, and as many the ſallies made by the beſieged, in both which the latter had generally the advantage: And in this manner was the ſiege continued during the whole month of May. The 4th of June, the beſiegers made a vigorous aſſault on a part of the place which they thought the moſt acceſſible, but met with their uſual ill ſucceſs, and were repulſed with great ſlaughter.

Great diſtreſs of the inhabitants.

In the mean time, the greateſt danger the beſieged ſeemed to be expoſed to, was from thoſe two cruel and raging enemies, ſickneſs and famine; with reſpect to the latter of which eſpecially, their caſe was very deplorable, they being reduced to the neceſſity of eating horſes, dogs, cats, rats, mice, and all manner of vermin, as likewiſe tallow, hides, and in ſhort, the moſt loathſome things that any men, even in their condition, ever made uſe of for ſuſtenance. (2) And to compleat their misfortune, the 20th of June, they loſt one of their brave governors, major Baker, who was ſnatched away by death, when they could leaſt bear the loſs of him. (3) Some days before his death, the French general de Roſe, who was arrived with a commiſſion to command the beſiegers in chief, had threatned them with not only fire and ſword, but the moſt exquiſite torments, if they continued obſtinate, and on the other hand, lieutenant-general Hamilton had ſent them ſome plauſible offers of favorable conditions if they would ſurrender: but they were as little intimidated with one, as worked upon by the other. On the contrary, theſe threats and offers did but ſtrengthen their reſolutions, and prompted them to return ſuch an anſwer as could hardly be expected from men in their deplorable circumſtances (4).

This ſo inraged the French general, that to add, if poſſible, to their miſery, he cauſed all the Proteſtants of the adjacent country, to the number of about 7000, to be drove under their walls, and there left without any ſuſtenance, that they might ſee them periſh before their eyes, or leſſen their own exhauſted ſtores, to relieve them. But even this unheard of cruelty had no effect upon them; they looked upon it with indignation and contempt, and to ſhew their reſolution, cauſed a gallows to be erected in ſight of the beſiegers, and, in their turn, threatned, if they did not immediately ſuffer theſe poor wretches to return to their habitations, they would hang all the priſoners they had taken during the ſiege, giving them leave, at the ſame time, to ſend ſome of their prieſts to prepare them for death, in their own way. The beſiegers ſeemed at firſt reſolved to ſacrifice their friends to their revenge: at length, however, ſeeing the gallows finiſhed, and being aſſured by a letter from the chief of theſe priſoners, that the beſieged were reſolutely bent to execute their purpoſe, the generals ſubmited to the importunities of thoſe who ſollicited in their behalf, and ſuffered the poor half-ſtarved Proteſtants, to return to their homes, the fourth of July (5).

This unparalleled reſolution of the beſieged was, doubtleſs, in ſome meaſure kept up, by a reaſonable proſpect of relief, they having received ſeveral meſſages from major-general Kirk, that he was come to their aſſiſtance, with men, proviſions and arms, and tho' it would be very difficult for him to come to them with his ſhips, becauſe of the enemies batteries, and other works they had made, to ſecure the narrow part of the river, yet when they were reduced to the laſt extremity, he would certainly come to their relief, tho' with the utmoſt hazard of his own perſon, his ſhips and men. (6) To this criſis matters were come at laſt; and the ſcarcity of the moſt vile of eatables was ſo increaſed, that the gariſon was very near reduced to the neceſſity of preying upon one another. Mr. Walker, being apprehenſive, that the reſolution of the gariſon might at length flag, did all that was in his power to ſupport it; he performed with an incomparable preſenſe of mind, the different functions of governor, captain, ſoldier and divine. After a ſally, in which he always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and conduct, he would, with all the tranquility imaginable, perform his office in the government, and that done, indeavor, in the pulpit, to inſpire his auditors with that noble ardor which he himſelf poſſeſſed. Thus he, by his own great example, daily animated the gariſon, and preſerved the place till the 30th of July: when, having ſtill a confi-

(1) To attempt to defend a town ill-fortified, with a gariſon of poor people, moſt of them frightned from their own homes, without a ſufficient number of horſe for ſallies, or ingineers to inſtruct them in the neceſſary works, with only twenty ſmall guns ill-mounted, and with not above ten days proviſion, and that againſt a formidable army, commanded by a King implacable and revengeful, who looked upon them as traytors and rebels, was a bold and almoſt unheard of undertaking, which none but men inſpired with an almoſt ſuper-natural zeal and courage, ſpured on by a neceſſity either of vanquiſhing or falling victims to inraged and unmerciful enemies, could ever have ventured upon.

(2) If we may believe F. Daniel, 7000 perſons were famiſhed to death during this ſiege. A noble example of reſolution in a brave people, who could look death in the face, in its moſt ugly form, rather than bow their necks to the yoke of tyranny and oppreſſion.

(3) Upon this officer's being taken ill, and rendered uncapable of doing the duty of a governor, colonel Michelburn, a gentleman who before had been equally zealous with mr. Walker and mr. Baker, in the defenſe of the place, and had advanced ſeveral conſiderable ſums for the uſe of the gariſon, was choſen to aſſiſt mr. Walker, that if one ſhould fall, the place might not be in danger of being without a government, or laid liable to the inconveniencies of a conteſted election.

(4) They unanimouſly reſolved, when all other means of ſuſtenance failed, to eat the Iriſh, and laſtly, one another, rather than ſurrender, and to general Hamilton's offers, they anſwered, "that they very much wondered he ſhould expect they ſhould "place any confidence in him, ſince he had ſo unworthily broke faith with King William, their ſovereign; that he was once "generouſly truſted (by them) tho' an enemy, and yet betrayed his truſt, and that they could not believe he had learned more "ſincerity in an Iriſh camp. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 65.

(5) This cruelty of the French general turned out, in ſome meaſure, to the advantage of the befieged: for they found means to get rid of about 500 of their uſeleſs people, by thruſting them among the Proteſtants under their walls, who paſſed undiſtinguiſhed with them, and in exchange, got ſome able and ſtout men of their numbers. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 67.

(6) The major-general had a fleet of tranſports with ſeveral frigats to convoy them, for this purpoſe: but at their arrival near the place, the 9th of June, upon information how difficult the enemy had rendered the paſſage up the river, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to ſtay 'till their forces were augmented, and then, by making a deſcent, indeavor to oblige the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. In the mean time, he went on an expedition to the iſland of Inch, and upon advice of the great diſtreſs the gariſon of Londonderry was in, he returned and made this bold and ſucceſsful attempt for their relief. Lediard's naval hiſtory. Vol. 2. p. 626.

Some however, who conſider major-general Kirk's cruelties in the Weſt, againſt the Engliſh Proteſtants, after the defeat at Sedgmore, can hardly forbear inſinuating, that there was a ſecret treachery in his delaying the relief of London.derry ſo long, and that the courageous and reſolute defenſe of the gariſon, obliging him, at laſt, to do ſomething, it was attempted in ſuch a manner, that it was next to a miracle it ſuceeded.

dence

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dence in God, that he would not ſuffer them to fall a prey to their enemies, he as uſual, preached to the gariſon in the cathedral, and indeavored to confirm them in their conſtancy, by reminding them of the many inſtances of providence they had already been witneſſes of, and of what importance it was at this time, to the Proteſtant cauſe; concluding with aſſurances of a ſpeedy relief; which accordingly almoſt immediately followed: for within an hour after his ſermon was ended, the gariſon, to their unſpeakable joy, ſaw the means imployed by general Kirk to effect it. The manner of their deliverance was as follows:

The ſiege raiſed.

The Montjoy of Derry, commanded by captain Browning, and the Phenix of Cloeraine, by captain Douglas, both laden with proviſions, were ſent towards the town, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigat, commanded by captain Leake. They were obliged to ſtand a furious fire of the enemy from Kilmore-caſtle, and from the batteries on both ſides of the river, which they received and returned with the greateſt bravery imaginable. The Montjoy made a little ſtop at the boom, occaſioned by her rebound, after ſtriking and breaking it, ſo that ſhe was ran a-ground. Upon this the enemy gave a loud and joyful ſhout (tho' a dreadful one to the beſieged) fired all their guns upon her, and were preparing their boats to board her. The trouble and concern of the beſieged, to ſee their laſt hopes diſappointed, is not to be expreſſed; but by a great providence, firing a broad-ſide, the ſhock looſened the ſhip ſo, that ſhe got clear and paſſed the boom. Captain Douglas was ingaged all this while, and the Dartmouth gave the enemy very warm entertainment, 'till at length the three ſhips, having overcome the great difficulty of breaking and paſſing the boom, got up to the city, to the inexpreſſible joy and tranſport of a gariſon, which reckoned but upon two days life, having nothing left but nine lean horſes, and a pint of meal to each man.

The beſiegers ſeing the ſucceſs of this brave attempt, and that now a communication was open between the town and the ſuccors brought to its relief, under major-general Kirk, were ſo diſcouraged, that the very next day, being the laſt of July, they prepared to be gone, and, the night following, raiſed the ſiege, with great confuſion, and in their retreat, ravaged the country in a terrible manner.

When major-general Kirk came to Londonderry in perſon, mr. Walker made him an offer of his regiment, "that after having done the King all "the ſervice in his power, he might return to his "own profeſſion": but the major-general deſiring him to diſpoſe of it himſelf, he gave it to captain White, a gentleman of valor and merit. He was afterwards prevailed upon by a council held at Derry, to imbark for England, to carry an addreſs of thanks to their Majeſties, who upon his arrival gave him a reception and reward equal to his extraordinary ſervices. (1)

Succeſs of the Iniſkillin men.

Having now done juſtice to the reſolution and courage of the inhabitants and gariſon of Londonderry, I think myſelf no leſs obliged to render the ſame to the men of Iniſkillin, a town in the north of Ireland, who having dared to aſſert the Proteſtant cauſe, and to proclaim King William and Queen Mary, were ſummoned by the lord Galmoy, to ſurrender their town to him for the uſe of King James; but their ſteady reſolution detered him from attempting any thing againſt them; and he having attacked the caſtle of Crom, at about ſixteen miles diſtance from them, poſſeſſed by Proteſtants, they not only found means to re-inforce the gariſon but obliged him to raiſe the ſiege, and retreat to Belturbat. The 24th of April, a detachment of their gariſon, with lieutenant colonel Lloyd at their head, made an excurſion into the enemy's country, took and demoliſhed the caſtle of Anghor, and returned home with a conſiderable booty. They had ſeveral other ſkirmiſhes and rencounters with the enemy, in which they ſignalized their valor, and always came off with ſucceſs. They, likewiſe, did good ſervice during the ſiege of Londonderry, by haraſſing the beſiegers, and cuting off their convoys: but of all their actions, none was ſo remarkable, as that which happened, the very ſame day that Londonderry was relieved; in which 2000 Iniſkilliners, under the command of col. Berry, fought and routed 6000 Iriſh, at a place called Newton-Butler: and what with the number killed by them, and thoſe who were knocked on the head by the country-people, the enemy loſt at leaſt 4000 men, with their cannon, and moſt of their ſurviving officers, who were taken priſoners: among the latter was major-general Mackarty, who was ſhot thro' the thigh, and run into the back: all this was performed with the loſs of only 20 men killed, and 50 wounded. About two months after, 1000 of theſe brave men, under the command of colonel Lloyd, routed 5000 Iriſh, of whom they killed 700 and took Kelly, their commander, and forty other officers priſoners, with a great booty of cattle, and this with the loſs of a very few men only.

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Procedings of the parliament in Ireland.

The Iriſh parliament, met at Dublin, purſuant to King James's proclamation, the 7th of May, and was opened by a ſpeech, in which he told them:

"That the exemplary loyalty they had ſhewn, "at a time, when the reſt of his ſubjects behaved "themſelves ſo undutifully, or betrayed him, had "made him reſolve to come and venture his life "with them, in defenſe of their liberties, and his "own rights: that to his great ſatisfaction, he had "not only found them ready to ſerve him, but that "their courage had equalled their zeal: that he had "always been for liberty of conſcience, and againſt "invading any man's right or liberty, and nothing "ſhould perſuade him to change his mind: he "deſigned wherever he was maſter to eſtabliſh it by "law, and to have no other teſt or diſtinction, but "that of loyalty, in which Chriſtian work he hoped "for their concurrence; and he ſhould readily "conſent to ſuch other laws as might be for the "good of the nation, and the improvement of "trade, recommending to them the regulating the "act of ſettlement: and as he ſhould do his part to "make them happy and rich, he made no doubt of "their aſſiſtance to inable him to oppoſe the unjuſt "deſigns of his enemies; and to incourage them "the more in it, he informed them, that the French "King had imbraced his intereſt, and furniſhed "him with ſupplies of all kinds, and that at a time "when he had many conſiderable enemies to con-"tend with; concluding, as he begun, that he was "ſenſible of their ſignal loyalty, and that he ſhould "make it his chief ſtudy, as he had always done, "to make them and all his ſubjects happy."

His Majeſty being withdrawn, two addreſſes were fram'd; one to return his Majeſty thanks for his moſt gracious ſpeech, and another deſiring count d'Avaux to thank the French King for the aſſiſtance he had afforded them. This done, a bill was brought in, containing a recognition of the King's title, and an abhorence of the Prince of Orange's

(1) He received, beſide, the thanks of the houſe of commons, and was deſired, in the name of that houſe, to thank all thoſe who had ſerved under him, in the defenſe of Londonderry. They alſo addreſſed the King that 10,000 l. might be diſtributed, among the widows and orphans of ſuch, as were ſlain or died in that ſiege: and the univerſity of Oxford preſented mr. Walker with a doctor's degree.

uſurpation,

usurpation, and of the defection of the Engliſh nation. The next day, King James publiſh'd a declaration, addreſs'd to all his loving ſubjects, in the kingdom of England, in which, "after having "highly extoll'd his many acts of favor and lenity to his Proteſtants ſubjects in Ireland, as an "earneſt of what he deſign'd to do in England, he "promiſed pardon to all thoſe, who, in 24 days "after his appearance in perſon amongſt them, "ſhould return to their duty."

Act of ſettlement repealed.

The 12th of May a bill was brought in, for repealing the act of ſettlement, which having been made for the ſecurity of the Proteſtants, and to depreſs the Popiſh intereſts, both houſes, in which there were a great majority of Roman Catholics, very readily paſs'd it, notwithſtanding, in the upper houſe, the biſhop of Meath argued very long and learnedly againſt it.

Act of attainder paſſed.

But this was nothing to the fatal blow deſign'd, at leaſt, to be given to the Proteſtants, by a bill of attainder: in order to make this bill effectual, and to ſtrike at the root, every member of the houſe of commons return'd the names of all ſuch Proteſtant noblemen and gentlemen as lived near them, or in the county or borough for which they ſerved. By this black act, were attainted "2 archbiſhops, 1 "duke, 17 earls, 7 counteſſes, 28 viſcounts, 2 "viſcounteſſes, 7 biſhops, 18 barons, 33 baronets, "51 knights, 83 clergymen, 2182, eſquires and "gentlemen; and all of them, unheard, declar'd "traytors, and adjudg'd to ſuffer death, and the "forfeiture of their eſtates (1)."

To ſooth this act, at leaſt in pretext, another for liberty of conſcience paſs'd ſoon after, which left the heirs of thoſe whoſe eſtates were forfeited, the injoyment of their religion, if they had virtue enough to bear with penury and want for the ſake of it. Having paſs'd ſome other acts, the 20th of July, King James thought fit to prorogue this parliament (whoſe proceedings occaſion'd no leſs diſturbance in the kingdom of Ireland, than the war it ſelf) to the 12th of January inſuing.

The parliament of Ireland prorogued.

Impolitic behavior of K. James.

King James, all this while, inſtead of ſtudying to heal the breaches his unwary conduct had made, ſeem'd rather wholly bent to widen them; he gave himſelf intirely up to thoſe deſpotic methods, which were ſuggeſted to him by the French embaſſador, who rul'd his council at will, and the reſt of his evil adviſers, and thereby loſt ground daily among thoſe who had remained true to him, in hopes, as any reaſonable man would have done, that his paſt misfortunes would have induced him to alter his conduct. I ſhall give an inſtance or two of his impolitic as well as unjuſt behavior, and then return to the parliament of England. And

With regard to the univerſity of Dublin.

firſt with reſpect to the univerſity of Dublin; it was not enough, that Tyrconnel had ſtop'd the maintenance of it, King James ſoon after his arrival, proceeded farther againſt the vice-preſident, fellows and ſcholars, and turn'd them out, ſeiz'd their furniture, library and communion-plate, and took away every thing that belong'd to the college, and to the private fellows and ſcholars: and all this notwithſtanding his promiſe to them (2) when they waited upon him, at his firſt coming into that city. A gariſon was put into their houſe, their chapel was turned into a magazine, and their chambers into priſons for Proteſtants; More, a Popiſh prieſt, was made provoſt, and Mackartey another, library-keeper; and, in ſhort, the whole was deſign'd for them and their brethren. But it was not the univerſity of Dublin alone, in Ireland, that felt the weight of King James's indignation; it was leveled in general againſt the Proteſtant religion, and more particularly the church of England. One archbiſhopric, ſeveral biſhoprics, and a great many other dignities and livings of the church were deſignedly kept vacant, and the revenue firſt paid into the exchequer, and afterwards diſpos'd of to titular biſhops and prieſts, while, in the mean time, the cures lay neglected, ſo that it appear'd plainly, the deſign was to deſtroy the ſucceſſion of the Proteſtant clergy. I now return to the parliament of England.

And the Proteſtants in general.

Proceedings of the parliament of England.

The commons having voted the yearly ſum 1,200,000 l. for the ſupport of the crown, and 600,000 l. for the maintenance of the forces to be imployed in the reduction of Ireland, the next thing they did was to prepare a poll-bill, which having paſs'd both houſes, was preſented, on the 1ſt of May, for the royal aſſent, by their ſpeaker, who, upon that occaſion, made the following remarkable ſpeech to his Majeſty:

An act for poll-mony paſſed.

A remarkable ſpeech.

"The commons aſſembled in this preſent parliament, have taken into their moſt ſerious conſideration the deplorable condition of Ireland, where "thoſe fatal councils, that did ſo long govern the "affairs of theſe kingdoms, have ſo far prevailed, "that your arms and gariſons there have been "taken from your Proteſtant ſubjects and put into "the hands of Iriſh Papiſts, and the Engliſh Proteſtants that remain there, left naked and defenſeleſs, in the power of thoſe enemies, which yet "never ſhewed them any mercy, when they had "them at an advantage.

"Nor is it the ſtrength of the Iriſh natives only, "animated with the zeal for Popery, and a longing deſire to free themſelves from any dependency upon the crown of England, that is likely "to create your Majeſty an oppoſition there, but "they have likewiſe caſt them under the protection "of the French King, who will, without doubt, "imploy that force with which of late years, he "has over-awed Europe, to ſupport thoſe your rebellious ſubjects, thereby if poſſible, to give your "Majeſty a diverſion from oppoſing, in other "parts of the world, his ambitious deſigns of an "univerſal Monarchy.

"The commons, therefore, ſeing ſo evident a "neceſſity of reducing that kingdom, under your "Majeſty's obedience, and the great expenſe your "Majeſty muſt undergo, in maintaining ſuch a "war, do now humbly preſent to your Majeſty "their hearty aſſiſtance in a poll-bill, which they "look upon as the moſt ſpeedy and effectual way "of raiſing ready money, on this occaſion, ſolemnly "ingaging themſelves to ſupply your Majeſty with "ſuch future aids, as may be proportionable to "the charge of the war, as long as it ſhall continue."

This ſupply being afterwards found not ſufficient, an additional poll-bill was brought in to anſwer the preſent emergencies, the commons paſſed an additional act to the former act for raiſing money by poll, which being ſent up to the lords, for their concurence, their lordſhips added, on the ninth of May, a clauſe to it, "for rating and

(1) To reconcile this act, with the King's ſpeech, would puzzle even the caſuiſtical head of a jeſuit. This was favoring the Proteſtants, and eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience, with a vengeance, and an excellent incouragement to the Proteſtants in England, to truſt to King James's clemency. This was coming up to, if not exceeding the horrible proſcription at Rome, during the laſt triumvirate: at leaſt there were more than double the number condemn'd, in this little kingdom, than were at that time proſcrib'd, throughout the whole Roman empire. But the cruelty of this act cannot be better illuſtrated, than by what the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons told King James upon preſenting it for his aſſent: viz. "That many were attainted, "in that act, upon ſuch evidence as ſatisfied that houſe, and the reſt upon common fame."

(2) He was pleas'd to promiſe them, that he would preſerve them in their liberties and properties, and rather augment than diminiſh their privileges and immunities, which had been granted them by his predeceſſors. Welwood's memoirs, p. 235.

"taxing

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" taxing the peers, by commoners of their own " naming, appointing a collector to receive the " rates and taxes of the peers, and freeing their " persons from imprisonment." To this clause the commons disagreed;

1. " Because the bill in question taxed the commons only;

2. " Because the poll-bill, already passed, had " sufficiently provided for taxing all the nobility, " to which the lords had consented."

The peers, however, insisted on their clause, and alleged:

1. " That it is the common course of parliaments " to pass explanatory acts, if any thing has been " omited, or ill expressed, in any other act passed " in the same session, which was the present case.

2. " That the house of commons had in this bill " taken care of the serjeants-inn, and the inns of " court and chancery, that they should be rated by " their own members, and that since there is no " comparison to be made between them and the " peers of England, therefore the peers ought " to be rated by none but those who are of their " own house.

3. " That the house of peers, out of extraordinary " nary zeal for the reducing of Ireland, the poll- " bill coming up so late to them from the house of " commons, that they had not so much time to " deliberate upon every part of it, as had been " necessary, if so pressing an occasion would have " allowed it, did make this omission, which for " that reason only, ought not to turn to their pre- " judice, it being their undoubted right, which " had been preserved in all former poll-bills, and " particularly in the last, which passed in the 29th " year of King Charles II, the proviso in that bill " being conceived in the same form which the clause " was offered by their lordships." To these reasons the commons answered; " that the admiting " their lordships amendment would, in a manner, " repeal the bill for the tax, and therefore they per- " sisted in their disagreement to it."

But dropp'd.

The peers being, however, positive, in adhering to their clause, the commons let drop the additional act, and instead thereof, made and passed a bill, for a grant to their Majesties, of an aid of twelve pence in the pound for one year, for the necessary defense of their realms, to which the lords having given their concurence, it was presented to the King on the 22d of July, by the house of commons, and accompanied with the following speech to his Majesty, by their speaker: (1)

A land tax granted.

Speech on that occasion.

" The commons in this present parliament assembled do, with all duty and humility, acknowlege " your Majesty's great care for the protection of " the people, in that your Majesty hath made it " one of the first acts of your reign to declare war " against the French King, and to seek reparation " for the losses and injuries your subjects have sustained from that nation.

" If we consider the ballance of trade between " the two kingdoms, we shall find the French " King, of late years, continually loading the Eng- " lish manufactures with new duties and impositions, thereby prohibiting in effect all commerce " in his dominions, but for ready money.

" If we consider our laws and liberties, he hath " always assisted and incouraged those who de- " signed their subversion. If we consider our " religion, the miseries he hath inflicted upon his " own subjects of the same profession, do sufficiently demonstrate how great an enemy he is to " ours, and whoever looks upon the present state " of Europe, and sees the injuries made upon your " Majesty's allies, the horrible devastations of their " countries, and the open supporting your Majesty's " rebellious subjects, must needs confess that the " war, which your Majesty has declared against " France, is, at this time, not only just, but " necessary.

" To this war, as your dutiful and loyal com- " mons did humbly offer their advice and assistance, " before your Majesty entred into it, so they are " now come to present your Majesty with a supply " towards the carrying it on, humbly desiring your " Majesty to rest assured, that they shall never be " wanting to expose both their lives and estates, in " defense of your Majesty, against all your enemies."

Having thus given an account of what happened at passing the mony-bills, I must go back a little to see what was done in parliament about other affairs of importance, and first of the act of indemnity. (2) The very first step the commons made in this bill seemed, in a great measure, to destroy the hopes of impunity which a great many had conceived from it: for in a committee of the whole house, it was resolved, on the 23d of May, " that " for the safety, settlement and welfare of the nation, " for the future, and vindication of public justice, " some persons might justly be excepted out of it". What sort of persons these were, whom the commons intended, at least, to exclude from the benefit of this act, it will be necessary for the reader to know, in order to shew the motive to some future proceedings of this parliament, which I shall mention below; and the sense of the house of commons in particular at this time: and as they were excepted in general by the crimes laid to their charge, and not by name, I shall proceed in the same manner; their design being to leave the decision of who were, or who were not guilty, to future examination. These crimes were:

Act of indemnity.

Persons design'd to be exempted.

1. " For the asserting, advising, and promoting " of the dispensing power, and suspense of laws, " and executing of laws, without consent of parlia- " ment, and the acting in pursuance of that dispensing power.

2. " For the commitment of the seven bishops, " and prosecuting of them.

3. " For advising, promoting, and executing " the late commission for eccleſiastical causes.

4. For advising the levying-mony, and collecting " it, for the use of the crown, by pretense of pre- " rogative, for other time, and in other manner, " than granted by parliament.

5. " For advising the raising and keeping a " standing army in time of peace, without consent " of parliament, and quartering of soldiers.

6. " For advising, procuring, contriving, alter- " ing and subverting corporations, and procuring " new charters, and violating the rights and free- " dom of elections to parliament, in counties, cities,

(1) Many, who were friends to the then government, were so hearty in their affections to it, that when this pound-tax came to be levied, they gave in to the assessors, the value of their estates to the full, expecting to have the business over in a year or two, but that value was continued in all future assessments, during both the French wars, except where the proprietors swore it off, by the falling of the rents. And thus those of King William's subjects, who were most zealous for his service, were sufferers by their too forward zeal, while the disaffected were probably not so just and conscientious, in the payments of this tax. Oldmix. p. 11.

(2) This act occasioned great obstructions in passing the mony-bills, for the discontented party (consisting chiefly of those whose compliance with the despotic proceedings of the foregoing reigns, made them liable to the censure of the present government) were justly apprehensive, that as soon as the supplies were provided for, this act, tho' recommended by the King, might be laid aside, and therefore used all their indeavors to have this passed first, and to impede the other, 'till they were assured, by the contrary party, that the said act should speedily be brought into form, to their satisfaction; tho' we shall see it did not pass till the next session.

" corporations, boroughs and ports, and queſtion-
" ing the proceedings of parliament, out of parlia-
" ment, by declarations, informations, or otherwiſe.

7. " For undue conſtructions of law, and undue
" and illegal proſecutions and proceedings in capital
" caſes.

8. " For undue return of jurors, and other ille-
" gal proceedings, in civil cauſes.

9. " For the requiring exceſſive bail, impoſing
" exceſſive fines, giving exceſſive damages, and
" uſing undue means for levying ſuch fines and
" damages, and inflicting cruel and unuſual pu-
" niſhments; and;

" Laſtly, for adviſing King Charles II, and
" King James II, that parliaments need not be
" called, according to the ſtatutes."

By theſe heads of exceptions, if they had paſs'd into an act, a great many members, of both houſes of parliament, and others, would have run a great hazard of being excluded the benefit of it. (1)

The intent of the houſe of commons therein.

What the intent of the houſe of commons was, in making theſe exceptions, is evident by their immediate proceedings: for, the very ſame day, major Wildman reported, from the committee appointed, in relation to the priſoners in the Tower: " that
" having inſpected and examined the accounts of
" mr. Burton and mr. Graham, who had been
" commited ſome time before, they found, that
" the ſaid Burton and Graham, from the year
" 1679 to the year 1688, had received 48,000 l.
" out of the exchequer, which they alleged to have
" paid to witneſſes, jurors, ſollicitors, council,
" and to themſelves and other perſons, in their
" proſecutions of indictments, informations and
" trials of perſons, in capital, and other pretended
" criminal caſes, and in Quo Warranto's againſt cor-
" porations, and other proceedings, in the name,
" and on behalf of the late King. That there
" were ſeveral witneſſes concuring with theſe ac-
" counts, to make it manifeſt, that the ſaid Graham
" and Burton were inſtrumental in moſt or all the
" illegal proſecutions for the taking away the lives
" and eſtates of thoſe who had ſuffered the loſs of
" either, within eight years laſt paſt. And that
" they had, by their malicious indictments, in-
" formations, and proſecutions of Quo warranto's,
" openly indeavored the ſubverſion of the Pro-
" teſtant religion, and the government of the realm,
" and waſted many thouſand pounds of the public
" revenue, in their undue proſecutions and ſollici-
" tations. (2)

Attainders reverſed.

And tho' the bill of indemnity, as I have already obſerved, did not paſs with the exceptions I have mention'd above, nor come up to the houſe of lords, by what fate, I ſhall not determine, yet that houſe, if it had come to them, ſeem'd to be much the ſame way inclined: for it having been thought neceſſary, in order to juſtify the preſent ſettlement, to animadvert upon the irregular proceedings of the foregoing reigns, and more eſpecially thoſe of the corrupt judges in Weſtminſter-hall, bills were brought into the houſe of peers to reverſe and annul the attainder of the lord Ruſſel, Alicia Liſle, and Algernon Sidney, which, being beſide recommended from the King, paſs'd both houſes with great unanimity.

The earl of Devonſhire's caſe examined into.

A committee of privileges having been, likewiſe, appointed by the houſe of peers, and having examined the caſe of the earl of Devonſhire, their lordſhips reported their opinion, which was: " that the
" proceedings againſt the ſaid earl, in the court of
" King's-bench, in Eaſter-term, in the third year
" of King James II, upon an information of an
" aſſault upon mr. Culpepper, wherein his lord-
" ſhip's plea of privilege of parliament was over-
" ruled, and he was fined 30,000 l. and thereupon
" committed to the King's-bench, in execution,
" was a great violation of the privileges of the peers
" of England; and likewiſe, that thoſe judges,
" who ſat in the ſaid court, when the ſaid judg-
" ments were given, and the ſaid commitment
" made, ſhould be required to attend at the bar of
" this houſe, to anſwer for the great offenſe, which
" they commited thereby."

Proceedings thereupon.

The lords hereupon ordered, that ſir Robert Wright (who, upon the withdrawing of King James, had been commited to Newgate) ſir Richard Holloway, mr. Bradbury, mr. Petyt, and mr. juſtice Powel, ſhould attend their houſe the ſixth of May, which they did accordingly. When the deputy of the clerk of the crown-office, in the King's-bench, having publicly read the record relating to the earl of Devonſhire's caſe, and the judges being aſked what they had to ſay for themſelves, they only made ſome frivilous excuſes, and aſked the earl pardon: wherefore, upon full conſideration of the ſeveral caſes and precedents, wherein the privileges of the peers have been concerned, the lords ſpiritual and temporal did declare and adjudge; " that
" the court of King's-bench, in over-ruling the
" earl of Devonſhire's plea of privilege of par-
" liament, and forcing him to plead over in chief,
" it being within the uſual time of privilege, did
" thereby commit a manifeſt breach of privilege;
" and that the fine of 30,000 l. impoſed by the court
" of King's-bench upon the ſaid earl, was exceſſive
" and exorbitant, and againſt Magna Charta, the
" common right of the ſubject, and the law of the
" land, and that no peer of this realm, at any time,
" ought to be commited for the non-payment of a
" fine to the King."

Report about forfeitures, &c.

The houſe of commons, having, about this time, appointed a committee to make an eſtimate of forfeitures, ground rents, and additional exciſe, in order to raiſe farther aids to carry on the war, on the 15th of May, mr. Papillon reported, from that committee, " that as to forfeitures, the committee
" had peruſed the liſts delivered in by the members

(1) By the firſt, all the judges, except baron Street, and all the court-lawyers, in the late King's time. By the ſecond John late duke of Buckinghamſhire, ſir Richard Graham, viſcount Preſton, Henry earl of Peterborough, Henry lord Dover, William marquis of Powis, Henry lord Arundel of Warder, Theophilus earl of Huntington, Roger earl of Caſtlemain, William earl of Craven, George lord Dartmouth, ſir John Erle, ſir Edward Herbert, ſir Nicholas Butler, and chancellor Jefferies, who ſigned the warrant for commiting the biſhops. Likewiſe the lord chief juſtice Wright, judge Allybone, ſir Thomas Powis, ſir Bartholomew Shore, and ſir William Williams. By the 3d, Lawrence Hyde earl of Rocheſter, John Sheffield earl of Mulgrave, afterwards duke of Buckinghamſhire, Nathaniel Crew biſhop of Durham, Thomas Sprat biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Cartwright biſhop of Cheſter, Herbert and Wright the two chief juſtices, and Jenner, who was made recorder of London when the city charter was taken away. By the 4th, ſir Humphry Mackworth, and thoſe bariſters and ſtudents of the Middle Temple, who preſented an addreſs of thanks to K. James for taking the cuſtoms, before the parliament had given them to him. By the 5th, in particular, ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, who ſaid in the houſe of commons, " it was a deplorable thing, that the
" King had no more forces, than about 20,000 men, after the rebellion in the Weſt." By the 6th, Burton and Graham, Brent of the temple, and other lawyers and ſollicitors, as likewiſe many lords-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, mayors, and aldermen of cities and towns, ſuch as the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, &c. of Newcaſtle, who, in an addreſs to King James, " rendered
" him their hearty thanks, for regulating their corporation, for which, both their town, and the country about it, were under tran-
" ſports of joy." By the 7th, almoſt all the judges, attornies and ſollicitors-general, King's council, &c. Oldmixon, p. 36.

(2) This report mentioned farther, in particular, that they had charg'd their accounts with exorbitant expenſes, in proſecuting (for pretended conſtructive treaſons) the lord Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, eſq; ſir Thomas Armſtrong, the lord Brandon and Delamere, John Hamden, eſq; alderman Corniſh and diverſe others; and in their proſecuting upon information, for ſuppoſed miſdemeanors, and crimes not capital, ſir Samuel Barnadiſton, ſir Patience Ward, ſir Thomas Pilkington, Slingſby Bethell, ſir William Williams, mr. Samuel Johnſon, Oates, and many others.

of

WILLIAM & MARY. AN' 1689.

" of the ſeveral counties, and on examination did " find great difficulties on the matter; as, whether " ſome that were named had acted in their offices? " whether others were not inſolvent and unable to " pay? whether others had not qualified them- " ſelves, and whether there were not ſeveral omited? " but that, on conſideration of the whole, it was " their opinion, that the forfeitures, in the ſeveral " counties, might produce 348,000 l. without in- " cluding the counties of Bedford, Lincoln, and " Cardigan, there being no liſt brought in of thoſe " counties. That as to the additional exciſe, it " was the opinion of the committee, that nine " pence per barrel might produce 120,000 l. per " ann. but that, as to the ground-rents, the com- " mittee as yet could not find out means to come to " any probable grounds to make an eſtimate, but " they were indeavoring it, and in a fair way " towards it."

Proceedings concerning Titus Oates.

About this time, the famous (or as ſome will rather have it, infamous) Titus Oates took the opportunity of the favorable diſpoſition both houſes were in, to juſtify his pretended veracity, in his informations relating to the Popiſh plot, and was very buſy to that end, at Weſtminſter and Whitehall. The 31ſt of May, it was moved in the houſe of lords, to reverſe two judgments given againſt him for perjury, for which he had brought his writs of error; but the lords, after having heard the opinions of all the judges, inſtead of reverſing them, thought fit to confirm them, againſt which thirteen lords entered their diſſents. The matter, did not however reſt there; a bill paſſed in his favor in the houſe of commons, to which the lords made ſome amendments, and a proviſo, againſt which ſeveral lords likewiſe entered a diſſent. The bill, with the amendments, being paſſed, and ſent to the commons, that houſe diſagreed to the amendments, and the lords inſiſting upon them, a free conference was held concerning them, the 29th of July (1) in which the matter was long and learnedly debated, on both ſides. The reſult of this memorable conference was, that the commons ſtifly rejected the amendments and proviſo, and that the lords firmly adhered to both, with which they acquainted the lower houſe, the 31ſt of July. The commons, offended at this meſſage, demanded a conference with the lords, for ſettling the method of proceedings between the two houſes, upon conferences and free conferences, and appointed a committee to draw up reaſons to be offered to the lords. The heats between the two houſes, about this matter, were like to increaſe to a dangerous height, when they were happily extinguiſhed by a ſudden adjournment of the parliament: ſo that all Oates was able to obtain, in this ſeſſion, was only an addreſs from the lords, at the deſire of the commons, in which they requeſted his Majeſty; " that whereas Titus Oates, clerk, " had already undergone a ſevere puniſhment, for " the perjury, whereof he had been formerly con- " victed, and ſome of the ſaid puniſhments would " ſtill be continued upon him, unleſs they ſhould " be remited by his Majeſty, he would be pleaſed " to grant his pardon to the ſaid Oates." The King not only readily complied with this deſire of the lords, but as ſoon as he was diſcharged from his confinement, received him into his protection, and granted a penſion of 300 l. per ann. for his own and his wife's life, and the life of the ſurvivor, which they injoyed accordingly.

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And Mr. Johnſon.

The affair of mr. Johnſon met with better ſucceſs in parliament, for his trials and ſufferings being reported to the houſe of commons, they gave an inſtruction to the committee appointed to draw the bill for reverſing the judgment, to declare the proceedings in the eccleſiaſtical court againſt him, as to his degradation, void; and reſolved that he be recommended to his Majeſty for preferment.

Bill of right and liberties.

I muſt now go back again to ſome other parliamentary affairs, which were tranſacting in the mean time. The 9th of May, the commons ſent up a bill to the lords, " for declaring the rights and liber- " ties of the ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of " the crown". Their lordſhips upon reading this bill, thought the latter part of it defective, no mention being made in it of the Princeſs Sophia, they therefore, among other amendments, added a proviſo in her highneſs's favor. The bill being returned to the commons, with theſe amendments, the 25th, that houſe diſagreed to their lordſhips proviſo, it being alleged, by ſome members, " that the par- " liament of England never determined the ſucceſſion " beyond two or three perſons; that mentioning " the houſe of Hanover would give a handle to " foreigners to intermedle too far in our affairs; " and that before the crown ſhould devolve on the " Princeſs Sophia, it was poſſible, that ſome of " the Catholic Princes, who were to be excluded " by this bill, might turn Proteſtants."

Succeſſion in the houſe of Hanover propoſed.

Oppoſed by the commons.

The lords, however, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on their clauſe, and on the 15th of July, alleged:

Arguments of the lords, for it.

1. " That tho' in the inſtrument offered the " King and Queen, the limitation went no farther " than to their perſons; yet in a law, which has " reſpect in all ſucceeding ages, and that ſettles for " ever the liberties of the ſubjects, they thought it " reaſonable to carry the limitation of the ſucceſſion " of the crown farther than was neceſſary in that " inſtrument in which the crown was offered their " Majeſties, and that had no other view, but " of the ſucceſſion to their poſterity.

2. " That they could ſee no danger, nor any ill " conſequences, that might follow a farther limi- " tation, but very much to the contrary: becauſe this " clauſe would effectually ſecure the nation from " the danger of ever having any Papiſt, or pre- " tended Proteſtant, tho' concealed Papiſt, to " ever reign in it; and becauſe it was the in- " tereſt of England, at that time, to do right to " the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, by limiting " the ſucceſſion, according to the proviſo, eſpeci- " ally as it had been once propoſed, ſince, ſhould " it be now laid aſide, it would have the appearance " of an excluſion, which might be of fatal conſe- " quence." (2)

The birth of the duke of Gloceſter ends the diſpute.

Theſe reaſons were delivered to the commons, and ſeveral conferences were thereupon held between the two houſes, but without effect: when Heaven interpoſed, and put an end to the diſpute, by bleſſing her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs of Denmark, with a ſon. He was born the 24th of July, and baptiſed three days after by the name of William, his Majeſty, at the ſame time, confering the title of duke of Gloceſter, on the royal infant.

(1) The managers for the houſe of commons opened the debate by ſaying; " That they looked upon that bill not to be " the buſineſs of a particular man, but of every ſubject in England, with regard to his perſon and eſtate, and that the honor " of parliaments, public juſtice, and the Proteſtant religion were concerned in it, as well as the integrity of King Charles II " and his privy-council, and that the amendments made by the lords, if agreed to, would make that bill of great prejudice to " the ſubject, inſtead of anſwering the ends which were intended by the commons.

(2) The King, who was very earneſt to have the bill paſs with this clauſe, did what he could to influence the commons to a compliance with the lords, and to this end, declared in council, that as well the Queen, as the Prince and Princeſs of Denmark, concurred with him, in their deſires for it.

Some

Some days after, it was propoſed in the houſe of commons, to increaſe her Royal Highneſs's revenue from 30,000 l. to 70,000 l. per ann. which motion, however reaſonable, was rejected: and, about the ſame time, a motion was made for an addreſs, to deſire his Majeſty to remove from his preſenſe and councils, ſuch as had been impeached by parliament, and had betrayed the liberties of the ſubject. (1) This matter was debated with great warmth, and had probably been carried that day, had not thoſe who were for it at firſt cooled on a ſudden. The ſame motion was made again, the next day, and was ſtrongly ſupported, but the oppoſite party inſiſting upon their naming the perſons, and no body caring to do that, the motion fell. (2)

Motion for an addreſs to remove ſome perſons from his Majeſty's council.

Drop'd.

Several acts paſſed.

The 11th of May the King came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to a bill for diſarming Papiſts, and to ſome others. The 24th, his Majeſty came again to the houſe, and gave his aſſent to an act for exempting his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, commonly call'd, "the "act of toleration," whereby the act of uniformity were repeal'd, as far as they related to the Diſſenters; and on the 28th, another act paſs'd, for ſuſpending the Habeas-corpus act, the former being expired.

The 4th of June, after reading the exceptions to the bill of indemnity, a reſolution paſs'd, in the houſe of commons, "that the King's pardon was not pleadable in bar to an impeachment." The ſame day, that houſe appointed a committee to inquire into the delays uſed in ſending the ſuccors to Ireland, and into the miſcarriages, that render'd thoſe ſuccors ineffectual.

Reſolutions againſt the Papiſts.

The 15th, the lords, in a grand committee, having conſider'd the ſtate and condition of the nation, and what means were moſt proper to prevent the deſigns of the Papiſts, and curb the power of the French King, reſolved to addreſs his Majeſty, to put the iſles of Wight, Jerſey, and Guernſey, Scilly, Dover-caſtle, and other places, which were moſt expos'd to the enemy, into a poſture of defenſe; that all Papiſts might be diſarm'd, their horſes taken from them, and they not be permited to travel above five miles from their own habitations, and that care might be taken to prevent Proteſtants from owning or concealing horſes belonging to Papiſts: and a committee was, accordingly, appointed to prepare this addreſs.

Miſcarriages of Ireland inquired into.

The ſame committee was impower'd to look into the miſcarriages in Ireland, and to ſend for perſons and papers for their information: but they having acquainted the houſe, that they could not come to a full diſcovery of theſe miſcarriages, without a ſight of the minute-books of the committee for Iriſh affairs, to the 1ſt of May laſt, the lords ordered another addreſs to be preſented to the King, deſiring, that the ſaid minute-book might be communicated to the committee. This being preſented, the 18th of June, his Majeſty coldly anſwer'd, "he would conſider of it," which obſtructed the proceedings of the committee for almoſt a month. His Majeſty, however, bethought himſelf at length, and, on the 16th of July, ordered the earl of Nottingham to acquaint the lords, and mr. Comptroller the commons, that he gave leave for a committee of the former to inſpect that book, according to their deſires. (3) But this not proving ſufficient neither, the earls of Shrewſbury and Nottingham were ordered, the 29th, to make farther application to his Majeſty, that he would be pleas'd to give order, that the minutes in relation to Ireland, from the time his Majeſty took the adminiſtration of the government upon him, to the time the council-books were open'd, might be communicated to the committee: but the King anſwer'd, "that there "were no minutes of the Iriſh affairs, in the time "mention'd by their lordſhips.

Some time before this, ſeveral letters from King James, ſome of which were ſign'd with his own hand, directed to ſeveral perſons in town and country, were intercepted at Liverpool, and being ſent to court, were, by his Majeſty's orders, laid before the parliament. By ſeveral enigmatical expreſſions they contain'd, and among others, this, "That cer-"tain countraband goods were ready to be ſhip'd off, "in order to be run into ſuch places, where they "might not be ſeiz'd by cuſtom-houſe officers," it ſufficiently appear'd, that there was a deſign of an invaſion. Mr. Hamden happening to be, at the ſame time, chairman of the committee of the whole houſe, took that opportunity to repreſent the apparent danger with which the nation was threatned, and the difficulties the King lay under in preventing it, for want of money, and, to conclude, moved for a farther ſupply.

Letters from K. James intercepted.

Mr. Hamden being a privy-counſellor, this motion from him, eſpecially ſo near the end of the ſeſſion, was thought very much out of the way, and indeed, it was not back'd by any one, and ſo of courſe fell. (4) However the houſe took the intercepted letters into conſideration, and reſolv'd upon an addreſs to his Majeſty, to ſecure all the Papiſts of note, and to diſarm and take away the horſes from the reſt, and as a farther conſequence of this matter, a bill for attainting ſeveral perſons in rebellion againſt their Majeſties was brought in. (5).

Farther reſolutions againſt Papiſts.

(1) Tho' no body was nam'd, yet it was eaſy to gueſs, that the perſons at whom the addreſs was to be levell'd, were the preſident of the council, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, and that, not ſo much on account of their miſmanagements in former reigns, as for their having influenc'd the reſolutions of the convention, and contributed much to the preſent ſettlement. Hiſt. K. Will. Vol. 2. p. 119.

(2) It has been ſaid, that monſ. Dyckvelt diſcourſing with the member who made the motion (probably to diſuade him from renewing it) he anſwer'd, "He did not think it to be of any conſequence to his Majeſty, and beſide that a place at court, "(he was in the Queen's ſervice,) ſhould never ſilence him, when the good of his country requir'd him to ſpeak."

(3) The reaſon of the King's changing his mind, at this time, was ſuppos d to be a vote of the houſe of commons: "That "thoſe perſons who had been the occaſion of the delaying the ſending relief to Ireland, and had advis'd the King to defer the "giving leave for ſome members of the houſe of commons to inſpect the minute-books of the committee for Iriſh affairs, were "enemies to the King and Kingdom": To which we may probably add, the debates in the ſame houſe, to addreſs the King, that he would be pleas'd to remove the marquiſſes of Hallifax and Caermarthen from his council, thoſe delays being aſcrib'd to them, and they being thought to have too great a ſhare in his Majeſty's favor.

(4) There happen'd a very warm debate, on this occaſion; for mr. Hamden, among other dangers to which he ſaid the nation was expos'd, mentioning that of falling into the hands of the French and Iriſh, a diſſaffected member cried out, "Add "the Dutch." And another, whoſe affection was not in the leaſt doubted, ſaid, "They had given money enough for that "year, and if they could have imagined there had been occaſion for more, would have been before hand with the King's de-"mands; that it was not the want of money, but the ill conduct of thoſe who had the management of affairs, which cauſed the "difficulties the King labor'd under; that the miſcarriages in aſſiſting the Proteſtants of Ireland were of ſo bad conſequence, "that if they were not ſpeedily remedied, the houſe would be oblig'd to take notice of them;" to which it was replied by another, "that their preſent dangers proceeded from their not addreſſing the King to remove his evil counſellors."

(5) The city of London, to whom his Majeſty had likewiſe cauſed the intercepted trayterous letters to be communicated, preſented a very dutiful addreſs to his Majeſty on this occaſion.

About

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About the ſame time, the lords having information that the French Papiſts, in and about London, behaved very inſolently, in traducing and publiſhing libels againſt their Majeſties, and diſperſing papers in favor of the late King James, order'd an addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, deſiring he would iſſue his proclamation, that no French Papiſts might come within the verge of the court, and that all who were not houſholders nor merchants ſhould depart the kingdom within ſix weeks, and they within ſix months, under penalty of being proſecuted as alien enemies. His Majeſty, at firſt, ſaid he would give ſpeedy orders for it; but a few days after ſent a meſſage to the houſe, that he thought that rigor might be diſadvantageous to the nation, and beſide a forfeiture of his royal word, with regard to thoſe againſt whom nothing could be proved.

The 22d of June, the King came to the houſe, and, beſide the land-tax bill, gave the royal aſſent to an act, declaring the authority of the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, to be equal to that of a lord chancellor or keeper, with ſome others of leſs moment.

Several perſons impeached.

The commons, in the mean time, were drawing up articles of high treaſon againſt ſir Adam Blair, captain Henry Vaughan, captain Frederick Mole, John Elliot, and Robert Gray, both doctors of phyſic, for publiſhing and diſperſing the late King James's declaration. The articles of impeachment were read to ſome of them at the bar of the houſe of lords, who ſoon after gave in their anſwers to them. Others were examin'd by the ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, who likewiſe gave in their anſwers; and all pleaded innocence, ſubmiting to their lordſhips judgments for their trial. Copies of all their anſwers were communicated to the houſe of commons: but the ſeſſion drawing near to a concluſion, no farther progreſs was made in this matter.

The bill for the aditional exciſe being paſs'd, ſome progreſs was made in that of indemnity, the benefit of which, notwithſtanding the exceptions before made, was to be extended to thoſe who had been concern'd in the proſecution of the biſhops: but all who had acted in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion were to be excluded. (1)

The continual jarings and animoſities between the two houſes, and the ſlow proceedings of both, which obſtructed the King's deſigns, put his Majeſty upon coming to the houſe of lords, the 28th of June, where, the commons being ſent for, he made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to the parliament.

My lords and gentlemen;

"The time of the year being ſo far advanced, "and there being ſeveral acts yet to be paſs'd, for "the ſafety and ſettlement of the nation, I deſire "you would expedite them as ſoon as you can, it "being neceſſary there ſhould be ſhortly a receſs, "both that I may be at liberty to purſue the buſi-"neſs of Ireland with all poſſible vigor, and that "the members of both houſes may repair to their "ſeveral countries, to ſecure the peace, and put "the militia into ſome better poſture.

"I am very ſenſible of the zeal and good af-"fection, which you gentlemen of the houſe of "commons, have ſhewn to the public, in giving "thoſe ſupplies you have done already, and I do "not doubt, but from the ſame inducements you "will be ready to give more, as occaſions require, "which I muſt let you know will be ſooner than "perhaps you may expect, becauſe the neceſſary "expenſe of this year will much exceed the ſums "you have provided for it; and that you may "make the truer judgment in that matter, I am "very willing you ſhould ſee how all the mony "hitherto has been laid out, and to that end I "have commanded thoſe accounts to be ſpeedily "brought you, by which you will ſee how little "of the revenue has been applied to any other "uſe, than that of the navy and land forces.

"I muſt remind you of making an effectual and "timely proviſion of the mony for the ſtates of "Holland, and I doubt not but you will take "care, to ſee a fiting revenue ſettled for myſelf.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I will add no more but to recommend earneſtly "to you, to avoid all occaſions of diſpute or delay, "at a time which requires union and vigor in your "councils, upon which the preſervation of all that "is dear to us doth ſo much depend: and I do "promiſe, that nothing ſhall ever be wanting on "my part, which may contribute towards it."

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Both houſes returned his Majeſty thanks for his moſt gracious ſpeech, but it had not any great effect upon the proceedings of either, for the ſame jarings and delays appeared as before. The firſt inſtance was an account of the "bill for laying cer-"tain duties on coffee, tea and chocolate, to be "collected at the cuſtom-houſe," which being ſent up from the commons to the lords, their lordſhips added a clauſe to it, allowing a draw-back upon exportation, and altered the date, from the 24th of July, to the 25th of Auguſt. The commons diſagreing, a warm diſpute inſued, they alleging, "that they had always taken it for an undoubted "privilege (of which they have ever been jealous "and tender) that in all aids given to the King by "the commons, the rate or tax ought not to be "any ways altered by the lords. That the amend-"ments made by the lords being in point of time, "the commons hoped their lordſhips would not, "at this time renew a queſtion, concerning the "method of granting aids, which had formerly, "in inſtances of this nature, occaſioned great de-"bates, and which might now beget many confe-"rences, ſpend much time, and end in inconve-"niences. That this amendment propoſed by the "lords made the bill incoherent, for both houſes "having agreed, that the forfeitures ſhould com-"mence from the 20th of July, it would look "ſtrange, that the forfeitures, ſhould be given "before the duty was made payable. That ſhips "were then arriving daily with the commodities "mentioned in the bill, which would be a loſs to "the King, by puting the commencement of the "duty ſo far. And that, as to the proviſo their "lordſhips had ſent to the commons, the commons "did diſagree to it, and for that did refer to their "firſt reaſons; for the proviſo being an alteration "and leſſening of the grant made by the commons, "they hoped for theſe reaſons, their lordſhips "would agree with them, and not revive old "diſputes.

Debates about the coffee, tea, and chocolate bill.

"The lords, inſiſting upon their proviſo, ſaid, "they were very much ſurprized at the aſſertion of "the commons, that in all aids given to the King, "by the commons, the rate or tax ought not to "be altered by the lords, ſince they conceived it

(1) Two of them, viz. Jefferies, and the biſhop of Cheſter, were dead; the earl of Sunderland and the lord chief juſtice Herbert, were out of the kingdom, the biſhop of Rocheſter was ſhelter'd by the King's protection, the earl of Huntington liv'd retired in the country, the lord chief juſtice Wright was priſoner in the Tower, and for the earl of Mulgrave, beſide that he had always been againſt the violent and deſpotic proceedings of the reſt, his great parts and eloquence, which had ever bore a mighty ſway in the houſe of lords, inclined King William to indeavor to ingage him in his intereſt, by an offer of a more honorable title. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 123.

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" had always been their undoubted right, in caſe " of any aids given to the King, to leſſen the rate " and tax granted by the commons, whereof ſeveral " precedents might be given, which for the preſent " they were willing to forbear, that they might " not revive old diſputes. But that, as to the pro- " viſo now offered by the lords, their lordſhips " were of opinion, this general point was not the " caſe, now in difference, it being neither an alter- " ation, nor a leſſening of the duty laid on thoſe " commodities; for what was propoſed to be drawn " back, upon the exportation of them, could not be " ſaid to leſſen the rates impoſed upon them. That " it did indeed, take away ſo much of the King's " income, but added much more to the benefit of " trade, of which the lords conceived, they were " equal and competent judges, and therefore they " thought they were well founded to inſiſt on the " proviſo."

The bill loſt.

One would have thought an expedient might eaſily have been found to remove this difficulty; but ſuch was the ſpirit of contradiction, at this time, that the bill was loſt on this account, at leaſt for this ſeſſion.

The royal aſſent given to ſeveral acts.

The 25th of July, his Majeſty came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to an act for laying an additional duty on beer and ale; an act to take away the court holden before the preſident and council of the Marſhal of Wales; an act to veſt in the two univerſities, the preſentations of benefices belonging to Papiſts; an act concerning the oath to be taken, by commiſſion and warrant-officers, and acts for erecting courts of conſcience, in Briſtol, Glouceſter and Newcaſtle.

The miſcarriages in Ireland reſumed.

The commons having conſidered the ſtate of the nation, in a committee of the whole houſe, on the 20th of Auguſt, came to a reſolution, that an addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, upon theſe heads:

1. " That there had been delays in the ſuccor " of Ireland.

2. " That there were not ſufficient prepara- " tions to tranſport the forces to Ireland.

3. " That ſeveral ſhips had been taken for " want of guards, and convoys to preſerve " them."

The queſtion was, at the ſame time, put, but carried in the negative, " that it was inconvenient " to his Majeſty's affairs, that the marquis of " Hallifax was in his council." The twelfth of the ſame month; ſir Thomas Littleton made a report from the committee, appointed to examine into the miſcarriages relating to Ireland, and particularly Londonderry; upon which it was reſolved, to addreſs his Majeſty, " that colonel Lundee be ſent " over to Londonderry, to be tried there for " the treaſons laid to his charge."

Uproar of the weavers.

The commons having, the next day, ſent up a bill to the lords, for injoyning the wearing the " woollen manufactures of this kingdom, at certain " times of the year", the bailiffs, wardens, and aſſiſtants of the companies of ſilk-weavers of London and Canterbury, preſented a petition to their lordſhips, in a tumultuous manner, praying to be heard before the ſaid bill paſſed into a law: but their lordſhips ordered their ſpeaker to tell them, " that " they did not think proper to give an anſwer to " a petition delivered in that manner; that they " ſhould return quietly to their homes, and that " then they need not fear, but that their lordſhips " would do juſtice, and hear all objections againſt " this or any other bill that ſhould come before " them". And neceſſary diſpoſitions being likewiſe made to prevent the like diſorders for the future, the weavers remained in their houſes, and upon the ſecond reading of the bill, on the 19th, it was unanimouſly rejected.

The commons having, likewiſe, ſent up the bill, " for attainting ſeveral perſons in rebellion " againſt their Majeſties", the lords deſired a liſt " of the perſons that gave evidence to the com- " mons, againſt the ſeveral perſons deſigned to be " attainted, that their lordſhips might be fully " ſatisfied by evidence, viva voce, to attaint the " ſeveral perſons, as they ſuppoſed the commons " were". This the commons agreed to in a conference, and named William Watts, Matthew Gun, Baſil Pureſoy, and William Dalton: but their evidence not being ſatisfactory to the lords, the bill lay neglected for ſome days, till the commons having preſſed their lordſhips, by two meſſages, on the 29th of Auguſt, the houſe agreed with the committee in leaving out Thomas, lord Howard, the earl of Dover, the lord Hunſdon, ſir Roger Strickland, ſir Edward Herbert, colonel Hugh Southerland, and ſir William Jennings, becauſe there did not appear ſufficient evidence againſt them: but a final ſtop was, ſoon after, put to this bill by the adjournment of the parliament.

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Bill of attainder.

Loſt.

Bill for payment of the States-general paſſed.

At length, in compliance with the King's repeated inſtances, the commons put the finiſhing hand to a " bill for appropriating certain duties for paying " the States-general of the United Provinces, the " charges for his Majeſty's expedition into this " kingdom;" which being ſent up to the houſe of lords, upon the reading of it, the 13th of Auguſt, it was moved, that ſeveral members of the houſe, and diverſe ſervants of King Charles II, had ſecurities appropriated out of ſeveral duties which paſt away from them by this bill, and therefore they deſired to be heard by their council, which they were accordingly; however their lordſhips conſented to the bill, without any amendment, and were contented with ordering their ſpeaker to preſent " an ad- " dreſs to his Majeſty, ſeting forth, wherein ſome " of their members, and others, were aggrieved by " this act; and that they had been induced to poſt- " pone their own private intereſt, for the ſake of " the public good, humbly beſeeching his Majeſty, " to take their condition, and the manner of their " preſent reſignation of it, into his gracious con- " ſideration, not doubting but the particular peers " concerned, would therein find an intire ſecurity". His Majeſty received this addreſs very kindly, and with regard to thoſe peers who were concerned in the bill, he ſaid; " he was ſenſible of their behavior " towards him, on this occaſion, and would not " forget it."

The 23d the King went to the houſe of lords, to paſs this and other bills, upon which occaſion, mr. Powle, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, made the following remarkable ſpeech:

A remarkable ſpeech on this occaſion.

" The commons (ſaid he) in this preſent parlia- " ment aſſembled, taking into conſideration the " great aſſiſtance that was given by the States of the " United Provinces to your Majeſty, in your glo- " rious deſign of reſtoring this kingdom to their " ancient rights and liberties, and how for that " end, they intruſted their army and fleet to your " Majeſty's diſpoſal, at a time when they had war " declared, and an invaſion threatned by the French " King, meerly to divert them; they do here " humbly preſent your Majeſty, with a bill, ap- " pointing certain duties, exciſe and cuſtoms, for " the raiſing 600,000 l. which they deſire may be " applied by your Majeſty for the ſatisfaction of " the charges which have been expended by the " States in this expedition.

" It is a little more than an age, ſince the illuſ- " trious Prince of Orange, your Majeſty's great " grandfather, whoſe name will be ever famous for " his love to his country, did, by the aſſiſtance of " the Engliſh, redeem thoſe provinces from the like

" oppreſ-

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" oppreſſions; (1) which ſhews how inſeparable " the intereſts of thoſe two nations are. And ſince " it was the policy of thoſe who labored our de- " ſtruction, to divide us, it ought to be the indea- " vors of all true lovers of their country, to keep " us firmly united, in order to our preſervation.

" The commons have likewiſe conſidered of " the great arrears, that were left due by King " Charles II, to his ſervants, and have therefore, " made a proviſion of 60,000l. for them, which they " humbly deſire your Majeſty would be pleaſed to " diſtribute among them, in ſuch proportion, as " your Majeſty, in your princely wiſdom, ſhall " think moſt fit.

" And having proceded thus far, in the weighty " affairs depending before them, they now become " humble ſuitors to your Majeſty for a receſs, that " thereby they may have the opportunity of re- " pairing to their ſeveral countries, and promoting " your Majeſty's ſervice, and what remains at " preſent for want of time, to diſpatch, they " doubt not but that they ſhall be able to perfect it, " at their next meeting, and as they hope, to the " intire ſatisfaction of your Majeſty, and your " whole kingdom."

The parliament adjourned.

His Majeſty having given his royal aſſent to ſeveral, as well private as public bills, (2) directed the ſpeaker of the houſe of lords (according to the deſire of the commons) to ſignify his pleaſure, that both houſes ſhould ſeverally adjourn themſelves to the 20th of September, upon which day they were farther adjourn'd to the 19th of October following.

Thus have I brought the proceedings and intricate tranſactions of the firſt ſeſſion of this convention-parliament, remarkable for their continual jaring, as well each houſe within it ſelf, as one with the other, to an end. I now return to the affairs in Ireland.

Duke of Schomberg ſent with an army to Ireland.

During the tranſactions in Ireland, of which I have given the reader an account above, King William had iſſued out commiſſions for raiſing eighteen regiments of foot and five of horſe, which were deſigned for the reduction of that kingdom. Theſe troops were compleated in about ſix week's time; but there was not ſo much diſpatch in providing the ſhips neceſſary for tranſporting them, together with a train of artillery, ammunition and proviſions. (3). The King had given the command of theſe troops to duke Schomberg, who having had a preſent from the commons of 100,000 l. his grace obtained leave of the houſe of lords, to return his acknowlegments to that honorable houſe, for their generous gift, (4) and ſoon after began his journey for Cheſter. (5) Captain Hopſon, in the Bonadventure, with ſome other men of war and tranſports (about 90 of all ſorts) being come to Highlake near that city, the troops, being together about 10,000 men, horſe and foot, were put on board, and on the 12th of Auguſt, the duke himſelf imbarked. They ſteered directly for Carrickfergus, and on the thirteenth, in the afternoon, arrived in that bay, where the army immediately landed, at Bangor-ſide, without oppoſition. After having ſent out ſome parties to ſcour the country, and bring him intelligence of the enemy, and they being ſafely returned, he marched his forces to Belfaſt, which the enemy had abandoned, and were retired to Carrickfergus. Here ſeveral of the neighboring Proteſtants joined him, who before durſt not declare.

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Arrives in Carrickfergus bay.

Belfaſt abandon'd.

The army being ſufficiently refreſhed, after their voyage, the 21ſt the duke detached ſeveral regiments, with ſome cannon and mortars, towards Carrickfergus, where they no ſooner arrived, than the gariſon offered to capitulate; but their demands being rejected, the place was ordered to be attacked in form. The 22d the trenches were opened and ſome batteries raiſed: The attacks were vigorouſly purſued till the 26th, when, conſiderable breaches being made, and every thing for the general aſſault prepared, the gariſon was glad to accept of ſuch terms as the duke would grant them, which were, to be conducted, with their arms, and as much baggage as they would carry on their backs, to Newry, which was the next Iriſh gariſon.

Carrickfergus taken.

In the mean time, the reſt of the troops, which for want of tranſports had been left at Highlake, arrived. The 28th the duke returned to Belfaſt, the 30th his own French regiment of horſe, of 500 men, joined him, and the next day he muſtered his whole army, conſiſting then of four regiments of horſe, one of dragoons, and eighteen of foot; which were joined afterwards, by three regiments more. (6)

The duke muſters his army.

(1) This reminding the Dutch of their former obligations to the Engliſh, which were never acknowleged in ſo ample manner as this, was ill-taken by ſome, who did not think it enough to acknowlege the obligation, and to pay for it too, to the utmoſt, unleſs we did more than even they had the aſſurance to aſk. Mr. Oldmixon is ſo diſpleaſed at this part of Mr. Powle's ſpeech, that he breaks off a little before he comes at it, with an, &c. and reſumes it immediately after. He expreſſes his diſguſt at it in another place, where he ſays, " it was ſo far from being artful (as ſome hiſtorians call it) that it was neither de- " cent nor ſeaſonable:" I muſt beg leave to diſſent from him, and could ſhew him, if it was not going too far out of my way, that it was both. I do not ſay this out of any diſguſt to the Dutch, I know them, have been frequently among them, and value them; I confeſs they did us real and good ſervice at that time, I allow them to be excellent arithmeticians: but as we paid them within a trifle their own demand (whether exorbitant or not is not for me to determine) I do not ſee the harm, nor indeed ingratitude of reminding them, that there was a time when they had as great an obligation to us.

(2) The public bills were, (1) An act for appropriating ſeveral duties for paying off the States-general, &c. (2) An act for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France. (3) An act for the better preventing the exportation of wool, and incouraging the woollen manufactures of this kingdom. (4) An additional act for appointing commiſſioners for executing the act for a grant to their Majeſties of 12 d. in the pound. (5) An act for the relief of the Proteſtant Iriſh clergy. (6) An act to repeal the ſtatute made in the ſixth year of King Henry IV, againſt multiplying gold and ſilver. And (7) an act for explaining part of an act, in the firſt year of King James I, concerning tann'd leather.

(3) The fault of theſe delays was charged on mr. Harbord, who out of avarice had ingroſſed to himſelf the office of pay-maſter, and purveyor-general of the army, the latter of which, however, he was at length prevailed upon to reſign to mr. Shales; tho' we ſhall find, that did not much mend the matter.

(4) Of this grant of the houſe of commons, he however received but a ſmall part; for the remainder King William paid his ſon 5000 l. per annum. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 133.

(5) He was very uneaſy at the dilatory proceedings of the managers both of ſhiping and proviſions, and propoſed that the forces ſhould march over land to Scotland, and embark at Port Patrick, from whence it is a ſhort paſſage over into Ireland, and it would have ſaved two or three months time: but it was oppoſed. Oldmixon, p. 22. It was indeed, amazing (as the ſame author juſtly obſerves) that the late King James had been ſix months in Ireland, before ſo ſmall an army as 10,000 men could be ſent againſt him from England, where the diſtreſſes of the Proteſtants of that kingdom were well enough known, and the whole body of the nation was impatient to have them relieved.

(6) The horſe were, the earl of Devonſhire's, the lord Delamere's, colonel Coy's, and the duke's regiments. The dragoons were colonel Levingſton's regiment. The foot, one batallion of the Dutch blue guards, Carelſcoon's white Dutch, colonel Beaumont's, colonel Wharton's, earl of Drogheda's, lord Liſburn's, earl of Meath's, earl of Roſcommon's, lord Lovelace's, lord Kingſton's, duke of Norfolk's, colonel Herbert's, ſir Edward Deering's, ſir Thomas Gower's, and colonel Earl's regiments, with the three French regiments of la Melloniere, du Cambon, and la Caillemote. The three regiments, which joined afterwards, were major-general Kirk's, ſir John Hanmer's, and brigadier Stuart's.

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The artillery-horſes were yet moſt of them at Cheſter, which obliged him to ſhip the greater part of the train, and to order the fleet to ſail with them, and all other neceſſaries, to Carlingford-bay, while he marched the army beyond Liſburn, and thro' Hilſborough. He pitched his camp at Drummore, and, the next day, continued his march to Loughbritan, where he was joined by the Inniſkillin horſe and dragoons, who bravely offered themſelves to march in the van of his army. The Iriſh, upon their approach, immediately abandoned the Newry, a very ſtrong paſs, after having burnt the town (1). From thence the duke marched with his army to Dundalk, which he, likewiſe, found abandoned. He incamped about a mile North of it, in a low moiſt ground, having the town and river, towards the Weſt, between him and the enemy, the ſea towards the South, the Newry-mountains to the Eaſt, and hills and bogs intermixed, to the North. Here it was he was joined by the three regiments already mentioned, on the ninth of September, and here likewiſe his wearied men met with ſome refreſhment. The duke's deſign was to have continued his march; but the ſhips, with the artillery, not coming up in time, to Carlingford, he was obliged, to his great diſappointment and uneaſineſs, to continue in that camp, 'till the 20th (2); when he received advice, in the morning, that King James, having gathered all his forces together, near Drogheda, was advancing towards him, and that a party of 2000 foot, and 1500 horſe, were gone on the other ſide of the mountains to attack the paſs at Newry, that they might fall upon his rear. Upon this he detached a party of horſe againſt them, at whoſe approach they retreated towards Sligo.

The Iriſh abandon the Newry.

And Dundalk.

The next day, the enemy appear'd in order of battle, and a great party of their horſe advanced towards the Engliſh intrenchments. Several of their officers were for ingaging the enemy; but the duke ſaid, "let them alone, we ſhall ſee what they will do;" and tho' he ſaw them advance, within cannon-ſhot of his camp, he yet ſaid, "he did not "believe they would fight". However, once, ſeeing them draw their army into two lines, he ſent lieutenant-general Douglas to the camp, to order all the foot to ſtand to their arms, and the horſe, which were foraging, to return to the camp upon a certain ſignal; but the Iriſh made no attempt (3), and in a day or two afterwards, they march'd off for good and all.

The Iriſh, tho' ſuperior, decline fighting.

Notwithſtanding duke Schomberg had his reaſons for not hazarding his own army, with the groſs of which he kept in his camp, yet he did not reſtrain the Inniſkilliners from making excurſions, and it was in one of theſe, on the 27th of September, that they had that ſucceſs under colonel Lloyd, of which I have given an account above (4).

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The Iriſh were, however, ſoon after revenged, at leaſt in ſome meaſure, by taking of Sligo and James-town, with a conſiderable body of troops, commanded by colonel Sarsfield, at the former of which, monſ. de Sauveur, a French captain in Melloniere's regiment, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in an extraordinary manner, with his own company of grenadiers, as did colonel Lloyd, with his Inniſkillin men, theſe two retreating into two forts, which they defended bravely, after the place was abandon'd.

The Iriſh take Sligo, and James town.

The duke had ſoon a more fatal misfortune than this to incounter with: a raging ſickneſs, occaſion'd by the unwholſomneſs of the place, bad weather, and worſe food, ſwept away, or at leaſt diſabled, daily a great number of brave officers and ſoldiers. Among the reſt, died ſir Edward Deering, colonel Henry Wharton, brother to the late marquis, ſir Thomas Gower, and colonel Hungerford, two young gentlemen of diſtinguiſh'd merit. Of common ſoldiers there periſh'd about 2,000 at Dundalk, and as many more were ſhip'd off ſick, to be tranſported to Belfaſt, of which not above 1100 came aſhore, the reſt dying at ſea. And the mortality grew afterwards to ſo great a height, that by the begining of the inſuing year, near two thirds of the troops, that were tranſported to Ireland, were intirely loſt. This mortality was not alone among the land troops, but ſeized the ſeamen likewiſe, inſomuch that ſeveral ſhips loſt almoſt all their crew. Thus ended this unſucceſsful campain in the north of Ireland; for the winter approaching, both armies went into quarters, and duke Schomberg made preſſing inſtances, that the 7,000 Danes, who, about this time, came over to England and Scotland, as auxiliaries, purſuant to a treaty concluded with the King of Denmark, for that purpoſe, on the 15th of Auguſt, might be ſent to Ireland.

Sickneſs in the Engliſh camp at Dundalk.

While theſe things were doing, in the north of Ireland, the earl of Tyrone declar'd for King William, in the ſouth, and took Waterford, which was follow'd by ſome other ſucceſſes.

Tyrone declares for K. William.

It may not be improper now to ſay a word or two of our affairs at ſea, which were not more ſucceſsful than thoſe of Ireland. We left our little fleet, after the fight of Bantry-bay, return'd to Spithead, to refit. This being done, the admiral arriv'd, about the middle of June, with his fleet at Torbay, where he was join'd by a ſmall ſquadron of Dutch ſhips, under an admiral, a vice and a rear-flag, by mr. Ruſſel (afterwards earl of Orford) admiral of the blue, and by ſeveral other ſhips, as they came in: as likewiſe by vice-admiral Killigrew, with a ſmall ſquadron, which had been

Affairs at Sea.

(1) The general, being informed of this inhumanity, ſent a trumpeter to the duke of Berwick, who commanded there, to acquaint him, "that if they continued to burn, in this barbarous manner, he would give no quarter." This meſſage had its effect, for the Iriſh, upon their abandoning Dundalk, did no harm to the town.

(2) The duke had intelligence here, by an ingineer, who deſerted from the enemy, that the French general de Roſe, being then at Drogheda, with about 20,000 men, and hearing that the Engliſh halted at Dundalk, ſaid, "He was ſure they were in want of "ſomething;" and therefore ſent part of his forces to ſeize Ardee, a ſmall town between Drogheda and Dundalk.

(3) It may here naturally be ask'd, why general Schomberg did not attack them, ſince they were ſo afraid of him? the reaſon is very evident: he wiſely conſider'd, that the enemy was much ſuperior in number (being at leaſt 20,000) eſpecially in horſe; that his own men were new, undiſciplined levies, weakened by hunger and ſickneſs, and, on the contrary, the enemy's troops, fluſh'd with health and plenty, and that the loſs of a battle might be attended with the loſs of all Ireland. And beſide, he had diſcovered a dangerous conſpiracy in his own camp, carried on by ſome French Papiſts, who had liſted in the Proteſtant regiments of that nation, and had formed a deſign to go over with a good number of their comrades, to the enemy: for which conſpiracy ſix of them were executed. One of theſe ſix, du Pleſſis by name, had been a captain of horſe, in the French ſervice, but having been obliged to flee, on account of a duel, had taken ſervice in theſe troops as ſimple ſentinel. It is ſaid that he held a regular correſpondence, with the count d'Avaux, in recompenſe for which he demanded the earl's protection and a regiment. Cont. of Rap. in French, L. 25. p. 64. The ſame author affirms, that notwithſtanding what has been ſaid to the contrary, by the writers of thoſe times, King James was certainly imbark'd in this odious deſign.

(4) Duke Schomberg was ſo pleas'd with the news of this ſucceſs, that having order'd all the Inniſkillin horſe and foot, in his camp to draw out, he rode all along their line with his hat off, and cauſed the Dutch guards and the Inniſkillin foot to make three running fires, which were anſwer'd by the Inniſkillin horſe, and by the cannon upon the works, as alſo from the ſhips which lay at the mouth of the river.

cruiſing,

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cruiſing, for ſome time, off of Dunkirk. With this united fleet, admiral Torrington cruiſed on the French coaſt, and to and fro in the ſoundings, but without any ſucceſs, till the latter end of Auguſt, when a want of beer oblig'd him to return to Torbay, where the fleet ſeparated. The largeſt ſhips, and thoſe which wanted repair, were ſent into harbor, and the reſt imploy'd on different ſtations and ſervices.

Mr. Rook on the coaſt of Ireland.

Mr. Rooke (afterwards ſir George) had been detach'd, in April, with a ſquadron to the Iriſh coaſt, and arriv'd off of Greenock, the tenth of May, whence he ſent orders to Cheſter, for the Bonaventure, and other ſhips, to join him off of Cantire. The 8th of June, he fell in with the little ſquadron which accompanied major-general Kirk, and the tranſports deſign'd for the relief of Londonderry. What ſlender aſſiſtance that brave and diſtreſs'd gariſon had of this ſquadron, till at length, they were reduc'd to the utmoſt extremity, we have already ſeen; the 13th of Auguſt, the commodore of this ſquadron, met duke Schomberg's ſquadron of tranſports and other ſhips, going into Bangor-bay. The 25th the commodore diſpoſed of the ſhips, in thoſe ſeas, on certain ſtations (1). He himſelf indeavor'd to get ſouthward; but was drove into Bantry-bay (2.)

The ſixteenth of September he arriv'd in Dublin-bay, and the 18th off of Cork; but had no great ſucceſs at either. At length, his ſhips being foul, and in want of almoſt every thing, he was oblig'd to quit his ſtation, and repair to the Downs, where he arriv'd the 13th of October.

Before I return to England, and the proceedings of the ſecond meeting of the convention-parliament, I ſhall take a ſhort view of ſome affairs on the continent.

Treaties with foreign Princes concluded.

King William, whoſe intereſt and ſafety, in conjunction with that of the nation, conſiſted as well in the ſucceſs of foreign, as domeſtic affairs, had not been wanting, all this while, in concluding proper treaties with the ſeveral powers which form'd the grand alliance, the baſis of whoſe intention was to curb the exorbitant power of France. The Emperor, the Empire, Spain, and the Dutch were all combin'd in this alliance with England: and had all mutual treaties one with the other, as well as with England.

His Majeſty being oblig'd, by virtue of theſe treaties, to have ſome troops in the Netherlands, gave the command of them to the earl of Marlborough, who, for that end, went into Holland, in the month of May, and arrived at Maeſtricht, the

Battle of Walcourt.

begining of the inſuing month. This campain produced nothing remarkable in theſe parts, but the battle of Walcourt. The allies were much inferior to their enemy in ſtrength, and could, therefore, only act on the defenſive. Their army was incamp'd behind a little town call'd Walcourt, in ſuch a manner, that the French could not come at them, without firſt taking that place. This they attempted, the 25th of Auguſt, N. S. but to their own coſt. The earl of Marlborough, with the Engliſh troops under his command, were at the main-poſt, where they behaved with ſo much gallantry, and made ſuch a continual fire on the enemy's flank, as not only gave their whole army an opportunity of retreating in exact order, but, in the end, obliged the French, who advanced too near them, to withdraw in great confuſion, leaving ſome cannon and ammunition behind them, with the loſs of near 2000 men, officers included, killed and wounded; whereas the allies, on their ſide, did not loſe above 300. The Spaniards, who acted ſeparate about Courtray, levell'd a good part of the French lines, and rais'd large contributions in the enemy's country.

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Campaign in Germany.

In Germany, the allies were more ſucceeſsful, the Elector of Brandenburg took Keyſerſwaert, and laid ſiege to Bonn, where he, however, found a vigorous oppoſition; till the duke of Lorrain, who, in the mean time, was beſieging Mentz, having taken that place, after a ſhort reſiſtance, led part of his victorious troops to join the Elector, which oblig'd that place to ſurrender, the 7th of October, after a blockade of fifty-five days, and a ſiege of twenty-nine.

I return now to England; but before I reſume the affairs of parliament, ſhall mention ſome few things, which, not coming ſo properly under any of the general heads already treated, I have for that reaſon poſtpon'd.

Their Majeſties purchaſe Kenſington-houſe.

After the King's return from Portſmouth, whither he went to reward the officers and ſailors who had behav'd ſo well at Bantry-bay fight, his Majeſty, with the Queen, went to ſee the earl of Nottingham's houſe, at Kenſington, which they were inclin'd to purchaſe. Their Majeſties liked the houſe, on account of the ſituation, in a wholeſome air, and being ſo near London. They had conſider'd what improvements it was capable of, in order to make it a royal palace, fit for the reception of their Majeſties, during the ſiting of parliament. The bargain was ſoon made with the earl, and 20,000 l. paid him for it, out of the treaſury.

Abuſes in the ſoldiery redreſs'd.

Some time before this, the King had information given him, that certain officers of the army made a practiſe of detaining part of the pay of their ſoldiers, which had occaſion'd diſorders among them; and likewiſe, that abuſes and injuries had been put upon perſons where they were quarter'd. To redreſs theſe grievances, his Majeſty granted a commiſſion to the duke of Schomberg, the earls of Devonſhire and Mordaunt, the lord Delamere, mr. Wharton, and ſome others, to make inquiry into theſe matters, of which public notice was given by proclamation, "for preventing of falſe muſters, "and injuries which might be done, either to the "ſoldiers or ſubjects.

Malecontents in England.

Notwithſtanding all the advantages and ſecurity the nation had obtain'd, as well in their civil as religious liberties, there was a ſet of diſaffected malecontents, who bearing a ſecret good will to their abdicated ſovereign, which they durſt not make public profeſſion of, made it their buſineſs to inſinuate themſelves into all companies, and privately to ſow the ſeeds of ſedition in ſuch minds, as they found ſuſceptible of them; in which they were not a little countenanced and incouraged by ſome of the clergy who had refuſed to take the oaths (3). To prevent the prejudice which might ariſe from ſuch inſinuations, dr. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, imploy'd his pen, in a paſtoral letter to the clergy of his dioceſs, concerning the allegiance due to King William and Queen Mary: but the prelate, in the heat of his zeal, could not forbear carrying the matter too far,

Biſhop Burnet's paſtoral letter.

(1) See a particular account of theſe ſtations, in Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 628. note (n.)

(2) In his paſſage from Carrickfergus, he was obliged, by a ſtrong ſoutherly wind, to bear up an anchor at the Skerries, about 12 miles from Dublin, where ſending in a yacht to get intelligences, ſeveral ſhot were fired at her from the ſhore. Inraged at this treatment, he order'd the ketches in, and manning all the boats, landed about 200 men, who ſoon clear'd the town. After which, having ſtaved or brought off all the ſmall veſſels and fiſher-boats, that were there, they imbark'd again. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 628.

(3) Theſe male-contents diſpers'd, about this time, a libel intitled: "A ſhort hiſtory of the convention, or new chriſten'd "parliament," againſt which his Majeſty iſſued a proclamation promiſing a reward of 100 l. to ſuch perſons as ſhould diſcover either the author, printer or publiſher of the ſaid treaſonable pamphlet.

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and not contented with aſſerting their Majeſties title, by alledging, "that they were actually in "poſſeſſion of the throne, by the unanimous con- "ſent of the repreſentatives of the nation," indeavor'd to prove that, "King William had a "juſt claim to the crown by his ſword;" which ſo offended a future parliament, that it was burnt by the common hangman.

Commiſſioners of the cuſtoms and exciſe appointed.

During the ſeſſions of parliament, his Majeſty was pleas'd to appoint commiſſioners of the cuſtoms and exciſe, which it was obſerved were moſt of them Whigs, and ſeveral of them Diſſenters.

Creations of nobility.

About the ſame time were, likewiſe, ſome creations of nobility. John Aſhburnham, eſq; was created baron Aſhburnham, and Charles lord Durſley, and Robert lord viſcount Liſle, were call'd to the houſe of lords by writ.

The King goes to Newmarket,

And Cambridge.

The begining of October, the King, to gain the affection of the nobility and gentry, by an act of popularity, reſolved to ſhare the diverſions of Newmarket. The concourſe of people, on that occaſion, was very extraordinary, and the univerſity of Cambridge took this opportunity to wait on his Majeſty (1), who was moſt graciouſly pleas'd to make a viſit to that univerſity, the very next day, where he was received and entertain'd with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, duty and loyalty.

Eccleſiaſtical promotions.

At the King's return from Newmarket, the 10th of October, the day appointed for the meeting of the parliament drawing near, at which time his Majeſty deſign'd likewiſe to ſummon a convocation, he thought fit to fill up the vacant ſees of Worceſter, Chicheſter and Briſtol, of which the firſt was beſtowed on dr. Edward Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's; the ſecond on dr. Patrick, dean of Peterborough, and the third on dr. Gilbert Ironſide, warden of Wadham college in Oxford, who were conſecrated the 13th at Fulham, by the biſhops of London, St. Aſaph, and Rocheſter, being commiſſioned for that purpoſe.

Dignified clergy ſuſpended ab officio.

The time allow'd by act of parliament for the clergy to take the oaths being expired, ſome of thoſe, who refus'd to qualify themſelves, were ſuſpended ab officio: among whom were the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhops of Glouceſter, Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough.

A convocation ſummon'd.

About the ſame time dr. Tillotſon, then dean, and afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, was made clerk of the cloſet to his Majeſty; and the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, St. Aſaph, Rocheſter, Exeter, Saliſbury, Bangor and Cheſter, with twenty of the moſt eminent doctors in divinity, were appointed, by an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, to prepare ſuch matters as were to be debated in the convocation, to examine the canons and ancient rubric, and to conſider what ceremonies might be laid aſide, in order to invite the Preſbyterians to join in communion with the church of England. After theſe preliminaries, writs were iſſued out for the convocation to meet in November next following.

The marquis of Hallifax, who, during the laſt ſeſſions of parliament had perform'd the office of ſpeaker to the houſe of lords, having made himſelf obnoxious to both parties, King William, finding how ill his affairs ſucceeded in his hands (2), granted a commiſſion to ſir Robert Atkins, chief baron of the exchequer, to ſupply the place of lord chancellor, or lord keeper, and as ſuch to be ſpeaker of the houſe of lords (3).

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The 19th of October, being the day to which the parliament was adjourned, his Majeſty open'd this ſecond meeting with the following ſpeech:

The King's ſpeech to the parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

"Tho' the laſt ſiting continued ſo long, that it "might perhaps have been more agreable to you, "in relation to your private concerns, not to have "met again ſo ſoon, yet the intereſt of the public, "lays an indiſpenſable obligation upon me, to call "you together at this time.

"In your laſt meeting, you gave me ſo many teſ- "timonies of your affection, as well as confidence "in me, that I do not at all queſtion, but in this "I ſhall receive freſh ſupplies of both.

"I eſteem it one of the greateſt misfortunes can "befal me, that in the begining of my reign I am "forced to aſk ſuch large ſupplies; tho' I have this "ſatisfaction, that they are deſired for no other "purpoſes than the carrying on theſe wars, in "which I entered with your advice, and aſſurance "of your aſſiſtance, nor can I doubt of the bleſſings "of God, upon an undertaking wherein I did not "ingage out of a vain ambition, but from the ne- "ceſſity of oppoſing their deſigns of deſtroying "our religion and liberties.

"It is well known how far I have expoſed myſelf "to reſcue this nation from the dangers that threat- "ened, not only your liberty, but the Proteſtant "religion in general, of which the church of England "is one of the greateſt ſupports, and for the defenſe "whereof I am ready again to venture my life.

My lords and gentlemen,

"That which I have to aſk of you, at preſent, is, "that what you think fit to give towards the charges "of the war, for the next year, may be done without "delay; and there is one reaſon which more parti- "cularly obliges me to preſs you to a ſpeedy deter- "mination of this matter, becauſe the next month, "there is appointed, at the Hague, a general meet- "ing of all the Princes and States concerned in this "war againſt France, in order to concert the mea- "ſures, for the next campain: and 'till I know "your farther intentions, I ſhall not only be uncer- "tain myſelf what reſolutions to take, but our "allies will be under the ſame doubts, unleſs they "ſee me ſupported by your aſſiſtance: beſide, if "I know not in time, what you will do, I cannot "make ſuch proviſions as will be requiſite, but "ſhall be expoſed to the ſame inconveniencies the "next year, which were the cauſe that the prepa- "rations for this were neither ſo effectual nor expe- "ditious as was neceſſary. The charge will be alſo "conſiderably leſſened, by giving time to provide "things in their proper ſeaſon, and without con- "fuſion.

"I have no other aim in this, but to be in a con- "dition to attack our enemies, in ſo vigorous a "manner, as, by the help of God, may in a little "time bring us to a laſting and honorable peace, "by which my ſubjects may be freed from the "extraordinary expenſe of a lingring war: and "that I can have no greater ſatisfaction than in

(1) They were introduced by the duke of Somerſet their chancellor, and admited to kiſs his Majeſty's hand. Their vice-chancellor, dr. Covel (who had been chaplain to the Queen in Holland) made an eloquent ſpeech to his Majeſty, on this occaſion, congratulating the glorious ſucceſſes of the revolution, and recommending themſelves to his Majeſty's protection; to which his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer, "That as God had bleſs'd him in his undertaking, ſo he would faithfully diſcharge his truſt, "in preſerving the church of England, and giving all protection and favor to the univerſities."

(2) He is ſaid to have gain'd the ill-will of both parties, by trimming to avoid eſpouſing either, and by his peeviſh domineering temper. He was a good ſtateſman in ſpeculation, but being incapable of thoſe ſubtle inſinuations, feign'd confidences, and politic managements, which are neceſſary to carry on a great deſign, what he had wiſely projected in his cloſet generally miſcarried in the ſenate. Hiſtory of King William III, Vol. 2. p. 144.

(3) The marquis of Hallifax, being in council the 18th (the day before the parliament was to meet) declar'd, "That for "ſeveral reaſons, which he forbore to mention, he muſt deſire to be excus'd from doing the office of ſpeaker in the houſe of "lords." Which was readily granted him.

"contri-

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" contributing to their eaſe, I hope I have already " given proof of.

" That you may be ſatisfied how the money has " been laid out, which you have already given, " I have directed the accounts to be laid before " you, whenever you ſhall think fit to call for " them.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have one thing more to recommend to you, " which is the diſpatch of a bill of indemnity, that " the minds of my good ſubjects being quieted, we " may all unanimouſly concur to promote the wel- " fare and honor of this kingdom (1).

A ſhort prorogation of the parliament.

The buſineſs of Oates, and ſome other matters, which had raiſed ſuch dangerous heats and animoſities between both houſes, being only ſuperſeded by the adjournment of the parliament, it was moved in council, to put a final end to them, by a prorogation, but the King thought fit to do nothing in ſo nice an affair, without the advice of both houſes. The houſe of peers readily came into it, and tho' ſome members of the houſe of commons pretended, that it was irregular, after his Majeſty had made a ſpeech, in which he had propoſed new matters to their conſideration, it was carried againſt them by a majority: upon which his Majeſty came to the houſe of lords the 21ſt, when ſir Robert Atkins, their new ſpeaker, acquainted both houſes with his Majeſty's pleaſure, that the parliament ſhould be prorogued till the 23d of the ſame month. (2)

Proceedings of parliament.

Accordingly, the 23d of October, the parliament being met, the King refer'd them to what he had ſaid to both houſes, the 19th. The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons having read his Majeſty's ſpeech, the conſideration of it was put off 'till the next day, when they unanimouſly reſolved, " effectually to " aſſiſt his Majeſty, both to reduce Ireland, and to " proſecute the war againſt France." And becauſe the act for detaining ſeveral ſuſpected perſons in priſon, notwithſtanding the ſtatute of Habeas-corpus, was expired, and that thoſe perſons had petition'd the houſe, to be tried at the King's-bench bar, a committee was appointed to inquire into the informations which had been given againſt them, and to inſpect the journals of the houſe, in order to find out precedents, relating to commitments order'd by the commons: and another committee was named to report what bills were depending in the laſt ſeſſion, with which they had chiefly the bill of rights in view.

With reſpect to ſtate priſoners.

The court was buſied in ſecuring the moſt ſuſpected perſons; but the commons, in the mean time, granted the benefit of Habeas-corpus to the lords Preſton and Forbes, and ſir John Fenwic, on ſufficient bail: the earls of Saliſbury, Peterborough, and Caſtlemain, ſir Edward Hales, baron Jenner, and mr. Walker, were upon the point of injoying the ſame favor; but after reading the informations againſt them, the three lords were remanded to the Tower, upon a ſuppoſition that they might be proſecuted for high-treaſon; the two firſt for reconciling themſelves to the church of Rome, and the third for indeavoring to reconcile the kingdom to that communion, and for other crimes. Sir Edward Hales and baron Jenner, beſide the treaſon in turning Roman Catholics, were accuſed of high miſdemeanors; but the latter, having been already ſet at liberty, had eight days given him to make his defenſe, during which he was to remain in the cuſtody of a ſerjeant at arms; which eaſy confinement was likewiſe granted to Graham and Burton.

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Bills of rights, and indemnity.

The next thing of moment the commons did, was to put a finiſhing hand to the bill of rights, which they did with great unanimity and diſpatch, tho' without mentioning the houſe of Hanover. The attorney-general was, at the ſame time, ordered to bring in a bill of indemnity, in ſuch ample manner as might anſwer his Majeſty's gracious intentions and clemency: and, on the other hand, the King ordered accounts of the expenſes of laſt ſummer, and of the neceſſary charges for the next year's ſervice, to be laid before the houſe of commons, who having read the ſame, unanimouſly voted a ſupply of two millions ſterling, to his Majeſty.

A ſupply voted.

Colonel Ludlow comes to England.

Colonel Ludlow, who upon King Charles II's reſtoration, was excluded the general pardon, by act of parliament; in 1661, as having been one of King Charles I's judges, came over into England, about this time, as it was ſuppoſed, upon the incouragement given him by a great man at court, with a deſign to offer the King his ſervice in reducing Ireland. The commons were ſoon informed of his preſumption (3), and ſeveral members took notice of it (4); upon which they ordered their ſpeaker to preſent an addreſs to his Majeſty, deſiring him to iſſue out his proclamation for the apprehending him, he being attainted of high-treaſon by act of parliament; which his Majeſty, indeed, complied with, but it was not publiſhed 'till the 4th of November.

Makes his eſcape again.

Bill of pains and penalties.

The bill of indemnity being brought in, according to order, by the attorney-general, both he and the ſollicitor-general were ordered, by the houſe of commons, to prepare another, to lay penalties and fines on ſuch, as had been inſtrumental, in the late reigns, to the violation of the laws. The houſe afterwards declared, that thoſe, who had put ſome perſons to death, in the iſland of St. Hellen, under pretenſe of rebellion, were guilty of murder, and a committee was appointed to inquire, by what warrant they had proceeded. A bill was alſo ordered to be brought in to declare the late chancellor Jefferies's eſtate forfeited to the crown, and to

(1) This ſpeech met with univerſal applauſe; but what was moſt remarkable, concerning it, was, its being compoſed by the King himſelf, who, the day before the parliament met, produced it in council, written with his own hand, in French, ſaying. " I know moſt of my predeceſſors were uſed to commit the drawing of ſuch ſpeeches to their miniſters, who generally had " their private aims and intereſts in view: to prevent which I have thought fit to write it myſelf in French, becauſe I am not " ſo great a maſter of the Engliſh tongue: therefore I deſire you to look it over, and change what you find amiſs, that it " may be tranſlated into Engliſh."

The ſpeech being read, was highly applauded by the whole board, excepting that the earl of Monmouth objected to the expreſſion, " de laquelle, l'Egliſe Anglicane eſt le principal appuis" (of which, ſc. the Proteſtant religion, the church of England; is the principal ſupport) alleging it would not ſound well in Engliſh; upon which it was altered to, " of which the church of Eng- " land is one of the greateſt ſupports"; and ſir Thomas Clarges, is a member of the houſe of commons, was for adding, to the words, " church of England," thoſe of, " as by law eſtabliſhed," but his opinion did not prevail.

(2) Before this prorogation, the biſhop of Durham, contrary to the expectation of moſt people, took the oaths, and ſubſcribed the declaration appointed by law.

(3) His preſumption was eſteemed the greater, as multitudes of Independants and Fanaticks, were continually flocking to him, and, by openly converſing with them, he, as it were, avowed thoſe principles, for which he ſtood attainted; without which incidents, perhaps, he had not been ſo much taken notice of.

(4) Sir Edward Seymour, in particular, repreſented, and indeed, aptly enough, how highly it reflected on the honor of the nation, that one of the parricides of that King, whoſe death the church of England had dignified with the title of Martyrdom, ſhould not only be ſuffered to live here, but alſo entertained with hope of preferment: tho' private intereſt ſeems to have had ſome ſhare in moving ſir Edward to ſtir ſo much in this matter, the eſtate he then lived on having been Ludlow's, and being come to him by grant.

attaint

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attaint his blood; but it met with ſo much oppoſition that no progreſs was made in it (1).

However, for a terror to all the late inſtruments of Popery and arbitrary power, they agreed, "that "the pecuniary penalties incured by all privy coun- "ſellors, lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, mili- "tia-officers, juſtices of the peace, and by any "perſons who had accepted and exerciſed any office "or place of profit, either military or civil (other "than ſuch as are new officers in their Majeſties "army or fleet) contrary to the laws againſt Popiſh "recuſants, ſhould be ſpeedily levied and applied "to the public ſervice."

They likewiſe appointed a committee to examine who were the adviſers and proſecuters of the murders of the lord Ruſſel, colonel Sidney, ſir Thomas Armſtrong, mr. Corniſh, and others; ſo that had they accompliſhed all they begun, they would juſtly have deſerved the thanks of the nation: but we ſhall ſee below, that the proceedings of this ſitting met with the ſame obſtructions as thoſe of the foregoing.

Proceedings concerning the lord Griffin;

The houſe of lords, had, in the mean time, the affairs of the lords Griffin and Preſton before them. The former had been often required to attend the ſervice of that houſe; but ſtill refuſing, they addreſſed his Majeſty to ſummon him, by his royal proclamation, to render himſelf, at a certain day, to that houſe, if ſiting, if not, to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. This being done, he ſurrendered himſelf accordingly to the lord Nottingham, and the day the parliament met appeared before the houſe of peers. The ſpeaker told him, he knew what he had to do previous to his ſiting in that houſe; upon which his lordſhip declared, he was not prepared to receive the oaths, and deſired time to conſider of it. This was readily granted him; but two days after, a packet was intercepted, which plainly ſhewed the lord Griffin had no deſign to reconcile himſelf to the government (2). Upon this, his houſe and papers were ſearched, and, he abſconding, his lady was ſent to the Tower. Several other ſuſpected perſons were taken up, and the cuſtom-houſe officers ordered to ſtop all unknown perſons, who offered to go out of the kingdom without paſſes. His lordſhip finding it, thereupon, difficult to eſcape, ſurendered himſelf, in a few days, to the earl of Shrewſbury, ſecretary of ſtate, who having examined him, commited him to the cuſtody of a meſſenger, from whence he was afterwards ſent to the Tower. The houſe of commons, hereupon, appointed a committee, to inquire how the lord Griffin knew a reſolution, with which the King had intruſted four perſons only. The lords being jealous of this proceeding of the commons, addreſſed the King, to let him know, that the lord Griffin being a member of their houſe, they only were his competent judges. His Majeſty having left the cognizance of this matter to the lords, they began to inſpect into the intercepted papers, which was all the evidence they had againſt the lord Griffin, who after the matter had been warmly debated, was inlarged upon bail (3).

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The lords had, at the ſame time, the affair of the lord Preſton under their conſideration. This lord, who was a Scotiſh viſcount, had preſented to the houſe of peers a patent from the late King James, dated Verſailles, the 21ſt of January, creating him a baron of England; upon which their lordſhips voted him guilty of high-treaſon; refering, however, the examination of the matter to the judges. His lordſhip's plea was, that the patent was dated the day before the meeting of that convention which had voted the throne vacant, and ought therefore, to be deemed valid: but to this he was anſwered, that the vacancy was ſuppoſed to begin from the moment the King left the kingdom. The judges bringing in the lord Preſton, the next day, guilty of a high miſdeamenor, he was commited to the Tower. His lordſhip, ſoon after, acknowleged his fault, and beged pardon for it, in a petition to the lords; but it was rejected, becauſe he ſubſcribed himſelf viſcount Preſton, without mentioning of what kingdom: this he remedied the next day, by another petition ſigned viſcount Preſton of Scotland, and was thereupon releaſed without bail (4).

And the lord Preſton.

As for public affairs before the two houſes, there were three in particular that gave occaſion to the ſame heats and animoſities, which had drawn the proceedings of the firſt ſeſſions into ſuch a length; theſe were the miſcarriages of Ireland; the ill ſucceſs of the fleet, and the bill of indemnity. As for the firſt, information having been given to the houſe of commons, that the army under duke Schomberg had been bare 14,000 men, tho' there were 23,000 upon the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, they deſired his Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, to inquire into the condition of that army, which his Majeſty aſſur'd that houſe he would do (5). In theſe debates, ſome reflections were caſt on duke Schomberg, for not fighting King James's army; and tho', with thoſe who knew his capacity and affection to the eſtabliſh'd government, all apologies were ſuperfluous, yet his grace being inform'd, that his conduct, had been call'd in queſtion, even in parliament, he acquainted his Majeſty with the reaſons that had oblig'd him not to come out of his camp, when King James's army was ſo near him, moſt of which I have already hinted at. They were, in general, that his army never had exceeded 12,000 men, moſt of them new-rais'd levies, whereas the late King had double that number: that he waited above a month for artillery-horſes and carriages; that his army had always been in want of bread, both men and horſes of ſhoes, and the ſurgeons and apothecaries of proper medicines for the ſick. This account was confirm'd at all hands, and it appear'd, that the miſcarriages of Ireland were wholly chargeable

Miſcarriages of Ireland inquir'd into.

(1) The oppoſers of this bill argued, that it is contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws to proceed againſt a man after his death, whether natural or violent, and might be of very ill conſequence.

(2) The diſcovery was made in the following manner: his lordſhip had cauſed a large tin bottle to be made, with a double bottom, which he ſent by his cook to a pewterers, to have the falſe bottom ſoldered in, at an unſeaſonable time of night. The pewterer obſerving a packet between the two bottoms, and the cook not giving the beſt account of it, he opened it; when finding ſeveral letters directed to King James, the duke of Berwick, &c. he ſeized the fellow, and carried him before a ſecretary of ſtate. The ſervants refuſing the pewterer admitance, their maſter being in bed, delayed the time ſo long, that the lord Griffin, ſuſpecting what had befalen his cook, took this opportunity to get out of the way. There was found in the bottle, beſide the letters, an account of ſome private reſolutions of the council, and an exact liſt of all the land and ſea-forces of England.

(3) The caſe of colonel Algernon Sidney, having been examined not long before, and the lords having reſolved, that he was unjuſtly condemned, becauſe nothing but writings found in his cloſet had been produced in evidence againſt him, the earl of Rocheſter argued, from a parity of reaſon, in favor of the lord Griffin, which had great weight with the houſe; tho' it would puzzle a Jeſuit to aſſign the parity between theſe two caſes.

(4) It was alledg'd in his behalf, that he meant no affront to King William, by accepting of a patent from King James, but only to ſecure his own perſon from impriſonment, he being, at that time, proſecuted at law, by the lord Montague, for a conſiderable ſum.

(5) Notwithſtanding this aſſurance of the King's, ſome members were for carrying the matter farther, and mov'd that the commons ſhould ſend commiſſioners of their own appointing, as well to look into the expenſe, as to prevent falſe muſters; but this ſeem'd to be an incroachment on the King's prerogative, which his Majeſty was afterwards, however, pleas'd voluntarily to wave.

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on mr. Shales, who was purveyor-general to the army: for had there not been a want of proviſions, and a train of artillery, at the duke's firſt coming to Dundalk, the conſternation of the Iriſh was then ſo general, that he might, in all probability, have march'd directly to Dublin, without oppoſition. The commons hereupon, voted an addreſs, the 19th of November, to deſire his Majeſty to cauſe Shales to be arreſted, and all his papers, accounts and proviſions to be ſeiz'd. The next day, major Wildman reported his Majeſty's anſwer, which was: "that having been inform'd "of Shales's miſdemeanors in his imploy, he had, "ſometime before, taken order therein, and writ-"ten to duke Schomberg, for that purpoſe; and "that he verily believed what was deſired, was al-"ready effectually done, tho', the wind being "contrary, he had not yet any account of it from "Ireland." The upſhot was, that duke Schomberg put Shales under arreſt, and thus the matter ended; for tho' the commons twice addreſs'd the King, to name thoſe who had recommended Shales into his ſervice, all the ſatisfaction they could get was, "that it was impoſſible for his Majeſty to "give an anſwer to that queſtion" (1).

The 30th of November, the King ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, by mr. comptroller Wharton, "that having declared his reſolution to "carry on the war in Ireland to the utmoſt of his "power, and to uſe the moſt effectual means for "that purpoſe, he was willing that the commons "ſhould recommend a certain number of perſons, "not exceeding ſeven, to whom he would give "commiſſions to overlook the neceſſary prepara-"tions for that war, and alſo that they ſhould "appoint ſome perſons to inſpect the condition of "the army in Ireland;" a laudable condeſcenſion hardly to be parallel'd in our hiſtory: and the houſe of commons received it with that univerſal applauſe it juſtly merited. They return'd his Majeſty thanks for it, and excus'd themſelves from naming any body, humbly leaving the choice to his Majeſty's great wiſdom. To this addreſs the King was pleas'd to anſwer:

"Gentlemen,

"I ſhall take all the care that may be, to carry "on the war in Ireland with vigor, and to im-"ploy ſuch perſons as may be moſt proper for the "ſervice: and I doubt not but I ſhall have the "aſſiſtance of the houſe of commons, to carry it "on in ſuch a manner, as may be according to "your deſires and my intentions."

Miſcarriages of the fleet examin'd into.

As for the miſcarriages of the fleet, it appear'd, that they proceeded chiefly from a raging ſickneſs among the ſeamen, occaſion'd by bad proviſions; and the houſe of commons having received information, that great quantities of corrupt and unwholeſome victuals had been furniſhed to the navy, this laſt ſummer, which had been the occaſion, as was conceived, of great ſickneſs and mortality in the fleet; and the ſame being atteſted by ſeveral members of the houſe, upon their own knowledge; it was reſolved, the 23d of November, "that ſir John Parſons, ſir Richard Haddock, "alderman Sturt, and mr. Nicholas Fenn, victual-"lers of the fleet, ſhould be ſent for in the cuſtody "of the ſerjeant at arms, to anſwer to the ſaid "complaint," and they were all turn'd out.

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The bill of indemnity was again an amuſement to both houſes for a conſiderable time, but to as little purpoſe as in the foregoing ſeſſion. The lords acquainted the commons that they had appointed a committee to inquire who had adviſed the uſing of Quo warranto's, againſt corporations, and deſir'd that mr. Hamden, junior, and mr. Trenchard, two of their members might appear before the committee they had named to find out the authors and promoters of the execution of the lord Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, ſir Thomas Armſtrong, and mr. Corniſh. They appeared accordingly, but as the matter came to nothing, I ſhall not detain the reader with any farther account of it.

Farther proceedings on the bill of indemnity;

I have already mentioned, that the bill to ſettle the rights of the ſubjects, and the ſucceſſion of the crown, paſſed the houſe of commons with great unanimity and diſpatch, when it came before the lords, they wiſely conſider'd how far King James had gone towards introducing the Popiſh religion into this kingdom, and, therefore, to prevent the like for the future, added the following clauſe to it: "That the Kings "and Queens of England ſhould be oblig'd, at their "coming to the crown, to take the teſt, in the "firſt parliament that ſhould be call'd at the be-"gining of their reign; and that if any King "or Queen of England ſhould imbrace the Ro-"man Catholic religion, or marry with a Roman "Catholic Prince or Princeſs, their ſubjects ſhould "be abſolv'd of their allegiance, and that the crown "and government of theſe realms ſhould from time "to time deſcend to, and be injoy'd by ſuch perſons, "being Proteſtants, as ſhould have inherited the "ſame, in caſe the ſaid perſons, ſo reconcil'd to "the church of Rome, or marrying a Papiſt, as "aforeſaid, were naturally dead." Some few days after, the lords made a farther progreſs in this bill; and the diſpenſing power, which was mention'd in it, as one of the chiefeſt grievances, being brought upon the carpet, ſome pretended to aver, that ſuch a power was a prerogative inſeparable from the crown, and that, in ſome caſes, the King may diſpenſe, if not with a law, yet with ſome part of it: but their opinion was rejected with ſome warmth.

And on that of rights.

About the begining of December, a queſtion was propos'd in the houſe of commons: "whether "a perſon having a place at court, or any depen-"dence upon the King, ſhould be a member of "that houſe?" This queſtion occaſion'd a very warm and obſtinate debate, but it was, however, at length, carried in the affirmative (2).

Queſtion concerning court and place-men.

The 14th of December, the houſe of commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, on which occaſion, ſome members who were diſſatisfied with the miniſtry, made heavy complaints of the late miſcarriages, which they caſt on them: this occaſioned very warm debates, and ended in a vote for an addreſs, humbly to repreſent to his Majeſty, the miſcarriages of Ireland, and of the fleet, and to deſire his Majeſty would be pleaſed to diſcover the authors of them, that they might be brought to puniſhment (3). The ſame day, ſir Thomas Clarges repreſented to the commons, that it was dangerous to bring ſo many

Miſcarriages again complain'd of

(1) This Shales had been purveyor to King James's army, when incamp'd on Hounſlow-heath, and he was ſhrewdly ſuſpected of treachery as well as knavery, and very probably was deeply guilty of both: but he had his patrons who ſcreen'd him from juſtice, and was one among the many who gave occaſion to the ſaying, that great kn——es are never puniſh'd.

(2) According to biſhop Kennet and others, it was rightly urg'd, "that if the negative prevail'd, the fitteſt perſons for pub-"lic imployments would remain excluded, and be debarr'd the opportunity of ſerving either the King or their country." And this has been the grand argument againſt the like queſtions ever ſince.

(3) Mr. Hampden, junior, who had been one of the loudeſt in theſe complaints, being named, among others, to draw up this addreſs, gave occaſion to a report, that it was levelled chiefly againſt the earl of Nottingham, and that he hoped, if he could get him removed, he ſhould ſtep into his office of ſecretary of ſtate.

foreign troops into the kingdom, and that it was both ſafer and more expeditious to imploy Engliſh-men, in the reduction of Ireland (1).

Bills paſs'd.

The 16th, the King gave the royal aſſent to two important bills; "one to grant an aid to their "Majeſties, of two ſhillings in the pound, for "one year: and the other to declare the rights and "liberties of the ſubjects, and to ſettle the ſucceſ-"ſion of the crown." In the latter was contained the whole declaration preſented to their Majeſties, on the 13th of February, with ſome additions concerning the limitation of the crown, particularly the clauſe mentioned above, to exclude all Papiſts from any hopes of the ſucceſſion.

Debates about the Princeſs Ann's revenue.

The next grand debate was upon a motion made, to ſettle a part of the public revenue on the Princeſs Ann of Denmark. The houſe was in general divided into thoſe who were for the motion, and thoſe who were for leaving that matter wholly to the King's diſcretion; but the former were again divided into two parties. The lord Eland, ſon to the marquis of Hallifax, mr. Finch and mr. Godolphin inſiſted upon 70,000 l. as the leaſt that could be allowed her Highneſs, whereas others were for reducing it to 50,000. The debate, growing warm, was adjourned to the next day; in the mean time, the King, being unwilling that ſo nice an affair ſhould be farther debated in parliament, ſent the earl of Shrewſbury and mr. Wharton to the Princeſs, to indeavor to perſuade her to rely upon his generoſity: but her anſwer was; "that ſince the affair was "before the commons, it muſt e'en take its courſe, "and be concluded by that wiſe body." The commons, therefore, reſumed the debate the next day, and at length agreed upon an addreſs to the King, that he would be pleaſed to ſettle 50,000 l. a year upon the Prince and Princeſs of Denmark; and it was ordered accordingly to be paid out of the exciſe (2).

More Bills paſs'd, and farther proceedings of the parliament.

The 23d of December, the King went again to the houſe of commons, and gave his aſſent to an act, "to prevent doubts and queſtions, concerning the "collection of the public revenue;" and to another, "for puniſhing officers and ſoldiers who "ſhould mutiny or deſert their Majeſties ſervice, "and for puniſhing falſe muſters." The ſame day mr. Hambden junior, preſented the addreſs concerning the miſcarriages of this year, againſt which ſeveral exceptions were made, by ſome, becauſe it contained a tedious relation of all the ill ſucceſſes both by ſea and land, and was therefore too long; and by others becauſe it was too ſhort, and did not particularize thoſe things enough; the latter, however carried their point, and the addreſs was returned for that purpoſe. The 16th of January, the King gave the royal ſanction to "an act for a grant to their Ma-"jeſties of an additional aid of twelve pence in the "pound for one year," and another, "for charging "and collecting the duties upon coffee, tea, and "chocolate, at the cuſtom-houſe;" which latter bill now paſſed, with a proviſo of a draw-back, in the ſame manner, as the lords would have had it in the foregoing ſeſſion. The 23d, the commons proceeded again upon the bill of indemnity, but with as little ſucceſs as before; and the jarings and animoſities breaking out a-new, in ſuch manner that there was little probability of puting an end to them, otherwiſe than by puting a final end to their proceedings, his Majeſty thought fit to come to the houſe the 27th, to paſs ſuch bills as were ready for the royal aſſent; among which the principal were: "an act for the review of the poll-bill, and "for an additional poll: an act to prevent vexati-"ous ſuits againſt ſuch as had acted in order to the "bringing in their Majeſties, or for their ſervice; "and an act for the better ſecurity and relief "of the Iriſh Proteſtants:" by which latter bill, the acts of the parliament of Ireland were annulled, and that aſſembly declared to be unlawful and rebellious. After which his Majeſty made the following ſpeech:

My lords and gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"I am ſo ſenſible of the readineſs you have "ſhewed, to ſupply me with mony for the car-"rying on the war I am ingaged in, that I am glad "of this occaſion to give you thanks for your "chearful diſpatch, which was abſolutely neceſ-"ſary for the common ſafety. The beſt return I "can make to your kindneſs is, to aſſure you, that "as far as it will go, it ſhall all be imployed to the "purpoſes it was given.

"It is a very ſenſible affliction to me, to ſee my "good people burdened with heavy taxes. But "ſince the ſpeedy recovering of Ireland is, in my "opinion, the only means to eaſe them, and to "preſerve the peace and honor of the nation, I am "reſolved to go thither in perſon, and with the "bleſſing of God Almighty, indeavor to re-"duce that kingdom, that it may no longer be a "charge to them.

"And as I have already ventured my life, for "the preſervation of the religion, laws and liber-"ties of this nation, ſo I am willing again to "expoſe it, to ſecure you the quiet and injoyment "of them.

"The ſpring draws on, and it being requiſite I "ſhould be early in the field, I muſt immediately "imploy my thoughts, to the giving orders for the "neceſſary preparations, which that I may have the "more leiſure to do, I have thought convenient "now to put an end to this ſeſſion."

The parliament diſſolved, and another called.

The parliament being then, by his Majeſty's command, prorogued, to the 2d of April, was, by proclamation, on the 6th of the next month, diſſolved, and, at the ſame time, another called, to meet on the 20th of March.

Proceedings of the convocation.

I ſhall now give a brief account of the proceedings of the convocation. At their firſt meeting, at St. Paul's, the begining of November, all they did was to read the commiſſion, by which they were ſummoned, and then to adjourn to the 21ſt of that month (3). Both houſes being aſſembled, that day, at Weſtminſter, they proceeded to the election of their reſpective prolocutors or ſpeakers. The choice fell upon the biſhop of London for the upper, and dr. Jane for the lower houſe (4). The latter being preſented to the biſhops, the 25th, and approved, they both made ſpeeches, in the Latin tongue, tho' in a very different ſtrain; one breathing nothing

(1) Sir Thomas was miſled to this motion, by a falſe rumor, that beſide the 7000 Danes, which were by this time landed in England and Scotland, the King had ſent for 8000 foreign troops more.

(2) To this addreſs his Majeſty anſwered, "Gentlemen, whatſoever comes from the houſe of commons is ſo agreable to me, "and particularly this addreſs, that I ſhall do what you deſire of me." Notwithſtanding which, tho' this ſum was leſs than the Princeſs expected, it was generally believed to be more than the King would have given had it been left to him.

(3) The commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty to prepare matters, debated, in the mean time, an important point among themſelves, viz. the re-ordaining of Diſſenting miniſters, which had always been the greateſt obſtacle to the reconciling the Preſbyterians of England, to the national church, and they concluded, that to the common form, the following words might be added, by way of lenity, "in caſe the ordination you have already received, be any ways defective."

(4) Dr. Tillotſon, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ſet up in oppoſition to dr. Jane: moſt of the biſhops, and of the moderate part of the inferior clergy were for him, and it was generally believed, that if this great ornament of the church of England, and truly worthy divine, had ſat in the prolocutor's chair, his chriſtian moderation, and pious example, would have gone a great way towards ſoftning the rigid principles of ſome of the moſt bigoted and prejudiced of the inferior clergy.

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but moderation and chriſtian charity, the other red-hot with pride and perſecution. Dr. Jane's conſiſted chiefly in encomiums on the church of England, eſtabliſhed by law, which he, indeed juſtly, extolled above all other chriſtian communities; but at the ſame time ended with a caution, "not to change the "laws and conſtitutions of England;" or, as he meant it, not to make any change in the ceremonies of the church; as if, with all its perfection, it had not ſome ſuperfluities, or at leaſt indifferent things, which it might have parted with, for the eaſe of tender conſciences, and to bring about the ſo much wiſhed for comprehenſion. The biſhop of London, on the contrary, told the aſſembly, "they ought to "indeavor a temper in thoſe things, that are not eſ-"ſential in religion, thereby to open the door of ſalva-"tion to abundance of ſtraying chriſtians; that it was "their duty to ſhew the ſame indulgence and charity "to the Diſſenters, under King William, which "ſome of the biſhops and clergy had promiſed "them in their addreſſes to King James;" and cloſed his diſcourſe with an exhortation to unanimity and concord. Nothing of moment paſſed the firſt day, but the next, the biſhop, plainly perceiving, that the majority of the lower houſe would oppoſe the intended union with the Diſſenters, in order to gain time to bring them, if poſſible, to another temper, told them; that having communicated the commiſſion, by which they were aſſembled, to an eminent civilian, he had found it defective, for want of the great ſeal, and therefore they muſt adjourn 'till another was procured (1). The new commiſſion being ready, was brought to both houſes aſſembled in King Henry VIIth's chapel, by the earl of Nottingham, together with a letter from his Majeſty, importing, "that he ſummoned them, not only "becauſe it was uſual upon holding of a parliament, "but out of a pure zeal to do every thing that "might tend to the beſt eſtabliſhment of the church "of England, which is ſo eminent a part of the "reformation, and is certainly the beſt ſuited to "the conſtitution of the government, &c. and "that he expected the things he propoſed ſhould be "calmly and impartially conſidered, he intending "to offer nothing but what ſhould be for the ho-"nor, peace and advantage, both of the Pro-"teſtant religion in general, and particularly of "the church of England." The earl of Nottingham accompanied this letter with an eloquent ſpeech, exhorting them to lay aſide all partial prepoſſeſſions and animoſities in their debates.

An addreſs of thanks, being immediately voted, was drawn up by the biſhops, but the latter part of it acknowleging his Majeſty's favor in aſſembling them to indeavor a reconciliation of the Diſſenters, the lower houſe diſagreed to it. Upon this another was drawn up by a committee of both houſes, and preſented by ſix or ſeven biſhops, and ſeveral doctors of divinity. It contained in ſubſtance, "that "they gratefully acknowleged his Majeſty's pious "zeal and care for the honor, peace, advantage "and eſtabliſhment of the church of England, "which, they doubted not, would tend to the "ſecurity and intereſt of the Proteſtant religion, in "all other Proteſtant churches, &c. and aſſured his "Majeſty they would conſider whatſoever ſhould "be offered them by his Majeſty, without preju-"dice, and with calmneſs and impartiality, &c." His Majeſty addreſſing himſelf to the biſhops, anſwered: "He took this addreſs very kindly "from the convocation, that they might depend "on it, he would do all he had promiſed, and all "he could do for the church of England, and he "gave them this aſſurance, that he would improve "all occaſions and opportunities for its ſervice." The King however, plainly perceived, that this addreſs was a meer compliment, and that by their expreſſion of tenderneſs for the Proteſtant religion, they had more an eye to the reformed churches abroad, than to the Diſſenters at home: His Majeſty therefore thought fit to adjourn them to the 24th of January (2).

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The King and Queen dine in the city.

This year the King and Queen, with the Prince and Princeſs of Denmark, and both houſes of parliament, having accepted of ſir Thomas Pilkington's invitation to dine with him at Guild-hall, on the nine and twentieth of October, the day of his being ſworn in Lord-mayor for the inſuing year, nothing was omited that could augment the ſplendor by which the city indeavored to teſtify the dutiful reſpect they owed their ſovereigns. And his Majeſty, on his ſide, to ſhew the value and love he had for his metropolis, about this time, allowed the company of Grocers to chuſe him their ſovereign maſter.

His Majeſty maſter of the Grocers company.

Indignity offer'd the King's picture.

Not many days after, ſome vile wretches offered an indignity to his Majeſty's picture in Guild-hall, by cuting away the crown and ſcepter. Upon which, the Lord-mayor and court of Aldermen offered a reward of 500 l. to whomever ſhould diſcover the author of this mean and audacious action.

Envoys ſent abroad.

Towards the latter end of this year, mr. Cox was ſent envoy to Switzerland, and mr. Stanhope, brother to the lord Cheſterfield, to Spain: about the ſame time, the lord Paget was ſent to the Imperial court, and the lord Durſley to Holland, to relieve the earl of Pembroke, who had been ſent thither in the begining of the year; he was now made privy-counſellor, and, ſoon after, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, upon the voluntary reſignation of the lord Torrington.

AN' 1690.

The Queen of Spain convoy'd to the Groyne.

The King of Spain, having married the Princeſs Mariana of Newbury (ſiſter to the Empreſs and the Queen of Portugal) by proxy, deſired of King William, an Engliſh convoy to ſee her ſafe to the Groyne. Vice admiral Herbert being appointed for that ſervice, ſet ſail for Holland, to take her Majeſty on board there, with a ſecond rate, four third rates, two fourth rates, and two yachts. He arrived at Fluſhing, the 12th of December of the foregoing year, and her Majeſty imbarking, about the middle of January, on board the duke, they arrived the 18th in the Downs. Her Majeſty and her retinue being there removed into more proper

(1) During this interval, all poſſible indeavors were uſed, and even preferments offered, to the moſt obſtinate of the inferior clergy, to bring them to a charitable condeſcenſion with the Preſbyterians, but to no purpoſe. Their chief objections were, againſt diſpenſing with their re-ordination, which they thought derogatory to the dignity of the church of England; and that ſo important a ſtep ought not to be made before they were aſſured of their ſincere deſire of a reconcilement.

(2) It is very difficult to determine which ſide contributed moſt to the loſing of this happy and favorable opportunity: the majority of the biſhops ſeemed ſincerely inclined to make very large ſteps towards meeting the Diſſenters, and receiving them as ſons of the church, upon terms not very wide from what many of them profeſſed only to deſire. The lower houſe of convocation ſeemed indeed pretty obſtinately bent not to loſe an inch of ground, the alterations, propoſed by the commiſſion, were not debated, and their pretenſe that they ought not to make advances till they were aſſured of a hearty deſire for a reconcilement, on the other ſide, ſavored more of pride, than of that charity and forbearance, ſo frequently and ſo forcibly recommended in ſcripture. Had they made the trial, and the Diſſenters had ſtood out, they would have had a good plea againſt them ever after: On the the other hand, it is aſſured, that the rigid Preſbyterians did not a little contribute to exaſperate the convocation againſt them, by giving, at the ſame time, orders to near fifty young ſtudents, and mr. Baxter, one of their heads; by publiſhing a book reflecting on the church of England. The Diſſenters made no advances; the court was believed to favor that ſide; and Epiſcopacy was aboliſhed in Scotland.

ſhips,

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ſhips, they arrived the 24th at St. Hellens, where ſhe was complimented in the names of their Majeſties and of their royal highneſſes. The fleet put to ſea, and were drove back to Torbay twice, till, at length, being increaſed to 400 merchant ſhips, bound for the Streights, with about thirty men of war to convoy them, they ſet ſail again, on the 7th of March, and after a ſtormy paſſage arrived the 16th at the Groyne. The Queen and her retinue being landed, and the ſhips deſigned for the Mediteranean ſquadron diſpatched to Cadiz, the remainder of the fleet returned, and arrived, the 28th of April, at Portſmouth.

Affairs of Scotland.

Before I return to England, I ſhall juſt ſay a word or two of the affairs of Scotland. The greateſt part of the rebels having laid hold of the act of oblivion, and colonel Canon, with a handful of men under his command, being retired into the iſland of Mull, ſeveral of the regiments, which were in Scotland, were ſent into Ireland, to re-inforce duke Schomberg's army. This incouraged the Highlanders, to renew their excurſions, and to burn and plunder whereſoever they ſet footing. They marched out of Inverloghy, to the number of 800, headed by the laird of Lochelly, thinking to ſurprize Inverneſs, but in this they were timely prevented. There was at the ſame time, a general diſcontent, throughout the whole Scotiſh nation, on account of the prorogation of the late parliament, before their grievances were ſo fully redreſſed as they expected.

The rebels continuing ſtill in a body, and being preſſed by hunger and want, made frequent depredations in the low-lands, upon which the council of Scotland ordered general Mackay, and ſir Thomas Levingſton to march Northward, with a proper force, and the nobility, and other inhabitants, who were moſt expoſed, put themſelves into a poſture of defenſe. On the other hand, colonel Canon indeavored to ingage ſeveral perſons, in Edinburg, in his party; but his letters, with a pardon from King James, being intercepted, and his expectations thereby diſappointed, he retired to Ireland. The Highlanders, thereupon, choſe ſir Hugh Cameron, one of their country-men, for their leader, and continuing their excurſions under his command, King William thought fit to ſend duke Hamilton into Scotland, to have a watchful eye over them. Notwithſtanding this, having received a ſuccor of cloths, arms, ammunition and officers, from King James, from Ireland, they ventured ſoon after, to the number of 1500 men, to march as far as Strathſpag, in the county of Murray, where they expected to be joined by ſome malecontents of thoſe parts. To prevent this, ſir Thomas Levingſton marched with 800 foot, ſix troops of dragoons, and two troops of horſe, and fell ſo unexpectedly upon the rebels, that they fled, leaving near 500 men killed upon the place, and 100 priſoners, among whom were four captains, and other inferior officers. After this, ſir Thomas took the caſtle of Lethingdey, obliging the gariſon to ſurrender at diſcretion. Major Ferguſon, in the mean time, was as ſucceſsful, in the Iſland of Mull, where landing, he deſtroyed ſeveral places belonging to the rebels, drove them from the caſtle of Dewart, and obliged them to retire to their hills.

Not to paſs by the civil affairs of Scotland, the parliament meeting, the 15th of April, at Edinburg, the earl of Melvil, lord high commiſſioner, made a ſpeech, intimating "his Majeſty's grief, "that he could not be preſent with them, accord-"ing to their deſires, and his own wiſhes;" and after he had laid before them what his Majeſty had done, to deliver them from the yoke under which they groan'd, "he deſired an aſſiſtance of mony, "anſwerable to the expenſes his Majeſty had been, "and was ſtill obliged to be at, to ſecure their li-"berty and religion; and, laſtly, he exhorted "them to lay aſide all animoſities and private in-"tereſts, and jointly to labor the ſettlement of "public affairs." They ſhew'd, however, that their principal care was to eſtabliſh Preſbytery, and firſt paſſed an act for reſtoring the miniſters of that perſuaſion, who had been put out, ſince the firſt of January 1661, and afterwards another declaring all thoſe to be rebels who were actually in arms againſt King William and Queen Mary.

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Preparations for the expedition to Ireland.

To return to England, where, while the different parties were buſy in influencing the elections of parliament men, as uſual, his Majeſty was no leſs aſſiduous in forwarding the preparations for his expedition to Ireland, that both his ſubjects and his allies might ſee he was in earneſt. The old reigments were compleated, new ones were rais'd, the Daniſh forces were imbark'd for Ireland, and ſtrong draughts out of the guards were order'd to be in a readineſs, to attend his Majeſty thither.

The privy-ſeal and treaſury put in commiſſion.

In the mean time, to prevent ſuch heats as had ariſen in the late parliament, on account of the marquis of Hallifax being lord privy ſeal, his Majeſty reſolved to put that office into commiſſion, and, to that end, the 19th of February, appointed William Cheney, eſq; ſir John Knotchbull, baronet, and ſir William Pultney, his commiſſioners: and the ſame day of the inſuing month, a commiſſion for executing the office of lord high treaſurer, was given to ſir John Lowther, Richard Hambden, eſq; (who was alſo conſtituted chancellor of the exchequer) Thomas Pelham, eſq; and ſir Stephen Fox.

Proceedings of the parliament of England.

The parliament of England being met, the 20th of March, purſuant to ſummons, the King went to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſolemnity, and the commons attending, ſir Robert Atkins, lord chief baron of the exchequer, and ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, ſignified his Majeſty's pleaſure to them, that they ſhould proceed immediately to the choice of a ſpeaker, and preſent him the next morning. The choice falling on ſir John Trevor, he was preſented and approved, the next day, accordingly, when his Majeſty, addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, told them:

His Majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That he was reſolved to leave nothing unat-"tempted, on his part, which might contribute to "the peace and proſperity of this nation; and find-"ing his preſenſe in Ireland would be abſolutely "neceſſary, for the more ſpeedy reducing of that "kingdom, he continued his reſolution of going "thither as ſoon as might be, and he had now "call'd them together, for their aſſiſtance, to ina-"ble him to proſecute the war, with ſpeed and "vigor; in which he aſſured himſelf of their "chearful concurrence, being a work ſo neceſſary "for their own ſafeties.

"That, in order to this, he deſired they would "forthwith make a ſettlement of the revenue, and "he could not doubt, but they would, therein, "have as much regard for the honor and dignity "of the Monarchy in his hands, as had been lately "ſhewn to others. That he had ſo great a confi-"dence in them, that if no quicker or more con-"venient way could be found for the raiſing of "ready mony (without which the ſervice could not "be perform'd) he ſhould be very well content, "for the preſent, to have it made ſuch a fund of "credit, as might be uſeful to them, as well as "himſelf, in this conjuncture; not having the leaſt "apprehenſions, but that they would provide for "the taking off all ſuch anticipations, as it ſhould "happen to fall under."

In the next place, he told them; "that it was "ſufficiently known, how earneſtly he had indea-"vor'd to extinguiſh (at leaſt to compoſe) all "differences amongſt his ſubjects, and, to that "end,

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" end, how often he had recommended an act of " indemnity to the laſt parliament. But ſince that " part of it which related to the preventing of pri- " vate ſuits was already inacted, and becauſe de- " bates of that nature muſt take up more of their " time, than could be now ſpared, from the diſ- " patch of other things, which were abſolutely ne- " ceſſary for the common ſafety, he intended to " ſend them an act of grace, with exceptions of " ſome few perſons only, but ſuch as might be ſuf- " ficient to ſhew his diſlike of their crimes, and, at " the ſame time, his readineſs to extend protection " to all his other ſubjects, who would thereby ſee, " that they could be recommended to him by no other " methods, than what the laws preſcrib'd, which " ſhould always be the only rules of his go- " vernment.

" That a farther reaſon which induced him to " ſend this act, at this time, was, becauſe he was " deſirous to leave no color of excuſe to any of " his ſubjects, for the raiſing of diſturbances in " the government, and eſpecially in the time " of his abſenſe; and that this he ſaid, both " to inform them, and to let ſome ill-affected men " ſee, that he was not unacquainted, how buſy " they were in their preſent indeavors to alter it.

" That amongſt other incouragements, which " his Majeſty found the diſaffected gave themſelves, " one of the ways by which they hoped to com- " paſs their deſigns was, by creating differences " and diſagreements in the counſels of both houſes, " which he hoped, they would be very careful to " prevent, ſince his and their greateſt enemies could " have no better inſtruments for their purpoſes, " than thoſe who ſhould any way indeavor, to " diſturb or delay their ſpeedy and unanimous pro- " ceeding, upon theſe neceſſary matters.

" His Majeſty, likewiſe, recommended to their " conſideration a union with Scotland, tho' he did " not mean it ſhould be now enter'd upon, but they " having propos'd this to him, ſome time ſince, " and the parliament there having nominated com- " miſſioners for that purpoſe, he ſhould be glad " that commiſſioners might be nominated here to " treat with them, and to ſee if ſuch terms could " be agreed on, as might be for the benefit of both " nations, ſo as to be ready to be preſented to him " in ſome future ſeſſion.

" He then acquainted them, he thought it moſt " convenient to leave the adminiſtration of the " government in the hands of the Queen, during " his abſenſe, and if it was judged neceſſary to " have an act of parliament for the better confir- " mation of it to her, he deſir'd they would pre- " pare ſuch a one; and concluded, that the ſea- " ſon of the year, and his journey into Ireland, " would admit of but a very ſhort ſeſſion; ſo " that he recommended to them the making ſuch " diſpatch that they might not be ingaged in de- " bates, when their enemies were in the field; " for the ſucceſs of war, and the more thrifty " management of it, would both principally de- " pend upon their ſpeedy reſolutions. But he " hoped it would not be long before they ſhould " meet again, to perfect what the time would not " now allow to be done (1).

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This ſpeech had all the good effect that could be wiſh'd: for the commons immediately proceeded to ſettle a revenue for the maintenance of the civil liſt (2). To this end, they granted to their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, all the revenues that King James injoyed, the 20th of December, 1688, as rights of the crown, except chimny-mony. They then order'd a bill to be brought in againſt alienation of the crown-revenues, upon any pretenſe whatever; likewiſe that their Majeſties, ſhould be put into the poſſeſſion of ſuch additional exciſes, as had been granted to Charles II, and James II, and ordered that revenue to be a ſecurity, for the raiſing preſent mony: and farther, they granted them, for four years (to begin from Chriſtmas following) the cuſtoms, which Charles II and James II, had injoyed, and upon which their Majeſties might take up a ſum of money, ſuch as ſhould be regulated by parliament. Upon theſe votes, ſeveral private perſons were incouraged to advance the King large ſums for his intended expedition.

Crown. The revenue ſettled.

Soon after, the commons prepar'd two bills, " one to declare guilty of high-treaſon, all thoſe " who were actually in King James's ſervice in Ire- " land, with forfeiture of their eſtates to their Ma- " jeſties, unleſs their children were Proteſtants;" and the other, " to confirm all the acts of the " convention-parliament, by which King William " and Queen Mary were acknowledg'd to be law- " ful King and Queen of England."

At length, the act of oblivion or indemnity, which the King had ſo long deſired, paſſed both houſes, tho' it met with many difficulties, and with the excluſion of thirty one perſons only (3). All matters being thus brought to a happy concluſion in ſo ſhort a time, his Majeſty came to the houſe the 20th and 23d of May, and gave the royal aſſent to ſuch public and private bills, as were prepared for that purpoſe. Of theſe the principal, beſide the act of indemnity, were " an act for " puting the adminiſtration of the government " into the Queen's hands, not only during the " King's being in Ireland, but whenever his " affairs ſhould call him out of the kingdom, (4) " &c. and an act for reverſing the judgments in a " Quo warranto againſt the city of London, and " for reſtoring that great metropolis of this king- " dom to its ancient rights and privileges." This done, his Majeſty returned thanks to both houſes, " for the aſſurances of their affection to him, and " particularly for the ſupplies given him," and then recommending to them, " the diſcharge of " their duties, in their reſpective counties, that the " peace of the nation might be ſecured, by their " vigilance and care, in their ſeveral ſtations," he order'd the parliament to adjourn to the 7th of July.

Acts paſſed.

The parliament adjourn'd.

During this ſeſſion, and before his Majeſty's departure for Ireland, he was pleaſed to confer the following titles. The 17th of April, Richard lord

Titles and preferments.

(1) At the opening of this ſeſſion, the biſhop of Oxford took the oaths and ſubſcribed the declaration; upon which he was admited to his place in the houſe of lords.

(2) Upon this occaſion, ſir Charles Sidney made a very remarkable ſpeech againſt exorbitant penſions and ſalaries, which, tho' very much extolled by ſome, was not of ſufficient weight to influence the proceedings of a majority.

(3) The perſons excluded the benefit of this act, were William marquis of Powis; Theophilus earl of Huntington; Nathaniel biſhop of Durham; Thomas biſhop of St. David's; Robert earl of Sunderland; lord Thomas Howard; Henry lord Dover; John earl of Melfort; Roger earl of Caſtlemain; ſir Edward Hales; Thomas Tildeſley, eſq; Rowland Tempeſt, eſq; colonel Robert Lundee; mr. William Molineux; ſir Edward Herbert; ſir Francis Wythen's; ſir Edward Lutwyche; ſir Thomas Jenner; ſir Richard Holloway; ſir Richard Heath; colonel Townley; ſir Nicholas Butler; Edward Morgan, eſq; Robert Brent, eſq; mr. Richard Graham; mr. Philip Burton; dr. Obediah Walker; Edward Petre, jeſuit; Mattnew Crane; ſir Roger L'eſtrange; and George lord Jefferies. Oldmixon p. 41.

(4) There was one clauſe in this act, which was looked upon as ſomething ſingular; viz. " that the Queen might be " controuled, by an order from his Majeſty while he was abroad; " and was interpreted by ſome as a great diſtruſt of that Princeſs.

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William viſcount Lumley was created earl of Scarborough; Henry lord Delamere, earl of Warrington, and Henry lord Grey, of Ruthyn, viſcount de Longueville; and the lord Willoughby of Ereſby was, by his Majeſty's writ, introduced into the houſe of lords. About the ſame time his Majeſty appointed admiral Torrington, ſir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral, and mr. Rook, rear-admiral of the red; and mr. Ruſſel, admiral, ſir John Aſhby, vice-admiral, and ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, rear-admiral of the blue ſquadron of the fleet. The third of June, the day before the King's departure, his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint, ſir John Trevor (ſpeaker of the houſe of commons) ſir William Rawlinſon, and ſir George Hutchins, commiſſioners of the great ſeal of England: and Richard Pyne, eſq; ſir Richard Reeves, and Robert Rochford, eſq; were nominated commiſſioners of the great ſeal in Ireland. A few days before, a proclamation was publiſhed for apprehending ſeveral diſaffected perſons; and the deputy-lieutenants were impowered to raiſe the militia, upon any exigency.

Affairs of Ireland.

I come now to the affairs of Ireland; but before I give an account of what paſſed in that kingdom under the immediate direction of the King in perſon, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the ſtate of it before his Majeſty's arrival. We have already ſeen the poor ſtate duke Schomberg's army was reduced to by ſickneſs: however, thoſe who ſurvived, being refreſhed by the good proviſions his grace had taken care to provide for them, about the begining of February, they began to take the field. The general had information, that the enemy were drawing ſome forces towards Dundalk, in order to diſturb his frontier-gariſons, he therefore ſent a conſiderable body of troops that way, and marched himſelf, the 11th of that month, towards Drummore: but their deſign was to fall upon Belturbat, a town which colonel Wooliey had taken from them not long before. The colonel having intelligence of their deſign, marched with 700 foot and 300 horſe from Belturbat, intending to ſurprize them; but he was himſelf ſurprized to find 9000 men, in a poſture to receive him. He was advanced too far to retreat, therefore, after having made a ſhort ſpeech to his men, to incourage them, they fell upon the enemy with great intrepedity, and had the good fortune to rout them, to their conſiderable loſs. They purſued them as far as Cavan, which they ſet on fire, and in their return, took the caſtle of Killiſhandry; with a great booty of cattle. In the mean time, ſir John Lanier, with 1000 horſe, foot and dragoons, made an attempt on Dundalk, and took Bedloe-caſtle, with about 1500 cows and oxen. But King James, ſoon after, ſuſtained a more ſenſible loſs, I mean that of the caſtle of Charlemont, which was obliged to capitulate the 13th of May (1); and ſurrendered the 14th. The ſame day, colonel Wooliey, who had been re-inforced by a party of Danes, took the ſtrong caſtle of Balingargy near Cavan; upon which the Iriſh quited and burnt ſeveral caſtles, on that ſide; and prepared to abandon Dundalk, Ardee-caſtle Blaney, and Carrickmarch-croſs. Thus ſtood affairs in Ireland, at the time of the King's departure from England.

State of that kingdom before King William's arrival.

The Iriſh routed at Belturbat.

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His Majeſty departed from London the 4th of June, and dined that day at Tring in Hertfordſhire, the ſeat of Henry Guy, eſq; (2). He lay that night at Northampton, the next at Litchfield, the third at Whitchurch, and the fourth at colonel Whitley's between Cheſter and Highlake. The next day, the King went to Gayton, the houſe of mr. Gleg, where ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and the reſt of the ſea commanders met him. The 11th his Majeſty imbarked at Highlake, and ſet ſail, about noon, with a fair wind (3); and arrived in the bay of Carrickfergus, the 14th early. He landed immediately, and went the ſame evening, in duke Schomberg's coach, to Belfaſt, where he was met by his grace, with the Prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirk, and other general officers. His Majeſty, who upon a certain occaſion, was heard to ſay; "he was "not to come to Ireland to let graſs grow under his feet;" ordered the whole army, (4) to march immediately into the field. Two or three days after, the army marched to Liſburn, where the general kept his quarters; from thence to Hillſborough, where he publiſhed an order, ſtrictly forbiding any violence being commited on the country people. From thence his Majeſty ordered the whole army to march, and to incamp at Loughbritland, where he arrived himſelf the 22d. Here he took a particular view of the army, and finding it to be in good heart and condition, he marched to Newry, and from thence, the 27th, to Dundalk (5).

King William goes to Ireland.

His proceedings there.

The battle of the Boyne.

The 30th, the King being informed, that the enemy had repaſs'd the Boyne (6), His Majeſty order'd his whole army to move, by break of day, in three lines, towards that river, which was about three miles diſtant from them. While his Majeſty was viewing the enemy's army, he received a wound by a cannon-ball on the right ſhoulder (7); (the Iriſh having placed two field pieces, oppoſite to where they had diſcover'd the King, for that purpoſe) but this did not hinder him from conti-

(1) This place, which had been blocked up, for ſome time, by the French regiments of la Caillemote and Cambon, was reduced to great ſtreights for want of proviſions. King James, being informed of their condition, ſent a ſtrong detachment, under Mackmahon, with proviſions to relieve it: Upon which duke Schomberg, who had intelligence of the deſign, gave the blockade orders to let Machmahon paſs, with his convoy, after a ſlender reſiſtance, but not to ſuffer any to return from the caſtle. By this means the garriſon ſuffered by the relief intended them: for being obliged to feed their new gueſts, they were ſoon more ſtreightned than before.

(2) His Majeſty was accompanied by his royal highneſs Prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough and Mancheſter, the honorable Mr. Boyle, and many other perſons of diſtinction.

(3) The fleet conſiſted of ſix men of war, ſix yachts, and as many tranſport veſſels, as made together about three hundred ſail, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 633.

(4) The army then conſiſted of 36000 men, Engliſh, Dutch, French-refugees, Danes and Germans.

(5) The country pleas'd his Majeſty ſo well, as he rode along, that he was heard to ſay, it was worth fighting for.

(6) The late King James was no ſooner informed of King William's landing, but he begun to move likewiſe, and on the 16th of June ſet out from Dublin, with about 6000 French-foot, old ſoldiers, lately arived from France, leaving that city to the care of 6000 country-militia, under the command of colonel Lutterel. Having joined the reſt of his forces, which were now almoſt equal in number with thoſe of King William, beſide 15000 which remained in gariſons, he reſolved to repaſs the Boyne, and to weary out the Engliſh by marches and countermarches, along that river, thinking it impoſſible for them to paſs it, while he had ſuch an army on the oppoſite banks. However, as he knew, there was nothing but what King William was capable of attempting, he miſtruſted the event, and gave orders for ſhips to be prepared at Waterford, that in caſe he was worſted, he might ſecure his retreat into France.

(7) The ball firſt graz'd on the bank of the River, and in its riſing ſlant upon the King's right ſhoulder, took out a piece of his coat, and tore the skin and fleſh. This accident ſtruck all who were about the King with an inexpreſſible conſternation, while his Majeſty remained calm and unmoved. The enemy ſeing ſome diſorder among thoſe who were about the King, immediately concluded he was kill'd, which falſe report flew preſently to Dublin, and from thence to Paris, where the unthinking vulgar expreſs'd their ungenerous ſatisfaction by bonfires and illuminations: But count Buſſy de Rabutin, as famous for his pen as his ſword, expreſs'd himſelf in a more polite manner on this occaſion. He was at that time in Holland, whither he had

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continuing to perform every part of a brave commander. He remained on horſe-back till four in the afterooon, tho' he had been up from one in the morning. He then dined in the field, and mounted again in the evening: at twelve at night, he rode thro' the whole army, and then retired to his tent, in eager expectation of the glorious approaching day, which was to decide his and King James's deſtiny: it having been reſolv'd in a council of war, held that evening at nine, to try the event of a battle.

The next day, the army paſs'd the Boyne, and our brave and glorious Monarch fought the memorable battle call'd by that name, where he gave inimitable proofs of his courage and conduct, at the great hazard of his royal perſon, having part of his boot ſhot away by a cannon-ball, and obtain'd a compleat victory, which determined King James's fate, and oblig'd him to return to France. But to give ſome particulars of this memorable battle:

Battle of the Boyne.

The two armies being thus in ſight of each other, continued cannonading till the cloſe of the evening, and then ceas'd. King William had given orders, that every ſoldier ſhould have a good ſtock of ammunition deliver'd him, and be ready to march by break of day, each with a green bough or ſprig in his hat, to diſtinguiſh them from the enemy, who wore pieces of white paper. (1)

The expected day being come, about ſix in the morning, lieutenant-general Douglas march'd towards the right with ſome foot, as did count Schomberg (the general's ſon) with the horſe, which being obſerv'd by the enemy, they drew out their army towards the left to oppoſe them. King William's right wing was order'd to paſs, ſome regiments at Slane, and others at different fords, between that place and the camp. A regiment of the enemy's dragoons made a ſhew of oppoſing the paſſage of the horſe, but being ſoon oblig'd to retire with loſs, the Engliſh got over, and advanc'd towards their main body, which they ſaw drawn up in two lines. Douglas's detachment conſiſted but of ſix battalions of foot, and twenty four ſquadrons of horſe; he therefore ſent for a re-inforcement of the former, and, in the mean time, drew up his troops in two lines, horſe and foot intermix'd, for their better ſecurity. More foot being come up, he drew all the horſe to the right, whilſt the foot mov'd towards a bog on the left, which lay between them and the enemy, and which it would have been impoſſible for the horſe to paſs. The Iriſh obſerving their motion, retreated in ſome confuſion towards Duleck, and were vigorouſly purſued by count Schomberg, with the horſe,

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King William, in the mean time, ſuppoſing this detachment to be got over the river, tho' he had no certain account what had paſs'd, order'd three attacks to be made. The firſt was at a good ford, before a ſmall village, where the Iriſh were advantageouſly placed. The Dutch foot-guards took the river firſt at old bridge, wading to the middle, and being got over, without halting, notwithſtanding the enemy's fire, drew up into two files, and then fir'd upon the Iriſh, who immediately abandon'd their intrenchments: but before the third battalion of that regiment had paſs'd the ford, five battalions of the enemy advanced within piſtol-ſhot of the Dutch, who received them ſo warmly, that they retreated with the loſs of colors, and ſome men: upon which the Dutch march'd beyond the village, and repuls'd a ſquadron of the enemy's horſe: ſir John Hanmore's and count Naſſau's regiments being, at the ſame time, paſſing the river, were oppos'd by lieutenant-general Hamilton's horſe; who, tho' they did not ſucceed in that attempt, part of them obtain'd ſome advantage over La Caillemote's and Cambon's regiments: but the Iriſh wheeling about thro' the village, to recover their own men, were intercepted by the Dutch and Iniſkillin foot, and moſt of them, after a valiant reſiſtance, cut in pieces.

The Dutch guards being, by this time, advanced as far as the hedges, into the open field, the Iriſh came down upon them again, in greater numbers, and with redoubled fury: but the Dutch withſtood them, with ſo much firmneſs, till other regiments came to their aſſiſtance, that the Iriſh were oblig'd to retreat; and tho' a freſh ſquadron of horſe advanced to ſupport them, they were vigorouſly repuls'd by the French Proteſtants, and the Iniſkillin men (2).

The Danes, in the mean time, came up to the left, as did the brigades of Hanmore and La Melloniere on the right. The firſt were ſo valiantly attack'd, in the front, by Hamilton's horſe,

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had been oblig'd to retire, on account of ſome ſatyrical pieces he had written on the gallantries of the French court. In a letter from thence, to the abbot de Choiſy, dated Auguſt, 17, 1690, he expreſſes himſelf in the follow manner: "The "Gazets aſſure us, that the Prince of Orange is not dead; if ſo, that Prince is at the height of glory, in having gain'd a "battle, in having been wounded, and in having known, by the extraordinary joys, at the report of his death, how much "his enemies fear'd him."

In anſwer to this, the abbot ſent him the following lines:

Qu'il ſoit mort, on qu'il ſoit en vie,
Il eſt toujours digne d'envie;
S'il eſt mort, il eſt glorieux,
S'il eſt vivant, il eſt heureux.

Engliſhed thus;

Be either life or death his fate,
Our envy will his worth expreſs:
If dead, his glory's now compleat,
If living, crown'd with happineſs.

(1) The importance of this battle was equally great, whether we conſider the quality of the leaders, or the ſubject of their quarrel. We behold here two Monarchs, nearly allied in blood, and nearer yet by marriage, going to contend for no leſs a prize than the Imperial crown of Great Britain, on the ſucceſs of whoſe arms, the fate of their reſpective allies, and in them of all Europe, ſeem'd in a great meaſure to depend: If we caſt an eye upon the two armies, we ſee them both animated by the preſenſe of their ſovereign, and both fighting for their religion; and thus far the advantages ſeem to be equal; but they will be no longer ſo if we look farther, either into the motives, or the circumſtances on both ſides. The Engliſh, beſide their religion, had their laws and liberties to contend for; whereas their adverſaries had nothing to hope for, by a victory, but to remain the ſame abject ſlaves they were before. The Iriſh had ſome advantage in the ſituation of their army; but the Engliſh were ſupported by Dutch and Daniſh veteran troops, ſtrangers to fear, familiar with victory, and fluſh'd with plenty; whereas, ſeting aſide the French auxiliaries I have mention'd above, King James's army conſiſted chiefly of an undiſciplined mob, diſheartened by ſeveral defeats, and depreſs'd by want. The difference between the chief officers on both ſides was much the ſame; ſo that notwithſtanding the advantage of ſituation was againſt him, and the number of troops pretty equal, King William was certainly in the right to attempt the paſſage of the Boyne.

(2) At the firſt of theſe Onſets, the brave monſieur La Caillemote, a conſtant companion of duke Schomberg's, in all his fortunes, receiv'd his death's wound; who when he was carrying off, by four ſoldiers, to the Engliſh camp, with his laſt breath, incourag'd thoſe who were croſſing the river, with theſe words, "à la gloire, mes enfans, à la gloire; (to glory, my dear children, "to glory.)

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that they gave ground, and were oblig'd to croſs the river. Duke Schomberg, perceiving this diſorder, and ſeing the French Proteſtants were likewiſe left expoſed, without a commander, immediately paſs'd the river, in order to head them, nor would he be perſuaded to put on his armor, tho' mr. Foubert, one of his aids de camp, very much urged him to it. He was no ſooner on the other ſide, than he incourag'd the French Proteſtants, by this ſhort harangue: "Allons, meſſieurs, "voila vos perſecuteurs; (come on, gentlemen, ſee "there are your perſecutors,") pointing to the French Papiſts, in the enemy's army. Theſe words were hardly out of his mouth, when fifteen or ſixteen of King James's guards, who were returning full ſpeed to their main body, after the ſlaughter of their companions, and whom the French refugees had ſuffer'd to paſs, thinking them to be of their ſide, fell furiouſly on the duke, and gave him two wounds on the head, which however were not mortal.

Duke Schomberg kill'd.

This error was committed by the regiment of Cambon, and to amend it, they were guilty of a much greater; for firing raſhly on the enemy, they unfortunately ſhot the duke thro' the neck, of which wound he died immediately (1); and mr. Foubert, who alighted to relieve him, was ſhot in the arm.

And dr. Walker.

Not long before, the gallant dr. Walker, who had ſo bravely defended Londonderry, being near the King, received a wound in the belly, of which he died, quickly after, at Drogheda, whither he was carried.

During all theſe actions, King William might very well be ſaid to be every where, ſince every thing was carried on under his direction; but at length, his courage too had a ſhare in the honor of the day. His Majeſty, with the Prince of Denmark, croſſed the river, with the left wing of the horſe, not without ſome difficulty. As ſoon as the men had reached the other bank, and were put in order, the King drew his ſword, and marched at the head of them towards the enemy, who were coming on again in good order towards the Engliſh foot, which had now got over the paſs, and were advancing bravely towards the Iriſh, tho' twice their number. When theſe two bodies were got almoſt within muſket-ſhot of one another, the enemy ſaw the left wing of the Engliſh horſe marching towards them, upon which they made a ſudden halt, faced about, and retreated up the hill again to a little village called Dunmore, about half a mile from the paſs. There the Engliſh came up with them in very good order, when reſuming courage, they faced about, and made the Engliſh horſe give way in their turn, tho' the King was at their head. His Majeſty thereupon rode up to the Inniſkilliners, and aſked them what they would do for him? Excited by this invitation, they came boldly forwards, and at the head of them, the King received the enemy's fire, and then wheeling to the left, to fetch up his own men again, the Inniſkilliners, thro' a miſtake, retired after him above a hundred yards. This made the King move to the left, to put himſelf at the head of ſuch Dutch troops as were advancing; while the Inniſkilliners, ſeeing their error, went on again ſucceſsfully to the charge. William & Mary. An' 1690.

In this place, duke Schomberg's regiment of horſe, being all French Proteſtants, and ſtrengthned by treble the uſual number of officers, behaved with undaunted reſolution. At the ſame time, another party commanded by lieutenant-general Ginckel, charged in a lane to the left, but was ſoon over-powered by the Iriſh, and forced to give way. This being obſerved by a party of ſir Albert Cunningham's dragoons, and another of colonel Leviſon's, the officers ordered the men to alight and line a hedge, and a ruined houſe, which flanked the lane, from whence they poured in their fire upon the enemy. General Ginckel continued in the rear of his men, indeavoring to make them ſtand their ground, not without being in danger from the Engliſh dragoons; for the enemy being cloſe upon him they could not well diſtinguiſh. The dragoons did however a very ſingular piece of ſervice by ſtoping the enemy, who came up very boldly, and the Dutch horſe having an opportunity to rally here, as they did likewiſe to the right, after half an hours ſharp diſpute, the enemy were beat back again, with a conſiderable loſs.

Lieut. Gen. Hamilton

On the other hand, lieutenant-general Hamilton finding that his foot did not anſwer his expectation, put himſelf at the head of the horſe, which was likewiſe routed, and himſelf taken priſoner (2). While theſe things were doing on this ſide, count Schomberg, who was informed of his father's death, purſued the enemy, with that fury, which a noble and juſt reſentment inſpires, and drove them ſeveral miles beyond the village of Duleck, covering the ground, wherever he came, with ſlaughtered foes. Nor did he deſiſt, till the lord Portland, by his Majeſty's command, obliged him to return to a place where the foot halted, and remained on their arms all night.

K. William obtains the victory.

The battle was now at an end, and the victory obtained by King William's army: for no ſooner was general Hamilton taken, than the fight ceaſed on that ſide: and the count de Lauzun, making up to King James (who ſtood with ſome ſquadrons of horſe, upon the hill called Dunmore, during the whole action) told him how near he was being hemmed in by his enemies, adding, that he had nothing left to think off but a retreat, which he doubted not but to make good, with the many brave officers he had then about him, and the remains of his French and Swiſs troops. This advice was too wholeſome not to be followed: King James, therefore, being attended by the regiment of Sarsfied, marched off to Duleck, and from thence in great haſte, to Dublin, while the count de Lauzun, Sheldon, and ſome other officers made a tolerable good retreat. The Engliſh horſe purſued the fugi-

(1) Thus died the renown'd duke of Schomberg, one of the beſt generals France ever bred, a marſhal of that kingdom, and a grandee of Portugal, tho' by birth a Palatine. He was an officer of a firm and compos'd courage; had a great experience of the world, and as great a knowledge of men and things as ever man of his profeſſion had; he was equally great in council, or at the head of an army; and his judgment remain'd ſound to the laſt. To the laurels he gather'd in Catalonia and Flanders, he added the glory of having fixed the King of Portugal on his throne, and of having been inſtrumental to the ſettlement of King William. Never general ſerved under ſo many Kings, nor attained to the higheſt honors, in ſo many different places. He was upright, courteous, and affable to every body, and withal had an air of grandeur that commanded reſpect from all. He was of a middle ſtature, fair complexion, a hearty man of his age (which was 82 when he was killed) and ſat a horſe incomparably. He carried an air of youth and gaiety, as well in his addreſs as in his converſation, of which latter, the repartee I am going to mention is a pregnant inſtance: Being walking in St. James's park, ſome time before he went for Ireland, amidſt crouds of the young and gay, he was aſked, What a man of his age had to do with ſuch company? to which he anſwered; "A good general makes "his retreat as late as he can." He was not long ſurvived by his friend and companion, la Caillemote, who died of his wounds ſoon after.

(2) When Hamilton was brought to the King, his Majeſty aſked him; "whether the Iriſh would fight any more? Yes, "ſir "replied he, upon my honor I believe they will?" when he mentioned the word honor, the King looked ſtedfaſtly at him, and then turned about, repeating the words, "your honor", once or twice, intimating, that there was not much dependence on what he aſſured upon his honor, ſince he had forfeited that before, by his taking part with Tyrconnel, contrary to his promiſed allegiance to King William; and this was all the reproof his Majeſty gave him for his breach of truſt.

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tives, and fired upon them from five ſmall field-pieces. The dragoons, ſupported by the horſe, attacked their rear. The foot purſued them four miles to Duleck, and the horſe four miles farther: but as the Iriſh are light of foot, and they moſtly leving their arms behind them, the ſlaughter was not great. King James's loſs in this battle is generally computed at 1500 men, among whom were the lords Dongan, and Carlingford, ſir Neal ONeal, the marquis d' Hocquincourt, and ſeveral priſoners, the chief of whom was lieutenant-general Hamilton. The loſs, on King William's ſide, was reckoned not to be above 500, a very inconſiderable number for a victory of this importance, and hardly worth naming had not the brave duke Schomberg been of the number (1).

Loſs on both ſides.

As for the King himſelf, he received no manner of hurt in the action, tho' he was in the heart of it, and expoſed to as much or more danger than any one perſon of the army, doing all that the greateſt general could do on this occaſion (2).

King James leaves Ireland.

King James, being arrived at Dublin, aſſembled the magiſtrates and council of the city, to whom he made a ſpeech, in which he complained, "that his "Engliſh army had deſerted him traiterouſly, and "his Iriſh army had baſely fled the field; ſo that "henceforward he never more determined to head "an Iriſh army, but did now reſolve to ſhift for "himſelf, as they muſt likewiſe do. That it had, "indeed, been often debated, whether upon de"ſerting the city of Dublin, it might not be ſet "fire to: but that he charged them upon their "allegiance, that they neither ſhould rifle it by "plunder, nor deſtroy it by fire, &c." He ſtaid at Dublin but one night, and the next morning, being attended by the dukes of Berwick and Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis, he poſted away for Waterford, where he arrived the ſame day. He there went on board a veſſel called the count de Lauzun, which lay ready to receive him, but meeting with a French ſquadron, commanded by the ſieur de Foran, at ſea, for greater expedition, he went on board a frigat, and by that means got once more into France. where, he fixed his abode at St. Germains. King James, was no ſooner gone, than all Roman Catholicks of note fled from Dublin, and the Proteſtants who were confined, being releaſed, poſſeſſed themſelves of the militia-arms. With the aſſiſtance of the biſhops of Meath and Limerick, they formed a committee to take care of affairs, and acquainted King William with what had paſſed, humbly praying his Majeſty to honor that city with his preſenſe (3).

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Affairs of England.

I ſhall now leave his Majeſty for a while in Ireland, and return to England, where we ſhall find the Queen ſuſtaining the weight of affairs, and having a greater burden to labor under, than the King expected ſhe would have had: for tho' he was not unacquainted with the deſigns of his enemies in England, in concert with thoſe in France, yet he had reaſon to hope there would be a ſufficient ſtrength at ſea to prevent the execution of them. As ſoon as her Majeſty had news that the King was landed in Ireland, ſhe began to exerciſe the power veſted in her by parliament, and iſſued two proclamations; "one commanding all Papiſts, "and reputed Papiſts, forthwith to depart the cities "of London and Weſtminſter: the other for "confining them within five miles of their reſpective "dwellings." In the mean time, King James's adherents, who began now to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Jacobites, laying hold of the opportunity of the King's abſenſe, to do ſomething in favor of the abdicated Monarch, had concerted timely meaſures with France to put their deſigns in execution. Their projects (4) ſeem to have been founded upon a preſumption, of the Engliſh fleet being firſt beaten by the French; of which, whether they had any foreſight, otherwiſe than from the inequality of ſtrength, which, at this time, was conſiderably to the advantage of France (5), we are yet in the dark. However it was, the con-

Deſigns of the Jacobites.

(1) The deſcription which father Orleans gives of this battle is ſhamefully partial. He makes King William's army to conſiſt of 45000 men, which is 9000 more than he had, and makes King James army 15,000 leſs than it was, by pretending it conſiſted but of 20,000 men, many of them half armed, and without artillery, excepting twelve field-pieces which were carried out of France, whereas King William, he ſays, had ſixty pieces of heavy cannon, which is equally falſe, and concludes, that their retreat was in good order, and very honorable, becauſe of the enemy's confuſion. (Very probable indeed, that victory, ſhould throw a ſuperior army into confuſion!) Echard's tranſlation of P. d' Orleans, p. 326. 327.

(2) The King, in this battle, choſe the field, diſpoſed the attacks, drew up his army, charged the enemy ſeveral times, ſupported his forces when they began to ſhrink, and in ſhort behaved himſelf the whole day with that conduct, gallantry, reſolution, and preſenſe of mind, and was ſuch a poize for the inclining victory to his own ſide, that the Iriſh themſelves confeſſed, That if the Engliſh changed Kings with them, they would fight the battle over again. Kennet.

Both Kings, however, have been equally blamed for not improving, one the advantage of his victory, and the other that of his retreat. Thoſe who have writ in favor of King James ſay, King William might have marched directly to Dublin, a place open and unfortified on every ſide; this might have prevented the Iriſh aſſembling any more, and ſecured Limerick, Galway, and ſeveral other important places; which protracted the war after King James had left the kingdom. On the contrary, thoſe who have written on King William's ſide blame as well King James, for leaving Ireland, with ſo much precipitation, as thoſe he left behind for not having carefully collected the remains of a defeat, that had coſt them but few men. Echard's tranſlation of P. d' Orleans, p. 327 and 328.

To the former of theſe charges, Oldmixon anſwers, in defenſe of King William, that beſide his certain information of an attempt intended from the French fleet, he had the war in Flanders at heart, and wanted to be in England, to have it nearer at hand, his Majeſty not doubting, but the buſineſs in Ireland, after King James's rout at the Boyne, might be as well done by his generals, as by himſelf in perſon. p. 45.

(3) How great the deliverance of the Proteſtants of Dublin was, by the victory at the Boyne, we cannot better conceive, than by remembring, that on the 18th of June, being four days after King William landed in Ireland, colonel Lutterel, governor of Dublin, iſſued out his order, "commanding all Proteſtants who were not houſe-keepers, to deliver up their arms, both "offenſive and defenſive, and likewiſe forbiding above five Proteſtants to meet any where, upon pain of death, or ſuch other "puniſhment as a court martial ſhould think fit." The governor being aſked, whether this was deſign'd to hinder meeting in churches? he anſwer'd, This was intended to prevent their aſſembling there, as well as in other places, and accordingly all the Proteſtant churches were ſhut up, throughout the whole kingdom. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 76.

(4) It was agreed, that while part of the French fleet ſhould bear up the Thames to countenance the Jacobites in London, they ſhould make an inſurrection in ſeveral places at once. Certain perſons were to have taken upon them the adminiſtration of affairs, till the return of King James, who was to leave the command of his army in Ireland to his generals, and to haſten with all ſpeed into England. The other part of the French fleet, having joined their gallies, was to have landed 8000 men, at Torbay, with arms for a greater number, after which the gallies, and men of war, were to cruize in the Iriſh ſea, to hinder the return of King William and his forces: And the diſcontented Scots were to have revolted, at the ſame time, in ſeveral parts of that kingdom. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 192.

(5) The Engliſh fleet was, this year, far inferior to the French, both in number of ſhips and forces. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 634.——This monſ. de Forbin, who was himſelf in the action, of which I ſhall preſently give an account, frankly allows, and aſſerts, that the number of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips was but 58 of the line of battle, whereas, according to him, the French were 80. Memoires de Forbin: And with this, monſ. de Larrey (in his hiſtoire de France, ſous Louis XIV.) perfectly agrees. The marquis de Quincy, who (in his hiſtoire, mil de Louis XIV.) mentions every ſhip, and commander, by, name, makes them to be 78 men of war, from 100 to 40 guns, and 22 fire-ſhips, carrying together 4702 guns: and the ſame author allows the Engliſh and Dutch had but 57 men of war, great and ſmall, with about 30 ſmall veſſels, frigats and fireſhips.

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ſpiracy being timely diſcovered, it prov'd abortive; tho' the grounds, upon which, as I have obſerved above, it ſeem'd to depend, were attended with ſucceſs, as I ſhall preſently ſhew. In the mean time, a report having been induſtriouſly ſpread, that a good number of the officers and ſeamen in the fleet, were diſaffected to the government, while they yet lay in the Downs, they thought the pereſt teſt they could give of their loyalty, would be an humble addreſs to their Majeſties, acknowledging their juſt and lawful title to the crown, and promiſing, with their lives, to defend them, againſt the late King James, his adherents, and all their enemies (1).

Addreſs of the officers of the fleet.

The French fleet comes into the channel.

The French fleet enter'd the channel, according to agreement, and hovered ſometime about the Engliſh coaſt, waiting the event of the conſpiracy, which was to have broken out the 18th of June. Queen Mary, who was ever vigilant for the ſafety of the kingdom, no ſooner got intelligence of it, than ſhe ſent orders to admiral Torrington to fight the enemy, wherever he ſhould meet them. The admiral, who, at that time, was, with the fleet, at St. Hellen's, was very much ſurpriz'd to hear the fleet was entered into our channel. For ſo little did he expect them, to be in ſuch a forwardneſs, that there were not, at that time, any ſcouts out weſtward, to obſerve, and bring an account of their motions (2). Upon this advice therefore, he got together what ſhips were within reach, both Engliſh and Dutch, and ſet ſail with them the 24th of June to meet the enemy's fleet, which had been diſcover'd, the day before, off of Freſh-water gate, on the back of the iſle of Wight: But the wind taking him ſhort, he came to an anchor, near Dungeneſs, within five leagues of the enemy. The next day, and the two following, his fleet being re-inforc'd by ſeveral, not only Engliſh but Dutch ſhips, under the command of admiral Evertzen,, and another flag-officer, and the two fleets being now pretty near, they remained in that poſture, looking at one another, till the 30th. In the mean time, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the enemy (3), the admiral received poſitive orders (4) from court to give them battle: upon which, that morning, as ſoon as day-light appear'd, the ſignal was diſplay'd for the ſhips to draw into a line; and this being done, the whole fleet bore down upon the enemy, while they were under ſail, by a wind, with their heads northward, off of Beachy.

Sea-fight off of Beachy.

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About eight in the morning, another ſignal was given, which was for the battle, and then the French, bracing the head-ſails to the maſt, lay by. About an hour after this, the Dutch ſquadron, which led the van, under admiral Evertzen, begun the ingagement, with part of the van of the French, and half an hour after that, our blue ſquadron incounter'd their rear. The greateſt part of our red ſquadron, which was in the center, could not come up to the fight 'till it was near ten: and as they were at a conſiderable diſtance from the enemy, ſo was there a great opening between them and the Dutch (5).

It was remarkable, that as the Engliſh ſhips bore down upon the French, they laſked away; but that might probably be only to cloſe their line. After this, ſeveral of their ſhips towed round with their boats, till they were got out of ſhot, which gave the Engliſh reaſon to hope the advantage would have been on their ſide; but it was not long before they perceiv'd the Dutch had ſuffered very much, chiefly by their being (for want of a neceſſary precaution) weathered and ſurrounded by thoſe French ſhips, which they left a-head of them; when they began to ingage. The Engliſh admiral was no ſooner apprized of their condition, than he ſent them orders to come to an anchor, where they lay, at ſome diſtance from the French, without any ſail, and ranged in order of battle; (the only expedient, ſays monſ. Forbin, which could bring them off.) With his own ſhip, and ſeveral others, he drove between them and the enemy, and anchored about five in the afternoon, it being then calm, and the French fleet driving away with the tide. However, judging it not ſafe to renew the fight, at ſo great a diſadvantage, he weighed anchor, at nine in the evening, and retreated to the eaſtward, taking advantage of the flood-tide.

The confederate fleet retreats.

The firſt of July, in the afternoon, the admiral thought it neceſſary to call a council of war, in which it was reſolved: "To indeavor to preſerve "the fleet, by retreating, and rather to deſtroy "the diſabled ſhips, if they ſhould be preſs'd by "the enemy, than to hazard another ingagement, "by protecting them" (6). The French purſued

(1) The addreſs of the fleet to their Majeſties was as follows:

"We, the flag-officers, captains, and other officers of your Majeſty's navy, being now ready to enter upon action, "for the ſervice of your Majeſties, and the defenſe of our country, do moſt humbly beg leave to declare to God, your Ma- "jeſties, and the whole World, that we do acknowledge your Majeſties to be the undoubted rightful King and Queen of Eng- "land, and all the dominions thereto belonging: and we do hereby ſolemnly renounce all allegiance and obedience to the late "King James; and do faithfully promiſe, that we will, with our lives, defend and aſſiſt your Majeſties, againſt the late King "James, his adherents, and all your enemies whatſoever.

(2) The earl of Torrington, who had the chief command of the fleet, was a man of pleaſure, and did not make the haſte that was neceſſary, to join it; nor did the Dutch fleet come over ſo ſoon as was promiſed; ſo our main fleet lay long at Spithead. The French underſtood that our fleets lay thus divided, and ſaw the advantage of geting between them: ſo they came into the channel, with ſo fair a wind, that they were near the iſle of Wight, before our fleet had any advice of their being within the channel. The earl of Torrington had no advice-boat out to bring him news; and tho' notice thereof was ſent poſt over land, as ſoon as the French came within the channel, yet their fleet ſailed as faſt as the poſt could ride; but then the wind turned upon them; otherwiſe they would, in all probability, have ſurprized us. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. There was a probability, that this would have been the caſe, if, as Oldmixon tells us, we had not then 20 ſhips together. It would have been very eaſy for them, to have deſtroy'd our diſpers'd ſquadrons one after another, and that done, it would have been as eaſy to have executed the reſt of their ſcheme.

(3) This ſuperiority was, according to the leaſt computation I have ſeen, upwards of ſeventy againſt fifty. But Kennet ſays the French fleet conſiſted of 82 ſail, and that their ſhips were generally larger than ours.

(4) If we may believe biſhop Burnet, theſe orders were not ſo poſitive, but that a great deal was left to a council of war. Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I.

(5) In this manner, thoſe who would ſpeak favorably of the admiral's conduct, relate the matter: but Kennet, and the author of the hiſtory of King William, who ſpeak plainer, ſay; "The Dutch began the fight, as did alſo ſome of the Engliſh, "but not being ſeconded by the reſt of the Engliſh fleet, which unexpectedly ſtood away, ſeveral of the Dutch ſhips (after "they had fought moſt gallantly) were either burnt, ſunk or diſabled, and the Engliſh that ingaged were very much ſhattered.

Be this as it will, we ſee the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips began the attack, notwithſtanding their inferiority, and this monſ. de Forbin himſelf allows, in his memoirs: but F. Daniel and the marquis de Quincy, go yet farther, and to the honor of the Engliſh and Dutch, ſays, the French had the advantage both of wind and tide.

(6) On this occaſion, the French were guilty of too very great overſights; firſt, in neglecting to come to an anchor, when the Engliſh did, to prevent their driving at two great a diſtance, and thereby to improve the advantage they had obtain'd; and ſecondly by purſuing in a line of battle, whereas, if they had left every ſhip at their liberty to have done their utmoſt, they would undoubtedly have obtain'd a far greater advantage, eſpecially over thoſe ſhips, which were damaged in fight. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 636.

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the condederate fleet as far as Rye-bay, but with no great ſucceſs, and an Engliſh ſhip call'd the Ann, of 70 guns, commanded by captain Tyrrel, was run a ſhore near Winchelſea, after having loſt all her maſts. Two French ſhips attempted to burn her there; but the captain ſaved them the trouble, by precipitately ſeting fire to her himſelf (1).

The Engliſh and Dutch fleet being thus retreated, the greateſt part of the French ſtood in and out, off of Bourne and Pemſey, in Suſſex, while about fourteen of their ſhips lay at anchor, near the ſhoar. Two of their men of war and a fire-ſhip, commanded by meſſieurs de Ribaret and de Forbin, attempted to deſtroy a Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns, which, at low water, lay dry in Pemſey-bay; but in vain; after a brave defenſe ſhe got off, and in ſafety to Holland. Three other Dutch ſhips were burnt, by the French, on that coaſt; ſo that, with three they had before deſtroy'd in the action, the States loſt ſix ſhips of the line of battle (2). The eighth of July, the French fleet ſtood towards their own coaſt, but the 27th they were ſeen off the Berry-head, to the eaſtward of Dartmouth, and they continued on our coaſts, to the number of ſixty or ſeventy ſhips, 'till the fifth of Auguſt, when they ſtood weſtward, and were ſeen no more in the channel this ſeaſon (3).

The Engliſh ſhips return to the Thames.

The Engliſh fleet, in the mean time, retreated towards the Thames, where the admiral, going on ſhoar, left the command to ſir John Aſhby, with neceſſary orders how to behave himſelf, and to diſpoſe of his ſhips, in caſe the French ſhould attempt to come up the river; but upon their going over to their own coaſts theſe apprehenſions ceas'd, as we ſhall ſee below; and the main care was now how to put the fleet into a condition to put to ſea again. Various were the opinions of people concerning the earl's conduct, ſome excuſing and others condemning him: but the Dutch ſhewed a great uneaſineſs on account of the loſs they had ſuſtain'd: upon which the Queen, willing to give ſatisfaction to every one, ſent ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to Sheerneſs, to examine into all the circumſtances of the matter upon oath. The earl of Torrington, after having been confin'd ſome months in the Tower, was at length, on the 10th of December, brought to a trial, before a court-martial at Sheerneſs (ſir Ralph Delaval, who acted as vice-admiral of the blue, in this ingagement, being preſident) where, pleading the inequality of force, and the diſadvantage of the wind, he was unanimouſly acquitted (4).

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Apprehenſions of an invation.

No ſooner had the news of this misfortune at ſea reach'd London, than it cauſed a general conſternation, which quickly ſpread itſelf throughout the whole kingdom, and nothing leſs than an invaſion was apprehended. The Queen did all that a wiſe Princeſs could do, as well to remove theſe fears as the object of them. She cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued for apprehending ſeveral perſons who were known to be diſaffected. The army and the militia were put in condition to oppoſe the enemy, and all proper incouragement was given to ſea men, as well as to the officers who were to command them. The city of London gave, upon this occaſion, evident marks of their loyalty, not only by keeping their militia compleat, well arm'd and appointed, but by reſolving to raiſe ſix regiments of auxiliaries

The Queen's prudent conduct.

(1) Monſ. de Forbin, (in his memoirs) ſays two of the Engliſh ſhips run a-ground on their own coaſt, and were obliged to burn one another. He, likewiſe ſays, that the Engliſh loſt another ſhip, which having no anchors drove upon the French ſhips and was taken.

F. Daniel is not ſo modeſt, but, being reſolved to crown his countrymen with victory, at the expenſe of truth, ſays, ſeven, teen of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, which were unmaſted, run aſhore upon the coaſt, and were burnt, to which he adds, "this was one of the ſea-fights, which left no room to doubt of the victory:" and monſ. de Larrey ſays much the ſame with regard to the certainty of the victory But the marquis de Quincy, tho' he gives the French the victory, allows the Engliſh had but three ſhips diſabled: and, in ſeveral parts of his relation gives broad hints of the Engliſh admiral's cowardice, in not daring to incounter with his maſter's ſhips, which (ſays he) was the occaſion they ſuffer'd ſo little.

A Dutch author of the hiſtory of King William, ſays, "in this action, the French gain'd the victory, the Dutch the honor, and the Engliſh the ſhame." So eaſily can the miſconduct (whether real or pretended) of one commanding officer bring a blemiſh on a whole nation. Biſhop Burnet thinks the two admirals equally deſerved blame: "If (ſays he) the French "had not loſt the night's tide, but had followed us cloſe, they might have deſtroyed many of our ſhips: both the admirals "were almoſt equally blamed, ours for not fighting, and the French for not purſuing the victory."

(2) F. Daniel mentions one of the chief of the Dutch veſſels being taken by the marquis de Neſmond; but of this our hiſtorians are ſilent. De Larrey reckons eight ſhips burnt or ſunk.

Among other officers whom they loſt in this unequal battle, were rear-admiral Jan Dick, rear-admiral Brackel, admirals of the Maeſe and North-Holland, and captain Norde: on the Engliſh ſide were loſt captain Botham, captain Pomroy, with two captains of the marine regiments. Monſieur de Larrey, ſpeaking of the two former, ſays, whatever was the behavior of the lord Torrington, it could not depreſs the valor of ſome of the Engliſh commanders. Among theſe were the captains Botham and Pomroy, who ſeconding the bravery of the duke of Grafton, and, with him, breaking looſe from the main body of the fleet, commanded by the motionleſs admiral, went to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch.

(3) During all this time, tho' they had ſo conſiderable a fleet at ſea, and we none to oppoſe them, they attempted nothing of moment: they, indeed rowed their gallies to Torbay, and then ſent their boats aſhoar at Tinmouth, and ſet the village, with two or three ſmall defenſeleſs colliers or coaſters, in that harbor, on fire. But at the approach of the militia, commanded by the lord Lanſdowne, lord lieutenant of Devon and Cornwall, they retired into their ſhips again, carrying off ſome ſheep, with other inconſiderable booty, and then returned to Breſt. And thus were the great deſigns both of the French, and of the diſcontented party intirely baffled by the vigilance of the Queen. It appeared, in the mean time, very ſtrange, in the eyes of all Chriſtendom, that the French were maſters at ſea, and the Engliſh obliged to turn their backs to that very enemy whom they had ſo often, and almoſt always beaten, and upon that very element which nature, and the poſſeſſion of many ages, has made properly their own: But their reign was ſhort, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel; F. Daniel adds to his narrative of this action, That, to leave no doubt of the greatneſs of this victory, monſieur de Tourville, returning to ſea, ſent a detachment of ſhips and gallies, with about fifteen hundred men on board, under the command of the count de Eſtrees, to make a deſcent upon England, and to burn twelve ſhips in Timmouth-Bay. Theſe troops (continues he) being landed, forced an intrenchment defended by three pieces of cannon, plundered ſeveral houſes, and burnt the veſſels in the bay, four of which were men of war, and the reſt merchant-men richly laden. This done, the troops were re-imbark'd without the loſs of a man, and carried off three pieces of cannon, with other booty. By comparing theſe two accounts, the reader will find with what allowance the French hiſtorians are to be read. To make of three ſmall veſſels, four men of war, and eight richly laden merchant-men, is taking a pretty large ſcope of liberty. The long and pompous account we have of this inconſiderable action, by the marquis de Quincy, amounts to much the ſame as that of F. Daniel, tho' of the two he carries the matter to a more ridiculous length than his brother hiſtorian.

(4) A Dutch author of a life of King William ſays, however, that the court-martial was far from being unanimous in their opinions, ſome thinking him guilty of treachery, and others of cowardice, tho' they all, at length agreed to acquit him. He adds, that the King was extreamly diſſatisfied with this ſentenſe, and for that reaſon diſcarded ſome of the members of that court from his ſervice, together with 42 officers of the navy, who were ſuſpected to have been influenc'd by the earl. Biſhop Burnet goes ſo far as to charge the court-martial with ſo groſs a partiality, as reflected much on the juſtice of the nation. Be it as it will, the action was in general thought to be ſo inglorious, that the earl ſuffered extreamly in his reputation among the people, who accuſed him of being but a bare ſpectator. His greateſt ſuffering was however in the opinion of his royal maſter, if we may be allowed to judge by his ſeting him aſide, than which there could be no more evident mark of his diſpleaſure.

Notwithſtanding

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auxiliaries for the ſervice, and the lord mayor, aldermen and common-council unanimouſly ingaged, by their own voluntary contribution, and that of other citizens, forthwith to ſet out a large regiment of horſe, and 1000 dragoons, for the ſervice of their Majeſties, and to maintain them at their own charge for a month, or longer, if there ſhould be occaſion. This loyal and generous conduct of the city of London, contributed not a little to put an end to all farther apprehenſions, and ſtopt all attempts of the malecontents.

Her Majeſty's generoſity to

Theſe neceſſary precautions being taken, the Queen with her uſual vigilance, gave the neceſſary orders for the refiting of her fleet, with all poſſible expedition: nor was her care confined within her own dominions. She ſent mr. Harbord to the States-general, to let them know how much ſhe was concerned at the misfortune which had befallen their ſquadron: that ſhe had given orders for refiting the Dutch ſhips that were diſabled, at her own charge, had commanded all poſſible care to be taken of the ſick and wounded, and rewards to be given to the widows of thoſe who were killed. Mr. Harbord told the States, that her Majeſty had ordered twelve great ſhips to be forthwith fited out, and that ſhe hoped they would likewiſe do their utmoſt, to re-inforce their fleet, in this conjuncture: and laſtly he acquainted them with the King's happy ſucceſs in Ireland. The States expreſſed a great ſatisfaction at the receit of this meſſage, and unanimouſly reſolv'd to fit out immediately thirteen capital ſhips, and ſix frigats, to which reſolution probably nothing was more conducive, than the Queen's generous offer on her ſide.

Continuation of the affairs of Ireland.

But to return to Ireland, where we left King William going to reap the fruits of his ſucceſs at the Boyne: the very next day he ſent brigadier general La Meloniere with five battalions of foot, and four ſquadrons of horſe to inveſt Drogheda, in which there was a great magazine of ſtores. The governor at firſt received his ſummons with contempt; but upon the King's ſending him word, "that if "he oblig'd him to bring cannon before the place, "he muſt expect no quarter," he accepted the conditions offer'd him, and march'd out with the garriſon, conſiſting of ſomething more than three regiments, leaving their arms and ſtores behind their baggage only being allowed them.

Drogheda ſurrendered.

The third of July, the duke of Ormond and monſ. d' Auverquerque were detached with nine troops of horſe to ſecure Dublin; and the next day his Majeſty marched with the whole army, the ſame way, and incamped the fifth at Finglas, within two miles of that city (1).

King William enters Dublin.

The ſixth, being ſunday, his Majeſty made his public entry into Dublin, and going directly to St. Patrick's church, attended by the biſhops of Meath and Limerick, heard a ſermon preached by dr. King, late archbiſhop of that ſee. In the afternoon, he returned to the camp, where, the next day, he iſſued a proclamation, "in which he aſ- "ſured all ſuch of the Iriſh as ſubmited, and either "remained in their abode, or if already fled ſhould "return to them by the firſt of Auguſt, of his "protection, and threatning condign puniſhment, "to all who perſiſted in their rebellion."

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The 9th the King decamped from Finglas, and divided his army into two parts; with the greater he marched to Crumlin, three miles on the South of Dublin, and the other conſiſting of four regiments of horſe, two of dragoons, and ten of foot, was ſent, under the command of lieutenant-general Douglas, towards Athlone. The next day his Majeſty iſſued out a proclamation, "reducing the "braſs and other baſe mony to the ſtandard of the "like mony formerly current in Ireland". This done, his Majeſty, having left brigadier Trelawny, with five regiments of foot, and one of horſe, to command in Dublin, advanced in his way to Kilkenny, as far as Inchiquin, twenty-two miles beyond Dublin.

A fruitleſs attempt on Athlone.

The 17th lieutenant-general Douglas ſummoned Athlone; but the governor, colonel Grace, fired a piſtol at the drummer, and told him, "theſe were "the only terms he was for." Douglas, hereupon reſolved to attack the place in form, and had made ſome progreſs towards it, when he received advice, that Sarsfield, having gathered together a body of 15000 men, was marching to the relief of it, and his cavalry ſuffering very much for want of forrage, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to abandon the deſign, which he did the 25th, after having loſt near 400 men, chiefly by ſickneſs, before the town.

Kilkenny taken.

The King's army, continuing to march Weſtward, arrived the 11th of July, at Kill-bullen bridge, and thence continued his march to Commalin, Caſtledurmont and Carlow, from which latter his Majeſty detached the duke of Ormond, with a party of horſe, to take poſſeſſion of Kilkenny, where his grace entertained his Majeſty ſplendidly, on the 19th, in his own caſtle (2). The 21ſt the army marched to Carrick, from whence, major-general Kirk, with his own regiment, and that of colonel Brewer, as alſo a party of horſe, was ſent to Waterford, where two regiments who were in garriſon, ſurrendered on honorable terms, as did likewiſe the fort of Duncannon, which commands Waterford river. The 25th his Majeſty went to view the town, where he granted his particular protection to the lord Dover, who had before ſought it by major-general Kirk, when the King was at Hilſborough, deſiring a paſs for himſelf and family, to go to Flanders. Here likewiſe the lord George Howard accepted of his Majeſty's mercy.

Waterford and Duncannon-caſtle ſurrender.

King William leaves the army;

The 27th the King left the camp at Carrick, and went for Dublin, in order to imbark for England;

Notwithſtanding all this (ſays Kennet) in the year 1697, ſeveral French officers, who had been in the ingagement, coming over into England, after the peace, when they could not be ſuſpected of partiality, openly juſtified and commended the earl's conduct, and ſaid: "he deſerved rather to be rewarded than cenſured, ſince he had preſerved the beſt part of the fleet from being totally deſtroyed:" and indeed, if we conſider how large a ſhare this nobleman had in the revolution, and the affection he always profeſs'd to thoſe principles which happily brought it about, and that even after his diſgrace, which he outlived above twenty years: if, I ſay, we conſider theſe things, it is hard to believe, he can any ways have been influenced treacherouſly to deſert a cauſe he had been ſo heartily and ſo deeply ingag'd in. In ſhort, there are ſome circumſtances in this action, that cannot well be accounted for, among which one is, that of ſeveral Engliſh captains ſtanding away at the begining of the battle; and tho' it has been ſaid, that a calm took them, and hinder'd their keeping up with the Dutch, who ingag'd with too much precipitancy, yet the fact of the calm was very much queſtion'd, and the precipitancy of the Dutch, thought only to be founded on the tardineſs of the Engliſh. On the other hand, it is not eaſy to conceive that this negligence was a conſequence of any order from the admiral, and yet, had it been otherwiſe, it is reaſonable to believe the earl would have puniſh'd them, if it had but been to throw the odium from himſelf.

(1) Here his Majeſty had information, that the late King was imbarked at Waterford; that ſome French ſhips being arived at Kingſale, many that had fled from the battle poſted thither to get imbarkations: that the greateſt body of the Iriſh was gone towards Athlone; that there was none of the enemy in arms within twenty-ſix miles of Dublin; that there could not be any where above 5000 together; that the French might be ſuppoſed to be about 3500: That 300 of the Swiſs or Germans had deſerted the enemy; that the town of Wexford had declared for his Majeſty, and that Sligo was abandoned by the Iriſh. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 202.

(2) This caſtle had been preſerved, with all the goods and furniture in it, and a cellar plentifully ſtored with all ſorts of wine, by the count de Lauzun, who had deſigned it for his own reſidence.

(1) but

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WILLIAM (1) but, having ſoon after altered his mind, returned, and found the army, the 4th of Auguſt, encamped at Golden-bridge, whence by the 7th he reached Carrickeliſh, within five miles of Limerick, where lieutenant-general Douglas, joined him. The next morning, the earl of Portland, and brigadier Stewart, were detached with 900 horſe, and 1200 foot, towards the town, who advanced within cannon ſhot, with very little oppoſition. The ſame evening, the King himſelf, attended by Prince George, monſ. d'Auverquerque, lieutenant-general Ginckel, and ſeveral other general-officers, together with about 200 horſe, went to view the ſituation of the town, and the poſture of the enemy. The 9th the whole army decamped, at five in the morning, and approached the town, in exceeding good order, 200 horſe and dragoons, with 1000 choſen foot, leading the van; they drove the enemy before them, till they came to a narrow paſs between two bogs, within half a mile of the town, where the Iriſh horſe made a ſtand, and the hedges were lined with muſketeers: but colonel Erle led on his foot with incredible bravery, and preſſed the Iriſh ſo cloſe for two hours together, that he at length drove them to the very walls of the town, and made himſelf maſter of two advantageous poſts called Cromwell's-fort, and the Old-chappel. The army being thus poſted, the King ſent a ſummons to the town. A good part of the gariſon was for capitulating; but the French governor, monſ. Boiſſeleau, the duke of Berwick, and colonel Sarſfield ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, alleging; "that there "was by this time an actual inſurrection in England, "where the Dauphin was landed with a great army, "and that the Prince of Orange would be quickly "obliged to withdraw his forces." After which the trumpeter was ſent back with a letter, directed to ſir Robert Southwell, ſecretary of ſtate (to avoid giving the King his titles) importing, "that "he was ſurprized at the ſummons, but thought "the beſt way to gain the Prince of Orange's "good opinion would be, by a vigorous defenſe of "the town, which his maſter had intruſted him "with." The ſame evening about eight the King went to the camp, which was about a mile from the town, tho' he had been on horſeback from five that morning, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark.

Bravery of colonel Erle.

The ſiege of Limerick.

Sarsfield ſurpriſes and blows up the Engliſh train.

A misfortune which happened the 12th retarded the opening of the trenches: for colonel Sarsfield having intelligence by deſerters, that the Engliſh train, with a large quantity of powder, was on the road from Kilkenny, under a ſmall guard, he found means to paſs the Shannon undiſcovered, with 5 or 600 men, and falling upon the convoy, unexpected, cut the guard in pieces, and blew up the train (2).

The trenches open'd.

Some cannon being, however, brought from Waterford, the trenches were opened the 17th, and a battery was raiſed below the fort, to the right of the trenches, which diſmounted ſome of the enemy's cannon. The Prince of Wirtemberg, lieutenant general, with the major-generals Kirk and Tetteau, brigadier Stewart, and ſeven battalions, entered the trenches that day, advanced 300 paces, and made themſelves maſters of two redoubts. They were relieved the next day, by lieutenant general Douglas, the lord Sidney, and count Naſſau, major-generals, and brigadier Stewart; and this day the King was near being killed by a cannon-ball. Thus were the trenches alternatively relieved, daily advanced, and ſeveral out-works taken or demoliſhed, till the 26th.

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The King in great danger.

Unſucceſsful attempt on the counterſcarp.

The ingineers having this day aſſured the King that the breach was wide enough, and beſide if it had not that it could be made no wider for want of bullets, that the trenches were advanced within thirty paces of the ditch, and that part of the paliſadoes on the counterſcarp were beaten down, his Majeſty commanded the covered way or counterſcarp, and two towers or forts which were on each ſide the breach, contiguous to the wall, to be attacked the next day, and that the men ſhould lodge themſelves there but go no farther. Accordingly lieutenant-general Douglas detached monſ. de la Barthe, an experienced French lieutenant colonel, with nine companies of grenadiers, ſtrengthned by 100 French officers and volunteers, to begin the attack, which was performed with ſuch bravery and ſucceſs, that the enemy were ſoon diſlodged from the covered way, and the two forts. The aſſailants, purſuing their good fortune, entered the breach pell-mell, with the fugitives, and monſ. de la Barthe, with ſome bold adventurers, and above half the earl of Drogheda's grenadiers, were actually on the rampart, and others ſtill more eager than the reſt, were got within the place. Captain Carliſle, who commanded the earl of Drogheda's grenadiers, diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in a very particular manner at this attack. He received two wounds between the trenches and the counterſcarp, but this did not hinder him from puſhing on, till he came thither, and there received his death's wound (3): and his lieutenant behaved as bravely after he was killed. If the ingineers had made a lodgment in time; or if count Solmes and count Naſſau, would have ſuffered the detachment that was to ſecond the grenadiers, to go farther than the counterſcarp, this action would have put an end to the ſiege: for the Iriſh were all runing from the walls, quite over the bridge, into the Engliſh town; but perceiving that not many of the Engliſh had entered the town, they rallied, and plied them ſo warmly, that ſeveral were killed, and many mortally wounded. Incouraged by this ſucceſs, they ventured upon the breach again, and the reſolution even of their women was ſo great, that they continually pelted the Engliſh with ſtones, broken bottles, and all ſuch other inſtruments of deſtruction as came to their hands. The men could not for ſhame do leſs, inſomuch that after three hours unequal fighting, the Engliſh were forced to retire to their trenches. During the heat of this action, a Brandenburg regiment being got, with great bravery, upon the enemy's black battery, the powder happened to take fire, which blew up a great many of them: and beſide this, tho' colonel Cutts, who was commanded by the duke of Wirtemberg to march towards the ſpur at the South-gate, beat in the Iriſh who appeared on that ſide, yet he loſt ſeveral of his men, and was himſelf wounded; for he advancing boldly, within half muſket-ſhot of

(1) The news of the defeat of our fleet in the channel by the French, and an apprehenſion of what might be the conſequence of it, were probably the reaſons that the King took this ſtep; and a farther account from England, that the deſigns of the malecontents were diſcovered and prevented, as probably induced his Majeſty to return. During this ſhort abſenſe, his Majeſty ſpent ſome time at Chappel-izzard, where he heard and redreſſed ſeveral grievances, gave orders for a weekly faſt, and iſſued a ſecond proclamation, much of the ſame tenor as the former.

(2) Timely notice was brought to the camp, of Sarsfield being out with a party on ſome deſign, by one Manus O Brian, an honeſt country gentleman; but little heed was given to his report: and tho' at length, he obtained the King's ear, and orders were thereupon given for a detachment to march time enough to prevent it, yet either thro' treachery or neglect it was ſo long delayed that they came too late.

(3) This brave officer had been a player, and had likewiſe written ſucceſsfully for the ſtage; but he was for nothing more known than for a ballad he wrote and ſet to muſick, which in thoſe times, was in the mouth of every one, begining: "King "James with his raſcally rabble of rogues, &c."

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the gate, his men were all expoſed to the ſhot of their enemies, who lay ſecure within the ſpur and the walls. This whole action, which laſted from three till ſeven, was very briſk every where; the French Proteſtants, the Dutch and the Danes behaved all gallantly in their reſpective poſts; but the loſs of the beſiegers amounted to at leaſt 600 men killed on the ſpot, and as many mortally wounded.

The ſiege raiſed.

This diſappointment, and the approaching bad weather, made King William, who ſtood himſelf near Cromwel's-fort and ſaw the whole action (1), think of raiſing the ſiege. Accordingly, the 30th of Auguſt, the heavy baggage and cannon were ſent away, and the next day, the army decamped, and marched towards Clonmel. The King, having conſtituted the lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby eſq; (afterwards made a lord) lords juſtices of Ireland, and having intruſted count Solmes with the command of the army (which he ſoon after conſigned into the hands of lieutenant-general Ginckel) his Majeſty imbarked at Duncannon-fort, with Prince George of Denmark, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, on the 5th of September, and arrived the next day, in King's road near Briſtol, with three yachts, two men of war, and ſome tenders. He came the 9th to Windſor, and the 10th to Kenſington, where he was received by the Queen, with inexpreſſible joy (2).

King William returns to England.

Notwithſtanding King William's ſucceſs, there were ſeveral towns, beſide Limerick, and particularly Cork and Kingſale, yet in poſſeſſion of the French and Iriſh, and their forces were ſtill very numerous. This gave the friends of King James ſome hopes of reducing that kingdom to his obedience; but they were not a little ſurprized to hear, that the Engliſh fleet arriv'd before Cork-harbour, the 21ſt of September, with ſome forces, under the command of the earl of Marlborough.

The earl of Marlborough arrives at Cork.

His lordſhip, being to act, in this expedition, in concert with ſome other troops, which were ſent before, towards that part of Ireland, immediately acquainted the Duke of Wirtemberg, and major general Scravenmore with his arrival.

The 23d, the greateſt part of the land-forces were ſent up the paſſages, ſix miles from Cork, headed by the duke of Grafton; and being come, the next day, within a mile of the town, they began to mount their cannon, and to begin a formal ſiege, having near 600 ſea-men, gunners, and carpenters, who were of great ſervice to them. Two troops of dragoons and a body of foot appeared without the town, in order to moleſt them in their works; but the Engliſh firing ſome field-pieces, they immediately retir'd.

Lays ſiege to the town.

A report being ſpread, that the duke of Berwick deſign'd to attempt raiſing the ſiege, major-general Scravenmore ſent a meſſenger to the duke of Wirtemberg, to preſs him to haſten his march, and on the 25th he order'd out a party of horſe, to cover the duke's foot.

Major-general Tetteau, with a detachment of 1000 men, having drawn ſome cannon to the Fair Hill, deſign'd, the ſame afternoon, to attack one or both of the new forts, and Shannon-caſtle: but the Iriſh no ſooner perceived, that he had poſted his men for that deſign, than they ſet fire to the ſuburbs, that were between them, quited both the forts and caſtle, and retired with great precipitation into the town: whereupon he poſſeſſed himſelf of Shannon-caſtle, and placed ſome guns there, with

The new forts, and Shannon caſtle taken.

which he play'd briſkly on the town. Major-general Scravenmore came, about the ſame time, with 1200 horſe and dragoons, and took up his quarters at Kil-abby. The 26th, the duke of Wirtemberg, with the German and Daniſh forces under their command, and brigadier la Meloniere, with ſome French and Dutch foot, joined them, according to the orders they had received.

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The duke of Wirtemberg, and the earl of Marlborough, being both lieutenant-generals, a warm diſpute aroſe between them, concerning the chief command. The duke laid claim to it, with ſome heat, as a Prince; but the earl, with his uſual gentleman-like temper, inſiſted upon its being his right, not only as he was the elder officer, but as he commanded the troops of his own nation, which were principals in the quarrel, whereas the duke only commanded auxiliaries.

Diſpute between the duke of Wirtemberg and the earl of Marlboro'.

The prudent monſieur la Meloniere interpoſing, the earl of Marlborough, leſt this untimely diſpute ſhould retard the operations of the campain, was induced, among other inſtances of his wiſe and happy conduct, to ſhare the command with him, and, for the ſervice of his country, deſiſted from a part of his juſt right. Accordingly, the earl of Marlborough commanded the firſt day, and gave the word Wirtemberg; and the duke of that name, commanding, the next day, gave the word Marlborough.

By the earl's prudence made up.

This difference being thus adjuſted, and the enemy having, on the 27th, abandon'd their works at the Cat-fort, without a blow ſtruck, the beſiegers took poſſeſſion of it, and having rais'd a battery there, they threw their bombs into the city, and play'd their cannon on the fort, from Friar's garden, from two batteries, at the ſame time. Being, likewiſe, maſters of a church, Scravenmore order'd a party of men into it, who from thence galled the Iriſh within the fort: all which, together with another battery, erected by Red Abby, ſoon made a breach in the city-wall: and thus, by the united conduct and bravery of the commanders in chief, the beſieged were ſoon obliged to demand a parly, and to give hoſtages for a truce; but they not accepting of the terms offered them, the beſiegers began to play again, with their cannon, very furiouſly, and a conſiderable breach in the walls being made, they were ready to ſtorm the town. The Danes from the North, and four regiments of Engliſh, from the South, under brigadier Churchill, paſſed the river up to their armpits. The grenadiers, under the lord Colcheſter, afterwards earl of Rivers, led the van, and marched forward with incredible bravery, tho' expoſed, all the while, to the enemy's fire. They were greatly incouraged by the gallant behavior of the duke of Grafton, the lord Obrian, colonel Granville, and ſome other reſolute volunteers. In this approach, however, the duke of Grafton received a wound with a ſhot, in the ſhoulder, which likewiſe broke two of his ribs, and of which he died about ten days after.

The town of Cork capitulates.

The duke of Grafton receives his death's wound.

The van immediately poſted themſelves, under the bank of the marſh, which was, as it were, a counterſcarp to the city wall; and, at the ſame time, the Salamander, and another veſſel came up with the tide, and lay at the end of the marſh, directly before the city wall, play'd their cannon at the breach, and likewiſe, threw bombs into the city.

Cork ſurrenders.

All things being being now ready for a general aſſault, the beſieged thought fit to prevent it, by

(1) As this diſappointment was undoubtedly owing to the unhappy orders his Majeſty gave, that the aſſailants ſhould not advance beyond the counterſcarp, it was a wonder, that ſo wiſe a Prince, and ſo great a general, being himſelf an eye-witneſs of his miſtake, had not remedied it in time, by giving other orders.

(2) His Majeſty immediately ordered a commiſſion to be prepared for proroguing the parliament to the ſecond of October, and a proclamation to give notice, that on that day he expected a full attendance of the lords and commons.

beating

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beating a ſecond parly; and, at laſt, the earl of Tyrone, and colonel Rycaut, being ſent from colonel Macullicut, governor of the place, agreed to the earl of Marlborough's conditions, which, being ſign'd, the 28th of September, were as follows:

Articles of capitulation.

"That the garriſon, conſiſting of 4000 men, "ſhould be all priſoners of war, both officers and "ſoldiers.

"That no prejudice ſhould be done to them or "the inhabitants.

"That the general would uſe his indeavors to "obtain his Majeſty's clemency towards them.

"That all the arms, as well of the inhabitants, "as of the garriſon, ſhould be ſecured.

"That all the Proteſtant priſoners ſhould be ſet "at liberty.

"That the old fort ſhould be deliver'd up with- "in an hour, and the two gates of the city the next "morning.

"And that an exact account ſhould be given "of the warlike ammunition and proviſions in the "magazines."

The priſoners of note taken at Cork, were the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone, the governor of the place, colonel Ricaut, and ſeveral others.

This good ſucceſs gave ſuch incouragement, that the earl immediately ſent away a detachment of horſe and dragoons, under the command of brigadier Villiers, to ſummon the town and forts of Kingſale; and his lordſhip ſeting out himſelf, from Cork, the 1ſt of October, arrived the ſame day at Five-mile-bridge, and, the next, before the town; which the Iriſh, upon his approach had ſet fire to, and were retired into the old fort. He form'd his camp, the ſame evening, and gave directions to make his approaches towards the new-fort, while major-general Tetteau was ordered to attack the old-fort.

The earl prepares to beſiege Kingſale.

He found theſe two forts, which commanded the port, to be much ſtronger than the plans had repreſented them to be; and it was reported, that his lordſhip himſelf was heard to ſay, if he had known their true ſtrength, he had never undertaken the expedition, in a ſeaſon ſo far advanced. Being, however, there, this did not diſcourage him; he reſolv'd to puſh for it.

The old fort taken by a ſtratagem.

General Tetteau having paſs'd the river, with the troops appointed for that ſervice, in boats, the next morning, made a feint, according to the orders given him, of ſtorming the fort, in the weakeſt place, where moſt of the beſieged were got together, and in a readineſs to receive him. In the mean time, another detachment, made a bold aſſault, in another place, where they were leaſt expected, and, by that means, ſoon became maſters of a baſtion. While this was doing, ſeveral barrels of powder, accidentally taking fire, blew up near forty of the Iriſh; upon which the reſt retired into an old caſtle, in the midſt of the fort, and immediately ſubmited to be priſoners of war.

The new fort beſieged.

The earl of Marlborough, reſolv'd to improve this advantage; and the weather being now grown very bad, and proviſions ſcarce, the men withal begining to be ſickly, he ſent, hereupon, to ſummon the new-fort, which was much the ſtronger of the two; but the governor, ſir Edward Scot, haughtily anſwered, "it would be time enough to talk of that a month afterwards." Upon this, the trenches were open'd, the 5th of October, and, by the ninth, were advanced to the counterſcarp; but bad weather hinder'd the coming up of the cannon till the 11th, when part of it arrived. The 12th, in the morning, ſix pieces were mounted at the Daniſh attack, and two mortars at the Engliſh, which fired all that day. The 13th, two twenty-four pounders were placed on the ſame battery. The 14th, the reſt of the cannon arriv'd, three of which were mounted on the Engliſh battery: and the Danes, commanded by the Prince of Wirtemberg, having made a conſiderable breach, the night following, to diſturb the enemy, they made a falſe attack. The 15th, the cannon continued to play all the morning, and all things were prepar'd for a ſtorm, when the enemy beat a parly, and hoſtages being exchanged, the articles were agreed on, and ſign'd about midnight, by which the middle baſtion was to be deliver'd up the next morning, and the garriſon, conſiſting of about 1100 men, was to march out, the day after, with arms and baggage, and be conducted to Limerick. The loſs of the Engliſh, before this place was little leſs than 300 men kill'd or wounded, which yet was not worth notice, eſpecially conſidering the great advantage obtain'd by it (1). The Iriſh never attempted to raiſe the ſiege; they drew, indeed, their forces together, and, as they durſt not venture on raiſing it, in ſome meaſure to divert it, they put the country, the beſt built of any in Ireland, all around in a flame.

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And taken by capitulation.

The earl of Marlborough having perform'd this glorious expedition, with an inconſiderable loſs, and almoſt in as ſhort a time, as ſeem'd neceſſary, conſidering the ſeaſon of the year, for the voyage alone, imbark'd again for England, and arrived at Kenſington, the 28th of October, where he received ſuch a welcome from their Majeſties as his great ſervices required. He return'd ſoon after to Ireland, where, during the courſe of the whole winter, he prevented the excurſions of the Iriſh rebels, who attempted to commit great ravages in the conquer'd provinces; and raiſed ſeveral forts to put a ſtop to them (2).

The earl of Marlborough returns to England,

And goes back again to Ireland.

It may not be improper now to take a view what our maritime forces did farther this year. As ſoon as the fleet was tolerably refited, after the unfortunate action of Beachy, admiral Torrington being ſet aſide, it was put under the joint command of ſir Richard Haddock, Henry Killegrew, eſq; and ſir John Aſhby: but vice-admiral Killegrew, having been before on an expedition to the Mediterranean, order requires, that I firſt take notice what was done with the ſquadron under his command.

Maritime affairs.

Vice-admiral Killegrew had been appointed commander in chief of a ſquadron (3) deſign'd for the Mediterranean, the 28th of December of the foregoing year. Having receiv'd his inſtructions, which conſiſted in the manner he was to diſpoſe of the merchant-ſhips under his convoy, and how he was afterwards, in conjunction with a Dutch ſquadron, to watch the motions of the French fleet in thoſe parts, he ſet ſail from Torbay, the 7th of March, but meeting with bad weather, did not arrive at Cadiz, till the 8th of the next month, in a ſhatter'd condition. While he was refiting there, he received

Vice-admiral Killegrew's expedition to the Mediterranean.

(1) This ſea-port is called the key of Ireland, and by the ſubduing of this and that of Cork, a ſtop was put to the bringing of any farther ſupplies from France (at leaſt on this ſide of Ireland) and the Iriſh were almoſt wholly confined to the province of Ulſter, where they found it very difficult to ſubſiſt. Beſide, another advantage which accrued from this expedition was, that, upon the firſt news of the Engliſh fleet ſailing towards that kingdom, the count de Lauzun, fearing he ſhould be beſieged in Galloway, went off from thence, with ſeveral officers of diſtinction, and the miſerable remains of his French troops, leaving the general command of the Iriſh forces to the duke of Berwick, who ſoon afterwards gave it to monſ. St. Ruth.

(2) Ireland ſeem'd now to be as good as reduc'd to the obedience of King William, and, therefore, at the begining of December, his Majeſty eſtabliſh'd a privy council in that kingdom, appointed judges in the ſeveral courts of juſtice, and named ſeveral biſhops.

(3) This ſquadron was compoſed of one ſecond-rate, four third-rates, ſeven fourth-rates, one fifth-rate, and two fire-ſhips. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 630.

advice,

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advice, from ſeveral parts, on the 9th of May, that the Toulon ſquadron, commanded by monſ. Chateau-Renaud, conſiſting of ten ſail, three of which were of eighty guns, had been ſeen off of Malaga, Alicant and Gibraltar. Upon which, it was reſolved in a council of war, to ſail, with as many ſhips as were in a condition, to join captain Shelton, who was, with ſome others, at Gibraltar. Being arrived there the 11th, he receiv'd advice from Ceuta, that fourteen ſhips had anchor'd the night before, in the bay of Tetuan. He therefore ſet ſail immediately, with the whole ſquadron (1) for Ceuta-point, and there lay by all night. The next morning he ſteer'd for the bay of Tetuan, where he found only two ſhips, one of which, being a French ſhip, bound for Antegoa, was taken by the Dutch admiral Allemonde. Standing, therefore, over again for the Spaniſh ſhore, they ſaw from their top-maſt-head, ten ſhips to the north of them, lying with their heads eaſtward. About 11 o' clock, the whole fleet being then ſtretching over for Gibraltar, the Montague, which had been ſent a-head to obſerve the motions of the enemy, diſcover'd four ſhips under her lee. Upon which all poſſible diligence was uſed to come up with them, and about one, they were not above two miles off, when, it being obſerved, that they ran for it, the Engliſh ſet their top-gallant-ſails, and crowded after them: but they proved to have the better heels, being but juſt clean'd, whereas ſeveral of the Engliſh had been ſeventeen months from the ground (2). The chaſe was continued all night, but, in the morning it appear'd that the enemy were four leagues a-head, and the Dutch with ſome of the Engliſh ſhips near hull to a-ſtern. As there was now no proſpect of coming up with them, the chaſe was given over, only one merchant-ſhip being run aſhore, and monſ. Chateau-Renaud, tho' he had thirteen ſhips under his command, kept on his way. The vice-admiral lay by till three, to give the reſt of the ſhips time to come up with him, and then bore away for Cadiz, which he did not, however, reach till the 21ſt. The Toulon ſquadron having thus paſs'd the Streights, the vice-admiral, purſuant to his inſtructions, made the beſt of his way for England, and arrived, in thirty-five days at Plymouth, where he was oblig'd to remain till farther orders, the French fleet riding then triumphant on our coaſts.

Proceedings of the main fleet.

I return now to the main fleet. Two of the three joint admirals, viz. ſir Richard Haddock and ſir John Aſhby, came into the Downs, the 21ſt of Auguſt, and ſailing from thence again the 25th were join'd off of Dover, by vice-admiral Killigrew, with the ſhips he had brought from the Streights. The fleet arrived at Spithead, the 28th, where the admirals received their orders and inſtructions. The whole fleet, without the Dutch, conſiſted then of forty-three ſhips great and ſmall (3), having the earl of Marlborough, with upwards of 5000 ſoldiers, deſign'd for Ireland, on board. Winter, however, approaching, they ſoon after, received orders to ſend their firſt and ſecond-rates to Chatham, and, at the ſame time, not only proviſions fell ſhort, but they were in great want of good ſeamen. Amidſt all theſe difficulties, the admirals, having received poſitive orders from the King for that purpoſe, put to ſea, and arrived before Cork-harbor, as I have ſaid above, the 21ſt of September, where they anchor'd; for, the tide of flood being done, the pilots would not venture in. The next day, they weigh'd, and, in a calm, towed in towards the harbor-mouth. Some ſhot were fired at them from a battery of eight guns, on the ſhoar; upon which the admirals ſent three boats, with ſome ſtout fellows in them, who drove the Iriſh from their guns, and diſmounting them, threw the carriages into the ſea, after which the fleet got in without any farther interruption.

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Cork being ſurrender'd, as we have ſeen above, the admirals, by orders from the King, return'd for the Downs (leaving only ſuch ſhips in Ireland as were needful for the ſervice) and arrived there the 8th of October (4). Part of the fleet was order'd to the Nore with ſir Ralph Delaval, another part to Portſmouth and Plymouth, and the reſt were left, with ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, in the Downs, whether likewiſe came, the 27th of October, the ſquadron they left in Ireland, which, when the ſervice was over at Kingſale, brought over the earl of Marlborough with the ſoldiers and priſoners, being under the command of captain John Crofts, as commadore. I muſt now give ſome account of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel's proceedings, with the ſquadron under his command, on the coaſt of Ireland.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel's proceedings on the coaſt of Ireland.

Sir Cloudeſly who convoy'd his Majeſty from Highlake to Ireland, as we have ſeen above, was deſervedly honor'd with the commiſſion of rear-admiral of the blue. Returning from Ireland, the beginning of July, he was hinder'd from joining the main fleet, in like manner as vice-admiral Killegrew had been, by the French fleet, under monſ. de Tourville, being on our coaſt: he was, therefore, order'd to cruiſe off of Scilly, and in the ſoundings, to prevent a deſign the French had of burning our tranſports, in St. George's channel. Being cruiſing there the 21ſt, he was join'd by the Dover and the Experiment, coming from Ireland, with a ketch they had taken eſcaping with ſome paſſengers from Kingſale, bound for France (5). The ſame day, ſir Cloudeſly receiv'd orders to proceed himſelf with his fleet for Kingſale, to indeavor to intercept ſome French frigats, which were ſaid to be there; but before he could execute that commiſſion, he was imploy'd in aſſiſting major-general Kirk to take Duncannon-caſtle, in which they ſucceeded, the 27th of July. The remainder of the ſeaſon, the rear-admiral was employ'd ſome times on the coaſt of Ireland, and ſome times in the Soundings, but without any remarkable ſucceſs.

We had this year, likewiſe, a ſquadron in America, under the command of commodore Lawrence Wright, but like moſt of our Weſt-

(1) The ſquadron now conſiſted of one ſecond-rate, three third-rates, ſix fourth-rates, two fifth-rates, and two fire-ſhips of the Engliſh, and five ſhips belonging to the States-general. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 632.

(2) French hiſtorians will by no means allow, that they run for it: and F. Daniel, in particular, in his uſual gaſconnading manner, tells us; that monſ. de Chateau-Renaud, being come out of the harbor of Toulon, with ſeven ſhips, to join monſ. de Tourville in the Ocean, met a ſquadron of 23 Engliſh and Dutch in the Streights of Gibraltar; that he immediately advanced towards them, and prepar'd to ingage, which piece of bravery and reſolution ſo aſtoniſh'd the Engliſh, that they would not attempt to intercept him; and that thus, having laid by, ſome time, for two ſhips, that were aſtern, he purſued his voyage to Breſt. His intrepidity and courage (continues my author) were ſo conſpicious on this occaſion, that they were the admiration even of the enemy: and yet theſe very enemies are ſo ill-natur'd to place all his mighty intrepidity and courage, in the virtue of a good pair of heels.

(3) One firſt-rate, eight ſecond-rates, twenty-eight third-rates, four fourth-rates, and two ſixth-rates, beſides ten fire-ſhips.

(4) They brought along with them, at the deſire of the earl of Marlborough, colonel Macullicot, who was governor of Cork, the earl of Tyrone and Clancarty, lord Carr, colonel Owen Macartney, lieutenant-colonel Rycaut, major Macartney, and captain Muffy, priſoners of war.

(5) On board this veſſel were colonel Hacket, captain John Hamilton, Archibald Cockburn, eſq; Anthony Thomſon eſq; captain Thomas Power, mr. William Sutton, and ſix ſervants, who were all following the late King James to France, in order to their attending him on his projected expedition to England. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 642.

Indian

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Indian expedition of thoſe times, this likewiſe came to little or nothing. Captain Wright left the ſquadron in Carliſle-bay, in Barbadoes, and returned to England ſick, or, as others will have it, was recall'd for his negligence and cowardice (1). Sir William Phips took this year Port-royal, in Nova Scotia (or Acadia) from the French; but miſcarried in the attempt he afterwards made upon Quebeck, on the river of Canada. I come now to the affairs of the continent of Europe; which did not prove this year the moſt ſucceſsful for the allies, nor had we any conſiderable immediate concern with them, for which reaſon, I ſhall be ſhort.

Affairs of Italy

In Italy, indeed, they had this advantage, that the duke of Savoy, who till now had been neuter, and was very much preſs'd by France, when the French thought they had reduc'd him to that fatal dilemma, that he muſt accept of what terms they ſhould vouchſafe to offer him, boldly declar'd, "that he was "ingaged with the Emperor and could not go "from his word; however, in regard of the alliance "he had made with his Imperial Majeſty which ex "tended no farther than to oppoſe the unjuſt de"ſigns of France, if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty "would put Pignerol and Cazal into the hands of "the republic of Venice, till the end of the "war, he would lay down his arms, and for the "ſame purpoſe put into the Pope's hands one of his "own towns, as a pledge for the obſervation of "the neutrality." This was, at beſt, but a civil declaration of war, and a public avowal of the duke's treaties with the Emperor. And by a treaty he concluded, the 3d of June, with Spain, his Catholic Majeſty promis'd, to cauſe his royal highneſs, the duke of Savoy, to be comprehended, in the alliance with his Imperial Majeſty, his Britanic Majeſty King William, the States-general, and all his other allies. This advantage, I ſay, accrued to the allies; but the duke of Savoy made but a bad bargain of it, at leaſt, in the firſt campain of his new alliance; for being but faintly ſupported by the Emperor and Spain, he loſt the battle of Saluſſes, where the French general monſ. Catinat triumph'd, and as a conſequence thereof the towns of Sauſſes, Savillona, and Villa Franca, with ſeveral other places. Theſe loſſes were afterwards followed by that of the important town of Suza taken by monſ. Catinat, and of the whole duchy of Savoy, Montmelian only excepted, reduc'd by monſ. St. Ruth. Inſomuch that his royal highneſs ſeing himſelf, in a manner, depriv'd of his dominions, found it neceſſary to make his application to King William, for his powerful influence and aſſiſtance in the recovery of them, which he not only promis'd, but was in the ſequel as good as his word.

The campain in Flanders.

In Flanders, the grand action of this year was the battle of Flerus, fought between the duke of Luxemburg, general of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's forces in thoſe parts, and the Prince of Waldeck, commander in chief of the army of the States-general. In this famous battle, which was fought the firſt of July, the Dutch loſt the day, which was attributed, in part, to their being obliged to bear the ſhock alone, with about 25,000 men, the Spaniards and Brandenburghers, who ſhould have re-inforc'd them, not being yet come up, and partly to the cowardice of the Dutch horſe, who abandon'd their foot at the firſt charge. Be this as it will, never did infantry make a braver retreat, than theſe under Prince Waldeck; for tho' the battle was fought in a plain open country, and, after their horſe had forſaken them, they were attack'd by the enemy, in front and flank, they retreated in good order, and Luxemburg, with all his indeavors could not break them. This action was very bloody, on both ſides; the Dutch own'd the loſs of 4600 men, kill'd on the ſpot, with about 4000 priſoners, and almoſt all their artillery; yet ſeting aſide priſoners and the field of battle, the French had no great matter to boaſt of, for the number of their ſlain equal'd, if not exceeded that of the Dutch. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, Prince Waldeck was in a condition, before the end of the campain, his army being re-inforced to 55000 men, to offer the duke of Luxemburg battle again, but he declining it, and fortifying his camp, there was no farther action in Flanders (2).

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Affairs of Germany.

In Germany, as the campain produced little or nothing remarkable, the great event of this year, was the election of arch-duke Joſeph, the Emperor's eldeſt ſon (afterwards Emperor himſelf) but then King of Hungary, to the dignity of King of the Romans; he was choſen by the unanimous vote of the Electoral college, and crown'd accordingly at Augſburgh.

An inſurrection in Catalonia.

An inſurrection in Catalonia was, at firſt, of ſome advantage to the French; but it being ſoon ſuppreſs'd, and the conſequences of it not having been very material, I paſs by the circumſtances of this event, to return to England.

Congratulations on the ſucceſſes in Ireland.

King William, at his arrival at Kenſington, was congratulated upon his victory at the Boyne, and his other ſucceſſes in Ireland, by an addreſs from the city of London, which was followed by the like, from moſt of the towns and counties of England: and the nobility, clergy, Eaſt-India-company, and ſeveral other Corporations, were no leſs backward, on this occaſion.

Proceedings of parliament.

The parliament, having been prorogued, as I have ſaid above, by commiſſion, 'till the 2d of October, met accordingly that day, when his Majeſty, addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, told them:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That ſince he laſt met them, he had uſed his "beſt indeavors to reduce Ireland into ſuch a "condition, as that it might be no longer a charge "to England: and it had pleaſed GOD to bleſs his "indeavors with ſuch ſucceſs, that he doubted not "but he ſhould have been fully poſſeſs'd of "that kingdom, by this time, had he been "inabled to have gone into the field as ſoon as he "ſhould have done, and as was more eſpecially ne"ceſſary in Ireland, where the rains are ſo great, "and begin ſo early.

"That he thought himſelf oblig'd to take notice, "how well the army there had behav'd themſelves, "on all occaſions, and born great hardſhips with "little pay, and with ſo much patience and wil"lingneſs, as could not proceed but from an af"fectionate duty to his ſervice, and a zeal for the "Proteſtant religion.

"That he had already made it evident, how much "he had preferr'd the ſatisfaction of his ſubjects, "before the ſolid advantages of the crown, by "parting with ſo conſiderable a branch of its in"heritance; and it was no leſs apparent, that he "had aſk'd no revenue for himſelf, but what he "had already ſubjected to be charged to the uſes of "the year.

"That he did, at his departure, give order for "all public accounts to be made ready againſt "his return, and he had commanded them to be

(1) Colonel Farmer and mr. Reid, two members of the council of Barbadoes, wrote, at leaſt, ſuch an account of his behavior to their correſpondents at London, that, if they are to be credited, recalling was the leaſt he deſerv'd. See Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 64.

(2) Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs of the French, Lewis XIV was already ſo ſick of the war, that he made private overtures of peace, and would then have forſaken King James.

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" laid before the houſe of commons; by which " they would ſee, that the real want of what was " neceſſary beyond the funds given, and the not " geting, in due time, that for which funds were " aſſign'd, had been the principal cauſes why the " army was in ſo much arrear for their pay, and " the ſtores, both for the navy and the ordnance, " not ſupplied as they ought to be.

" That now, as he had neither ſpar'd his perſon " nor his pains, to do them all the good he could; " ſo he doubted not, but if they would as chear- " fully do their parts, it was in their power to " make both him and themſelves happy, and the " nation great; and, on the other hand, it was " too plain, by what the French had let them ſee " ſo lately, that if the preſent war was not proſe- " cuted with vigor, no nation in this world was " expos'd to greater danger."

Then directing his ſpeech to the commons, in particular, he told them: " that he hoped there " would need no more upon that ſubject, than to " lay before them the ſtate of what would be ne- " ceſſary for the ſupport of the fleet and armies, " which could not poſſibly admit of being leſſen'd " in the year inſuing; and to recommend to their " care the clearing of his revenue, ſo as to inable " him to ſubſiſt, and to maintain the charge of the " civil liſt, the revenue being ſo ingag'd, that it " muſt be wholly applied, after the firſt of Novem- " ber, to pay off the debts already charged upon " it, and, therefore, a preſent conſideration muſt be " had of the arrears of the army, which ſhould be " laid before them, and for all which he deſir'd a " ſufficient and timely ſupply.

" That it was farther neceſſary to inform them, " that the whole ſupport of the confederacy abroad, " would abſolutely depend upon the ſpeed and vi- " gor of their proceedings in this ſeſſion.

" That here he muſt take notice, with great " ſatisfaction, of the readineſs which his ſubjects, " of all degrees had ſhewn, both in this city, and " in their ſeveral countries, by giving their aſſi- " ſtances ſo chearfully, as they did in his abſenſe, " while the French fleet was upon our coaſts; " and beſide this ſo convincing a mark of the " good inclination of his people, he had found, " through all the country where he paſs'd, both " at his going into Ireland, and his return from " thence, ſuch demonſtrations of their affections, " that he had not the leaſt doubt, but he ſhould find " the ſame from their repreſentatives in parliament.

" That he muſt take notice alſo, how much " the honor of the nation had been expoſed, by " the ill conduct of his fleet, in the laſt ſummer's " ingagement againſt the French, and he thought " himſelf ſo much concern'd to ſee it vindicated, " that he could not reſt ſatisfied, till an example " had been made of ſuch as ſhould be found faulty " on their examination and trial, which was not " practicable while the whole fleet was abroad, " but was now put into the proper way of being " done, as ſoon as might be.

Then addreſſing himſelf again to both houſes, he clos'd his ſpeech by telling them; " that he " look'd upon the well-being of this kingdom, " to depend upon the reſult of their counſels and " determinations at this time; and the benefit " would be double, by the ſpeed of their reſolution, " in ſo much that he hop'd they would agree with " him in this concluſion; that whoever went about " to obſtruct or divert their application to theſe mat- " ters preferable to all others, could neither be " his friend nor the kingdom's."

Both houſes preſented their addreſſes of thanks to both their Majeſties, full of expreſſions of duty and affection; that of the lords to the King, was repreſented the ſixth, and theirs to the Queen the day following. The commons preſented theirs, both to the King and Queen, the 9th; they concluded that to the King with the following words:

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Addreſſes of both houſes.

" In the name of all the commons of England " they aſſured his Majeſty, that they would be " ever ready to aſſiſt him, to the utmoſt of their " power, and, as the beſt and trueſt way of expreſ- " ſing their gratitude, would indeavor effectually " to ſupport his government againſt all his enemies."

A ſupply voted.

The commons began, the very ſame day, to make good their aſſurances of affection to the government, by voting; " that a ſupply be given to " their Majeſties, for the intire reducing of Ire- " land, and ſecuring the peace of this kingdom, " and carrying on a vigorous war againſt France." The next day, they granted:

For the navy, and building new ſhips, 1,791,695 l.

And a few days afterwards;

For maintaining an army of 69,636 men, being the number his Majeſty thought neceſſary for the ſervice of the inſuing year, 2,294,560.

Together, 4,086,255 l.

Ways and means.

To raiſe this vaſt ſum, the commons reſolved, the 16th of October, to charge an aſſeſſment of 137,641 l. by the month for one year, upon all lands; being three-pence in the pound.

The eighteenth, that an additional duty be laid upon all wrought and raw ſilks, and all foreign linen.

The twentieth, that a duty of ſix-pence per gallon be laid upon all low-wines of the firſt extraction.

The twenty-firſt, that an additional duty of ten per cent. be laid upon all foreign timber and wood, and the like duty above what was already charg'd, upon all wrought ſilks, callico, and Indian linen.

And that ſeveral duties be laid upon foreign ſeed, oil, hops, pepper, and all grocery ware, except ſugar and tobacco.

The twenty-third, that the exciſe upon all beer, ale, and other liquors be doubled: and,

The twenty-fifth, that an additonal duty be laid upon foreign iron, yarn of flax or hemp, and all manufactures of glaſs.

In the mean time, as the ſeveral funds propoſed were like to fall ſhort of the ſums granted, it was reſolved the 17th, that " the ſum of one million of " pounds be raiſed upon the credit, or by the ſale " of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland:"

And the twentieth, that an addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, " that he would be pleaſed to com- " mand the commiſſioners in Ireland, to make a " return to his Majeſty, of the names of perſons in " rebellion, in that kingdom, and of their eſtates, " and value thereof, and that the ſame might be " tranſmited to the houſe of commons;" but upon the queſtion, the 22d, after it was drawn up, it paſs'd in the negative. The ſame day it was reſolved, that " a bill be brought in for attainting of the perſons, " that were or had been in rebellion in England or " Ireland, and for confiſcating their eſtates, and for " applying the ſame to bear the charge of the war."

As alſo another bill, " for the better diſcovering " the eſtates and truſts belonging to all Popiſh ſe- " minaries or Popiſh uſes, and converting the ſame " to the uſe of the public." Near ſix weeks paſs'd before any progreſs was made in the firſt bill, and when, after many difficulties, it did paſs the houſe of commons, and was ſent to the lords, it was there laid by, notwithſtanding ſeveral meſſages from the commons to put them in mind of it (1). The 10th

(1) There were two reaſons which obſtructed the paſſing of this bill. One was that the court privily oppoſed it, becauſe they imagined the King deſign'd to recompenſe the ſervices of ſeveral perſons, with part of the forfeitures; the other, becauſe it was believed this fund would not raiſe the ſum that was propos'd by it.

of

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Acts paſſed.

of November, the King went to the houſe of lords, and the commons attending, his Majeſty gave the royal aſſent, to "an act for granting an aid to "their Majeſties of 1,661,702 l." and the 18th he gave the royal ſanction to another "act concerning "the commiſſioners of the admiralty," and to ſeveral private bills.

Ways and means.

The 24th of November the commons reſolved; "that the ſeveral duties laid upon goods imported "and to be imported, be granted to their Majeſties "for the term of five years, to commence from the "10th of November, and no longer. That the "duties impoſed by an act made in the firſt year of "the reign of the late King James; intitled, an "act for granting his Majeſty an impoſition upon "all wines and vinegars imported, from the 24th "day of June, 1685, to the 24th day of June, "1693. And by another act, in the ſame year, intitled, "an act for granting an aid to his Majeſty "by an impoſition on all French linen, and on all "Eaſt-India-linen, and ſeveral other manufactures "of India, and on all French wrought ſilks, and "all ſtuffs, and on all other wrought-ſilks, and on "all brandies imported after the firſt day of July "1685, and before the firſt day of July 1690, be continued till the 24th day of June 1696. And that "the duty impoſed upon tobacco, by an act made "in the firſt year of King James II, intitled an "act for granting to his Majeſty an impoſition "upon all tobacco and ſugar, imported after the "firſt day of July, 1685, and before the firſt day "of July, 1690, be continued till the 24th day "of June, 1696, and no longer:" "at the ſame time, it was ordered, that a bill or bills be brought in for granting to their Majeſties the ſeveral duties or impoſitions upon the ſeveral heads reſolved upon by that houſe.

Exciſe-bill paſſed.

The next day, the King went to the houſe, and, after having paſſed the bill for doubling the exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, told both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That he took this opportunity to aſſure them, "he was extreamly ſenſible of the zeal and chear-"fulneſs in all their proceedings, and of the readi-"neſs which the commons had ſhewn in granting "ſuch large ſupplies, towards the preſſing occaſi-"ons of the navy and the army; and he farther "aſſured them, that he ſhould not be wanting, on "his part, to ſee them carefully applied to thoſe "uſes for which they intended them."

At the ſame time he obſerved to them; "that "the poſture of affairs abroad did neceſſarily re-"quire his preſenſe at the Hague, before the end "of this year, and conſequently, he deſired them "to loſe no time in diſpatching and perfecting ſuch "farther ſupplies as were ſtill neceſſary for the "navy and army; and not for them only, but it "was alſo high time to put them in mind of making "ſome proviſion for the expenſe of the civil go-"vernment, which had no funds for its ſupport "ſince the exciſe, which was deſigned for that "ſervice, and alſo the other branches of the revenue, "had been applied to other public uſes, and there-"fore, he earneſtly recommended it to their ſpeedy "conſideration."

All the houſe of commons had hitherto done, falling yet ſhort of the ſupplies that had been voted before, it was reſolved, the 19th of December, "that the remainder of a ſum not exceeding "4,086,255 l. for the ſupplies to be granted to their "Majeſties, be raiſed by doubling the additional "duties of exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors "mentioned in an act of the firſt year of their "Majeſties reign, intitled, an act for an additional "duty of exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, "to begin from the time the act for doubling the "duty of exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, "during the ſpace of one year, did expire." And a bill was ordered to be prepared in purſuance to the ſaid reſolution.

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Acts paſſed.

The next day his Majeſty gave the royal ſanction to "an act for gtanting to their Majeſties certain "impoſitions upon all Eaſt-India goods and manu-"factures, and upon all wrought-ſilks, and ſeveral "other goods and merchandizes: to another act "for the continuance of ſeveral former acts there-"in mentioned; for the laying ſeveral duties upon "wines, vinegar, and tobacco; to another act "for puniſhing officers and ſoldiers, that ſhould "mutiny or deſert their Majeſties ſervice, and "for puniſhing falſe muſters;" together with ſeveral other public and private bills.

His Majeſty took this occaſion to repeat to both houſes:

His Majeſty's ſpeech on that occaſion.

"How ſenſible he was of their good affections "to him, and of their ſincere indeavors to promote "the true intereſt of their country, in continuing to "provide farther ſupplies towards defraying the "charges of the war, which he would take care to "ſee diligently and ſtrictly applied to the uſes for "which they gave them. He ſaid, he had lately ac-"quainted them, that the poſture of affairs abroad "would not admit of defering his journey to the "Hague much beyond that time, and that he "put them in mind of it now, in hopes that con-"ſideration would prevail with them to uſe all "poſſible diſpatch in what ſtill remained to be "done for the more vigorous proſecution of the "war:" and concluded, with mentioning to the houſe of commons; "that if ſome annual provi-"ſion could be made for the augmenting of the "navy, and building of ſome new ſhips of war, "it would be a very neceſſary care at this time, "both for the honor and ſafety of the nation."

A ſupply granted for the building of ſhips.

The commons having taken his Majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration, particularly the latter part of it, unanimouſly reſolved, the 24th of December, "that "a ſupply be given to their Majeſties for the "building of ſhips of war, not exceeding the ſum "of 570,000 l. and that the ſaid ſupply ſo to be "given to their Majeſties, be for the building of "ſeventeen third-rate ſhips, of ſixty guns each, to "be added to the ſhips in the eſtimate already pro-"vided to be built." Three days after, it was reſolved, "that this ſupply ſhould be raiſed by the "additional duties, upon beer, ale, and other "liquors, and ordered that an inacting clauſe be "prepared in purſuance of the ſaid reſolution."

Commiſſioners appointed for taking the public accounts.

The commons having paſſed a bill for appointing and inabling commiſſioners to take the public accounts, and ordered the ſeveral members to put into glaſſes, at the table, the ſeveral liſts of nine perſons names, to be commiſſioners in the ſaid bill, it appeared, on the 26th, that the majority was fallen on ſir Robert Rich, ſir Thomas Clarges, Paul Foley, eſq; colonel Robert Auſten, ſir Matthew Andrews, ſir Benjamin Newland, ſir Samuel Barnadiſton, ſir Peter Colleton, and Robert Harley, eſq;

Acts paſs'd.

The fifth of January, the King went to the houſe of peers, and the commons being preſent, his Majeſty gave the royal ſanction to "an act for granting to "their Majeſties ſeveral additional duties of exciſe; "an act for preventing vexatious ſuits againſt ſuch "as had acted for their Majeſties ſervice in defenſe "of the kingdom; an act for appointing commiſ-"ſioners to examine and ſtate the public accounts "of the kingdom; an act for the moſt effectual "puting in execution, an act for prohibiting all "trade and commerce with France; an act for "raiſing the militia, in the year 1691; an act for "the relief of poor priſoners for debt or damages; "an act for incouraging the diſtiling of brandy "and ſpirits from corn, and for laying ſeveral duties "on low-wines; and to four private bills."

This

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This done, his Majesty, addressing himself to both houses, told them:

The King's speech to both houses

"He was very glad to find, that the success of "their indeavors, to bring this session to a happy "conclusion, had been such, that he was now at "liberty to go into Holland: and he returned "them his hearty thanks for the great dispatch "they had made in finishing the supplies they had "designed for carrying on the war, which it should "be his care to see duly and punctually applied to "that service for which they had given them. That "he should not make any grant of the forfeited "lands, in England and Ireland, till there was "another opportunity of setling that matter in "parliament, in such manner as should be thought "most expedient (1)."

He told them farther; "that as he had reason "to be very well satisfied with the proofs they had "given him of their good affection in this session "of parliament, so he promised himself the con-"tinuance of the same, at their return into their "several countries: and as every day produced still "fresh instances of the restlessness of his and their "enemies, both at home and abroad, in designing "against the prosperity of this nation, and the "government established; so he did not doubt, "but that the union and good correspondence be-"tween him and his parliament, and his earnest "and constant indeavors for their preservation, on "one hand, joined with the continuance of their "zeal and affection to support him on the other, "would, by the blessing of God, be, at all times, "too strong for the utmost malice and contrivance "of their common enemies."

The parliament adjourned.

The speaker of the house of lords, thereupon, declared to both houses his Majesty's pleasure, that they should adjourn themselves, 'till the 31st of March next insuing (2).

I come now to give an account of some transactions which happened during this session of parliament.

The 19th of October a thanksgiving was observed for the successes in Ireland, and particular prayers were ordered to be used, on every Wednesday and Friday, during the war with France.

The 15th the Princess of Denmark was delivered of a daughter, baptised by the name of Mary; but died soon after.

Titles and preferments.

The 15th of November, the King ordered a new commission to pass the great seal, constituting the lord Godolphin, sir John Lowther, Richard Hampden, esq; sir Stephen Fox, and Thomas Pelham, esq; commissioners of their Majesties treasury.

About the middle of December his Majesty disposed of the vacant bishoprics in Ireland, and appointed sir Charles Porter to be chancellor of that kingdom, and one of the lords-justices, in the room of the lord viscount Sidney, who was recalled to be made one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state. Colonel Cutts was made baron Cutts of Gowran, in the kingdom of Ireland, and sir John Trevor was admited into his Majesty's most honorable privy council.

During this session of parliament, happened likewise an incident, which made a great noise: captain James Campbell, brother to the earl of Argile, assisted by Archibald Montgomery, and sir John Johnston, on the 14th of November, forcibly seized on mrs. Mary Wharton, daughter and heiress of sir George Wharton, a fortune, as it was said of 50,000l. and about thirteen years of age. She was carried away from her relations in Great Queen-street, and married against her will. The next day his Majesty issued out his royal proclamation for apprehending mr. Campbel, and the abettors of this unwarrantable action, and sir John Johnston being apprehended, was tried, condemned and executed for it at Tyburn, notwithstanding great application was made to the King, and to the relations of the bride, to save his life: which was thought the harder, as it appeared upon his trial, miss Wharton had given evident proofs, that the violence captain Campbel used was not so much against her will, as her lawyers indeavored to make it. Not long before, there was a bill brought into the house of commons to prevent clandestine marriages, which it was thought this incident would have accelerated, but it dropped. However, another bill was brought into the house of commons, the 4th of December, to render void the marriage between mrs. Wharton, and mr. Campbel, which, notwithstanding the earl of Argile, petitioned against it, in behalf of his brother, passed both houses, by the 13th of December.

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Miss Wharton an heiress carried away.

Sir John Johnston executed for it.

The last day of the year, his highness George William Duke of Zell, eldest Prince of the most serene house of Brumswick-Lunenburg, a Prince for whom King William always bore the greatest love and esteem, was elected a knight-companion of the most noble order of the garter, an honor, which just a year before, had been confered upon the duke of Brandenburg, afterwards King of Prussia.

The duke of Zell elected knight of the garter.

The parliament being adjourned, the 5th of January, King William, of whom it may justly be said, he never ceased from his labors, began the very next day his voyage for Holland, notwithstanding the rigor of the season: but when he came to Canterbury, finding the wind was set in easterly, with a hard frost, he returned to Kensington; where he staid a week. His Majesty went to Gravesend, on the 16th of January, and imbarked there, several of the nobility and other persons of distinction, attending him, under a convoy of twelve men of war, commanded by admiral Rooke. When, after not the best passage, they arrived on the coast of Holland, they found the frost had been so severe, and the ice near the shoar was so great, that they could not attempt to land without extream danger. The King, with whom the sea did not agree, and whose business beside, required haste, being informed by a fisherman, that they were within a league and a half, went into the shallop, and ordered the seamen to put off. The sailors themselves were apprehensive of danger, and all the persons of quality about him did what they could to dissuade him from exposing his royal person to so prodigious a hazard: But nothing being

The King goes for Holland.

Is in great danger.

(1) The occasion of this assurance was, because several members of the house of commons had shewed themselves dissatisfied, that the bill concerning forfeitures was laid aside, fearing the King's favorites would have the largest shares of the rebels estates.

(2) Tho' the parliament was very expeditious, this session, in voting and passing the bills for the supplies, yet the shortness of it was the occasion of several bills being left unfinished, beside that relating to the forfeited estates, particularly "a bill to regulate trials in cases of treason", which was much talked of in the house of commons, and yet put off from time to time; another "to oblige the lords commissioners of the treasury to take the like oaths as the lord treasurer"; another, "relating "to the African-trade"; another, "against robbers on the high-way"; another, "for the speedier determining elections of "members of parliaments"; another, "to charge the estate of the late lord Jefferies, in Leicestershire, with the sum of "14,160 l. and interest, to Edmund Prideaux, esq;" another, "for regulating and licensing Hackney-coaches"; and another, "for the inabling chirurgeons to administer inward medecines, in cases of surgery"; which last was petitioned against by the "physicians and apothecaries. A bill was also brought in for reducing the interest of mony, from six to four per cent. but was "rejected at the second reading.

able

able to move his Majesty's resolution, they put away from the fleet, with two shallops more, in which were the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and Monmouth, and some others, and soon got out of sight of it. Night came on, and the King remained for eighteen hours together, exposed to the injuries of the air and cold, to the mercy of the sea, where waves ran so high, that they dashed him all over, and he having nothing to shelter him from them but his cloak, being at the same time in danger of being taken by privateers. At last, by brake of day, the shallop came near the island of Goree, where his Majesty refreshed himself a little in a fisherman's cottage, and then going into his boat again, he happily landed at Orange-polder. From thence he went to his own palace of Hounslaerdike, where he was met by the deputies of the States, who conducted him to the Hague by six that evening (1).

Arrives in safety.

Now began the most glorious congress that ever yet appeared of Christian Princes, noblemen and ministers, the great design of which was for all the confederate Princes and States to concert measures with King William, in order to preserve the liberties of Europe. Lewis XIV, in all his glories and triumph, could never boast any thing like this. Such a congress as this, assembled in honor to him, as it was in honor to our Belgic and Brittanic hero, would have furnished his painters with a noble subject; they would have had no need to ransack the seasons or the elements for images to represent his greatness in the famous tapestry at Versailles. They might have shewn their grand Monarch imployed in numberless heroic actions, and constantly attended by a train of Princes, each striving how to give him the greatest marks of their respect and esteem (2).

Congress at the Hague.

At the first meeting of this illustrious congress, King William represented to them,

K. William's speech to the congress.

"That the imminent dangers in which they "found themselves, sufficiently discover'd the er- "rors that had been committed; so that he had no "need to use many arguments, to shew them the "necessity of taking juster and better measures; "that in the circumstances they were in, it was "not a time to deliberate, but to act. That the "enemy was master of all the chief fortresses, "which were the barrier of the common liberty; "and that he would quickly possess himself of all "the rest, if a spirit of division, slowness, and "particular interest continued amongst them. That "every one ought to remain persuaded, that their "respective particular interests were compris'd in "the general one. That the enemy's forces were "very strong, and would carry things like a tor- "rent before them; that it was in vain to oppose "with fruitless clamors and complaints, or unpro- "fitable protestations against injustices; that it was "neither the resolution of a barren diet, nor "the hopes of some men of fortune, arising "from frivolous foundations; but soldiers, "strong armies, and prompt and severe union "between all the forces of the allies, that must "do the work: and that these must be brought to "oppose the enemy without delay, if they would "put a stop to his conquests, and snatch out of his "hands the liberty of Europe, which he held already "under a heavy yoke; concluding, that as for "himself, he would neither spare his credit, forces, "nor person, to concur with them in so just and "necessary a design, and that he would come in the "spring, at the head of his troops, faithfully "to make good his royal word, which he had so "solemnly ingaged to them."

This pathetic, as well as severe speech, from a Prince to whom all the members that composed this illustrious body paid a respectful deference, and in whose judgment and experience they placed an intire confidence, could not but produce the desired effect, in the end, tho' for a while particular interests continued to reign in the hearts of many, and obstructed the salutary resolutions the King had so strenuously recommended to them. This occasioned their siting till the middle of March, in which time they came at least, to two weighty conclusions; viz. not to make peace with Lewis XIV till all their grievances were redressed, and to imploy 222,000 men against France (3); but it appeared afterwards, that this number would not do, and that the German Princes were always both backward and deficient in furnishing their quota's.

Resolutions taken thereupon.

(1) Beside the deputies of the States, he was met there by count Berka, the Emperor's envoy extraordinary, count Colona, the Spanish ambassador, the Prince of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland, the Prince of Nassau Saarburg, and count Hara. The States-General, the states of Holland, the council of state, the other colleges, the congress of foreign ministers, and all the persons of distinction, at the Hague, made their compliments to his Majesty upon his safe and happy arrival, and because he was come so suddenly as to prevent the solemn reception that was intended by the magistrates of that place, his Majesty was prevailed upon to make his public entry on the 26th, which was performed with great solemnity; several triumphal arches having been erected, to represent his Majesty's atchievements, and all the burghers appearing in arms with unusual magnificence; in the evening, the fire-works were played, the cannon discharged on the Viverberg, opposite to his Majesty's palace, and bone-fires lighted thro' the whole town.

(2) At this illustrious congress were present: The electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria: the dukes of Lunenburg, Zell, Wolfenbuttel, Courland, administrator of Wirtemberg, Saxe-eysenach, Sultsbach, and Holstein: the Landgraves of Hesse-Cassel, Darmstadt and Homburg: the Princes of Anhalt-Zerbst, Birkenfield, Waldeck, Wirtemberg-Nieustadt, two of Anspach, two of Wirtemberg, Christian Lewis of Brandenburg, Nassau-Friesland, Nassau-Dillemberg, Nassau-Saerburg, Nassau-Idstein, three of Holstein-beck, Philip of Palatine, Ferdinand of Courland, and the Prince of Commerci: Foreign ministers; Embassadors from the Emperor, counts Windischgratz and Berka, and the chevalier de Campecht. Embassador from Spain, Don Emanuel de Colonna. From the King of Denmark, count Reventklau and monsr. Centhe. From the King of Sweden, count Oxenstiern. From the King of Poland, monsr. Moreau. From the elector of Bavaria, the baron of Boomgarten and monsr. Prielmeyer. From the elector of Brandenburg, baron Schmettau and monsr. Von Dieft. From the elector of Saxony, monsr. Hachshausen. From the elector of Triers, the baron de Leyen and monsr. Champagne. From the elector of Mentz, messr. Talberg and Meyers. From the elector of Cologne, general Berusau and monsr. Soelmacher. From the elector Palatine, monsr. Hertermann. From the duke of Savoy, the counts Pielat and de la Tour. From the duke of Zell, monsr. Zieger. From the bishop of Munster, monsr. de Nort. From the landgrave of Hesse, baron Goertz and monsr. Keppelaer. From the duke of Wolsembuttel, baron Grosseck. From the duke of Hannover, monsr. Klekk. From the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, monsr. Tourken; and from the Prince of Liege, chancellor Mean. Other illustrious persons, not public ministers; the marquis de Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands; the marquis de Castlemonlayo; the counts of Horn, Erbach, Tirimont, de Brouay, Gryal, d' Arco, de Carelson, de Rivera, de Sanfra, de Lippe, d' Espense, de Fugger, de Denhof and Palfi; the barons of Pallant and Spaem. The Rhingrave and his brother: the generals Chauert, Elwycht, Barfusz and d'Antel. Subjects of the King of Great Britain, attending his Majesty; the dukes of Norfolk, Ormond and Schomberg; the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Essex, Nottingham, Scarborough, Selkirk, Portland and Monmouth, count Meinard Schomberg: the bishop of London; the lords Dursley and Dramlanrig; mr. comptroller Wharton; and mr. baron Bradbury. There were, likewise, at that time, at the Hague, the Princesses of Nassau-Friesland, Radzevil and Saxe-Eysenach, and the countess of Soissons.

(3) Of these troops the Emperor was to furnish 20,000; the King of Spain, in Flanders, 20,000; the King of England 20,000; the States General 35,000; the duke of Savoy and the troops of Milan 20,000; the elector of Bavaria, 18,000; the elector of Saxony 12,000; the Landgrave of Hesse, 8,000; the circles of Suabia and Franconia 10,000; the duke of Wirtemberg 6,000; the elector of Brandenburg 20,000; the Prince of Liege 6,000; the bishop of Munster 7000; the elector Palatine 4,000; the Prince of Lunenburg, 16,000.

K. William returns to England.

The French King was, in the mean time, preparing to be early in the field, and to open the campain with the ſiege of Mons, at which he was in perſon preſent, accompanied by the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Chartres, his ſon: King William, perceiving it would be in vain to attempt the relief of that place (which, as he apprehended was obliged to ſurrender, tho' on honorable terms) and there being as yet no farther operations in the field, returned to England, and arrived at Whitehall the 13th of April.

Lord Preſton's plot.

The French King, and the Jacobites in England, were, in the mean time, deceiving one another, the latter by falſe accounts of their numbers and ſtrength, and the former by promiſes of aſſiſtance, which, tho' he never performed, ſerved however to keep up a ſpirit of diſaffection towards their Majeſties perſons and government, and as an incouragement to form plots and lay ſchemes for the deſtruction and ſubverſion of both. Towards the latter end of the year 1689, King James and his Popiſh council in Ireland, laid the foundation of the Lancaſhire plot, having ſent over commiſſions into that and other Northern counties, to raiſe an army, which he ingaged to head himſelf in perſon, in Auguſt 1690. But the plot being diſcovered, by ſome of the confederates, and ſoon after effectually baffled by that Monarch's defeat at the Boyne, another project was ſet on foot by the Jacobites in England for his Majeſty's reſtoration; and that was to gain aſſiſtance from France to invade England. To compaſs this end, the leading men of the party, in all counties, immediately repaired to London, and there conſulted what new meaſures were to be taken after this fatal and unexpected diſappointment by King William's victory in Ireland: and becauſe the conſpirators were then, generally ſpeaking, but of one faction, it was reſolved that the plot to reſtore the abdicated King ſhould be laid wider, extended farther, and more intereſts be united in private cabals of their moſt conſiderable friends, lords and gentlemen, both Whigs and Tories, and that, at every meeting, they ſhould propoſe and debate the moſt effectual ways to bring their deſign about; and, when come to a reſolution, they ſhould tranſmit their ſentimenrs to the royal club (as they called it) in Covent-garden, and they ſelect the moſt rational, among the various opinions, and digeſt them into ſuch methods for practiſe, as ſhould govern the whole party. The reſult of their ſeveral conſultations was, firſt; that the Jacobites being unable to re-inthrone the late King by their own ſtrength, they ſhould indeavor to obtain aſſiſtance from the King of France, who had formerly made them ſuch promiſes; and, ſecondly, ſince delays were dangerous, ſending letters into France hazardous, the court at St. Germain's factious and treacherous, that ſome men of quality and known ability ſhould go over into France, to tranſact that matter for the whole party. This project having the approbation of the leading club, in December 1690, the lord Preſton, mr. Aſhton, and mr. Elliot were pitched upon as proper perſons to be ſent into France. Some would have had their number increaſed; but they were over-ruled by this ſtanding maxim among them; Chuſe well, but have to do but with a few; for a multitude may give, but can never keep council.

Theſe gentlemen, thus appointed by the party, having hired a veſſel of mrs. Jane Prat of Barking, in Eſſex, for their tranſportation into France, went on board her near Battle-bridge; but the whole plot being diſcovered, the government ordered captain Billop to attend their motion, who accordingly ſuffered them to ſail below Graveſend, and then boarded and took them. In mr. Aſhton's boſom was found a packet of letters and papers (1), whereby it appeared that they were going to France, to "promote the treaſonable deſigns of that party "againſt the King and Queen, to invade the realm, "ſubvert the government, and reſtore the late "King by the aſſiſtance of French forces."

Lord Preſton and Mr. Aſhton condemn'd.

The 16th and 19th of January, of this year, the lord Preſton and mr. Aſhton were tried and found guilty of high-treaſon at the Old-Baily. They both received ſentenſe of death as traytors, and mr. Aſhton was executed the 28th of the ſame month (2); but the lord Preſton, having candidly confeſſed all he knew, and being ſupported by the interceſſion of his illuſtrious relations, obtained their Majeſties pardon. There being no poſitive proof againſt mr. Elliot he was not brought to his trial.

Lord Preſton pardon'd.

The 5th of February, the Queen cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued out for diſcovering and apprehending the late biſhop of Ely, William Penn, the famous quaker, and James Graham, eſq, as accomplices of the lord Preſton and John Aſhton, lately attainted for high-treaſon.

Preferments.

The 11th of March, the office of poſt-maſter-general was granted, by letters patent, to ſir Robert Cotton and Thomas Frankland, eſq; and the 25th of the ſame month, ſir Edward Villiers, maſter of the horſe to the Queen, was created baron and viſcount of England, by the ſtile of baron Villiers of Hoo, and viſcount Villiers of Hartford, in the county of Kent.

The parliament adjourned.

The parliament which had been adjourned to the 31ſt of March, then met, but were adjourned again from time to time, till the 22d of October (3).

The 11th of April, a fire happened at Whitehall at the end of the ſtone-gallery. It began at the lodgings of the Princeſs of Denmark's maids of honor, burnt for ſome time, with great violence, and conſumed the whole gallery, but did not reach the King's or Queen's apartments.

The firſt thing his Majeſty did after his arrival, was to give the neceſſary orders for the reduction of Ireland, and to equip and ſet out a numerous fleet, the chief command of which he conferr'd on ad-

(1) Theſe papers were, 1. The reſult of a conference between ſome lords and gentlemen, both Tories and Whigs, in which it was undertaken to prove the poſſibility and method of reſtoring King James by a French power, without indangering the Proteſtant religion, and civil adminiſtration, according to the laws of this kingdom. 2. Heads for a declaration to be prepared in order to be publiſhed, when the French have had ſucceſs at ſea. 3. A liſt of the Engliſh fleet. 4. A letter directed to mr. Reading. 5. A letter directed to mrs. Reading. 6. A letter directed to mrs. Charlton. 7. A letter directed to mrs. Jackſon. 8. Four letters without directions. 9. An alphabet of names for carrying on the correſpondence, to which was prefixed a general direction: for mrs. Ann Ruſſel, to be leſt with mrs. Richeſon; at the blue-boar, in Ryder-ſtreet, near St. James's.

(2) This mr. Aſhton had formerly been treaſurer to the late King James's Queen Mary. At his death, he delivered a traiterous libel to the ſheriff of London, of which, ſome few nights after his execution, printed copies were ſcattered about the ſtreets of London: about a fortnight after came out an anſwer to it, by an anonymous author, ſuppoſed however to be written by dr. Fowler, biſhop of Gloceſter.

(3) About this time, her Majeſty, reſolving, as much as in her lay, to ſtrike at the very root of vice and indigence, idleneſs, incouraged the ſeting up of a linen manufacture, in which many thouſands of poor people were imployed; and not contented with this, to ſet an example to thoſe, who might think themſelves born to live in a voluptuous (or rather ignominious) ſloth, her Majeſty did not diſdain to buſy her royal hands with making of fringes, or knoting, as it was then named. She was ſoon imitated, not only by her maids of honor, but by all ladies of diſtinction throughout the kingdom, and ſo faſhionable was labor, of a ſudden grown, that not only the aſſemblies, and viſiting-rooms, but the ſtreets, the roads, nay the very play-houſes were witneſſes of their pretty induſtry: and it was even the wonder of many that the churches eſcaped. It might have made as good an appearance as the more modern entertainments of the temple in ſome countries.

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miral Ruſſel. He then gave directions for the tranſportation of ſuch troops as he deſign'd ſhould ſerve the approaching campain in Flanders, where he reſolved to command the confederate army in perſon. The neceſſary preparations for war being thus diſpatch'd, his Majeſty beſtowed his royal care on filling the vacant eccleſiaſtical dignities: to this end,

Eccleſiaſtical preferments.

on the 25th of April, he was pleas'd to nominate dr. John Tillotſon, dean of St. Paul's, a divine, who, upon many occaſions, has been juſtly ſtiled one of the greateſt ornaments of the church of England, and was diſtinguiſhed as well by the purity of his morals, and his moderate principles, as his chaſte but maſculine eloquence, to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, in the room of the deprived dr. William Sancroft. Dr. Simon Patrick, biſhop of Chicheſter, a prelate of univerſal learning, and exemplary piety, was tranſlated to the biſhopric of Ely, in the room of the depriv'd dr. Francis Turner. Dr. Edward Fowler was made biſhop of Gloceſter, in the room of the depriv'd dr. Frampton. Dr. Richard Cumberland was promoted to the biſhopric of Peterborough, in the room of the deprived dr. Thomas White; and dr. John Moor, to the biſhopric of Norwich, in the room of the deprived dr. Lloyd. Dr. Gover was made biſhop of Chicheſter; dr. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's; dr. Comber, dean of Durham; mr. Talbot dean of Worceſter, and dr. Woodward, dean of Sarum. The 9th of the next inſuing month, upon the death of dr. Lampleugh, archbiſhop of York, their Majeſties nominated the famous dr. Sharp, dean of Canterbury, for that ſee, and on the 27th of the ſame month, dr. Ironſide, biſhop of Briſtol, was tranſlated to the biſhopric of Hereford, in the room of dr. Crofts, lately deceas'd, and the 13th of June, dr. John Hall ſucceeded him as biſhop of Briſtol. The ſame day, dr. Richard Kidder, dean of Peterborough, was promoted to the biſhopric of Bath and Wells, in the room of the depriv'd dr. Thomas Kenn (1).

The King goes to Holland.

The King made but a ſhort ſtay in England; for ſeting out from Kenſington, the 30th of April, he arriv'd at Harwich, the 1ſt of May, and imbark'd on board the Mary yacht. The 2d, the wind being fair, he ſet ſail immediately, being attended by a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Rook, and landed, the next day, near Maeſland-ſluis. He went from thence to Hounſlaerdyck, and arrived the ſame evening at the Hague. The 8th, he went to Loo, and from thence ſent the earl of Marlborough and the count de Solmes, before hand, to Flanders, to put all things in a readineſs for opening the campain, and to draw the army together againſt his

The campain in in Flanders.

arrival. The 31ſt of May N. S. his Majeſty left Loo, and, paſſing thro' Breda, headed the confederate-army, being accompanied by the duke of Ormond, the marquis of Wincheſter, and the earl of Eſſex (2). This campain prov'd a very inactive one, not worthy the preſenſe of ſo great a King, and ſo great a commander: but the backwardneſs of the allies, in furniſhing of their quota's, purſuant to their ſtipulations, made the French ſo far ſuperior in ſtrength, that it was impoſſible for him to attempt any thing of importance. All he could do was to diſappoint Bouflers in his attempt upon Liege, and to indeavour, tho' in vain, to bring the marſhal de Luxemburg to a battle, which he, on his part, by all poſſible means avoided: ſo that after ſeveral marches and countermarches, his Majeſty having taken and demoliſhed Beaumont, a town the French general had made himſelf maſter of, he left the command of the army, on the 17th of September, to the Prince of Waldeck, and went to Loo. Some days after the King left the army, Luxemburg, being informed of it, ventured to make an attempt on the rear of it, but with little ſucceſs, and thus ended the campain in Flanders. King William, after a month's ſtay at Loo and the Hague, imbarked the 18th of October on board the Mary yacht, and ſeting ſail from the Maeſe, under the convoy of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, arrived the next day in England, and came, the ſame night, to Kenſington. And here I ſhall leave his Majeſty, preparing for the opening of the parliament, and take a view of the affairs of Ireland.

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The King returns to England.

Affairs of Ireland.

The armies, on both ſides, in Ireland, having gone pretty late into winter-quarters, were not very early in the field. The Engliſh, had been not a little diſturbed, during the winter, by the Iriſh rapparees, or robbers, who when they had commited great cruelties and depredations, retreated into their bogs and holds, where no regular troops could reach them (3); they continued their maroding, till the Engliſh army took the field, about the middle of June, when they mixed themſelves, with the late King's troops. General Ginckel, commander in chief of King William's army, which was now conſiderably re-inforced, by the troops under Mackay, from Scotland, decamped, the 6th, of June, from Mullingar, and came the next day before Ballymore; the marquis de Ruſigny, major-general, being ſent before, with a detachment of horſe and dragoons, to poſſeſs himſelf of a paſs between that place and Athlone. As ſoon as the batteries were raiſed, general Ginckel ſent a meſſage to the governor, colonel Ulicke Bourke, "that if he and the gariſon ſurrendered within two "hours, he would ſpare their lives, and treat them "as priſoners of war, but otherwiſe that they had no "mercy to expect". The governor not readily accepting of this offer, the cannon and bombs began to play, the pontoons were put into the water, and every thing prepared for a ſtorm, the ſame evening; upon which he bethought himſelf, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. The gariſon conſiſted of 780 men, beſide four field-officers, and 259 rapparees.

Ballymore inveſted.

And taken.

The damage being repaired, and the place put into a better poſture of defenſe, the army marched from Ballymore the 18th, and being joined, the next day, by the Prince of Wirtemberg, incamped at Balimory's paſs, a ſtrong detachment of horſe, advancing in the mean time to Athlone. The 19th early, the van-guard marched from Balimony, and beat the enemy from ſeveral out-works of the Engliſh town of Athlone, on this ſide the Shannon, where they made a lodgment. A battery of ten eighteen-pounders having demoliſhed a baſtion, near the water-ſide, an aſſault was ordered to be made. This was accordingly performed by the Engliſh with ſo much bravery, that they ſoon drove the Iriſh out of the place, ſome eſcaping over the bridge of Connaught, and the reſt leaping into the Shannon, of which latter many were drowned. Batteries being now placed againſt the Iriſh town,

Athlone beſieged.

(1) It was firſt offer'd to dr. Beveridge, rector of St. Peter's Cornhill, who declin'd accepting of it, for the ſame reaſon that the biſhop of London refuſed the offer of the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, viz. becauſe the incumbent was living; but how to reconcile theſe ſcruples with their having taken the oaths themſelves is not very eaſy.

(2) Biſhop Kennet obſerves, upon this occaſion, "that it was no credit to our nation, to have the example of theſe noble "lords, and Engliſhmen follow'd by no more of their quality.

(3) The lords-juſtices uſed their utmoſt indeavors to ſuppreſs theſe Banditti, as well by offers of mercy, to ſuch as would ſubmit to their Majeſties obedience, as by propoſing a reward for every head of a rapparee; but all to no purpoſe.

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by the twenty-ſecond both the cannon and mortars began to play briskly againſt the North-Eaſt-ſide of the caſtle. The 25th, ſeveral other batteries were raiſed, particularly againſt the bridge, and the 27th, the Engliſh burnt the wooden breaſt-work which the enemy had raiſed, on the other ſide of a broken arch of the bridge; but were unſucceſsful in ſeveral attempts on the bridge, between that day and the 30th. A council of war being held that day, it was warmly debated, whether to hazard another attempt, or to draw off; and ſeveral reaſons were urged for the latter; but the principal officers arguing warmly for the former, they prevailed (1). The attack was made the ſame evening, at the uſual hour of relieving the guards (which prevented the enemy's ſuſpecting their deſign) and was begun by captain Sandys and two lieutenants, who led the firſt party of ſixty grenadiers, all in armor, twenty a-breaſt. They were ſeconded by another ſtrong detachment of grenadiers, commanded by colonel Guſtavus Hamilton, ſupported by ſix battalions of foot. Notwithſtanding the ſtream was very rapid, and the paſſage difficult, on account of ſome great ſtones that were in the river, they took the ford that was on the left of the bridge, againſt a baſtion of the enemy's, with unparallel'd reſolution, and with an amazing intrepidity ſurmounted all difficulties. They forced a paſſage, thro' the water, and, at the ſame time, thro' the enemy's bullets, fire and ſmoak, and gain'd the oppoſite bank; while ſome of the reſt laid planks over the broken part of the bridge, and others prepar'd the pontons. By theſe means, they paſs'd ſo faſt, that, in leſs than half an hour, they became maſters of the town, (the gariſon retreating with the utmoſt precipitation to the Iriſh camp) and immediately afterwards poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the works, that were on that ſide of it towards the enemy. The Engliſh had not above fifty men kill'd in this memorable action (2), the ſucceſs of which was, in a great meaſure owing to the conduct and bravery of the general officers, who animated the intrepid ſoldiers with their preſenſe and example (3).

And taken.

General Ginckel, having put Athlone into a poſture of defenſe, march'd with his army, the 10th of July, and, having reach'd Ballinaſloe, incamp'd along the river Suck, on the Roſcommon ſide, which was a very good paſs, and which the Iriſh, if they had not been blinded by their own fears, might likewiſe have ſecur'd, and thereby have given the Engliſh a great deal of trouble.

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But they ſoon retriev'd this error, by poſſeſſing themſelves of a far more advantageous poſt, on the other ſide of Aghrim-caſtle, three miles beyond Ballinaſloe, where they were extended from the church of Kilcomnodon, on their right, to a place call'd Gourtnapori, about two miles in length. On their left run a rivulet, having ſteep hills, and little bogs, on each ſide; next to which was a large red bog, almoſt a mile over, on the end whereof ſtood the caſtle of Aghrim, commanding the way that led to the camp, paſſable no where for horſe, but juſt at the caſtle, by reaſon of a ſmall river, which, running thro' a moiſt ground, made the whole a moraſs. This moraſs extended itſelf along to the right, where there was another paſs, at Urachree, having a riſing ground on either ſide thereof, and the Iriſh camp lay along the ridge of a hill, on the ſide of which ſtood two Daniſh forts, about half a mile's diſtance from the bog below, and this cut into many ſmall incloſures, which the Iriſh lined very thick with ſmall ſhot, and manag'd a communication between them. General Ginckel having view'd the enemy's camp, found it was very advantageous, but as he had advanc'd ſo far, that he muſt either fight his way thro', or ſhamefully retreat, he order'd the army to march towards the enemy the next day: and St. Ruth, on his ſide, perceiving, by the diſpoſitions of the Engliſh, that they were reſolved to attack him, made a ſolemn ſpeech to the Iriſh, to rouſe their courage (4).

The battle of Aghrim.

The 12th of July, being ſunday, the Engliſh army prepar'd, early in the morning, to advance towards the enemy; but the weather proving foggy, they did not move 'till about twelve o'clock, when they did it with all the order the ground would allow of.

The general having, at the ſame time, view'd the poſture of the Iriſh, and perceiving it would be neceſſary for him to be maſter of the paſs of Urachree, ſent a Daniſh captain, with ſome horſe, to force it; but they not ſucceeding, he order'd 200 of Cunningham's dragoons to march to certain ditches near the ford, to keep the enemy from coming over, and, in the mean time, the Engliſh army march'd forward. It being, by this time, two o'clock, and the general, ſeing himſelf under a neceſſity to gain that ford, and the other ways which

(1) They urged, "that no brave action could be performed without hazard; that the attempt was like to be ended with "ſucceſs, and proffered themſelves to be the firſt that ſhould paſs the river, and attack the enemy.

(2) This enterpriſe may juſtly be ſaid to be the moſt glorious as well as the moſt hazardous of this whole war; an enterpriſe ſo brave as can hardly be match'd in hiſtory; a place, proudly thought inacceſſible, reſolutely taken in leſs than an hour's time; a fortified town attack'd croſs a deep and wide river, by 3000 men only, in the face of a conſiderable army, who were maſters of all the fords, by the retrenchments they had caſt before them.

It is remarkable, that as ſoon as the Engliſh enter'd the river, advice being ſent of it to monſ. St. Ruth, who commanded the French anxiliaries, and the Iriſh army, he ſaid; "It is impoſſible for the Engliſh to pretend to take a town, while I am "ſo near, with an army to defend it; I would give a thouſand piſtols they durſt attempt it:" Colonel Sarsfield, who happen'd to be preſent, anſwer'd; "He knew the enterpriſe was not too difficult for Engliſh courage to attempt it:" and, therefore, preſs'd St. Ruth to ſend ſpeedy ſuccors to the town, but he ſtill perſiſted to turn the undertaking into a jeſt, upon which warm words paſs'd between them. St. Ruth was, however, ſoon convinc'd of his miſtake, and when he was inform'd, that the Engliſh were in actual poſſeſſion of the place, he order'd ſeveral detachments to beat them out again; but it was then too late, and he found he had been guilty of another overſight, in not levelling thoſe fortifications of Athlone, which were next his camp: for now the Engliſh us'd the enemy's own works againſt them, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into the whole army of French and Iriſh, that they decamp'd that very night.

(3) General Ginckel gain'd ſo much honor by this enterpriſe, that the title of earl of Athlone was juſtly intail'd on his family, on that account.

(4) This ſpeech is too remarkable to be omited in hiſtory: he put them in mind; "how ſucceſsful he had been in ſuppreſſing "Hereſy in France, and bringing over a vaſt number of deluded ſouls into the boſom of the mother-church; that for this rea-"ſon his maſter had choſen him, before others, to eſtabliſh the church in Ireland, on ſuch a foundation, that it ſhould not "henceforward be in the power of hell or heretics to diſturb it; and that all good Roman Catholics depended on their "courage to ſee theſe glorious things effected. He confeſs'd matters did not intirely anſwer his expectation ſince he came among "them; but that ſtill all might be recover'd. That he was inform'd the Prince of Orange's heretical army was reſolv'd to "give them battle: That now or never was the time for them to recover their loſt honors, and the privileges and eſtates of "their anceſtors; urging to them, that they were no mercenary ſoldiers, there all being at ſtake, and their deſign to reſtore a "pious King to his throne, to propogate the holy faith, and extirpate hereſy. And laſtly, to animate their courage more ef-"fectually, he aſſured them of King James's love and gratitude; of Lewis the great's protection; of himſelf to lead them on; "of the church to pray for them, and of ſaints and angels to carry their ſouls into Heaven," concluding with an order, "to give "quarter to none, eſpecially not to ſpare any of the French heretics, in the Prince of Orange's army.

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led to the right of the Iriſh camp, as the moſt proper means to attack them, commanded Cunningham's dragoons, at the ditch, to advance towards a party of the enemy, who were poſted on the other ſide; but upon their approach, with another party that ſuſtained him, all retired behind a hill, nearer the camp, where a greater body were poſted. Theſe parties, being all continually re-inforced by others, obliged the Engliſh dragoons to retreat; upon which general Ginckel order'd Eppinger's dragoons to get between theſe bodies, and the enemy's camp. The enemy preſently diſcover'd this motion, and had the advantage in pouring ſo many men upon the Engliſh, that they would have been ſtill too hard for the dragoons, if the earl of Portland had not ſeconded them with his horſe, and behaved in the moſt courageous manner. This was at firſt a ſkirmiſh only, but a conſiderable body on both ſides were ſoon ingag'd; and the enemy quickly retiring, the generals took it into conſideration, whether it were not beſt to put off the continuation of the battle till the next morning.

This was at firſt reſolved on, and the tents were accordingly ordered to be ſent for; but afterwards, perceiving the enemy to be in ſome diſorder, by what had already happened, it was reſolved not to delay the attack, for fear they ſhould march off in the night, and they thereby loſe the opportunity of a deciſive battle. Major-general Mackay adviſed to begin the fight on the enemy's right, by which he propoſed to draw part of their force from Aghrim-caſtle, near which their main body was poſted, that ſo the right wing of the Engliſh might have the eaſier paſſage over to attack their left, and then the whole Engliſh army might ingage, which otherwiſe would be impoſſible. This advice was followed, and had its deſired effect.

Between four and five in the afternoon, theſe diſpoſitions being made, a party of the Engliſh left wing begun to move towards the enemy, and by five the battle was renew'd. The Iriſh muſkeeters had lined the ditches every where, and their horſe were advantageouſly poſted to ſuſtain them. They behaved with all the bravery imaginable, and defended their poſts with an incredible obſtinacy; they never offer'd to ſtir from one ſide, till the Engliſh put their pieces over at the other, and then having lines of communication from one ditch to the other, they could preſently poſt themſelves, and flank the Engliſh. This was the occaſion of a very hot fire, on both ſides, which continued, on the left, above an hour, before the center, and the right wing of the army, began to ingage. The main body of the Engliſh army advanced, in the mean time, and major-general Mackay, with other general officers, obſerving ſeveral bodies of the enemy's horſe and foot draw off from the left, and move towards their right, where they were preſs'd very hard by the Engliſh, they laid hold of that advantage, and made the foot march over the bog, which fronted the enemy's main battle. The regiments of Erle, Herbert, Creighton and Brewer, going over the narroweſt place, where the hedges on the enemy's ſide run fartheſt into the bog, they had orders to march to the loweſt of the ditches, adjoining to the ſide of the bog, and there to poſt themſelves, till the horſe could come about, by Aghrim-caſtle, and ſuſtain them, and 'till the other foot had march'd over the bog below, where it was broader, and were ſupported by Foulk's and brigadier Stewart's regiment.

Purſuant to theſe orders, the four regiments advanced over the bog, moſt of them to the middle in mud and water, and as they drew near the ditches, received the enemy's fire; notwithſtanding which they continued their march till they came to the loweſt hedge, from whence they beat the Iriſh, and purſued them from hedge to hedge, till they came pretty near their main body.

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The Iriſh, on the other hand, had made ſuch diſpoſitions, that they had an eaſy paſſage for their horſe, among all thoſe hedges and ditches, by which means they poured in a-freſh, in great numbers, both of horſe and foot, upon the Engliſh. Colonel Erle, obſerving this, incouraged his men, by telling them, "that now their ſafety lay wholly in "their courage". However, being both flanked and fronted, and expoſed beſide to the enemy's fire from the adjacent hedges, the Engliſh were forced to quit their ground, and retreat to the bog again, with a conſiderable loſs, the colonels Erle and Herbert being taken priſoners (1).

While theſe things paſſed on this ſide, the regiments of colonel St. John, colonel Tiffin, the lord George Hamilton, and the French Proteſtants in Engliſh ſervice, with ſeveral other regiments, were marching over the bog below, while the Iriſh lay ſo cloſe in their ditches, that it was queſtioned by many, whether they had any men there or no; but no ſooner were the French Proteſtants, and the reſt of the troops, advanced within twenty yards of the ditches, than the enemy fired moſt furiouſly upon them, which the other ſuſtained with intrepidity, ſtill preſſing forwards, tho' they could hardly ſee one another for ſmoak, the wind blowing directly upon them. For ſome time the battle had remained doubtful, but now the victory ſeemed to incline on the ſide of the Iriſh; for they had driven the foot in the center ſo far back, that they were got almoſt into a line with the cannon that were planted near the bog, of which the Engliſh had then no benefit, the Iriſh being intermixed with their men.

While the infantry was thus ingaged, major-general Ruvigny's regiment of French horſe (which had before been duke Schomberg's) and ſir John Laniers, being both poſted on the right, the latter was afterwards drawn to the left, where they were ſerviceable, and the right wing of the Engliſh horſe were, in the mean time, making the beſt of their way to ſuccor the foot, ſeing in what danger they were in, and that all was at ſtake. This cavalry was obliged to preſs and tumble over a very dangerous paſs, and, at the ſame time, ſuſtain ſhowers of the enemy's bullets, from a body of their dragoons and foot, which were conveniently poſted under covert; but having ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, they at length lodged themſelves in a dry ditch, in the hotteſt of the enemy's fire from Aghrim-caſtle, and ſome old walls and hedges that were near it. In the center, the Engliſh infantry labored, all this while, under great diſadvantages, which major-general Talmaſh obſerving, he haſtened to their relief, with ſome freſh men, and gave orders to the broken regiments to halt and face about, which they immediately did, and bravely charged the Iriſh, who had advanced upon them to the center of the bog, killed above 300 of them, before they could retreat out of it, and then marched up boldly to their old ground again, from whence they had been juſt before beaten. In the mean time, major-general Mackay had fallen upon the enemy with a good body of horſe on their left, and among the reſt the French regiment of horſe had forc'd a regiment of Iriſh dragoons from an advantageous poſt, and put Tyrconnel's horſe to flight. Upon which, major-general Ruvigny, at the head of the Oxford

(1) The former, after having been twice taken and retaken, eſcap'd at laſt; but the latter, as it was ſaid, was barbarouſly murder'd by the Iriſh, after quarter given, when they ſaw he was like to be reſcued.

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regiment of horſe, ſupported by his own, went along the ſide of the bog, and bore all down before him. And now the horſe and foot of the Engliſh right, and the Iriſh left, being mixed, there was nothing but a continued fire, and a very warm diſpute all along the line, the Iriſh, with great reſolution, indeavoring to maintain their ditches, and the Engliſh, with no leſs bravery, to beat them out of them.

St. Ruth, when he ſaw the Engliſh foot in the centure repuls'd, told thoſe about him, in a bravado, that he would beat the Engliſh army to the gates of Dublin; yet ſeing, with great ſurprize, the regiments of Oxford, Ruvigny, Langſton and Bierly, together with Levingſton's dragoons preſſing over towards the caſtle, he order'd a brigade of his own horſe from the right wing to march up to the left, then riding to one of his batteries, and giving orders to the gunners where to fire, and afterwards leading on ſome horſe towards the place, where he ſaw the Engliſh indeavor to go over, he was killed by a cannon ball, as he rode down the hill of Kilcommondon, the place where the main ſtreſs of the battle was fought, being juſt under the Iriſh camp. His troops were immediately put to a ſtand, and his guards drawing off with his corps, many others took that opportunity to draw off likewiſe (1). The Engliſh, who obſerved their diſorder, preſs'd boldly on, and ſoon drove the enemy to the top of Kilcommondon-hill, where their camp had lain. Upon this, they began to commit their ſafety to their flight, the foot running full ſpeed towards a great bog behind them on their left, and the horſe on the highway towards Loughbreagh.

The troops, which ingag'd firſt towards the left, maintain'd their ground, in the mean time, bravely, and tho' the Iriſh did, once or twice make themſelves maſter of the Chevaux de Friſe, that cover'd the French foot, yet the French regain'd them with great valor. Little happen'd, however, on that ſide, for near two hours, neither did the Daniſh horſe and foot, that were on the left of all, diſturb the enemy as yet, but kept ſeveral bodies of horſe and foot, that forc'd them, on the other ſide of the rivulet, in awe: but when they perceiv'd Mackay's battalions in the center, to drive the enemy before them, leſt thoſe bodies that fac'd them, ſhould fall back to the relief of the flying party, they ingag'd them very briſkly, and were, at firſt, oppos'd with great bravery; but victory begining to declare againſt the Iriſh, on every ſide, they all fled out of the field, their foot being miſerably ſlaughter'd by the Engliſh horſe and dragoons, and their horſe purſued them three miles. Night coming on, with a thick miſty rain, prevented the Engliſh from geting between the runaways, and a very advantageous paſs, near Loughbreagh, which gave many of them an opportunity to eſcape. However, it was computed, that there were no leſs than 4000 of the Iriſh kill'd on the ſpot, whereas the Engliſh had not above 700 kill'd, and about as many wounded (2). General Ginckel had always the modeſty to confeſs, that the honor of the day was principally owing to the conduct and bravery of monſ. Ruvigny (afterwards earl of Galway) and to the Oxford and French regiments of horſe (3).

The Iriſh routed.

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After ſome days refreſhment, general Ginckel, reſolving his victorious army ſhould purſue their good fortune, ordered them to march towards Galway, the only place of any importance, excepting Limerick, now left in the hands of the Iriſh, and having poſted his forces before it, he ſent a ſummons to the garriſon. The lord Dillon, who was governor of the place, anſwer'd, "that monſ. "D' Uſſon, who commanded in chief, as well as "himſelf and the reſt of the officers, were reſolved "to defend the place to the laſt." However, the Engliſh had no ſooner croſs'd the river, with part of their army, and had taken the fort, which the Iriſh were building, than theſe reſolute officers beat a parly, and hoſtages were immediately exchang'd. The Iriſh ſtarting ſome difficulties about the ſurrender, general Ginckel grew impatient, and ſent once or twice to them for a reſolution. At length, lieutenant-general Bourk, one of the Iriſh hoſtages, was permited to go in, to whom, major-general Talmaſh, who, as it was believed, was rather inclin'd to lay the treaty aſide, and to take the town by ſtorm, ſaid; "When you are ready to "begin again, give us a ſign by firing a gun into "the air;" but Bourk replied, "we will not "fire a gun from within, 'till we are provoked "from without." Soon after the articles were agreed on, and the town delivered into the hands of the Engliſh (4).

Galway ſurrender'd to the Engliſh.

The 25th of Auguſt, the Engliſh army came, a ſecond time, before Limerick, and immediately poſſeſs'd themſelves of Ireton's and Cromwell's forts (5). The 27th, caſtle Connel, and caſtle Carruck-a-gunnell, three miles below the town, on the Shannon, were taken, and the gariſons of both made priſoners of war. At the ſame time, ſome Engliſh ſhips came unexpectedly up the river, which very much terified the Iriſh. Notwithſtanding this, and ſeveral ſucceſſes the Engliſh had, in a council of war, held the 17th of September, it was warmly debated, whether to proſecute the ſiege, or march over the river, to deſtroy all the enemy's forage in the county of Clare, and then turn the ſiege into a blockade however, it was, at length, carried for the former. The 22d, general Ginckel paſs'd the Shannon over a bridge of boats, with ſtrong detachments of horſe and dragoons, ten battalions of foot, and fourteen pieces of cannon, leaving the Prince of Wirtemberg, Mackay and Talmaſh, to command on this ſide. The enemy fired that morning continually from ſeveral batteries, but did no great harm. The ſame afternoon, a party of colonel Matthew's dragoons was vigorouſly attack'd by a ſtronger detachment of the enemy, 'till the Engliſh foot coming up, the Iriſh retreated under their cannon. Upon this, all the Engliſh grenadiers, ſupported by four regiments of foot, were order'd to

Second ſiege of Limerick.

(1) Upon the death of monſ. St. Ruth, the command of the Iriſh army devolv'd upon colonel Sarsfield; but as, ſince the difference between him and monſ. St. Ruth, at Athlone, he had always been on the reſerve with him, he did not know the order of battle.

(2) This victory was as glorious, as it was conſiderable in its conſequences, and the more ſo, as beſide the vaſt advantages the Iriſh had in their ground, they exceeded the Engliſh in number of men, the latter having, at moſt, barely 18,000 men, whereas the former had 20,000 foot, and 5000 horſe and dragoons.

(3) Father Orleans, notwithſtanding he pretends his hiſtory was written under the inſpection of King James, is as evidently faulty in this part of it, as in many others. He pretends, "King William would never have made a conqueſt of Ireland had "not St. Ruth been kill'd by a cannon-ball, after he had broke all the enemy's foot, and as he was actually giving orders for pur-"ſuing that begining of victory, which was ſtopp'd by his death, and given to his enemy." Echard's tranſlation of F. Orleans, p. 328. The Jeſuit's relation is evidently falſe, becauſe the Engliſh had actually recovered the ground they had loſt, and were in purſuit of the Iriſh horſe and dragoons before St. Ruth was kill'd.

(4) The conſequence of this ſucceſs was the ſubmiſſion of Baldarick O Donnel, with a conſiderable number of men under his command; and it was thought to have been the death of Tyrconnel, who ended his days at Limerick, the fourteenth of Auguſt, as it was believed, with grief, to ſee his maſter's affairs in ſo bad a condition.

(5) They were afterwards call'd Mackay's and Naſſau's forts, becauſe they were taken by theſe two commanders.

attack

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attack the works which cover'd Thomond-bridge, conſiſting of two forts, one on each ſide of it, and ſeveral other fortifications, in which the enemy had poſted above 200 men. The diſpute was very obſtinate for ſome time, and the attack dangerous; becauſe the enemy plied the aſſailants very warmly, not only with their cannon, from the King's caſtle, and two or three other batteries, but with their ſmall ſhot from the wall. Nevertheleſs, the Engliſh grenadiers preſs'd the Iriſh ſo vigorouſly, that they abandon'd their poſts: a ſtrong detachment was, hereupon, ſent from the town to ſupport them; but the Engliſh purſued their advantage with ſo much fierceneſs, that they beat this detachment too, and purſued the enemy over the bridge, to the very gate of the town (1).

Limerick ſurrender'd.

Having gain'd this advantage, the Engliſh lodg'd themſelves within ten yards of the bridge, notwithſtanding a high tower, that ſtood near the end of the bridge, next to them. The Iriſh being now cut off from all communication with their horſe, and deſpairing of any ſuccor from the French, began to think of giving up the town; which, after ſeveral conferences between the principal officers on both ſides, and the lords-juſtices of Ireland, who came to the camp for that purpoſe, they, at length, did, by capitulation, ſign'd the 3d of October, not only for the city of Limerick, and the caſtles of Roſe and Clare, but all other places and caſtles which were ſtill in the hands of the Iriſh (2): and the ſame evening one of the gates was deliver'd up to the Engliſh. So many of the Iriſh as were willing to go were ſhip'd off for France, where, upon their arrival, King James wellcom'd them with a letter, directed to lieutenant-general Sheldon, the chief officer then with them, in which he expreſs'd himſelf intirely ſatisfied, with their conduct (3). Thus, by the taking of Limerick, all Ireland was reduced to the obedience of their lawful ſovereigns, King William and Queen Mary; the town of Sligo having ſurrender'd to the earl of Granard ſome time before (4).

Ireland intirely reduced.

The affairs of Scotland were this year ſo inconſiderable, that they are hardly worth our notice. The Highlanders kept very quiet in their holds, and in civil affairs, there happened nothing remarkable. I ſhall, therefore, proceed to give a brief account of the tranſactions of our fleets, which were likewiſe not very conſiderable.

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Affairs of Scotland inconſiderable.

Maritime affairs.

I have already obſerved, that mr. Ruſſel was appointed admiral of the fleet, and the greateſt diligence was uſed in order to an early campaign. By his inſtructions he was, indeed, impowered to proceed from time to time, in ſuch manner as might beſt inable him to deſtroy the enemy, either by ſea or land, without expecting particular orders; it was however expreſly provided, that if bad weather rendered it unſafe for him to proceed to ſea, he ſhould repair to, and remain at Torbay, 'till farther orders, the conſequences of which reſtraint were not, perhaps, ſo thoroughly conſidered, as they might have been. With his inſtructions, the admiral likewiſe received a liſt of the ſhips of which the main fleet was appointed to conſiſt (5).

The admiral received orders to put to ſea, ſooner than he thought it proper to hazard the great ſhips, which he believed it neceſſary to remonſtrate, but withal declar'd his willingneſs to obey her Majeſty's commands. He was likewiſe againſt ſending any large fleet to Galloway; nor did he approve of leaving Dunkirk unguarded, 'till the uncertain arrival of other Dutch ſhips, both which had been propos'd. Her Majeſty, receiving, however, intelligence, from Holland, toward the latter end of April, that a fleet of men of war, with about 200 tranſports, were near upon ready to ſail from France for Ireland, gave the admiral poſitive orders, to ſail forthwith for the Soundings. Purſuant to which he appointed Cape Clear for the rendezvous; and the beſt part of the fleet, being got together, form'd them into a line of battle, to be ready for ſervice (6): but while he was doing this, he received orders, from her Majeſty, the 10th of May, to ſend the

(1) A French major, who commanded at the Thomond-gate, fearing the Engliſh might enter pell-mell with the fugitives, order'd the bridge of the gate to be drawn up, and thereby left the party expoſed to the fury of thoſe who purſued them, who kill'd 600 of them and made near 200 priſoners: and many of the Iriſh were beſide drowned.

(2) The articles conſiſted of two parts, civil and military: the firſt were ſign'd by the lords-juſtices as well as the generals; but the latter by the general only, on the Engliſh part. By the four firſt military articles, all the Iriſh who were willing to go to France, had liberty ſo to do: but, two days after they were ſign'd, the general received a letter, from a lieutenant-colonel in the Iriſh army, complaining, that he was under confinement for refuſing to go to France. This violence was ſo reſented by general Ginckel, that he immediately ordered four guns to be planted upon Boll's-bridge, and, with ſome warmth, ſaid he would teach the Iriſh to play tricks with him. Sarsfield came hereupon to the Engliſh camp, and ſeveral warm words paſs'd between him and the general, on this account: and Sarsfield ſaying, "that he was then in the general's power;" "not ſo (replied "Ginckel) but you ſhall go in again, and do the worſt you can." However, all things were, at length, accommodated, and the priſoners inlarg'd.

(3) The ſubſtance of this letter was as follows:

"That having been inform'd of the neceſſities, which forc'd the lords-juſtices, and the general-officers of his forces to ſurrender "Limerick and other places, that remain'd to him, in his kingdom of Ireland, he would not defer to let him, and the reſt of "the officers, come along with him, know, that he was extreamly ſatisfied with his and their conduct, and with the valor of the "ſoldiers, but moſt particularly with his and their declaration and reſolution to come and ſerve where he was; aſſuring both him, "and the other officers and ſoldiers, that he ſhould never forget this act of loyalty, nor fail, when in a capacity, to give them, "above others, particular marks of his favor. In the mean time, he charg'd Sheldon to inform them, that they were to ſerve un-"der his Majeſty's command, and by his commiſſions; and that his brother, the King of France, had already given orders to "cloath them, to furniſh them with all neceſſaries, and to give them quarters of refreſhment.

(4) Thus ended this famous Iriſh war, to the immortal honor of general Ginckel, and with ſo much the more glory to the Engliſh, becauſe the rebels were ſo powerfully ſupported by the French King; who had reaſon to think it his intereſt, to divert their arms that way; and it is remarkable, that a fleet of men of war and ſtore-ſhips, which he had ſent to the relief of Limerick, arrived in Dingle-bay, but a day or two after the articles, for the ſurrender of that place, were ſign'd. Father Orleans pretends, "the ſecond ſiege of Limerick was ſuſtain'd with ſuch reputation, that it might have been a means to reſtore that "King:" but the Engliſh, probably to ſave the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, did not give them ſo great opportunity to exerciſe their valour as at Athlone and Aghrim, and the Iriſh were in the more haſte to capitulate, that they might obtain good terms, as they did: and, indeed, as many thought better than they had reaſon to expect.

(5) According to this liſt, his fleet conſiſted of five firſt-rates; eleven ſecond-rates; two and thirty third-rates; nine fourth-rates; four fifth-rates; three ſixth-rates; twenty fire-ſhips; four hoſpital-ſhips; one ſloop; one brigantine; and one yacht; in all ninety-one ſail, ſeventy of which were of the line of battle; beſide the Dutch, which came over in good time, and whoſe quota was generally five to eight, or, as biſhop Burnet ſays, was this time agreed to be, three to five, of equal rates and ſtrength.

(6) Conſiſting of five firſt-rates; eleven ſecond-rates; two and thirty third-rates; nine fourth-rates; one fifth-rate; four ſixth-rates; four frigats; fifteen fire-ſhips; four hoſpital-ſhips; one bomb veſſel; and one yacht; making together eighty-ſeven ſail, of which ſeven and fifty were of the line of battle, Engliſh: and of the Dutch, ſeventeen ſhips, from ninety-two to fifty guns, and four of leſſer burden, together one and twenty ſail; in all, Engliſh and Dutch, one hundred and eight ſail. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 649.

fleet

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fleet to St. Hellen's or Spithead, and himſelf to come immediately to court (1).

When he returned to the fleet, he had orders, to ſend ſome ſhips into the Iriſh channel, to cruiſe upon the coaſt of Scotland, without Cantire, to prevent the French tranſporting any forces from Ireland to that kingdom: but the ſhips, which were expected from Dunkirk, not being come, and the Dutch admiral refuſing to ſend ſhips of his ſquadron to ſupply, in part, their place, theſe orders could not be complied with. The Queen being informed of this delay, renewed her order, that the fleet ſhould ſail as ſoon as poſſible, according to her former inſtructions, without ſtaying for the return of the Dunkirk-ſquadron.

The 20th of May, the fleet was ready, and the admiral intended to ſail, the next morning, from the Downs to Torbay, and to leave orders for mr. Churchill, to follow him thither, with the ſquadron under his command, off of Dunkirk; but a S. W. wind preventing him, he received the Queen's orders, the twenty-ſecond, to proceed before Breſt.

The twenty-third, in the morning, the fleet ſet ſail; but, being got as far Weſtward as Dungeneſſe, was forced back into the Downs, with a hard gale at S. W. and, ſoon after, advice came, that the French were arrived, with 100 tranſports, in the river Shannon, and that their convoy was cruiſing between that river and Galloway; upon which her Majeſty ordered the admiral to proceed off of Breſt, but to ſend a frigat to Kingſale, for intelligence, and, if there was any probability of deſtroying thoſe ſhips, to detach a ſquadron for that purpoſe, with orders to return to the fleet, as ſoon as the ſervice was perform'd (2).

At length, the weather proving favorable, the fleet put to ſea, and, on the 14th of June, being ſix leagues S. E. from the iſle of Wight, it was reſolv'd, by a council of the flag-officers, to fix the ſtation eight leagues W. from Uſhant, and that ſhips ſhould be detach'd from thence, to look into Breſt. The 19th they got off of Plymouth, but were forc'd, by bad weather, back to Torbay (3). The 22d the admiral got under ſail again, and, when he was off of Dartmouth, received advice, by an expreſs, that the French were at ſea, with twenty-eight ſhips. The 28th it was confirmed by ſome fiſhermen, who ſaid they had lain four days becalmed, off of Uſhant, which then bore E. S. E. from them, about nine leagues; upon which it was reſolved, by the flag-officers, to ſtretch over to Cape-Clear; and, when the admiral came off of Kingſale, he found the Smirna-fleet in ſafe harbor there.

The admiral having convoy'd this fleet off of Scilly, parted with them there, the 13th of July, and ſhaped his courſe towards the French coaſt, in ſearch of the French fleet; and no ſooner was Uſhant diſcover'd from the maſt-head, than ſir Cloudeſly Shovel was ſent to look into Breſt, while the admiral followed at a convenient diſtance. When he was about a league from St. Matthew's-point, he ſaw about forty ſail coming out of Breſt-harbor, which proved to be coaſting veſſels from Bretagne, with three men of war, of about forty guns each. Sir Cloudeſly, to decoy theſe ſhips, ſtood in, with part of his ſquadron, under French colors, and the reſt without any; which made them believe it was ſome prizes ſent home with part of their own fleet; ſo that they were coming out to meet them; but finding their miſtake, every one ſhifted for himſelf, as well as he could.

The ſeven and twentieth, the fleet being about thirty leagues from Uſhant, ſeveral veſſels were ſeen under convoy of a man of war, and two ſhips ſuppoſed to be fire-ſhips. The ſame ſtratagem was made uſe of as before, to deceive them, with white colors; but one of our captains being too forward in the chaſe, only three of the ſmall veſſels fell into our hands.

The admiral finding all methods for coming up with the enemy proved ineffectual (for as biſhop Burnet obſerves they had orders to avoid an ingagement) was deſirous of freſh orders, how to proceed with the fleet; when, on the nine and twentieth, the Queen ſent him directions, if the French fleet was not at ſea, or in ſuch a ſtation, that he could not prudently attack them, he ſhould forthwith repair to the coaſt of Ireland, for ſecurity of our merchant-ſhips; but left him at liberty to go to Kingſale, to refreſh his men, or to remain in ſuch ſtation, near that place, where he ſhould judge the fleet might be moſt ſafe, and in the greateſt readineſs to execute orders. He was, however, adviſed, not to leave the French coaſt immediately, becauſe he might probably ſoon, if it all, have an opportunity of fighting.

The 31ſt of July (the fleet having till then kept its ſtation, about ſixty leagues, W. S. W. from Uſhant) the admiral gave orders, once more, to ſtand for Uſhant; and three days after, the marquis of Carmarthen's ſloop, being upon the chaſe, off of Uſhant, ſaw upwards of a hundred ſail, in Broad-Sound, which, as they ſuppoſed, proved to be the French fleet going to Breſt. Upon this advice, it was reſolved, on the 5th of Auguſt, in a council of war, that it was neceſſary to return with the fleet to Torbay, to recruit. While the fleet was at Torbay, it was propos'd, from court, to attack the French fleet in Camaret-bay: but this project was diſapproved of in a council of war, and as it was only propoſed, and not abſolutely commanded, of courſe drop'd.

The 25th of Auguſt, the admiral received orders to put to ſea again, with the firſt fair wind, as well to meet the French fleet, ſhould they venture to come out again, as for ſecurity of the trade, and to intercept ſuccors from France to Ireland. Purſuant to theſe orders, he made the land of Uſhant the laſt of Auguſt; but nothing appearing there, that day or the next, he ſailed for the Lizard, from whence the appointed ſtation was ten leagues Weſt-South-Weſt (4).

The ſecond of September, our fleet being in the Soundings, ſo violent a ſtorm aroſe, that for their ſafety, they were obliged to bear up for ſo dangerous a part as Plymouth, where they arrived in a ſhattered condition, with the loſs of the Coronation,

(1) The occaſion of theſe orders was, becauſe there was reaſon to apprehend, that the French intended not only to ſend ammunition, and other inſtruments of war, to Ireland; but to tranſport a conſiderable number of Iriſh, from thence to Scotland: and, therefore, the Queen was deſirous to intercept them, in their paſſage, and to confer with him in perſon, that as well this, as all other affairs, relating to the expedition, might be mutually deliberated. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 649.

(2) The 1ſt of June, the admiral was acquainted, that the news of the duke of Berwick's being gone to Scotland was contradicted, and not many days after he received advice from court, that the French ſquadron was certainly gone back from Ireland, and the tranſports would probably be clear of that kingdom, before the fleet could arrive: his orders were therefore renewed, to ſail to Breſt, Belle-Iſle, or ſome ſtation thereabouts, to prevent the French from attempting our Smirna-fleet. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 650.

(3) There, the admiral received a letter from mr. Ailmer, dated off of Cape St. Vincent, by which he judg'd the Smirna-fleet was in Ireland, or, at leaſt, very near the Soundings. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. ib.

(4) If the French had been inclined to fight, they could not have wiſhed a fairer opportunity: for they might have had the weather-gage on their own coaſt; but they were ſatisfied to lie ſafe in port, rather than hazard blows tho' with this advantage. Lediard's naval hiſtory Vol. 2. p. 652.

a ſecond-

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a ſecond-rate, which foundered off of the Ramhead, and the Harwich, a third-rate, which ran on ſhoar and was bulged. And thus ended the fruitleſs tranſactions of our fleet for this year: for tho' a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips was formed, and ordered, under the command of ſir Ralph Delaval to ſtation between twenty and thirty leagues South-weſt of Cape-Clear; yet he being four times beaten back by contrary winds, his expedition ended in as little as that of the great fleet.

Affairs in America.

We had this year, again, a ſquadron of men of war in America, under the command of captain Ralph Wren, as commadore. The only thing which happened remarkable in the expedition was, that on the 21ſt of February, he met a French ſquadron of eighteen men of war, from ſixty to forty guns; which the next morning, he bravely ingaged, tho' he had but ſeven men of war, under his command, and a fleet of merchant-ſhips to take care of. After a warm action of four hours, finding the French fleet too much his ſuperior, he made his retreat, with great conduct, and brought his whole ſquadron and convoy, without the loſs of a ſhip, into Carliſle-bay, in Barbadoes (1). Commadore Wren dying ſoon after, captain Boteler, the ſenior commander, ſailed, with part of the ſquadron, from Barbadoes, in June (leaving the reſt to attend the plantations) and arrived in England, in Auguſt.

Before I return to England, I ſhall juſt hint at the affairs on the continent. Thoſe of Flanders, I have already diſpatched; I come now to Spain.

Affairs of Spain.

The Spaniards had met with a ſenſible mortification in Flanders, by the loſs of Mons: but they met with a greater near home by their ill ſucceſs in Catalonia, where the French took Urgell, fortified Belver, and advanced to attack Prato Melo, the Spaniards every where flying before them: nor were they more ſucceſsful at ſea, ſince they could not prevent the marſhal d' Etrees from terrifying the city of Barcelona with a bombardment.

Affairs of Italy.

The French were no leſs proſperous in Italy; for monſ. Catinat, taking the field early, made himſelf maſter of Villa-Franca, the forts of St. Auſpice and Montalban; and ſoon after of the city and caſtle of Nice; he likewiſe made great progreſs in Piedmont, took Villana and Carmagnola, and detached the marquis de Feuquieres, with a ſtrong body, to inveſt Coni, and tho' Prince Eugene had the good fortune to raiſe that ſiege, and to retake Carmagnola, and the French were obliged to abandon Foſſano, Savillana and Saluſſes, and to retreat towards Pignerol, yet the duke of Savoy was a great ſufferer, by the ill ſucceſs of the former part of the campain. Monſ. Catinat, likewiſe, concluded the campain ſucceſsfully, by taking the caſtle of Montmelan, by which means, the French became intire maſters of all the duchy of Savoy. On the 1ſt of February this year, died Pope Alexander VIII, who was ſucceeded by Pope Innocent XII, of the family of Pignatelli.

Affairs of Germany.

On the Rhine, the campain was, this year, very inconſiderable, tho' the French had rather the advantage on that ſide too. Their firſt attempt was on the city of Mentz, which was to have been delivered to them by treachery, but their deſign being prevented by a timely diſcovery, they took the town of Algeſheim, about five or ſix German miles from that city, after ſome reſiſtance, and then retreated to Creutznach. On the other hand, the Germans, under the command of the elector of Saxony, having the generals Caprara and Schoning under him, croſſed the Rhine near Manheim; but they were rather loſers than gainers by it; for the French croſſing the Rhine, in their turn, at Philipſburg obliged the Germans to follow them; but not time enough to hinder their taking of Pfortzheim, in the marquaſite of Baden Durlach. With the taking of this place, and another of leſs importance, the French, after having likewiſe ravaged that of Juliers, which belonged to the elector Palatine, finiſhed their campain, on that ſide; the death of the elector of Saxony, on the 22d of September, having in a great meaſure, put an end to that of the Germans.

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But to return to England: (2) The parliament, which, as I have ſaid above, was prorogued to the 22d of October, being then met, the King opened the ſeſſion, as uſual, by a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them: "that he had appointed this "meeting as ſoon as ever the affairs abroad would "admit of his return to England that they might "have the more time to conſider of the beſt and "moſt effectual ways and means for the carrying on "the war againſt France. That he was willing to "hope, the good ſucceſs, with which it had pleaſed "God to bleſs his arms in Ireland that ſummer, "would not only be a great incouragement to them "to proceed the more chearfull in this work, but "would be looked upon by them as an earneſt of "future ſervice, which their timely aſſiſtance to "him might, by God's bleſſing, procure to them "all. And as he did not doubt, but they would take "care to pay the arrears of that army, which had "been ſo deſerving and ſo proſperous, in the redu-"cing of Ireland, to a peaceable cnndition; ſo he "aſſured them, there ſhould be no care wanting on "his part, to keep that kingdom, as far as was "poſſible, from being burdenſome to England, for "the future. He, moreover, acquainted them with "the neceſſity both of having a ſtrong fleet early at "ſea, next year, and of maintaining a conſidera-"ble army ready upon all occaſions, not only to "defend themſelves from any inſult, but alſo to "annoy the common enemy, where it might "be moſt ſenſible to them, which he did not ſee "could be done with leſs than 65,000 l. Adding, "that by the vigor and diſpatch of their counſels "and aſſiſtance to him, in this ſeſſion of parlia-"ment, they had now an opportunity in their "hands, which, if they neglected, they could never "reaſonably hope to ſee again, not only to eſtabliſh "the future quiet and proſperity in theſe king-"doms, but the peace and ſecurity of all "Europe."

King's ſpeech to both houſes of parliament.

Both houſes waited on his Majeſty with their congratulatory addreſſes "upon his ſafe and hap-"py return, after ſo many hazards, to which his "Majeſty had expoſed his perſon; and upon the "ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms in reducing "Ireland; and at the ſame time, aſſured his Ma-"jeſty, that they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of

Addreſſes of both Houſes.

(1) The author of the Britiſh empire, in America, reckons this the braveſt action which was performed in that part of the world, during the whole war; we had not, indeed, many brave actions to boaſt of there, and tho' this produced but a negative advantage, all circumſtances conſidered, it very well deſerves the name of a brave and commendable action.

(2) I gave an account above of the King's departure from the army in Flanders to Loo, and return from thence to England; but omited to mention, that his Majeſty's enemies, unwilling to wait any longer, the uncertain fate of war, had formed a project for aſſaſſinating the King. This was to be perpetrated by a French captain of dragoons called de Granvale, and one Dumont who had been formerly retained for the ſame purpoſe. Their deſign, at firſt, was to do to the wicked deed at Loo, before he opened the campain: but miſſing their opportunity there, they followed his Majeſty to Flanders. Granvale returned to the French army; but Dumont, to be nearer at hand to execute his deſign, entered into the ſervice of the confederate army, where his intent was to ſhoot the King, when he went to viſit the grand guard or the lines, and then to eſcape to a party of horſe with which Granvale, and colonel Parker, upon previous intimation given, were to be in a readineſs to reſcue him: but whether Dumont's courage failed him, or ſome other cauſe prevented it, after ſome weeks attendance, he left the army, and laid aſide the accurſed project, for this year at leaſt. If the deſign had ſucceeded, Granvale was to be made a duke, and to have an eſtate proportionable, and Dumont was to be a knight of St. Lazarus, with a penſion of 20,000 livers a year.

" their power, in carrying on a vigorous war againſt " France, in order to procure an honorable and " laſting peace to his own dominions, and to ſecure " his neighbors from the injuries and invaſions of " the common oppreſſor; hoping, with his Majeſty, " that the victories of this laſt ſummer were hap- " py preſages of the proſperity of his future enter- " prizes."

Both houſes, likewiſe, preſented addreſſes to the Queen, to acknowledge her prudent care, in the adminiſtration of the government, during his Majeſty's abſenſe.

Bill to appoint the oaths in Ireland.

The 28th of October, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, " to abrogate the former " oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance in Ireland, and " inſtead thereof, to eſtabliſh the oaths of fidelity " and allegiance taken to their Majeſty's in Eng- " land." This bill being ſent up to the houſe of peers, their lordſhips made ſome amendments to it, which occaſioned two or three conferences between the lords and commons, but the former deſiſting from their amendments, the 10th of December, it paſſed that houſe, likewiſe.

A ſupply granted.

The 30th of October, a motion was made, that a ſupply be granted to their Majeſties, but it was not taken into conſideration, till the 6th of November, when it was unanimouſly reſolved, " that a " ſupply be granted to their Majeſties for the car- " rying on a vigorous war againſt France;" it was, at the ſame time, ordered, that his Majeſty be deſired, to cauſe the ſtate of the war, for the inſuing year, as well with regard to the fleet as the land forces, to be laid before the houſe. The 9th the eſtimate of the charge of the navy, for the year 1692, as delivered in by the commiſſioners of the admiralty, having been examined, the commons voted the ſum of 1,515,898 l. for that article, including the ordnance, and the charge of building one dry dock, and two wet docks at Portſmouth. The 19th, the lord Ranelagh having before, by his Majeſty's orders, laid a liſt of the land-forces before the commons, it was reſolved, " that an army of 64,924 men, excluſive of offi- " cers, was neceſſary for the ſervice of the year " 1692, in order to the ſecuring the peace of the " kingdom, and the carrying on a vigorous war " againſt France." Much time was ſpent in ſtating and examining the eſtimate of the charge of the army, general officers, hoſpitals, train of artillery and their tranſport-ſhips; as alſo in conſidering, what ſhare the kingdom of Ireland ſhould contribute towards the charge of the troops there; ſo that it was the 4th of January before they came to any reſolution; but then it was agreed; " that a ſum not exceeding 1,935,787 l. together with the ſum of " 165,000 l. to be anſwered out of the revenue of " Ireland, be the ſum for the land-forces, for the " ſervice of the year 1692"; ſo that the ſums granted this year, for the fleet and army, amounted together to the ſum of 3,411,677 l.

Ways and means.

To raiſe theſe large ſums, it was reſolved, on the 12th of November, " that the duties of exciſe " for beer, ale, and other liquors, which were pay- " able for a year, from the 17th of November, be " continued for another year: and on the 12th of " December, that the ſum of 1,651,702 l. be " granted upon lands; and that the ſalaries, fees, " and perquiſites of all offices under the crown, " ſhould be to the uſe of the war, except 500 l. " to be allowed ſuch reſpective officers, except " the lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the " judges, foreign miniſters, and to the commiſſion- " officers, ſerving in the fleet and army." As, after this, the farther conſideration of ways and means was poſtponed for near a month, it will not be amiſs to take a view of ſeveral other things, which were done in parliament, from the begining of the ſeſſion, to the time the conſideration of ways and means was reſumed.

I ſhall begin with that of the Eaſt-India-company, which took up a great deal of time. The 28th of October, ſeveral merchants, their Majeſty's ſubjects, preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, containing complaints againſt the Eaſt-India-company, and the company at the ſame time, put in another petition, in behalf of themſelves; the conſideration of both which, was refered to a committee of the whole houſe. About a fortnight after, the heads of the complaints againſt the Eaſt-India-company, were delivered to their governor; to which, they having put in their anſwer, that was communicated to the petitioners, and the Eaſt-India-company, was ordered to make their defenſe, the 20th of November. That and ſeveral more days were ſpent in examining the accounts, which ſir Joſeph Herne, their governor, gave in, as a ſtate of their ſtock and debts, at home and abroad; and in conſidering ſeveral other petitions relating to the Eaſt-India-trade, 'till at length, the commons came to ſeveral reſolutions, by which the charter of their company was to be confirmed on the following conditions:

Regulations for the Eaſt-India-company.

1. " That a ſum not leſs than 1,500,000 l. and " not exceeding 2,000,000 l. was a fund neceſſary " to carry on the Eaſt-India-trade, in a joint ſtock.

2. " That no perſon ſhould have any ſhare in a " joint ſtock, for the Eaſt-India-trade, exceeding " 5000 l. either in his own name, or any other in " truſt for him.

3. " That no one perſon ſhould have above one " vote in the ſaid company, and that each perſon " who had 5,000 l. ſtock therein, ſhould have " one vote.

4. " That the company to trade to the Eaſt- " Indies, ſhould be obliged to export, every year, " in their trade, goods, being the growth and ma- " nufacture of this nation, to the value of 200, 000 l. " at leaſt.

5. " That no private contracts ſhould be made, " but all goods ſold at public ſales, by inch of " candle, except ſalt-petre for the uſe of the " crown.

6. " That the Eaſt-India-company be obliged to " ſell to the King early, ſalt-petre refined (the re- " fraction not exceeding four or five per cent, out " of 112) 500 tons, at the rate of 30 l. per ton.

" That no lot ſhould be put up at any ſales in the " Eaſt-India-company, at one time, exceeding " 500 l.

8. " That no perſon ſhould be governor or deputy- " governor of the company, to trade to the Eaſt- " Indies, who had leſs ſhare in the ſtock, than " 2000 l. or committee-man, that had leſs than " 1000 l.

9. " That the election of governor, deputy- " governor, and committee, for the company to " trade to the Eaſt-Indies, be made every year.

10. " That all dividends be made in mony.

11. That no dividends be made, without leaving " a ſufficient fund to pay all debts and carry on " the trade.

12. " That a valuation of the ſtock be made " every five years, by the accomptant of the com- " pany upon oath, to be ſeen by all ſuch as are " concerned therein.

13. " That no ſhips, either with permiſſion or " without, for the future, be allowed to go to the " Eaſt-Indies, except only ſuch as ſhould be of " the company, or be eſtabliſhed by act of par- " liament.

14. " That no by-laws ſhould be binding to the " company, but ſuch as were approved by a gene- " ral court of adventurers, and were not repug- " nant to the laws of the land.

15. " That

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15. " That the joint-ſtock of a company to trade " to the Eaſt-Indies, be for twenty-one years and " no longer."

The day after theſe reſolutions were made, the three following were added to them:

16. " That all perſons now having above the " ſum of 5,000 l. in the ſtock of the preſent Eaſt- " India-company, in their own, or other perſons " names, be obliged to ſell ſo much thereof, as " ſhould exceed the ſaid ſum of 5,000 l. at the rate " of 100 l. for every hundred.

17. " That the members of the committee of " the Eaſt-India-company, be obliged to give ſe- " curity to be approved of by the houſe, that the " ſtock and eſtate they now had ſhould be made " good 749,000 l. all debts paid: and

" 18 That (ſecurity being firſt given) an humble " addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to incorpo- " rate the preſent Eaſt-India-company, by charter, " according to the regulations agreed upon by the " houſe, that the ſame might paſs into an act."

The 23d of December, ſir Thomas Cook, ſir Thomas Rawlinſon, and ſir William Langhorn, and other committee-men of the company, delivered in propoſals concerning the ſecurity to be given, which being diſapproved, the committee was ordered to produce the perſons then propoſed to be ſecurity, and an account of the ſums for which each perſon would be ſecurity, which being done accordingly, the 29th of December, the commons, after a long examination of the whole matter, approved of the ſecurity propoſed, and on the 8th of January appointed a committee to prepare and bring in " a bill " to eſtabliſh an Eaſt-India-company, according " to the regulations and reſolutions agreed upon by " the houſe (1).

Bill to eſtabliſh an Eaſt-India company ordered.

State of the nation conſidered.

The commons having, on the 3d of November, conſidered the ſtate of the nation, they reſolved " that the paying of the army any otherwiſe, " than by muſters of effective men, was a great " waſting of their Majeſties treaſure"; and a bill was ordered to be brought in, " for paying off the " army accordingly, and for better paying of quar- " ters, and likewiſe for preventing of falſe muſ- " ters, and puniſhing mutineers and deſerters."

Proceedings of the fleet inquired into.

The commons reſolved, at the ſame time, " that " the miſcarriages of the fleet ſhould be inquired " into, by a committee of the whole houſe." The 10th, admiral Ruſſel and the lord Falkland preſented to the houſe, the inſtructions given by the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of England; a liſt of the ſhips, and an extract of ſeveral letters and orders, touching the proceedings of the ſaid fleet, during the laſt ſummer's expedition, and a liſt of the ſhips that had been loſt and damaged ſince the year 1688, all which were examined into.

The 12th, the commons were acquainted, that mr. Bridges, a member of their houſe, could give an account of an information given him by a captain in their Majeſties fleet, that ſir Ralph Delavall had lately taken a French boat going for Ireland, with papers of dangerous conſequence to the government. Mr. Bridges was, thereupon, ordered to name the perſon, and he having named the lord Danby, ſon to the marquis of Caermarthen, a conference was deſired with the lords, upon matters relating to the ſafety of the kingdom: but this matter did not turn out as it was expected; for after a full and tedious examination of the whole matter, on the 2d of December, it was found, that there was not a copy of a letter from the earl of Nottingham to ſir Ralph Delaval, in the packet taken on board the ſaid French veſſel; but only a letter writen by his lordſhip to ſir Ralph, deſiring him to ſend up that packet; and ſo the ſtorm blew over (2).

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Dr. Welwood cenſured.

About the ſame time, mr. Welwood, a doctor of phyſic, noted afterwards for his memoirs, employed his eloquent pen, in expoſing ſome ſiniſter deſigns of the enemies to their Majeſties government, in a weekly paper, intitled, Mercurius Reformatus, or the New Obſervator: but his zeal having carried him ſo far, as to caſt ſome reflections on the proceedings of the houſe of commons, they ordered both the author and printer to be ſent for in cuſtody of their ſerjeant at arms; from whence, after having been reprimanded by the ſpeaker, they were, at length, diſcharged, without any other puniſhment (3).

Bills paſſed.

The 24th of December, the King went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to " an " act for granting to their Majeſties certain impoſi- " tions upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for one " year, to another; for abrogating the oath of ſupre- " macy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths;" and to ſeveral private bills.

The 31ſt, his Majeſty came again to the houſe, and, in like manner, gave his aſſent to the land-tax-bill: after which he was pleaſed to make the following ſpeech to both houſes:

His Majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I muſt not loſe this occaſion of returning you " my hearty thanks, for the great proofs you con- " tinue to give me of your zeal, and reſolution to " ſupport and aſſiſt me, in the vigorous proſecution " of the war againſt France next year; and I aſſure " you, it ſhall be my greateſt care, that the aſſiſ- " tances you give me may be ſo applied, as to ren- " der them more effectual for the aids you deſigned " them: but I muſt take notice to you at the ſame " time, with ſome trouble, that the new year is " already come, while our preparations for it are " not only more backward, but thoſe of our ene- " mies, as we have reaſon to think, in greater " forwardneſs, than they were laſt year. I find " myſelf, therefore, neceſſitated, from this con- " ſideration, moſt earneſtly to recommend to you, " gentlemen, of the houſe of commons the haſten- " ing ſuch farther ſupplies, as you deſign for the " proſecution of the war."

(1) This matter came however to nothing; on the contrary ſeveral petitions being preſented againſt that bill, to which the Eaſt-India-company did not give ſatisfactory anſwers, the commons addreſſed the King to diſſolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. His Majeſty's anſwer was: " It is a motion of very great importance to the trade of this kingdom, I will " conſider of it, and in a ſhort time, give the commons a poſitive anſwer." And there it ſtuck: however his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the order of knighthood on ſir John Goldſborough who was going to India, in the quality of the company's commiſſary-general. Oldmixon, p. 66.

(2) Upon this occaſion, the commons took into their conſideration, the confeſſions and examinations of the lord Preſton and mr. Crone, which, according to their deſire, the King ordered to be laid before them.

(3) Dr. Welwood, was, however, fully recompenſed for the trouble and expenſes he was put to on this account, being ſoon after made one of the phyſicians in ordinary to his Majeſty.

There were ſeveral other affairs, about this time, which amuſed the houſe of commons to little purpoſe: a bill was brought in " for regulating abuſes in elections and returns to parliament", which was rejected after a third reading. A bill " for the better " improvement of the woollen manufactures of this kingdom", which was alſo thrown out, before a ſecond reading. A bill " for " the better repair of the harbor of Dover;" which was alſo rejected. A bill to regulate Hackney-coaches; a bill to diſcou- " rage the exportation of bullion, and incourage the importation of it, and converting the ſame into the coin of this land; another " to incourage privateers, in which no progreſs was made.

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My lords and gentlemen,

" The ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, this preſent " ſeſſion cannot admit of a much longer continu- " ance, and therefore I muſt recommend to you, " the diſpatch of all ſuch other bills, that you ſhall " judge neceſſary for the public good."

Before I continue the proceedings of parliament, in the new year, I ſhall juſt mention two or three incidents out of parliament, which happened before the concluſion of the year.

Sundry tranſactions out of parliament.

The 10th of November, their Majeſties were near having a fatal accident, in their palace at Kenſington, which took fire and burnt down the ſtone-gallery, but was extinguiſhed before it reached their Majeſties appartment (1). The ſame day, William Harbord, eſq; one of their Majeſties privy-council, ſet out for Turkey, being appointed embaſſador-extraordinary, at the Ottoman-port, in the room of ſir William Huſſey deceaſed. The 25th, dr. Thomas Tenniſon was nominated biſhop of Lincoln, which ſee became vacant by the death of dr. Thomas Barlow. As it was neceſſary, after the intire reduction of Ireland, to tranſport many of the forces imploy'd in that ſervice to England, in order to be otherwiſe diſpos'd of; and leſt thoſe troops ſhould abandon themſelves to licentiouſneſs, the natural effect of victory, his Majeſty iſſued out a proclamation, " requiring all officers and ſoldiers, to obſerve " ſtrict diſcipline, and punctually to pay their quar- " ters."

Mr. Moleſworth complain'd of.

About the ſame time, the Daniſh miniſter made complaint of a book, intitled, An account of Denmark, written by mr. Moleſworth (afterwards lord viſcount Moleſworth) who had reſided there as envoy from England. The Dane, it ſeems, told the King, " If he had been a ſubject of Denmark, his " Majeſty would have ſtruck off his head for it:" But his Majeſty, who knew better, replied: " The " government of England is regulated by the laws, " which are the rule both for King and people to " go by: but, as for mr. Moleſworth, if you will " give yourſelf the trouble, to go and tell him " what you have ſaid, I do not doubt but he will " put your words into the next edition of his " book.

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Bill to regulate trials, in caſes of high-treaſon.

But to return to parliamentary affairs: his Majeſty's ſpeech, as far as regarded the diſpatch of buſineſs, had not the greateſt effect; for both houſes were now ingaged in a warm debate, raiſed by the bill " for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon." This bill had been laid aſide by the lords, in the preceeding ſeſſion; but being now again ſet on foot, by the commons, paſs'd, and ſent up to the lords, for their concurrence, their lordſhips, beſide other amendments, added a clauſe to it, whereby it was inacted; " That upon the trial of any peer or

Clauſe added by the lords.

" peereſs, for any treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, " all the peers, who have a right to ſit and vote in " parliament, ſhould be duly ſummon'd twenty days, " at leaſt, before every ſuch trial, to appear at " every ſuch trial, and that every peer ſo ſummon'd, " and appearing at ſuch trials, ſhould vote in the " trial of ſuch peer and peereſs ſo to be tried, he " and they firſt taking the oaths mention'd in " an act of parliament, made in the firſt year of " King William and Queen Mary, intitled, an act " for abrogating the oaths of ſupremacy and alle- " giance, and appointing other oaths; and ſubſcrib- " ing and audibly repeating the declaration men- " tion'd in an act of parliament made in the thirtieth " year of King Charles II, intitled, an act for the " more effectual preſerving the King's perſon and " government, by diſabling Papiſts from ſitting in " either houſe of parliament.

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Diſagreed to by the commons.

The commons diſagreing to this clauſe, (2) it occaſion'd ſeveral conferences between the two houſes, in the firſt of which, Charles Montague, eſq; afterwards earl of Hallifax, one of the managers for the commons, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in a particular manner. For the lords, were the duke of Bolton, the marquis of Hallifax, the earl of Mulgrave, the earl of Rocheſter, the earl of Nottingham, the earl of Monmouth, and the earl of Stamford. As this controverſy was of ſome importance, tho' it would take up too much of my time to relate the arguments made uſe of by both ſides, at large, I ſhall give a ſummary of them.

Arguments of the commons againſt the clauſe.

The commons alledg'd, " they could not " conſent to ſo great an alteration in the conſtitu- " tion, as this would introduce; nor did they in- " tend to diſable the crown, in one of its moſt ne- " ceſſary prerogatives, or to place a judicature in " other hands, than in thoſe to whom the laws " of England, and the cuſtom of the realm, " had committed it. That the clauſe now in diſ- " pute ſtruck at no leſs than this, and conſequently " at the alteration of the government of England. " That the King has the power of conſtituting courts " and officers for the adminiſtation of juſtice: " That the judges are conſtituted by his commiſ- " ſion; the ſheriffs are of his nomination, who " are to return the pannels of jurors, that are to " paſs on the lives of commoners; and, in like " manner, it is the prerogative of the crown, to " conſtitute a lord-high-ſteward, who, by his ſer- " jeant at arms, does ſummon a competent number " of peers to be triers of their lordſhips: but this " clauſe took away theſe powers from the high- " ſteward; and therefore took away ſo much from " the regal authority, and would render their lord- " ſhips independent of the crown in capital caſes, " wherein, above all other things, the peace and ſafety " of the government was concern'd: by this clauſe, " the court would no longer be conſtituted by the " high-ſteward, who receives his commiſſion from " the crown; but the whole order of peers would " have a right to make up the court, and all " the friends, relations, and accomplices of the " perſon accuſed, were to be his triers. That " the commons look'd upon the method of trials, " which the lords would alter, to have been " as ancient as the conſtitution of the government. " That it appear'd in the year books, to have been " practiſed in the firſt year of Henry IV, and " to have been well known at that time; that the " reaſon no older proceedings before the lord-high- " ſteward were to be found, was, that this very " Henry IV, when duke of Lancaſter, was the " laſt high-ſteward who had any fixed intereſt in " that office, and the office having ſo long ceaſed, " all the records were loſt, and the very nature and " power of the office, except in this inſtance of " trying of peers, and determining claims at " coronations, were likewiſe loſt: but, ſince that " time, the high-ſteward being only pro hac vice, " the proceedings are commonly tranſmited into " other courts, where they are to be found.

" That if there were any objections to the pre- " ſent method of trying of peers, it muſt be foun- " ded on a ſuppoſition of partiality and unfairneſs " of conſtituting a high ſteward, or in the high- " ſteward himſelf, and the peers ſummoned by

(1) At the firſt noiſe of fire, his Majeſty is ſaid to have aſked for his ſword, ſuppoſing there was treachery in it.

(2) 'Till then, it had been the cuſtom, for the lord-ſteward, for the time being, to ſummon, by his ſerjeant at arms, a competent number only of peers, to be triers of peers, and the lord-ſteward being appointed by the King's-commiſſion, the commons thought that clauſe an alteration in the conſtitution, and as ſuch diſagreed to it.

" him

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" him: and that the commons were unwilling to " enter into any ſuch kind of ſuppoſals: but as " to the partial conſtituting an high-ſteward, if " that might be ſuppoſed, it was an objection " to the conſtitution, which intruſts the crown " with the adminiſtration of juſtice; and that ſup- " poſal might as well extend to the appoint- " ment of judges and ſheriffs, and every other " part of the adminiſtration: and if, upon ſuch " ſuppoſal or diſtruſt, the remedy muſt be to take " away that part of the adminiſtration out of the " crown (as was done in this clauſe) the reader muſt " carry the thing ſo far, that the nature of the go- " vernment would be alter'd: and as to the parti- " ality of the lord-high-ſteward and the peers, the " commons were unwilling to ſuppoſe, that it was " poſſible that twelve peers ſhould be ever found (for " that number muſt agree, or the perſon accuſed is " ſafe) who could ſo far forget their honors, and " the noble order they are of, as for revenge or in- " tereſt to ſacrifice an innocent perſon: and if the " lords could ſuppoſe this, the commons thought " themſelves excus'd, if they ſuppos'd, that other " paſſions and motives might alſo prevail on the " peers; ſuch as pity in friends, partiality in re- " lations, and the conſideration of their ſafety, in " caſe of accomplices; that moſt men, and eſpecially " Engliſhmen, enter unwillingly into matters of " blood: that the moſt indifferent peers would be " the likelieſt to abſent themſelves, either from con- " ſideration of diſſatisfying the crown, on the one " hand, or drawing on themſelves the miſchiefs of " a breach with the ſamiiy of the perſon accuſed, " on the other: but the care of a friend would " not fail to bring friends to the trial; the concern " to preſerve the family from the ſtain of treaſon " would bring the relations; and if there were any " accomplices, they would be ready for their own " ſakes to acquit the accuſed, and probably " their number might be conſiderable in thoſe " caſes: and how far this alone might go towards " turning the ſcale of juſtice, eſpicially in times, " when there might be ſeveral titles ſet up to the " crown, and great parties formed, might deſerve " to be conſidered: that this was a law, that was " to have a perpetual continuance, and that the " ſame loyalty, wiſdom, and zeal, which appear'd " now in their lordſhips, ſhould be deriv'd down to " all to their poſterity, was a thing rather to be " wiſh'd than depended upon; if, therefore, this " clauſe had a tendency towards letting in an im- " punity for treaſon, the commons look'd upon " themſelves as juſtified in diſagreeing to it; for " they thought it obvious to every one, of what con- " ſequence it would be to the conſtitution, if ſuch " a body as the peers, who had already ſuch pri- " vileges, of all ſorts, ſhould have impunity for " treaſon added to them.

Arguments of the peers, in defenſe of their amend- ments.

" To this, the managers for the peers anſwered, " that the lords were ſorry to be of any opinion dif- " ferent from the commons, eſpecially in a clauſe of " ſo great importance, which did concern not only " their well-being, but their being; that they had not " diſagreed with the commons, in any thing they " had propoſed for their ſecurity, and hoped the " commons would have the ſame conſideration for " them: that tho' they were all ſecure, under their " preſent Majeſties, there might, hereafter, ariſe " Princes, who might indeavor to invade the li- " berties of the people, and then the commons " would be glad of the concurrence of the lords; " and deſir'd they would conſider, if in ſuch a caſe, " it would not be a great diſcouragement to the " lords to act, unleſs they were as ſecure, at leaſt, " as the commons. That if there might be ſuch " Princes, it was not proper that part of the govern- " ment, which was ſo neceſſary to their concur- " rence, ſhould be under ſuch terms for their lives, " that they dare not oppoſe them with vigor, nor act, becauſe they lie under ſhackles. That, in the caſe of impeachments, which are the groans of the people, and for the higheſt crimes, and carry with them a greater ſuppoſition of guilt than any other accuſation, there all the lords are judges; but here, in a proſecution which might proceed from the influence of particular men, the lord accuſed lies under the hardſhip of being tried by a few peers ſelected for that purpoſe: that this way of trial was not ancienter than Henry VIII, and was introduced by him to take off thoſe he did not like: that in his time, the duke of Bucks was taken off in this manner by cardinal Wolſey, and Ann of Bullen was condemn'd by her own father. That this clauſe did not alter the conſtitution any more, than as, in ſome ſenſe, every new law may be ſaid to alter the conſtitu- tion: and, if the commons ſaid it was alter'd, becauſe formerly the trial was by a ſelect num- ber, and now all muſt appear, that did not ſeem to alter the conſtitution: for the high-ſteward might ſummon them all already: that the lord- high-ſteward formerly ſummon'd the court, and was to ſummon it ſtill. The nature of the court was not alter'd by the magis or the minus, any more than the King's-bench ceas'd to be the ſame court, when there were more or fewer judges in it.

" That the commons were not ſatisfied when the " commiſſions of the judges ran durante bene placi- " to, and could it be thought reaſonable, that the " lords, who were the ſupreme judicature, ſhould " not remain judges, quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint: " that tho' the King did now appoint ſheriffs, it " was not always ſo; and, ſince the crown made " them, the commons had this ſecurity, that they " might challenge thirty-five of the pannel peremp- " torily, and all the reſt for cauſe; but that the " judges and ſheriffs are made before the crime com- " mitted, ſo that it is impoſſible for the judges or " ſheriffs to have prejudice againſt any man: but " the lord-high-ſtewards are appointed after they " know the priſoner. And in the trial of a peer, " he could make no challenges, how partial or " biaſs'd ſoever the high-ſteward, or the peers ſum- " mon'd by him, might happen to be; and that " ſeven were ſufficient to find him guilty: that " ſince the trial of a peer in parliament muſt be by " the whole houſe, where was the inconveniency, " that they ſhould, at all times be tried, as in " parliament; that it was implied in the commiſſion " of the lord-high-ſteward, that all the peers ſhould " be ſummon'd, all the peers in the realm being " therein order'd to attend him; ſo that the King " does not only grant liberty for this, but ſeems to " command it.

The reply of the commons.

" The managers for the commons, in reply, " ſaid, this clauſe would alter a very conſiderable " part of the conſtitution, and that for the worſe, " which could not be ſaid of other new laws, " which were uſually made to ſtrengthen, or re- " ſtore the conſtitution againſt abuſes, or to as " certain things that were left to a reaſonable diſ- " cretion; but the ſubſtance of the conſtitution re- " main'd ſtill the ſame.

" That if a like clauſe was brought in, that a " commoner ſhould be tried by all the free-holders " that would appear, or thoſe they ſhould depute, " this were to change the conſtitution. And " that it might as well be ſaid, that it was not " an alteration in the conſtitution to diveſt the " crown of a power of making judges in the courts " of law or equity: that tho' it was granted in par- " liament, in the twenty-eighth of Edward I, that " the people of every county ſhould chuſe their " ſheriffs, this created ſuch factions and confu- " ſions, that the people themſelves, in a parlia- " ment

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" ment held the firſt of Edward the II, deſired, " that the power of making ſheriffs might be " lodg'd again in the crown: that the commons " were ſurpris'd to hear it alledg'd, that this courſe " of trial was firſt introduced in the time of Henry " VIII, by cardinal Wolſey, in the caſe of the " duke of Bucks, and that all trials of peers " before were in parliament; for the ſtatute of " the 15th of Edward III, manifeſtly prov'd the " contrary. It ordain'd that peers ſhould be tried " by the peers in parliament, but provides, that if " any peers ſhould chuſe to be tried elſewhere, " than in parliament, he might. That, indeed, " the ſtatute was repeal'd, the ſeventeenth of " Edward III (becauſe it was ſo injurious to the " prerogative) but yet it ſhews there was ſuch a " court and courſe of trial as this, out of parlia- " ment; for they could not, in Edward III's time, " divine, that there ſhould be ſuch a new court, and " manner of trial, erected in Henry VIII's time. " That the contrary was likewiſe evident, by the " trial of the earl of H——— in the reign of " Henry IV, reported in the year books. That " the very clauſe in queſtion did affirm the legality " of this way of trial, as it diſtinguiſh'd treaſons, " which corrupted the blood, from others, and " left all other treaſons and felonies, to be tried " by peers, ſummon'd by the high-ſteward as uſual. " That the commons did not admit that a peer " could be convicted by ſeven peers, there muſt be " twelve at leaſt to concur in the verdict, as was " reſolved in the lord Dacre's caſe, the twenty-ſixth " of Henry VIII, which is found in Moor's re- " ports; nor can it be ſhewn, that ever any peer " was convicted by fewer than twelve: and as to " that clauſe which requires all peers to be atten- " ding, it is of the ſame nature with that in every " commiſſion of oyer and terminer; and imports " no more, than that all perſons ſhall attend, that " are required to do ſo by law: and it can no more " be infer'd from theſe words, that the high-ſteward " is to ſummon all the peers, than from the like " words in other commiſſions, that all free-holders " are to be ſummon'd: that the commons have liberty " of challenging, becauſe fear or corruption, or other " cauſe of partiality, may be ſuppoſed among them; " but the lords have no challenges, becauſe all peers " are eſteem'd unexceptionable, nothing ſo mean and " diſhonorable is to be preſum'd among them; and " that, in reality, this court had continued the moſt " unblemiſhed, in point of juſtice, of any court " whatever.

" Laſtly, the commons did not find reaſon to " paſs this clauſe, from that conſideration men- " tion'd by their lordſhips, viz. That the clauſe " did provide ſuch a defenſe for the peers, as would " incourage them to adventure to join boldly with " the commons, in aſſerting the public liberties; " for the commons did not find, by the preſent " conſtitution, the lives and fortunes of innocent " peers were, as their lordſhips intimated, expoſed " to the will of a great and malicious miniſter: and, " if they were, they did not ſee they would be pro- " tected by this proviſion, ſince it extended but to " ſome treaſons and to no felonies; and they might " ſay it did not deſerve the name of adventure for " their lordſhips to act only upon terms of perfect " ſafety. On the other hand, the commons appre- " hended, it would afford too great a proſpect of " ſafety to guilty peers, and might imbolden them " to make attempts againſt the crown and public " liberties.

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" The commons acknowleged, that theſe were " good times, and if they were unquiet, or unſafe, " it was in relation to the crown, and not to the " peers, the peerage was in no danger; the peers " had power enough, and the crown had not too " much, nor ought not to be render'd leſs ſafe; " therefore the commons would inſiſt upon the " old ways, keep the ballance of the govern- " ment as they found it, and not change the laws " of England which had hitherto been uſed and " approved."

This conference occaſioned great debates in both houſes, and was followed by three other free conferences, the reſult of all which was, that the lords inſiſted upon their clauſe, and that the commons adhered to their diſagreement of it; ſo the bill was dropped (1). The bill dropped.

Beſide this diſpute between the two houſes of parliament, ſeveral other affairs contributed to draw this ſeſſion into a length, and to divert the attention of the commons, from the ſupplies. Among which the conſideration of the monies due to the orphans of the city of London, and the bill brought in for their relief was not the leaſt (2). Orphan's bill.

About this time, the commons ordered the lord Caſtleton, ſir Henry Goodric, and five more of their members, to attend upon general Ginckel, with the thanks of the houſe, both to him and the officers, who, under him, had contributed to the reduction of Ireland, for the great ſervices they had performed to their Majeſties and the kingdom. General Ginckel acknowleged this diſtinguiſh'd honor done him by the houſe of commons, " which (he " ſaid) he valued above a triumph," adding with as much modeſty as juſtice, " that the ſucceſs of their " Majeſties arms in Ireland, was owing chiefly to " the valor of the Engliſh, and that he would take " care to communicate the vote of that houſe, to " the officers that ſerved in Ireland; and always " indeavor the proſperity of their Majeſties and " the government." The commons give thanks to general Ginckel. His Anſwer.

The houſe of commons, however, reſumed the conſideration of the ſupply, the 6th of January, and ordered that a particular ſtate of the revenue, and a computation of the civil liſt be laid before them. This being done accordingly the next day, by his Majeſty's vice-chamberlain, a committee was appointed, on the 12th, to receive propoſals for raiſing a ſum of mony, towards carrying on the war againſt France, upon a fund of perpetual intereſt, and the 15th it was reſolved; " that towards the making " good the ſums of mony intended to be given by " an act made in the ſecond year of their Majeſties " reign, for granting ſeveral additional duties of " exciſe, upon beer, ale and other liquors, for four " years, (from the time that an act for doubling " the exciſe for one year did expire) the additional " duties granted by the ſaid act be continued 'till " the 17th day of May 1697, for the uſes in the " ſaid act mentioned." Ways and means.

Having likewiſe examined the papers relating to the revenue and civil liſt, the commons repeated the reſolution they had taken, the 12th of December, concerning the ſalaries, fees and perquiſites of all offices under the crown; and the 19th of January, they reſolved farther; " that all penſions granted " by the crown, except penſions payable to the " Queen Dowager, and the Princeſs Ann of Den-

(1) It paſſed however, with the ſame clauſe, in the 7th of William III.

(2) Another affair, which took up a great deal of their time, was " the additional bill for appointing and inabling the " commiſſioners to examine, take and ſtate the public accounts of the kingdom"; which having paſſed the houſe of commons, was ſent up to the lords, for their concurrence: but the peers having made ſome amendments to it, which the commons did not reliſh, the bill was thereupon loſt.

" mark,

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" mark, and ſuch other penſions as ſhould be ex-
" cepted by the houſe, be applied towards carry-
" ing on the war, and that towards raiſing the ſup-
" plies for the ſame purpoſe, a tax by a quarterly
" poll, be granted to their Majeſties "(1).

Poll-tax granted.

Beſide the taxes already mentioned, the commons reſolved to veſt " the forfeited eſtates in England " and Ireland, in their Majeſties, to be applied to " the uſe of the war ; " but the two bills, which they paſſed for that purpoſe, the 12th of February, lay neglected in the houſe of lords, notwithſtanding the repeated meſſages ſent to their lordſhips to put them in mind of them.

Bill relating to the forfeitures,

Dropped.

The commons were, about this time, amuſed with William Fuller's pretended diſcoveries of a plot againſt the government, and the ſpurious birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, but failing to produce the perſons he named for witneſſes, viz. colonel Thomas Delaval, and mr. James Hayes, they voted him to be " a notorious impoſtor, a cheat, " a falſe accuſer, having ſcandalized their Majeſties, " and their government, abuſed the houſe, and " falſely accuſed ſeveral perſons of honor and qua- " lity : and reſolved, that an addreſs be preſented " to his Majeſty, to command his attorney-general " to proſecute the ſaid impoſtor." Fuller was, accordingly proſecuted, and ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, which he ſuffered with an audacious unconcernedneſs.

Fuller pilloried for an impoſtor.

About the middle of January, many of the French proteſtants preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, praying the conſideration of that houſe for their relief ; but the multiplicity of affairs rendring their petition ineffectual, they applied themſelves to the King, with their caſe in print, to which they added their Majeſties declaration of the 25th of April, 1689, in their favor. Theſe his Majeſty ordered to be laid before the commons, the 17th of February. A week afterwards they took his Majeſty's meſſage into conſideration, and a motion was made for a ſupply to be given towards the relief of the petitioners ; but before they came to a reſolution, they were ordered to attend the King in the houſe of lords ; when his Majeſty gave the royal aſſent ;

French Proteſtants pray for relief.

Acts paſſed.

" to an act for raiſing the militia of this kingdom
" for the year 1692. To an act for the better or-
" dering and collecting the duties upon low wines
" and ſtrong waters ; to an act againſt correſpond-
" ing with their Majeſties enemies ; an act for the
" more effectual diſcovery and puniſhment of deer-
" ſtealers : an act for the better repairing of the
" high-ways : an act for the incouragement of the
" breeding and feeding of cattle : an act for the
" relief of creditors againſt fraudulent devices : an
" act for the better explanation, and ſupplying the
" defects of the former laws, for the ſettlement of
" the poor : to an act to take away clergy from
" ſome offenders, and to bring others to puniſh-
" ment ; and to the poll-act" ; beſide thirty-four private acts : after which his Majeſty addreſſed himſelf to both houſes in the following words.

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His Majeſty's ſpeech to the parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I return my hearty thanks to you all, for the
" great demonſtrations you have given me of your
" affections in this ſeſſion, and of your zeal for the
" ſupport of the government.

" And I muſt thank you gentlemen of the houſe
" of commons, in particular, for the great ſupplies
" you have granted for the proſecution of the war.
" I aſſure you, I ſhall take care ſo to diſpoſe of the
" mony you have given me, for the public occa-
" ſions, as that the whole nation may be intirely
" ſatisfied with the application of it.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I think it proper to acquaint you with my in-
" tentions of going beyond ſea very ſpeedily,
" which I am afraid have been retarded more than
" is convenient for the preſent poſture of affairs ;
" and, upon that account, I think it neceſſary to
" put an end to this preſent meeting ; the ſeaſon of
" the year being now ſo very far advanced, that it
" may prove of the laſt ill conſequence to continue
" it any longer."

Which done, both houſes, purſuant to his Majeſty's pleaſure, immediately adjourn'd themſelves, till the 12th of April, next inſuing (2). I return now to ſome other matters which happen'd during the latter part of this ſeſſion of parliament.

The parliament adjorned.

The 21ſt of January, his Majeſty iſſued out his royal proclamation, wherein he declar'd : " that
" he could not but be deeply ſenſible of the great
" goodneſs and mercy of Almighty GOD, in
" giving ſo happy ſucceſs to his indeavors for the
" reſcuing theſe kingdoms from Popiſh tyranny and
" ſuperſtition, and in preſerving his royal perſon,
" ſupporting his government, and uniting the arms
" of moſt of the Princes and States, in Chriſtendom,
" againſt the common enemy ; ſo he was no leſs
" touch'd with a reſentment, that, notwithſtanding
" thoſe deliverances, impiety and vice did ſtill a-
" bound in theſe kingdoms ; and that the execu-
" tion of many good laws, which had been made
" for the ſuppreſſing and puniſhing thereof, had been
" groſly neglected, to the great diſhonor of GOD,
" and his holy religion. Wherefore, and that he
" could not expect increaſe or continuance of the
" bleſſings he and his ſubjects injoy'd, without pro-
" viding remedies to prevent the like evils for the
" future, he judg'd himſelf bound, by the duty he
" ow'd to GOD, and the care he had of the people
" committed to his charge, to proceed in taking
" ſome effectual courſe therein : and being there-
" unto moved by the pious addreſs of the archbi-
" ſhops and biſhops, he thought fit to declare his
" intentions and reſolution to diſcountenance all
" manner of vice and immorality, in all perſons,
" from the higheſt to the loweſt degree, in this
" realm. And, for that purpoſe, he ſtrictly

A proclamation againſt vice and prophaneneſs.

(1) By the bill which was brought in, according to this reſolution, all perſons (except ſuch as received alms of the pariſh, poor houſe-keepers and their children) were to pay twelve-pence quarterly for one year. All tradeſmen and artificers having an eſtate of the clear value of 300 l. and upwards, ten ſhillings ; all genlemen, or reputed gentlemen, having an eſtate of 300 l. or more, as alſo all clergymen and teachers, who had any eccleſiaſtical benefice or contribution, to the value of 80 l. per annum or upwards, twenty ſhillings. Every lord of parliament, either ſpiritual or temporal, the ſum of 10 l. and all perſons who ſhould refuſe to take the oaths to their Majeſties, double the ſums charged, by the reſpective heads.

(2) This unexpected adjournment of the parliament was the occaſion that ſeveral bills which were depending did not paſs : " 1. a bill for leſſening the intereſt of mony," which the commons had paſs'd and ſent up to the lords, for their concurrence. " 2. For diſabling minors to marry without the conſent of their guardians, and for preventing clandeſtine marriages," which the lords had ſent down to the commons. " 3 For the paying of the army according to the muſters of the effective men, puniſhing mu- " tineers and deſerters, and preventing falſe muſters," to which the lords had made ſome amendments that occaſion'd great diſputes. " 4. For aſcertaining the commiſſions and ſalaries of the judges," which tho' it had paſs'd both houſes, was not confirm'd by the royal aſſent. " 5. Againſt the buying and ſelling of offices. 6. To apprehend highway-men. 7. To prevent " frauds by clandeſtine mortgages. 8. Againſt duelling." As for the " bill to impower the courts of chancery and exchequer to " accept of the ſolemn anſwer, in evidence, of any of the people called Quakers ;" and another, " for confirming the charters of " the univerſity of Cambridge," the queſtion being put in the lower houſe, that they ſhould paſs, it was carried, for both, in the negative.

" charged

" charg'd and commanded all his magiſtrates and " officers, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, to execute " the laws againſt blaſphemy, prophane ſwearing " and curſing, drunkenneſs, prophanation of the " lords-day, or any other diſſolute, immoral " practiſes."

The head of the Scotiſh rebels ſubmits.

The 19th, ſir Evan Cameron, of Locheal, one of the leaders of the male-contents in the highlands of Scotland, was permited to kiſs their Majeſties hands, at Kenſington; when he gave them all poſſible aſſurances of his, and the reſt of the Highlanders, ſincerity, in ſubmiting to their Majeſties government.

Knights of the garter elected.

The 2d of February, a chapter of the moſt noble order of the garter was held at Kenſington, in which the elector of Saxony, and the earl of Dorſet, were elected knight-companions.

General Ginckel created earl of Athlone:

The 20th, general Ginckel was created earl of Athlone, and baron of Aghrim, in Ireland, as a reward for the memorable ſervices he had perform'd to their Majeſties, and this nation, in the reduction of the kingdom of Ireland, and particularly in the actions at thoſe two places. The 27th, that general, the duke of Wirtemberg, the lieutenant-generals Scravenmore, Lanier and Talmaſh, major-general Ruvigny, with other the general and field-officers in town, who had ſignaliz'd themſelves in Ireland, were ſplendidly entertain'd at Merchant-taylors hall,

And treated by the city.

by ſir Thomas Stamp the new lord-mayor, the aldermen, ſheriffs, and the moſt eminent merchants and citizens of London, who, on this occaſion, gave all poſſible demonſtrations of their affection and loyalty to the government, and of honor and reſpect to thoſe, whoſe courage and conduct had ſupported it.

Preferments.

The 1ſt of March, his Majeſty beſtowed ſome marks of his royal favor, on ſundry perſons. The earls of Rocheſter and Ranelagh, the lord Cornwallis, and ſir Edward Seymour, were admited to their Majeſties privy-council. The earl of Bedford was made lord-lieutenant of the county of Middleſex, and the earl of Pembroke lord-keeper of the privy-ſeal, who was ſucceeded in his place of commiſſioner of the admiralty, by the lord Cornwallis. Sir John Lowther, vice-chancellor of his Majeſty's houſhold, and Thomas Pelham, eſq; having reſign'd their places as commiſſioners of the treaſury, they were diſpoſed of, one to ſir Edward Seymour, and the other to Charles Montague, eſq. The 3d the lord viſcount Sidney was conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the ſame day his Majeſty confer'd the honor of knighthood on Godfrey Kneller, eſq; their Majeſties principal painter in ordinary. The 19th, Thomas Coningſby, eſq; one of the lords-juſtices of Ireland, was created a baron of that kingdom, by the ſtile of lord Coningſby: and, about a month after, ſir Henry Capell, was made baron Capell of Tewkſbury, in the county of Glouceſter. The 2d of May, ſir George Treby was advanced to the place of lord-chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, and his office of attorny-general given to ſir John Sommers (1). At the ſame time Thomas Trevor, eſq; was made ſollicitor-general.

The King goes to Holland.

In the mean time, the King, having ſettled his affairs in England, imbark'd the 5th of March for Holland, arrived the next morning in the Maeſe, landed at Orange-polder, went the ſame day to the Hague, and ſoon after to Loo; where I ſhall leave his Majeſty, taking the diverſions of that agreable place, to give ſome farther account of tranſactions at home. Towards the latter end of the ſame month of March, the Queen Dowager, who, in all junctures had behaved herſelf very prudently, went from Somerſet-houſe, imbark'd at Dover for Calais, from whence ſhe continu'd her journey, by land, to Liſbon, where ſhe afterwards reſided, 'till her death.

The Queen Dowager leaves England.

Sr Rowland Gwyn turned out.

The 7th of April, ſir Rowland Gwin, treaſurer of their Majeſties chamber, was removed from his place, for words ſpoken againſt the lord Sidney, the ſubſtance of which he could not prove, when required to do it by the council.

A Jacobite' conſpiracy unſucceſsful.

His Majeſty had ſcarce reached Holland, before the Jacobites again begun to feed themſelves with fond hopes of their maſter's reſtoration. One Lunt, who had been before imployed, in bringing over, and diſperſing King James's commiſſions, for which he was impriſoned, but was ſo fortunate to be diſcharged, was again imployed in 1691, by the Lancaſhire Papiſts, privately to raiſe men, and buy arms, that they might be ready for an inſurrection in England, as ſoon as the blow was given, if his Majeſty had been aſſaſſinated in Flanders, by Dumont, as they expected: (2) but the campain being ended, without any news either of the aſſaſſination, or an invaſion, Lunt was ſent to France, in November, to acquaint the abdicated Monarch, that they were in a condition to receive him, and therefore, deſired to be informed, when he propoſed to make a deſcent into this kingdom. Lunt returned in December following with advice, that the late King James would certainly be in England, the next ſpring, and that colonel Parker, and others, would be ſent over, in the mean time, with full inſtructions for their government.

Parker and Johnſton, and ſome few others, landed accordingly about the latter end of January, of this year. An aſſaſſination was their favorite ſcheme, being the only means, as they thought, to make the invaſion practicable, and their conqueſt of England eaſy. It was communicated to as many as they could truſt, in hopes to have perpetrated it before the King went to Holland; but they were ſo long in contriving, by whom, how, when and where it ſhould be done, that the time paſſed before their conſultations came to maturity. They were then aſſured, by Parker, that the deſign of an aſſaſſination would be reſumed in Flanders, by the ſame perſons who were to have performed it the laſt campain, and this kept up the hopes of the Jacobites, and incouraged them to make preparations, and wait for the intended invaſion with patience. The project of it was firſt laid in France, and colonel Parker, with ſome others, were ſent over hither to communicate it to the party, that they might do, on their ſide, what was neceſſary, and in their power, to facilitate the matter. This Parker did, by calling their principal officers and others together,

(1) This great man, who began firſt to be taken notice of at the trial of the biſhops, at which he gain'd great reputation, very much increas'd it, in the houſe of commons, after their Majeſties acceſſion to the crown. He ſhew'd, upon all occaſions, that he was a perſon of great parts, deep learning, a manly eloquence, eaſy addreſs, and a bold ſtickler for the liberty of the nation.

(2) Mr. Wilſon of Redland ſwore before mr. ſecretary Trenchard, that he ſaw Lunt deliver the following commiſſions from King James: to mr. Sherbun of Stonyhurſt, mr. Townley of Townley, ſir Thomas Stanley of Alderſly, mr. Chumley of Vale-royal, ſir Rowland Stanley, ſir Robert Throgmorton, ſir Henry Titchburn, ſir —— Gifford of Chillington, ſir James Symmons of Aſhton in Staffordſhire, Thomas Tildeſly, eſq; and the lord Brudenel, each for a regiment of horſe: to mr. Weſtby of Mobrick, and —— Dalton of Thurnbury, eſq; each for a regiment of dragoons: to mr. Girlington of Girlington, and mr. ———— each for a regiment of foot; to the lord Molyneux, to be governor of Liverpool; to ſir Charles Neal, to be lieutenant colonel; to William Fowler, eſq; of St. Thomas's near Stafford, a captain's commiſſion; and to mr. Auguſtine Gyfford, captain Goure, and Baſil Brooks, eſq; to be captains of horſe. Oldmixon, p. 70.

and

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and telling them, "That their abdicated ſovereign "had, at length, obtained of his moſt Chriſtian "Majeſty a ſuccor of 30,000 effective men, and "that when the ſpring was a little more advanced, "King James, who was already marching into "Normandy, would come over himſelf with them, "into England; with aſſurance, if that number was "not great enough to reduce his rebellious ſubjects, "France would ſpare them 30,000 more". He deſired, therefore, they would all be in readineſs, with the greateſt expedition and ſecrecy imaginable: and addreſſing himſelf, in particular to captain Blaire, (at the inſtance of Johnſton the prieſt) he told him, "he was going to command in Lancaſhire, but "intended to move ſouthward as ſoon as his Ma-"jeſty was landed, and therefore deſired the "captain to join him, in regard his own men were "raw, and the captain's, for the moſt part, were "all old officers and ſoldiers.

King James writes to his late council.

King James's Queen being, in this interval, big with child, and drawing near her time, the abdicated Monarch ſent a letter to ſeveral lords and others of his late privy-council, requiring them, or as many of them as poſſibly could, to attend him at St. Germains, and be witneſſes of his royal conſort's labor (1); but none of them anſwered the invitation. Soon after this, he ſent over a declaration, ſeting forth his right; inviting his ſubjects to join him at his landing; threatning thoſe who preſumed to oppoſe him, with the ſevereſt puniſhments, and promiſing his pardon to all perſons, how guilty ſoever they might have been, excepting thoſe therein named and deſcribed (2).

His declaration.

Preparations of the Jacobites in England.

Captain Parker took ſeveral good officers with him into Lancaſhire, ſome of whom ſtaid with him in that country, and others he diſpoſed of in Yorkſhire and the biſhopric of Durham. He himſelf had his head-quarters at mr. Walmſley's, at Dungan-hall, from whence he iſſued out his orders. He likewiſe cauſed their arms, which, for fear of a diſcovery, had been hid in woods and grounds, buried between walls, and concealed in cellars and out-houſes, to be taken out, and forthwith diſtributed among the officers and liſted men. In the mean time, mr. James Fountain, as lieutenant-colonel to the lord Montgomery, and colonel Holman, were each of them compleating a regiment of horſe in London, which were deſigned to join the late King (who, with his army of Engliſh, Scots, Iriſh, and French, was at la Hogue) when he ſhould land in England.

Intelligence ſent to France.

The Jacobites ſent, at the ſame time, captain Loyd, expreſs to the lord Melford, to acquaint him, that they had corrupted ſeveral of the Engliſh ſea-commanders, and particularly rear-admiral Carter (3). They likewiſe tranſmited to him a liſt of the number and rates of the Engliſh fleet, and how long it would be before it was poſſible they could be joined by the Dutch: this intelligence they deſired his lordſhip to lay before the French King, and procure his command to monſ. de Tourville, immediately to fight the Engliſh, before they could be re-inforced by the Dutch ſquadron. The lord Melford, upon the receit of this meſſage, made application accordingly to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who thereupon gave his poſitive commands to Tourville, to ingage the Engliſh fleet, without waiting for the Toulon ſquadron, under the command of monſ. d'Eſtrees.

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The Queen's vigilance.

The Queen, having intelligence of all theſe preparations for invading this kingdom, gave orders, with her uſual maſculine courage, and that noble preſenſe of mind which was conſpicuous in all her actions, that the fleet ſhould put to ſea, with all poſſible expedition, and the militia be in a readineſs to act, upon any imergency. She likewiſe ſent for three regiments of foot, from Holland, viz. Selwin's, Beveridge's, and Loyd's, under the command of lieutenant-general Talmaſh, and with them, together with ſome other troops which were then in the kingdom, formed a camp at Portſmouth, ſoon after. Her Majeſty's next royal care was to iſſue three neceſſary proclamations; one on the 3d of May, "commanding all Papiſts to depart im-"mediately from the cities of London and "Weſtminſter, and from within ten miles of "the ſame." Another, on the 5th, requiring the "attendance of both houſes of parliament at "Weſtminſter, on the 24th of the ſame month, "for the diſpatch of ſuch important affairs, as the "ſafety of the kingdom might require": And a third, on the 9th of May, "for the apprehending "the earls of Scarſdale and Litchfield, Newburg, "Middleton and Dunmore, the lords Griffin and "Forbes, James Griffin, eſq; ſir John Fenwick, "ſir Theophilus Oglethorp, ſir Andrew Foreſter, "colonel Slingſby, James Grahme, eſq; mr. Orby, colonel Sackvile, Oliver St. George, eſq; major Soaper, Charles Adderley, David Lloyd, George Porter, and Samuel Stafford, eſqrs;

The fleet order'd to ſea.

The main body of the fleet was under the command of mr. Ruſſel, who was conſtituted admiral, by commiſſion, bearing date the 3d of December of the preceding year (4); and all poſſible expedition was uſed to bring the fleet early to ſea. There were likewiſe two ſquadrons already at ſea; one under ſir Ralph Delaval, which arrived the beginning of March from Cadiz, in the Downs, and was ordered out again; and another under rear-admiral Carter, who had both orders to join one another; as the admiral on his ſide, had orders to ſail with the body of the fleet, both Dutch and Engliſh, and to place himſelf between Cape la Hogue, and the iſle of Wight, in order to join thoſe two ſquadrons, which had orders to cruize thereabouts for that purpoſe.

The 8th of May, the admiral arrived off of Rye, and immediately paſſed thro' the Downs. In the

(1) Beſide theſe noblemen, ſeveral ladies were invited, as the ducheſſes of Sommerſet and Beaufort, the marchioneſs of Hallifax, the counteſſes of Darby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley and Danby, the ladies Fitzharding and Fritchvile, as likewiſe the following ladies of commoners, viz. ſir John Trevor's, the ſpeaker's lady, ſir Edward Seymour's lady, ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave's lady, ſir Thomas Pope Blount's lady, ſir John Guiſe's lady, Thomas Foley's, eſq; lady, lady Stamp, the lady Mayoreſs, lady Aſhurſt, lady Levet, and the ladies of the two Sheriffs. The famous dr. Hugh Chamberlain was likewiſe called; but of all theſe none anſwered the ſummons.

(2) The perſons excepted were, the duke of Ormond, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham, the lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltſhire, Colcheſter, Cornbury, Dunblain, and Churchil, the biſhops of London and St. Aſaph, ſir Robert Howard, ſir John Worden, ſir Samuel Grimſton, ſir Stephen Fox, ſir George Treby, ſir Baſil Dixwell, ſir James Oxendon, dr. Tillotſon, dean of Canterbury, dr. Gilbert Burnet, Francis Ruſſel, Richard Leviſon, and John Trenchard, eſq; Charles Duncomb, citizen of London, ſuch as had offered perſonal indignities to him at Feverſham; thoſe who as judges, jury-men, or otherwiſe, had had a hand in the barbarous murder (as he called it) of Aſhton, Croſs, &c. And all ſpies, and ſuch as had betrayed his council, during his late abſenſe from England.

(3) There was a report that rear-admiral Carter had ten thouſand pounds given him to bring his diviſion over to the French. What ground there was for this rumor is uncertain. True it is, rear-admiral Carter was not rich, yet it is plain, he never received ſuch a bribe, becauſe he died poor, tho' it was in the bed of honor (as we ſhall ſee below) at the ſame time that he was ſaid to have been ſuſpected. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 657.

(4) Burnet obſerves (in his hiſtory of his own times) that this command was given him tho' he had put himſelf in ill terms with the King, by preſſing to know the grounds of the earl of Marlborough's diſgrace; he almoſt upbraided the King with the earl's ſervices, who as he ſaid, had ſet the crown on his head.

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evening, he ſent to the Dutch flag-officer, who was there at anchor, to weigh and make ſail after him. The ninth, in the evening, the Dutch ſhips, from the Downs, joined the fleet, and one of their rear-admirals, with the reſt of their ſhips, under three decks, was at anchor, off of Dungeneſſe. The eleventh, the fleet ſailed from Rye-bay, and, on the 13th, was joined, at St. Helens, by the ſquadrons under ſir Ralph Delaval, and rear-admiral Carter (1).

Malicious aſperſions caſt on the officers.

About this time, a malicious and dangerous report was ſpread abroad, grounded probably upon the intelligence ſent to France, of which I have made mention above, as if ſome of the officers of their Majeſties fleet had given aſſurance, to the diſaffected perſons on ſhoar, of their readineſs to adhere to them, and that the Queen had, thereupon, ordered many of them to be diſcharged the ſervice. Her Majeſty, who was ſenſible, that nothing could more effectually prevent any evil conſequences ariſing from this rumor, than to declare how much ſhe was convinced of the falſhood of it, commanded the lord Nottingham to acquaint admiral Ruſſel; "that ſhe was ſatisfied this report was in-
"duſtriouſly raiſed by the enemies of the govern-
"ment, and that ſhe repoſed ſo intire a confidence
"in their fidelity and zeal for their Majeſties ſer-
"vice, and the defenſe of their country, that ſhe
"had reſolved not to diſplace any one of them."

The Queen's politic meſſage.

This politic meſſage was immediately communicated, by the admiral, to the flag and other officers; who thereupon being touched with a lively ſenſe of honor, unanimouſly ſubſcribed an addreſs, expreſſing their ſteady zeal and loyalty; which the admiral, at their requeſt, tranſmited to the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty (2).

Addreſs of the fleet.

The parliament proro. gued.

The Queen, in the mean time, truſting to their fidelity and reſolution, and conſidering that her fleet was now join'd by that of her allies, and in a readineſs to repel the attempts of her enemies, her Majeſty, on the ſixteenth of May, thought fit to prorogue the parliament to the fourteenth of the inſuing month. I have already obſerv'd, that the French King had given poſitive orders to monſ. de Tourville to fight the Engliſh fleet, upon a ſuppoſition, that the Dutch ſquadron would not be able to join them ſo ſoon. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was, for ſome time, intoxicated with this pleaſing dream (3), till, at length, expreſs upon expreſs arriving, and confirming their junction, he diſpatch'd one meſſenger after another to Tourville, to order him to decline fighting; but theſe counter-orders came to late, as we ſhall now ſoon ſee.

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The 18th of May, the admiral ſail'd, with his whole fleet, towards the coaſt of France, and the next day, while both France and England were in a dubious expectation of the important event, about three in the morning, Cape Barfleur bearing then S. W. by S. at about ſeven leagues diſtance, the ſcouts which were weſtward of the fleet, fired ſeveral guns. Theſe ſhips coming, ſoon after, within ſight, made the ſignal of diſcovering the enemy, and lay with their heads northward: upon this, the admiral cauſed the fleet to draw into a line of battle, and notice was given for the rear to tack, that in caſe the French ſtood northward, they might the ſooner come up and ingage. It was then a fog, but the ſun having diſperſed it ſoon after four, the enemy was ſeen, ſtanding ſouthward, forming their line, with the ſame tack, which the confederate fleet had on board.

The French and confederate fleets meet.

Monſ. de Larrey (in his hiſtory of France, under Lewis XIV) ſays, when the fog diſſipated, monſ. de Tourville was ſurprized to find it was the whole Engliſh and Dutch united fleet he was going to ingage, whereas before he imagined it had been but part of it: but, however, conſidering a haſty retreat would bring his fleet into ſuch a confuſion, as might prove more hazardous than a battle it ſelf, he continued his orders for the ingagement.

Admiral Ruſſel, obſerving the diſpoſition of the enemy, cauſed the ſignal for the rear-tack to be taken in, and bore away with his own ſhip ſo far to the leeward, that all the other ſhips might fetch his wake, and then bringing to lay by, with his fore-top-ſail to the maſt, to give the better opportunity to the whole fleet to place themſelves, according to their orders. About eight, the line of the confederate fleet was pretty well formed, and ſtretched from S. S. W. to N. N. E. the Dutch in the van, the admiral in the center, and the blue in the rear. By nine, the enemy's van had ſtretch'd almoſt as far ſouthward as they, their admiral and rear-admiral of the blue (who were in the rear) cloſing the line, and their vice-admiral of the ſame diviſion ſtanding towards the rear of the confederate fleet. Between ten and eleven, the French bore down upon them, with little wind, and admiral Ruſſel (who ſtill lay by with his fore-top-ſail to the maſt) obſerving that monſ. de Tourville had put out his ſignal for battle, commanded that his ſhould not be ſpread, until the French, who had the weather-gage, were advanc'd as far as they ſhould think fit (1).

Diſpoſition of the fleets.

(1) They had met four days before, when the former was ſtanding over to the iſle of Wight, from Cape la Hogue, and the other from St. Helens's, in ſearch of him.

(2) Their addreſs was as follows:

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects and ſervants, flag-officers and captains in your Majeſty's fleet, out of "a deep and grateful ſenſe of your Majeſty's good and juſt opinion of our loyalty and fidelity, imparted to us by the right hono-"rable admiral Ruſſel, in a letter to him from the earl of Nottingham, principal ſecretary of ſtate, do, in behalf of ourſelves, "and all the other officers and ſeamen, humbly preſume to addreſs ourſelves to your Majeſty, at this juncture, to undeceive the "world, as to thoſe falſe and malicious reports, which have been lately ſpread in prejudice of your Majeſty's ſervice, by people "diſaffected to the government, and who have an averſion to the quiet and good of their country, that there are ſome among "us who are not truly zealous for and intirely devoted to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment. We do, therefore, moſt humbly beg "leave to add to our repeated oaths, this aſſurance of our fidelity; that we will, with all imaginable alacrity and reſolution, "venture our lives in the defenſe of the government, and of the religion and liberty of our country, againſt all Popiſh inva-"ders whatſoever. And that God Almighty may preſerve your Majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon, direct your councils, and proſper "your arms by ſea and land, againſt your enemies, may all people ſay Amen, with your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſub-"jects. Dated on board the Britannia, at St. Helens, the 15th day of May, 1692."

This addreſs was ſigned by ſir John Aſhby, admiral of the blue; ſir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red; mr. Rook vice-admiral of the blue; ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, rear-admiral of the red; mr. Carter, rear-admiral of the blue, and by the other commanders of the fleet. It was preſented the day after its date, by the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, and her Majeſty was not only pleaſed to accept it very graciouſly, but to anſwer; "that ſhe always had this opinion of the commanders "but was very glad this was come to ſatisfy others:" and indeed it was not long before they performed their promiſe. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 658.

(3) While the Jacobites were pleaſing themſelves with hopes of approaching ſucceſs, the firſt thing, which put a damp upon them, was the various reports about the joining of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets. Once they had notice they were joined; but this being contradicted the next day, leaſt that report ſhould have any influence upon the French, they ſent over ſir Adam Blaire, to aſſure them that the Dutch were not yet come up: yet ſo it happened, that before the gentleman could reach Dover, they had certain news that the fleets were joined indeed; and therefore one mr. Clark was diſpatched into France, to acquaint them with this fatal junction. But mr. Clark was ſo far from gaining credit to his report (ſir Adam Blaire avering the contrary) that he was impriſoned as a ſpreader of falſe news, 'till ſeveral other expreſſes confirmed his account.

(1) As

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(1) As this was the moſt memorable ſea-fight of this whole war, the reader will, without doubt, be pleaſed to ſee a liſt of the ſhips which compoſed, as well the French as the confedrate fleets.

A List of the Engliſh and Dutch Fleet.

The Red Squadron.

Rates.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.
5	1 The Royal William	780	100
	1 London	730	100
	1 Britannia	780	100
	1 St. Andrew	730	100
	1 Royal Sovereign	815	100
3	2 St. Michael	600	90
	2 Sandwich	660	90
	2 Royal Catherine	540	90
16	3 Cambridge	420	70
	3 Plymouth	340	60
	3 Breda		80
	3 Kent	460	70
	3 Swiftſure	420	70
	3 Hampton Court	460	70
	3 Graſton	460	70
	3 Reſtauration	460	70
	3 Eagle	460	70
	3 Rupert	400	60
	3 Elizabeth	460	70
	3 Burford	460	70
	3 Captain	460	70
	3 Devonſhire		80
	3 York	340	60
	3 Lenox	460	70
7	4 Ruby	230	50
	4 Oxford	280	50
	4 St. Albans	280	50
	4 Greenwich	280	50
	4 Cheſter	280	50
	4 Centurion	280	50
	4 Bonadventure	230	50

The Right Honourable Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; Admiral.
Sir Ralph Delaval, Vice-Admiral.
Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, Rear-Admiral.

The Blue Squadron.

Rates.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.
1	The Victory	780	100
7	2 Albermarle	660	90
	2 Windſor-Caſtle	660	90
	2 Neptune	680	96
	2 Vanguard	660	90
	2 Ducheſs	660	90
	2 Oſſory	660	90
	2 Duke	675	90
18	3 Reſolution	420	70
	3 Monk	340	60
	3 Expedition	460	70
	3 Royal-Oak	470	74
	3 Northumberland	460	70
	3 Lion	340	60
	3 Berwick	460	70
	3 Defiance	400	70
	3 Montague	355	60
	3 Warſpight	420	70
	3 Monmouth	460	70
	3 Edgar	445	70
	3 Sterling-Caſtle	460	70
	3 Dreadnought	365	60
	3 Suffolk	460	70
	3 Cornwal		80
	3 Eſſex	460	70
	3 Hope	460	70
6	4 Chatham	280	50
	4 Advice	230	50
	4 Adventure	200	50
	4 Crown	230	50
	4 Woolwich	280	54
	4 Deptford	280	50

Sir John Aſhby, Admiral.
The Honourable George Rooke, Eſq; Vice-Admiral.
The Honourable Richard Carter, Eſq; Rear-Admiral.

The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of ſixty-three ſhips, carrying, ſeven and twenty thouſand, ſeven hundred, and twenty-five ſeamen; and four thouſand five hundred guns. Frigats and Fire-ſhips, three and twenty.

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The Dutch Squadron. White.

Rates.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.
9	1 The Zealand	500	90
	1 Koning Wilhelm	525	92
	1 Brandenburg	500	92
	1 Weſt-Frieſland	475	84
	1 Printz	540	92
	1 Printzeſs	500	92
	1 Beſchirmer	475	84
	1 Caſteel-Medenblick	500	86
	1 Captain-General	500	84
10	2 North-Holland	350	68
	2 Erſte-Edele	400	74
	2 Munickendam	376	72
	2 Gelderland. A.	375	72
	2 Stat-Muyden	375	72
	2 Eſtwout	375	72
	2 Printz-Caſimir	370	70
	2 Friſia	370	70
	2 Ridderſhap	375	72
	2 De 7 Provintzen	400	76
9	3 Zurick-zee	325	60
	3 Gelderland, R.	325	64
	3 Vere	325	62
	3 Zeeland, A.	325	64
	3 Haerlem	325	64
	3 Leyden	325	64
	3 Amſterdam	325	64
	3 Velew	325	64
	3 Maegd van Dort	325	64
8	4 Tergoes	225	54
	4 Medenblick	320	50
	4 Gaſterland	210	50
	4 Ripperda	210	50
	4 Schatterſhoff	210	50
	4 Stadten-Land	210	52
	4 Hoorn	210	50
	4 Delft	250	54

Admiral Allemonde, Vice-Admiral, Schout by Nacht.

The Dutch fleet conſiſted of ſix and thirty ſhips, carrying twelve thouſand, nine hundred and fifty men; and two thouſand, four hundred and ninety four guns. Frigats and fire ſhips, fourteen.

Engliſh and Dutch, in all, ninety-nine ſhips, of the line; forty thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeventy-five ſeamen; and ſix thouſand, nine hundred and ninety-four guns. Fire-ſhips and frigats, ſeven and thirty.

A List of the French Fleet.

The Van. Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Guns.
The Formidable	90	The Victorieux	92
Foudroyant	82	Fulminant	96
St. Philip	84	Ambitieux	96
Magnifique	76	Intrepid	84
Orguilluux	90	St. Eſprit	74
Conquerant	84	Illuſtrieux	70
Fier	76	Amicable	68
Belliqueux	76	Henry	64
Terrible	76	Courtiſan	64
Floriſſant	84	Bourbon	64
Tonant	76	Siren	60
Triomphant	76	Courageux	58
Couronne	76	Aſſuré	60
Pompeux	74	Apollo	60
Galliard	68	St. Louis	60
Content	64	Excellent	60
Glorieux	64	Arrogant	60
Serieux	68	Prince	60
Ecueil	64	Fleuron	58
Brillant	68	Temeraire	54
Furieux	60	And 3 fire-ſhips.	
Fort	60	The Rear.	
St. Michael	60	The Merveilleux	94
Agreeable	60	Admirable	90
Diamant	60	Vainueur	84
Entreprenant	68	Brave	60
The Center.		Sanſpareil	60
Soleil Royal	104	Juſte	64
Dauphin Royal	100	Entendue	60
Monarch	90	Maure	52
Grand	86	Perle	56
Souverain	84	Heureux Retour	52
		Fidelle	48
		Another of	58

Seven veſſels of leſs burden, 26 flutes, and 14 long barks.
In all 63 ſhips of the line of battle, and 55 ſmall craft.
Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 659. and 660.

According to this liſt, the French fleet will appear to have been of greater force, than any of the accounts of the battle which I have ſeen, on either ſide, make it; but it is as the French publiſh'd it, at the time of monſ. de Tourville's going to ſea. Whether any alteration happen'd afterwards, or whether the French had any deſign in having it believed larger, before their misfortune, than they cared to have it afterwards, I ſhall not determine? The French continuator of (or rather deviator from) Rapin, pretends, that the count d' Eſtrees's ſquadron had ſuffer'd very much by bad weather, that ſeveral of the ſhips were ſeparated from the fleet in a ſtorm, ſome render'd incapable of ſervice, others periſh'd, and again others oblig'd to go into harbor to refit.

I come

William & Mary. An' 1692.

The Sea-fight off of la Hogue.

I come now to give an account of this memorable sea-fight, and I think I cannot do it better, than by the copies of three letters, from three admirals who commanded in the ingagement, to which I shall, therefore, only add some observations, as well of our own as of some foreign authors.

The first is from admiral Russel the day after the battle.

A letter from admiral Russel.

Cape Barfleur, S. W. distance seven leagues.
May, 20th, 1692.

" Yesterday, about three in the morning, Cape " Barfleur bearing S. W. and by S. distance seven " leagues, my scouts made the signal for seing the " enemy. The wind westerly, the French bore " down to me, and at eleven ingaged me, but at " some distance. We continued fighting, till half " an hour past five in the evening, at which time " the enemy towed away with all their boats, and " we after them. It was calm all day. About " six there was a fresh ingagement to the westward " of me, which I supposed to be the blue. It " continued calm all night. I can give no parti- " cular account of things; but that the French " were beaten, and I am now steering away for " Conquet-road, having a fresh gale easterly, but " extreme foggy: I suppose that is the place they " design for. If it please God to send us a little " clear weather, I doubt not but we shall destroy " their whole fleet. I saw, in the night, three or " four ships blow up; but I know not what they " were. So soon as I am able to give you a more " particular relation, I will not be wanting.

The French fleet routed;

The ingagement with the blue squadron, which the admiral hints at above, lasted 'till ten at night (1), when the French, being worsted, stood away for Conquet-road (2). It was all that night very calm, and very foggy the next morning: but it begining to clear up a little, about eleven, the English saw the French fleet, about two leagues from them, but very much lessen'd in number, and not seeming to be above thirty-eight men of war. They made all the sail they could after them, but it soon grew calm again: about three in the afternoon both fleets came to an anchor, but weigh'd about eleven at night, and anchored again the next morning.

And pursued.

The 21st, the English again sail'd after the enemy, the admiral steering towards Barfleur, and the Dutch and blue squadron, towards the road of Alderney, thro' which part of the French fleet got safe to St. Malo, the English not thinking it safe to pursue them that way, for which, sir John Ashby was afterwards question'd in parliament. Sir Ralph Delaval had, however, better succes off of Cherbourg, of which his own letter will give us the best account.

This second letter, which was from sir Ralph Delaval, was dated two days after the foregoing letter.

A letter from sir Ralph Delaval to the lord Nottingham.

Sir Ralph Delaval's letter to the earl of Nottingham, on board the Royal Sovereign, near Cherbourg, May 22.

" I believe it my duty to acquaint you, that on " the one and twentieth instant, admiral Russel " having made the signal for the fleet to cut their " cables, I observed the French to be forced from " Alderney (where they anchored) to the east- " ward; and finding that some of them in- " deavored for the bay of Cherbourg, I stood in for " that place, where I found three three-deck'd " ships of the enemy's, but so close to the shore, " and within some rocks, that it was not safe for " me to attempt them, 'till I had informed my " self of the road, they being haled into shoal- " water. I immediately took my boats, and soun- " ded within gunshot of them; which they in- " deavored to prevent, by firing at us. And " that no time might be lost, I went immediately " on board the St. Albans, where, for the incourage- " ment of the seamen, I hoisted my flag, and " having ordered the Ruby, with two fireships, to " attend me, I stood in with them, leaving the " great ships without, as drawing too much water. " But coming very near, they galled us so extreme- " ly, and finding the fire-ships could not get in, " I judged it best to retreat without shot, " where I anchored; and immediately called all the " captains; when it was resolved to attempt them, " in the morning, with all the third and fourth- " rates, and fire-ships. But after having drawn " them into four fathom and a half water, I found " we could not do our busines, the water being " shoal. Upon which I ordered three fire-ships to " prepare themselves to attempt the burning them; " going myself with all the barges and tenders, to " take them up, if by the enemy's shot they should " miscarry. Indeed, I may say, and I hope " without vanity, the service was warm; yet, God " be praised, so effectually performed, that not- " withstanding all their shot, both from their ships " and forts, two of our fire-ships had good succes, " by burning two of them; the other, by an " unfortunate shot, was set on fire, being just " going on board the enemy. Indeed so brave was " the attempt, that I think they can hardly be suf- " ficiently rewarded; and doubt not but their Ma- " jesties will do them right. The third French " ship being run ashore, and observing the people " on board to go on shore by boats full, I ordered " the St. Alban's, the Reserve, and others, to fire " upon her; judging it might cause them to quit " her; and after having battered her for some " time, I observed she made no resistance. I took " all the boats armed, and went on board her. I " found abundance of men on board, and several " wounded, but no officers. And having caused " all the people, as well those that were wounded, " as others, to be taken out, I set her on fire; and " had I not had notice by my scouts, that thirty " ships were standing with us, had sent all the " French on shoar, who are now very troublesome " to me. The ships we saw proved to be sir John

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Ashby,

(1) There was, however, before this ingagement with the blue, which did not begin till eight o' clock, another with sir Cloudesly Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, which began about six, and this probably was the firing the admiral heard. Sir Cloudesly had got to the windward of monsr. Tourville's own squadron, and between him, and their admiral of the blue. After the fire had continued sometime, the ships, on both sides, came to an anchor, but could not discover one another, by reason of the fog. During this ingagement, three ships were heard to blow up, which, as the English miss'd none, must have been the French. Lediard's naval history, vol. 2. p. 661.

(2) In this dispute, rear admiral Carter was killed, whose last words to his captain (William Wright) sufficiently shewed, there had been no grounds to suspect his zeal to the service; for he gave him a strict charge to fight the ship as long as she would swim. Lediard's naval history, vol. 2. p. 662.

Of this part of the action, monsr. de Forbin says; " The tide, the night, and a fog, coming on, oblig'd monsr. de Tourville " to come to anchor. The English who had wheeled about the French, not doing the like, suffered themselves te be driven by " the currents, and passing thro' the French lines, under favor of the fog, recovered the main body of their fleet. This " gave occasion to a new fight, which proved more bloody, than the former. My ship (continues this author,) was pierced " thro' and thro', with cannon-balls, and I was boarded by a fire-ship, from which I freed my self at last, but not without great " difficulty. I lost a great many of my men in the action; and was my self sorely wounded, in the knee. This violent " cannonading, which had so terribly galled me, lasted 'till eleven at night; and, wounded as I was, and in great pain, I " spent the whole night in refitting, that I might be in a condition to perform duty the next day. For I foresaw we should " come to blows again. Memoires de Forbin.

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" Aſhby, and the Dutch coming from the weſt-
" ward. We are proceeding together to the eaſt-
" ward to la Hogue, where I am informed three
" or four of the enemy's ſhips are; and, if ſo, I
" hope God will give us good ſucceſs. I expect
" to find the admiral to-morrow, when I hope
" to hear he has deſtroyed ſome of the enemy's
" ſhips, having left him in chaſe of them, laſt
" night, ſtanding to the eaſtward, and pretty near
" them, as I judged. My lord, I hope you will
" excuſe me, if I preſume to pray, you will uſe
" your intereſt, with the Queen, that a reward
" may be given to the three captains of the fire-
" ſhips, and ſeveral of the others, for greater zeal
" and greater bravery, I never ſaw. I pray your
" excuſe for being thus tedious and thus particular.
" Pray God preſerve their Majeſties, and that their
" arms may be ever crowned with ſucceſs, by ſea
" and land, ſhall be the prayers and indeavors of, &c.
" Captain Heath burnt Tourville's ſhip, the
" Royal-Sun, which was the moſt difficult. Cap-
" tain Greenway burnt the other called the Con-
" querant. The admiral was burnt by our boats.
" Captain Fowlis attempted the Royal-Sun, but
" was ſet on fire by the enemy's ſhot; yet deſerves
" as well as the others.

Admiral Ruſſel was no leſs ſucceſsful in the purſuit of thirteen French men of war, of which I ſhall give the reader an account, after having prefix'd the third of the letters mention'd above.

This third is the tranſlation of a letter from the Dutch admiral Allemonde, to the States-general.

From on board the Prince, near Cape-barfleur, June 3 (May 24th) 1692.

High and mighty lords,

Admiral Allemonde's letter to the States-general.

" Since my two laſt, of the thirty-firſt paſt, and
" firſt inſtant, N. S. which gave your high mighti-
" neſſes advice of what had paſs'd in the defeat of
" the French fleet, I came to anchor under this
" Cape, where I have been ſince yeſterday in the
" afternoon, with your highneſſes ſquadron, and
" that of ſir John Aſhby, admiral of the blue
" ſquadron, and ſome other Britiſh ſhips. At
" my arrival here, I was informed, by the
" captain of a French fire-ſhip, who was taken
" priſoner; that about twelve of the veſſels which
" had ingaged your highneſſes ſquadron, and to
" which we had given chace, were got in among
" the rocks, upon which I prepared to go and
" deſtroy or burn them: but as I was ready to
" put my deſign in execution, I found that ad-
" miral Ruſſel was giving orders to the ſame pur-
" poſe. I immediately offered him your high and
" mightineſſes light frigats and fire-ſhips, to aſſiſt
" his ſhip; and immediately gave the neceſſary
" orders, in caſe he ſhould make uſe of them;
" but as yet I know not whether thoſe frigats and
" fire-ſhips were imployed or not. All that I can
" aſſure your high mightineſſes is, that the
" ſame day they took a reſolution to deſtroy theſe
" ſhips, they burnt ſix of the largeſt, being ſhips
" of three decks; and this day the reſt which re-
" mained, the leaſt of which carried ſixty pieces of
" cannon, indur'd the ſame fate, being burnt with
" all their ammunition and proviſion, together with
" ſix other ſmaller veſſels, which they had light-
" ned of their guns, to try whether it were poſſible
" to ſave them, by towing them up higher; ſo
" that this expedition has compleated the irrepara-
" ble ruin of the enemy's fleet. I underſtand, this
" day, from on board of admiral Ruſſel, that or-
" ders are given out to burn the tranſport-veſſels,
" which are in the bay of la Hogue, to the num-
" ber of 300, if it may be done with ſafety: but I
" fear it will be very difficult, becauſe the water is
" very ſhallow where thoſe veſſels ly; and great
" reſiſtance may be made from the land-ſide; I
" therefore leave the ſucceſs of the deſign to pro-
" vidence. On the other hand, it has been reſolved,
" in a grand council of war, to reduce our fleet to
" fifty or ſixty great ſhips, to ſail away to the iſle
" of Uſhant, and to indeavor to take all the enemy's
" ſhips that ſhall come from, or deſign to go into
" Breſt, and to ſend the reſt of the men of war,
" with ſome fire-ſhips, to ſcour the coaſt of France,
" as far as Dunkirk, to ſeek out and deſtroy, if
" poſſible, the ſcattered remnants of the French
" fleet, that have ſteered their courſe to the
" eaſt. (1).

I am,

Moſt high and mighty lords,

Yours &c. P. Allemonde.

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French ſhips burnt at La Hogue.

The deſtruction of the French ſhips, in the bay of la Hogue, which admiral Allemonde juſt hints at, in the foregoing letter, was perform'd in the following manner: the 21ſt of May, about four in the afternoon, eighteen of the French ſhips, which were got eaſtward of Cape-barfleur, haled in for la Hogue, where the Engliſh admiral, with the body of the fleet, likewiſe, anchored the ſame night. The next afternoon about two, he plied cloſe in with la Hogue, where he found thirteen of the enemy's ſhips, very near under the ſhoar. The 23d, the ſent vice-admiral Rook, of the blue, with ſeveral men of war, frigats, fire-ſhips, and the boats of the fleet arm'd, to deſtroy them; none but theſe ſmall frigats could, however, advance near enough for ſervice, which was the reaſon that they could only burn ſix of them that night, with their boats. The next morning, about eight, they burnt the other ſeven, together with ſeveral tranſport-ſhips, and ſome ſmall veſſels with ammunition. They, likewiſe, drove the French, with their own guns, from their platforms and batteries on ſhoar; and all this in the ſight of the French and Iriſh camp, that lay ready to invade England. Many of the French ſeamen periſh'd with their ſhips, and a great number were taken priſoners. Thus at la Hogue and Cherbourg were burnt two ſhips of 104 guns; one of ninety; two of eighty; four of ſeventy-ſix; four of ſixty; and two of fifty-ſix; beſide another of fifty-ſix guns which was overſet, and loſt: ſo that, with what the French loſt in the fight, twenty-one of their largeſt ſhips were deſtroy'd, beſide frigats and ſmall craft; and had it not been for the foggy weather, hardly a ſhip would have eſcap'd. Of the

Loſs on both ſides.

(1) The account F. Daniel gives of this ingagement is in ſubſtance, " that monſieur de Tourville attack'd the Engliſh Corps
" de Bataille with ſo much vigor, that all fled before him: that he maintained the fight the whole day, from morning to
" night, without the loſs of a ſhip, tho' he did conſiderable damage to ſeveral of the Engliſh ſhips: and that he made a fine re-
" treat, which would have been as happy as glorious, had not the tide failed him. His conduct, however, was ſo much ap-
" proved, that the King his maſter honored him with a marſhall's ſtaff on that account." Monſieur de Forbin, who begins his relation with ſomewhat more modeſty, and muſt be ſuppoſed to know more of it than F. Daniel, as he was preſent himſelf in the action, ſays; " that the Engliſh expected them in very good order, and ſuffered them to come as near to them as they
" thought fit. The battle was begun (continues he) with a great deal of vigor, and even with ſome advantage on the ſide
" of the French: but the wind, which, in the begining of the fight, was in their favor, changed in an inſtant, and was
" favorable to the Engliſh. They took the advantage of it, and, with their van, wheeled round the French fleet, and by that
" means made them be expoſed to two fires at once. As their fleet was far ſuperiour to the French (who had but four and forty
" ſhips) beyond all diſpute the whole French fleet would have been loſt, if they had managed as they might have done: but their
" ſlowneſs in attacking let the opportunity ſlip out of their hands."

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confederates not a ſhip was loſt, but the fire-ſhips which were ſpent in the action; and the number of officers and men kill'd was inconſiderable (1). This ſervice being done, the admiral ſail'd again, the next day, and order'd ſir John Aſhby (who was return'd, without having done any execution on the other part of the French fleet) to run, with a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch, along the French coaſt, as far as Havre de Grace, and look out for the five ſhips, which he ſaid he had ſeen ſtanding eaſtward: but in this he had no better ſucceſs than before (2). The advantage already obtained was, however, very great and glorious, and the more as it effectually put a ſtop to the projected invaſion; and caſt ſuch a damp upon the late King James's expectations, that he never recover'd the impreſſion of it (3). All farther hopes of meeting the remainder of the French fleet being now groundleſs, the admiral return'd with his fleet to St. Helens.

The Queen's bounty.

Her Majeſty was no ſooner inform'd of this victory, than ſhe ſent a gratuity of 30,000 l. down to Portſmouth, to be diſtributed among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, order'd medals to be ſtruck for the officers, and cauſed colonel Haſtings, who was kill'd in the fight, to be magnificently buried. Her Majeſty, at the ſame time, conſidering, how this ſucceſs might be improved, by turning the cards upon the French, and making a deſcent upon their coaſts, before they could recover from their conſternation, order'd preparation, to be made for that end. All the forces deſign'd for this expedition were ſhip'd off at Portſmouth, the twenty-third of July, and on the twenty-fifth the duke of Lemſter, who commanded them in chief, imbark'd on board the Bredau. As they ſet ſail, with a fair wind, in the beſt ſeaſon of the year, the expectations of the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe were very great: but to the great ſurprize of every one, a few days after, intelligence came, that all the tranſports had put into St. Hellens road, with part of the fleet, that they met off of Torbay, which gave occaſion to various conjectures (4).

A deſcent on the coaſt of France projected;

The Queen was no ſooner inform'd of what had paſs'd, than ſhe ſent a committee of her privy-council to Torbay, to carry freſh orders to the fleet. The lord-preſident of the council, accompanied by the lord-ſteward, lord-chamberlain, the earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter, and the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, came thither, the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, and, after they had confer'd with the generals, return'd to London. The forces under the duke of Lemſter arrived in the Downs, the eight of the ſame month, from whence they ſailed again, on the 20th, and landed two days after at Oſtend; the French coaſts having been, all this time, under a continual alarm. The fleet lay a conſiderable time wind-bound at St. Helens, till the winter ſeaſon being far advanc'd, the great ſhips were order'd to Chatham, and the remainder of the fleet divided into ſquadrons, as was judged moſt for the advantage of the ſervice.

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All fears of an invaſion being now diſpell'd, I ſhall leave the Queen and the three kingdoms in a happy ſecurity, and take a brief view of the affairs on the continent. We left King William at Loo, from whence he repair'd to Flanders, to head the army there. The duke of Bavaria, who, thro' King William's influence, was, this year, made governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, had put thoſe provinces in a much better ſtate, than they had before been in; this did not, however diſcourage Lewis XIV, from attempting the ſiege of Namur, one of the ſtrongeſt places in all thoſe parts, which, at one and at the ſame time, is the rampart of Brabant, the biſhopric of Liege, the United-provinces, and Lower-Germany; and is beſide, ſo ſituated at the confluence of the Maeſe and the Sambre, that it requires three ſeparate camps to beſiege it. He inveſted it in perſon, the 25th of May, N. S. open'd the trenches, the 29th, and puſh'd the ſiege with ſo much vigor and aſſiduity, that he made himſelf maſter of all the outworks next to St. Nicholas's-gate, within the ſpace of four days after; having, in that time, made three attacks, with 25,000 men each time; this ingaged the gariſon to ſurrender the town, the 5th of June, by capitulation, and to retire into the caſtle.

Campain in Flanders.

Namur beſieg'd by the French.

King William was no ſooner inform'd of this ſiege, than he decamp'd, with the confederate army under his command, from Anderlech, and march'd

King William marches towards Namur.

(1) It was believed (ſays biſhop Burnet) that if this ſucceſs had been purſued with vigor, conſidering the conſternation, with which the French were ſtruck, upon ſuch an unuſual and ſurprizing blow, that this victory might have been carried much farther than it was: but Ruſſel was provoked by ſome letters and orders, that the earl of Nottingham ſent him from the Queen, which he thought were the effects of ignorance; and upon that he fell into a croſſneſs of diſpoſition; he found fault with every order which was ſent him; but would offer no advice, on his part. Hiſtory of his own times.

(2) If ſir John Aſhby had purſued the twenty-ſix French ſhips, which afterwards got into St. Malo, in all appearance he might have deſtroyed every one of them. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times.

(3) King James now ſeem'd to recede from all hopes of his reſtoration, as we may ſee by the following melancholy letter, which he wrote to the French King.

Monſieur, my Brother,

"I have hitherto, with ſomething of conſtancy and reſolution, ſupported the weight of all the misfortunes, which it hath "pleaſed Heaven to lay upon me, ſo long as myſelf was the only ſufferer: but I muſt acknowledge this laſt diſaſter utterly "overwhelms me; and I am altogether comfortleſs, in reference to what concerns your Majeſty, thro' the great loſs that has "befallen your fleet. I know too well, that my unlucky ſtar it is, which has drawn down this misfortune upon your forces, "always victorious, but when they fought for my intereſt. And this is that which plainly tells me, that I no longer merit "the ſupport of ſo great a Monarch, who is always ſure to vanquiſh when he fights for himſelf. For which reaſon it is, "that I requeſt your Majeſty no longer to concern yourſelf for a Prince ſo unfortunate as myſelf; but permit me to retire with "my family, to ſome corner of the world, where I may ceaſe to obſtruct the uſual courſe of your proſperities and conqueſts, "which only my misfortune could interrupt. It is not juſt that the moſt potent Monarch in the world, and the moſt flouriſh-"ing, above all others, ſhould ſhare in my diſgrace, becauſe you are too generous... 'Tis better much, that I ſhall only retire, "'till it pleaſe omnipotent providence to be more propitious to my affairs. But howſoever it pleaſes over-ruling Heaven to diſ-"poſe of me and mine, or into whatſoever receſs I may be thrown, I can aſſure your Majeſty, that I ſhall always preſerve, to "the laſt gaſp of my aſpiring breath, that due acknowledgment which I ſtill retain of your favors and conſtant friendſhip. Nor "can any thing more contribute to my conſolation, than to hear, as I hope to do, when I have wholly quited your dominions, "of the quick return of all your wonted triumphs, both by ſea and land, over your enemies and mine, when my intereſt ſhall "be no longer intermixed with yours. I am, Monſieur, my Brother, yours, &c.

James Rex.

The King of France indeavored to alleviate King James affliction by a kind anſwer, wherein he promiſed never to forſake him in the worſt of his extremities.

(4) The orders for this expedition were not open'd till they were at a certain diſtance at ſea: and, in a council of war, of land and ſea officers, it was debated, whether the burning the French ſhips at St. Malo was practicable; The flag-officers were of opinion it was not, till the town itſelf was ſo far reduc'd, by the land-forces, that the ſhips might not be expos'd to the enemy's guns on ſhoar: and the land-officers were of opinion, that the troops could be of no ſervice, without the aſſiſtance of the fleet, ſo that deſign was laid aſide. It was next debated, whether any thing could be attempted at Breſt or Rochfort: but there again the flag-officers thought the ſeaſon of the year too far advanced to attempt any thing with ſafety, and the generals declar'd they ſhould not be able to do any ſervice with the troops, unleſs they were protected by the fleet. It was however, reſolved to ſtand over to the coaſt of France, off of la Hogue, but, in the paſſage from Torbay, the admiral received orders from the Queen, and, thereupon, returned with the tranſports to St. Helens. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 668 and 669.

to

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to Diegom: the 28th of May, he continued his march towards Louvain, and incamp'd near Beth-lem-abby, from whence, on the third of June, he purſued his march towards Namur (1). The duke of Luxemburg, who cover'd the ſiege of Namur, with an army of 70,000 men, upon the firſt advice, that the King of England was in motion towards the Mehaigne, march'd that way, likewiſe, and the eighth of June, the two armies, which were very near of equal force, came within ſight of one another, having the river only between them: both armies poſſeſs'd themſelves of the moſt advantageous poſts they could, on each ſide of the river; but the confederates had ſo much the advantage, by means of their batteries, that King William order'd his pontons to be laid over it, the ſame evening, in order to attack the French, the next day: however, tho' every thing was in a readineſs, there fell that night, and the ſucceeding days, ſo much rain, as ſwell'd the river to ſuch a degree, that the current over-ſet his bridges. This, with the continual fire of the enemy, from the other ſide of the river, oblig'd his Majeſty to lay aſide an enterpriſe, by which he might have obtain'd great glory.

A glorious deſign fruſtrated.

The caſtle of Namur beſieged.

The French, after the ſurrender of the town of Namur, laid cloſe ſiege to the caſtle, which, by its advantageous ſituation on a hill, and its excellent fortifications, was reckon'd almoſt impregnable. They had firſt a fortification called the Devil's-houſe, then Fort-William, and afterwards the New-caſtle to take, before they could come at the Old-caſtle. To give a particular account of all the tranſactions of this ſiege, would carry me too far, the moſt remarkable was the taking of Fort-William, an out-work erected by that incomparable ingineer, colonel de Cohorn, who defended it in perſon, with a gariſon of 1500 men. Lewis XIV reſolved to be maſter of it, at any rate, and, tho' he did gain his point, it coſt him dear. He cauſed it to be very vigorouſly attack'd, the 21ſt of June, but his men were obliged to retreat with a conſiderable loſs; not diſcouraged by this repulſe, they attempted it again the next day, but were twice beat off with great ſlaughter; at length, however, with redoubled numbers, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the cover'd way, and cut off the communication of the beſieged with the caſtle. Monſieur de Cohorn being, likewiſe, dangerouſly wounded, the gariſon deſired to capitulate, and the fort was, thereupon, deliver'd up to the French. This was ſoon follow'd by the loſs of the caſtle, which ſurrender'd the firſt of July. (2)

Fort William taken.

The caſtle of Namur ſurrendered.

King William was then incamp'd at Melle, where he had form'd a deſign to ſurprize Mons, but it prov'd abortive. His Majeſty march'd his army from Melle to Genap, from thence to Notre-Dame de Hall, and, on the firſt of Auguſt, over the Senne, where he was joined by the troops of Hannover, to the number of 8000 men. The French King, on the other hand, contented with the glory of having taken Namur, in the ſight of the confederate army, left the command of his troops to Luxemburg, who incamp'd them in an advantageous poſt, cover'd by a wood and thick hedges, between Enghien and Steenkirk, where his Britannick Majeſty took the reſolution to attack him.

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The battle of Steenkirk.

The third of Auguſt, the confederate army march'd, early in the morning, the heavy baggage being order'd to repaſs the Senne at Hall. As they had ſeveral defilees to paſs, and ways to make, the duke of Wirtemberg, with the van-guard, conſiſting of four batallions of Engliſh foot, two of Danes, and a detachment of Churchill's brigade, did not come up to the enemy's camp till about ten. He then immediately fell upon them, with ſo much vigor, that he drove them from hedge to hedge, poſted himſelf in the wood, which fronted the right wing of their army, and erected two batteries of cannon, on little eminences, one on the right, and the other on the left of the wood. While theſe batterries were playing upon the enemy, the confederate army marched up to the head of the defilees (about half an Engliſh mile from the wood) where it opened into a little plain, not above half a league over, which terminated upon the right of the wood, and upon ſeveral rows of high trees, planted in great order. From the head of the defilee, on the left of the plain, there was a deep hollow way, with high trees and hedges upon the banks of it, which reached as far as the wood, where the vanguard was placed, and where it branched itſelf into two other deep ways, and going thro' the wood upon the left, to the Danes attack, and to that of the guards, and the other upon the right, going along the outſide of the wood: between theſe two laſt, were poſted the regiments of ſir Robert Douglas, colonel Fitz-patrick, and colonel O Farrel. When the confederate army was come up to the head of theſe defilees, and juſt entering into the ſmall plain, they were all ordered to halt, except the Engliſh life-guards, horſe and dragoons, and the lord Cutts's, lieutenant-general Mackay's, ſir Charles Graham's, and the earl of Angus's regiments, which being interlined with the horſe, were, at the ſame time, ordered to the right ſkirts of the wood; while the Prince of Heſſe's, colonel Lowther's, and the earl of Leven's regiments, were alſo intermixed with the left wing of horſe, and poſted upon the outſide of the wood.

All things being thus diſpoſed, and the army continuing in their halt, Prince Wirtemberg, after he had cannonaded for about two hours, began the attack with the Danes upon the right, which was immediately followed by the other four Engliſh regiments, which compoſed the van-guard, and ſeconded by Cutts's, Mackay's, Angus's, Graham's, Lowther's, the Prince of Heſſe's and Leven's regiments. The fire was very terrible for the ſpace of two hours, and withal very regular. The van-guard behaved with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that tho' they received the charge of ſeveral battalions of the enemy, one after another, they drove them beyond one of their batteries of ſeven pieces of cannon, of which the Danes, and the ſecond battalion of the regiment of Engliſh guards, poſſeſſed themſelves, and would have carried them away, had not the French prevented them, by cuting off the traces, and carrying away the horſes. Sir Robert Douglas, with his firſt battalion, charged ſeveral of

(1) Before his Majeſty removed, he gave the enemy notice of his laſt victory at ſea, by a triple diſcharge of 140 pieces of cannon, which were anſwer'd by as many vollies of ſmall ſhot, from the two lines of the army. It is ſaid, that the French King heard theſe tokens of joy, with a great deal of unconcernment, ſaying; "here's a mighty pudder, indeed, about the "burning of two or three ſhips." However, as light as he made of it, the conſequences ſhew'd, it was the unhappieſt blow he received, during the whole courſe of the war. Hiſtory of King William III. vol. 2. p. 332.

(2) The ſtrength of the place, and the ſhortneſs of the ſiege, occaſioned ſome reflections to be caſt on the Prince of Barbanſon, who was governor of it. It was ſaid that King William ſuſpected him before-hand, and had, therefore, deſired the elector of Bavaria to remove him: but the French having inveſted the place, before he could comply with his Majeſty's deſire, all the elector could do was to order the count de Thian, to accompany him in this ſiege, and to obſerve his conduct. There were, however, not wanting thoſe who maintain'd, that the Prince of Barbanſon acted like a man of honor and courage, and did all that could be expected from him.

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the enemies, beat them from three ſeveral hedges, and made himſelf maſter of the fourth, when going thro' a gap, to get on the other ſide, he was unfortunately killed on the ſpot.

The other regiments all behaved with the like bravery, firing thro' the hedges, they on one ſide, and the enemy on the other, muzzle to muzzle. One of Prince Wirtemberg's aids de camp having informed the King, what difficulties the vanguard had to incounter with, and the Prince having, to no purpoſe, ſent two meſſengers to count Solmes, who commanded the main body, for a reinforcement, his Majeſty diſpatched count Paulin, one of his own aids de camp, with poſitive orders to count Solmes, to ſend more foot to the Prince's aſſiſtance; but inſtead of obeying the King's command, he did juſt the reverſe; ordering the foot to halt, and the horſe to march (1). This proved, in a great meaſure, if not wholly, the loſs of the day: for the ground was ſo ſtreight, and the enemy had ſo many hedges, copſes, and ditches, to cover them, that the horſe could do nothing; ſo that when the vanguard begun to ingage, they had none but part of the infantry, interlined with the left wing of the horſe, to ſecond them, the body of the foot being almoſt a mile in the rear. The King, however, made all poſſible diligence to get the infantry up, ordering a brigade to march to the wood, and forming a line of battle in the plain, with ſuch foot as could come up. The ſoldiers were ſo eager to follow their royal leader, and to ingage the enemy, that it occaſioned ſome diſorder, and made it the longer before the battalions could be formed: inſomuch, that before they could reach the wood, the vanguard and infantry of the left wing, having been continually charged by thirty battalions of the enemy, one after another, and by a freſh body of dragoons, brought up by Bouflers, were overpowered and obliged to retreat, in great confuſion, leaving the wood in the poſſeſſion of the enemy.

The Engliſh life-guards were indebted to the Daniſh foot-guards, for their ſafety; and baron Pibrack's regiment of Lunenburgers, being in diſorder, upon the ſkirt of the wood, and the colonel lying dangerouſly wounded on the place, ſir Bevil Granville, who commanded the earl of Bath's regiment, marched to his relief, and having lodged himſelf, in the hollow way, near the wood, ordered the wounded baron Pibrack to be carried off, and maintained his poſt, 'till count Naſſau commanded him to leave it. King William, inraged to ſee his vanguard thus diſappointed in their juſt expectations, for want of a timely relief, was often heard to repeat theſe words: "Oh my poor Engliſh how they are abandoned," (2)! and conſidering that the fight could not now be renewed, without a great hazard to the whole army, the enemy having been re-inforced by a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of Bouflers, together with the heavy artillery, and beſide night drawing on, his Majeſty thought a retreat moſt adviſeable, which was, accordingly, performed in excellent order, and without any moleſtation from the enemy, who, notwithſtanding the advantage they had obtained, wanted courage to attack the rear of the confederate army; tho' the continuator of Rapin ſays they followed them ſome time.

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The confederates loſt, in this battle, the brave lieutenant-general Mackay, ſir John Lanier, ſir Robert Douglas, the earl of Angus, and ſeveral other good officers, together with above 2,000 men killed, 3,000 wounded or made priſoners, and ſeveral pieces of cannon. The enemy, on the other hand, remained indeed maſters of the camp they were in poſſeſſion of before; but otherwiſe they had not much advantage to brag of: for they had the Prince de Turenne, the marquis de Bellefonds, the marquis de Tilladet, the brigadier Stoupa, the marquis de Firmacon, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, together with 2000 private ſoldiers killed, and near as many wounded. Loſs on both ſides.

This campain afforded little more of note, in Flanders: on the one ſide, a detachment from the troops of Liege, commanded by count de Tſerclaes de Tilly, defeated a French party from Namur; and on the other, monſ. de Bouflers bombarded Charleroy. The Engliſh forces under the duke of Lemſter, which, as I have mentioned above, landed at Oſtend towards the latter end of Auguſt, poſſeſſed themſelves of Furnes and Dixmuyde, which they began to fortify: but whatever was the reaſon of it, both theſe places were abandoned to Bouflers, by count Horn, the begining of the inſuing year (3). The Engliſh take Furnes and Dixmuyde.

Before I leave the Netherlands, I muſt not omit mentioning the deſerv'd fate of an infamous criminal, who fell into the hands of juſtice, I mean the chevalier de Granvale, who, the foregoing year, was principal in the deſign of aſſaſſinating King William. Returning this year from Paris, where he had ingaged one Leefdale, a perſon of a good family near Boiſleduc, to join with Dumont in the execrable deed, he appointed a meeting at Uden, whither Dumont was come from Hannover. It was there agreed, that when the King ſhould paſs along the lines, or when the army ſhould decamp, Dumont and Leefdale ſhould be in ambuſh, and ſhoot his Majeſty; but that, as ſoon as the murder was committed, to color the villany with the appearance of a ſtratagem of war, a party of 3,000 horſe, from the duke of Luxemburg's army, headed by monſ. Chamlays and colonel Parker, ſhould reſcue the aſſaſſins: but providence, ever watchful for his Majeſty's ſafety, ſuffered the black deſign to be diſcovered by Leefdale and Dumont. They related all the circumſtances of it, and who were the perſons that put Granvale upon this helliſh attempt (4). Granvale was thereupon taken at Eyndenhoven, and being tried by a court-martial, at Hay, after he had made a full and voluntary confeſſion of his crime, without being put to the torture, he was, according to his ſentenſe, drawn, hanged and quartered. A plot againſt the King's life. The author executed.

(1) This ill conduct of count Solmes was ſaid to be the effect of envy and jealouſy, in general, againſt the Engliſh, which had always been obſerved in him, and in particular againſt the Prince of Wirtemberg, becauſe he commanded the attack, an honor he himſelf was ambitious of.

(2) It is ſaid, that King William would not admit the count de Solmes to his royal preſenſe for many months after; and, indeed if he was deſignedly guilty of that miſtake, for the motives laid to his charge, a much more ſevere treatment would juſtly have been his due: but the misfortune of this day was, likewiſe, owing in part to a traytor, who made it his buſineſs to give intelligence of all the King's motions and deſigns, to monſ. de Luxemburg, I mean the chevalier de Millevoix, a domeſtic of the elector of Bavaria's, who, being convicted of it, was hanged on a tree, in the right wing of his Majeſty's army.

(3) King William had probably ſome great deſign in view, that way; for he highly reſented the treachery, or whatever it was, of count Horn, in delivering up theſe places, tho' till then he had always a great ſhare in his Majeſty's eſteem.

(4) At his execution he ſeemed very penitent, but could not forbear expreſſing ſome reſentment againſt thoſe that had brought him to ſo tragical an end; among whom, if credit may be given to the dying words of a criminal, and to depoſitions upon record, there were not only miniſters of ſtate and embaſſadors, but even an archbiſhop, nay, a crowned head, who, at leaſt, were privy to that deteſtable project; which, however, the continuator of Rapin, always a friend to the French, will by no means believe: and, to make it the more incredible, tells the ridiculous ſtory, that Dumont was pitched upon to ſtrike the firſt ſtroke, becauſe he pretended he had the art to render himſelf inviſible. B. 25. p. 165.

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Affairs of Germany.

The confederate army on the Upper Rhine was commanded this year, by the landgrave of Heſſe-caſſel, and the markgrave of Bareith, againſt the duke de Lorge, general of the French army. Nothing worth our notice happened, till the month of September, when the duke of Wirtemberg, with about 4,000 horſe, was ſurprized by a detachment of French troops, in his camp near Edeilſheim, by the favor of a great fog, and were charged ſo vigorouſly, that his men had not time to put themſelves in a poſture of defenſe. About 1,000 of the Germans were killed on the ſpot, and ſeveral made priſoners, among whom was the duke himſelf, who was carried to Paris, while the French lived at diſcretion in his country. The landgrave of Heſſe-caſſel, who was likewiſe obliged, by the French, to raiſe the ſiege of Eberemburg, was however ſoon after, even with them: for count Tallard, with a body of their troops, having beſieged Rhinefeld, the governor made ſo brave a defenſe, and the landgrave was ſo aſſiduous to come to his relief, that the French were obliged to abandon the enterprize, with a conſiderable loſs (1).

I muſt not quit the affairs of Germany, without taking notice, that this year the duke of Hannover, a Proteſtant Prince, and grand-father to his preſent moſt gracious Majeſty, was, thro' King William's intereſt, and by means of certain ſtipulations with the Emperor, advanced to be an Elector of the Empire, and thereby a ninth Electorate was conſtituted.

Affairs in Piedmont.

In Piedmont the allies were, this year, ſucceſsful, and had carried all before them, if a ſudden ſickneſs, which ſeized the duke of Savoy, had not put a ſtop to the career of his good fortune. The French, having brought the Pope to an accommodation, were very ſanguine in their hopes of drawing over the duke of Savoy from the confederacy, by means of the Holy-father; and this may have been one reaſon why they left monſ. Catinat expoſed to an army ſo very much ſuperior to that which was under his command: but the duke, being proof againſt all their temptations and remaining ſtaunch to the intereſt of the high allies, got his army into the field, and diſpoſed of ſeveral parties, in the vallies and other places, for the better ſecurity of the country, and then marched, in the month of July, at the head of 20,000 men, over the Alps, by ways 'till then thought impracticable, into the province of Dauphiny, where he pillaged and took ſeveral places from the French, and particularly the city of Ambrun, where he found a conſiderable booty in mony, and raiſed large contributions, not only in that city, but in all the neighbouring towns and villages. In this city, likewiſe, the duke of Schomberg, who commanded 4,000 French refugees, and Vaudois, publiſhed a declaration, in the name of his Britannic Majeſty, inviting the country to join him (2). Incouraged by this declaration, ſeveral French Proteſtants who had been obliged to abjure their religion, took this opportunity to make their voluntary recantation, in the preſenſe of monſ. Dubourdieu, the duke's chaplain, who did not fail to ſtrengthen them in their faith, by his excellent ſermons. From Ambrun, the army marched to Gap, a city on the frontiers of Provence, the inhabitants of which opened their gates to Prince Eugene of Savoy, upon his firſt appearance before it; and readily conſented to pay contribution, to preſerve their houſes from being burnt and pillaged. The city of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiny, the neighbouring provinces, and even the wealthy city of Lions, began to be apprehenſive of their danger; and indeed the allies had now a very favorable opportunity of curbing the immenſe power of France, had not the duke of Savoy been taken with the ſmall-pox, from which he was no ſooner, recovered than he fell into an ague that indangered his life. This with a ſpirit of diviſion that crept in among the generals, put an end to the campain ſooner than was otherwiſe deſigned (3).

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Affairs of Catalonia.

I ſhould now go on to the campain in Catalonia; but the French having attempted nothing on that ſide, their forces being ſufficiently diverted another way, and the Spaniards having done as little, by reaſon of their uſual ſupinity and weakneſs, I ſhall return to England.

An earthquake in England.

The 8th of September, an earthquake, a thing very uncommon in England, was felt in London, and ſeveral other places (4). The 13th of the ſame month, the Queen iſſued out two proclamations, one "for the better diſcovery of ſeditious libellers," and the other, "for the diſcovery and apprehending of high-way-men, and for a reward of forty pounds for every ſuch offender, to the diſcoverers;" which incouragement occaſioned the taking of many of thoſe robbers, who, about this time, very much infeſted the roads of this kingdom.

A ſham-plot.

Some time before this, the earls of Malborough and Saliſbury, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome others, were put in the Tower, upon a falſe accuſation of high-treaſon: this villany was tranſacted in the following manner: One Young was commited to Newgate for non-payment of a fine impoſed upon him; and one Henry Pearſon, a priſoner in the ſame place for debt, obſerving that Young was very dextrous in counterfeiting hands, told him, if he could contrive a ſham-plot, and father it on thoſe noblemen, he need not want mony to pay his fine. On the credit of this ſham-plot, Young and Pearſon found means to raiſe mony enough to get diſcharged from their confinement, and then Pearſon imployed one Stephen Blackhead to carry letters between himſelf and Young, who by a ſtratagem had found means to get a ſight of the earl of Marlborough's hand, which he counterfeited ſo artificially, that it was very difficult to diſcern the true from the falſe. He afterwards drew up a pretended aſſociation againſt the government, to which he affixed the hands of the earls of Marlborough and Saliſbury, ſir Baſil Firebraſs, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and the lord Cornbury, which two laſt were

(1) It was the more ſhame to the French, to be obliged to abandon this place, becauſe the court of France, not believing it would dare to ſtand a ſiege, ordered count Tallard, not to beſiege, but to take poſſeſſion of it.

The campain on the Rhine might probably have been more ſucceſsful, had it not been for want of the Saxon troops (upon which the Imperial troops in vain depended) notwithſtanding the elector's promiſes. Contin. of Rapin in French, B. 25. p. 163.

(2) He aſſured them, that his Majeſty had no other aim, in cauſing his forces to enter into France, but to reſtore the nobility and gentry to their ancient ſplendor, the parliaments to their priſtine authority, the people to their juſt privileges, and even to grant his protection to the clergy: and becauſe the Kings of England are guarantees of the edict of Nantes, made in favor of the Proteſtants, as well by the treaty concluded at Montpellier, as ſeveral other treaties, the duke of Schomberg declared, that it was his Britannic Majeſty's intention to cauſe that edict to be revived.

(3) Mr. Dubourdieu, after his return, prevailed upon the biſhop of St. Aſaph (afterwards of Litchfield and Coventry) to ſollicit her Majeſty's bounty in behalf of the poor perſecuted Vaudois, which he did ſo ſucceſsfully, that a fund was eſtabliſhed out of her Majeſty's privy-purſe, for the maintaining of ten preachers, and as many ſchool-maſters, in the vallies of Piedmont. A monument of that glorious Princeſs's unbounded charity, which will remain as long as there are Vaudois in the world.

(4) This earthquake was, likewiſe, felt in ſeveral places on the continent. King William being at that time in his camp at dinner, in an old decayed houſe, which ſhook ſo much that every one was apprehenſive it would fall, his Majeſty, with much ado, was prevailed upon to riſe from table, and go out of the houſe; but the ſurprize was ſoon over.

About three months before this, a more terrible accident of this kind happened at Jamaica, which almoſt intirely ruined the town of Port-royal, the beſt of all the Engliſh plantations, and the great mart of that part of the world; beſide the damages, which amounted to a very large ſum, no leſs than 1500 perſons, periſhed by this fatal accident.

were however written by another hand. To give the more credit to this pretended plot, Young forged ſeveral letters in the name of the duke of Marlborough, ſuppoſed to be directed to himſelf, which Blackhead uſed to bring to him. In the month of April, Blackhead went three times to the biſhop of Rocheſter's houſe at Bromley, on a ſham-errand, from a ſuppoſed doctor of divinity, but with no other intent but to convey the forged aſſociation into a ſecret place; where it was afterwards found by the King's meſſengers, who, upon information given by Young againſt that reverend prelate, came firſt to ſecure his perſon, and then to ſearch his houſe: but upon a ſtrict examination of the whole matter, before the council, and confronting Blackhead with Young, the forgery was evidently diſcovered, the innocence of the noblemen, and other perſons accuſed, made manifeſt, and the authors of this villany puniſhed (1).

The villany detected.

Affairs of Scotland and Ireland.

In Scotland and Ireland every thing was now in a perfect tranquillity, and the parliaments of both nations were very zealous and forward, in contributing new levies, for the ſupport of their Majeſties government. In Ireland, particularly, the lord Sidney, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, ſo managed affairs, that the parliament there made an act, the 5th of October, "not only of recognition "of their Majeſties undoubted title to that crown," and another, "for incouragement of Proteſtant "ſtrangers to ſettle in that kingdom"; but alſo one, "for granting to their Majeſties the ſum of "70,000 l. by an additional duty of exciſe upon "beer, ale, and other liquors."

The King returns from Holland.

But to return to the King: his Majeſty having ſettled his affairs in Holland, imbarked there, the 25th of October N. S. and landed ſafely, the 18th O. S. in Yarmouth. The Queen met him, the 20th, at Newhall, from whence their Majeſties came the ſame day thro' the city, to Kenſington. The 22d the lord-mayor, aldermen, and recorder of London waited upon his Majeſty, as well to congratulate his happy return, as to expreſs their ſteady reſolution to ſupport his government, to the utmoſt of their power. The recorder, at the ſame time, beſought his Majeſty, in the name of the lord-mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs, to honor the city with his preſenſe at dinner at Guild-hall, upon the lord-mayor's-day. His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to accept of the invitation, and, as a mark of his favor, confered the honor of knighthood upon their recorder, Solathiel Lovel, ſerjeant at law. The ſame day a proclamation was iſſued out for a public thankſgiving to God-Almighty for the preſervation of their Majeſties and their government, againſt the deſigns of their open and ſecret enemies, particularly for the late ſignal victory at ſea againſt the French fleet, and for the diſappointment of the barbarous conſpiracy, for taking away his Majeſty's life by aſſaſſination.

Their Majeſty's dine in the city.

The 29th of the ſame month, their Majeſties, attended by the great officers of the court, a numerous train of nobility and gentry, the judges, and the ladies of the chiefeſt quality, were magnificently entertained at dinner, at Guild-hall, by ſir John Fleet, lord-mayor elect for the year inſuing, upon which occaſion his Majeſty confered the honor of knighthood on ſir John Wildman, ſir William Gore, ſir James Houblon, aldermen, ſir Leonard Robinſon, chamberlain, ſir Rowland Ainſworth, ſir William Scawen, ſir Joſiah Child, and ſir John Foach. The ſame honor having been confered, ſome days before, on Thomas Trevor eſq; their Majeſties ſolicitor-general.

The 4th of November, the parliament being met at Weſtminſter, his Majeſty went to the houſe of lords, and made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which "he firſt of all, thank'd them for the great ſupplies "they had given him for the proſecution of the "war; hoping, by their advice and aſſiſtance, "which had never failed him, to take ſuch meaſures "as might be moſt proper for ſupporting their com-"mon intereſt, againſt the exceſſive power of "France. He next told them, how great reaſon "they had to rejoice, in the happy victory they had "obtained at ſea, wiſhing the ſucceſs at land, had "been anſwerable to it: tho' he was ſure, his own "ſubjects had ſo remarkable a ſhare in both, that "their bravery and courage muſt ever be remem-"bred to their honor. He, afterwards, made them "ſenſible; that as the French were repairing their "loſſes at ſea, with great diligence, and did deſign "to augment their land-forces conſiderably, againſt "the next campain, ſo it was abſolutely neceſſary, "for this nation's ſafety, that, at leaſt, as great "a force be maintained at ſea and land, as they "had the laſt year, and therefore, he aſked a ſup-"ply, ſuitable to ſo great an occaſion, of the "gentlemen of the houſe of commons; expreſſing, "at the ſame time, his affliction, that ſo heavy a "charge upon his people could not be avoided, "without expoſing themſelves to inevitable ruin "and deſtruction. And becauſe the inconvenience "of ſending out of the kingdom great ſums of "mony, for the payment of the troops abroad, was "very conſiderable, and that he wiſhed it could "be remedied, he told them, that if they could "ſuggeſt to him any methods for the ſupport of "them, which might leſſen this inconvenience, he "ſhould be ready to receive them, with all the "ſatisfaction imaginable. He then acquainted "them, That none could deſire more than he did, "that a deſcent ſhould be made into France, and "therefore, notwithſtanding the diſappointment of "that deſign this laſt ſummer, he intended to at-"tempt it the next year, with a much more conſi-"derable force, and that as ſoon as he ſhould be in-"abled, all poſſible care and application ſhould be "uſed towards it. And, upon this occaſion, he "took notice of that ſignal deliverance, which, by "the providence of God, they received the laſt "ſpring, to the diſappointment and confuſion of "their enemy's deſigns and expectations. This "(ſaid he) has ſufficiently ſhewn us, how much "we are expoſed to the attempts of France, while "that King is in a condition to make them. Let "us therefore improve the advantage we have of "this time, of being joined with moſt of the Princes "and States of Europe, againſt ſo dangerous an

The King's ſpeech to the parliament.

(1) "Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that the parliament was, on this account, opened under great diſadvantages. The peers, "who had been falſely accuſed, were, indeed, diſcharged from their impriſonment, but it was upon bail only; ſo it was "ſaid to be contrary to the nature and freedom of parliaments, for priſoners to ſit in it. It was confeſſed that, in times of "danger, and ſuch was the foregoing ſummer, it muſt be truſted to the diſcretion of a government, to commit ſuch perſons as "were ſuſpected: but when the danger was over, by our victory at ſea, thoſe againſt whom there lay nothing beſide ſuſpici-"ons, ought to have been ſet at liberty, and this was thought reaſonable. The lords paſſed ſome votes, aſſerting their privileges, "and were offended with the judges, for detaining ſome in priſon, tho' there was no reaſon nor color for their diſpleaſure. But "where the privilege, or dignity, of peerage is in queſtion, it is not eaſy to keep the houſe within bounds.

"The debate went off in a bill, that indemnified the miniſtry for thoſe commitments, but limited them, for the future, by "ſeveral rules; all which rules were rejected by the commons. They thought thoſe limitations gave a legal power to commit "in caſes where they were obſerved; whereas they thought the ſafer way was to indemnify the miniſtry, when it was viſible "they did not commit any but upon a real danger, and not to ſet them any rules; ſince, as to the commiting of ſuſpected "perſons, where the danger is real and viſible, the public ſafety muſt be firſt looked to, and ſuperſede all particular laws. "Hiſt. of his own Times. Vol. 2. p. 102.

"enemy

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" enemy : in this ſurely, all men will agree who " have any love for their country, or any zeal for " religion: I cannot therefore doubt, but you will " continue to ſupport me in this war, againſt the " declared enemy of this nation, and that you " will give as ſpeedy diſpatch to the affairs before " you, as the nature and importance of them " will admit, that the preparations may be timely " and effectual, for the preſervation of all that is " valuable to us. I am ſure, added his Majeſty, " I can have no intereſt but what is yours : we have " the ſame religion to defend, and you cannot be " more concerned for the preſervation of your " liberties and properties, than I am, that you " ſhould always remain in the full poſſeſſion of " them; for I have no aim, but to make you a " happy people : hitherto, ſaid he, in the conclu- " ſion, I have never ſpared to expoſe my own per- " ſon, for the good and welfare of this nation; " and I am ſo ſenſible of your good affections to me, " that I ſhall continue to do ſo, with great chear- " fulneſs, upon all occaſions, wherein I may con- " tribute to the honor and advantage of Eng- " land.

This ſpeech was received with an univerſal applauſe, and made a deep impreſſion on the minds of both houſes of parliament. The commons in particular, by their addreſs, " acknowleged the great " affection his Majeſty ſhewed to his ſubjects, by " taking notice of their bravery and courage; by " that ſenſible concern he expreſſed for the charges " on his people, and by that tender regard for the " preſervation of their religion, liberties and pro- " perties, as muſt ever be remembered with grati- " tude by all his faithful ſubjects. They likewiſe " acknowleged the favor of GOD in reſtoring his " Majeſty in ſafety to his people, after ſo many " hazards and dangers, to which he had expoſed " his ſacred perſon; that there might be nothing " wanting on his part, to oppoſe the ambitious de- " ſigns of his enemies, and to maintain the honor " of England, and the liberties of Europe. They " alſo congratulated his deliverance from the ſecret " and open deſigns, which the malice of his ene- " mies had formed againſt him. And aſſured him, " that they would always adviſe and aſſiſt his Ma- " jeſty, in the ſupporting of his government againſt " all his enemies."

Addreſs of the houſe of commons.

At the ſame time, the commons preſented their thankful acknowlgements to the Queen, " for her " gracious and prudent adminiſtration of the go- " vernment, while his Majeſty was hazarding his " royal perſon abroad, and for the bleſſings of " peace they injoyed at home, under her auſpi- " cious reign, at a time when the greateſt part of " Europe was ſuffering the miſerable effects of war. " They alſo congratulated, not only the ſignal de- " liverance they received from a bold and cruel " deſign formed and proſecuted for their deſtruc- " tion, when it was juſt ready to be executed, but " likewiſe the return of her Majeſty's fleet with " ſo compleat and glorious a victory, as was not to " be equalled in any former age : aſſuring her Ma- " jeſty, that the grateful ſenſe they had of their " happineſs under her government, ſhould be al- " ways manifeſted in conſtant returns of duty and " obedience, and a firm reſolution to do all that " was in their power, to render her reign ſecure " and proſperous."

The firſt buſineſs of importance the commons went upon, was, on the 11th of November, the bill " for regulating trials, in caſes of high-treaſon," but this time it ſtuck in their own houſe; for tho', at the ſecond reading, on the 18th, it was refered to a committee of the whole houſe; yet a clauſe being preſented, on the 1ſt of December, to be added to the bill, a warm debate aroſe upon it, the reſult of which was, that the bill was ordered to ly upon the table, and the conſideration of it was not reſumed this ſeſſion.

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Bill to regulate trials, &c.

Again loſt.

The 11th of November, the commons ordered their ſpeaker to thank admiral Ruſſel, one of their members, for his great courage and conduct, in the victory obtained at ſea. This, one would think, would have ſcreened him from farther reflections on his behavior, in that memorable action : but whether thro' envy, prejudice, or what other cauſe I ſhall not pretend to determine, it was the next day ſuggeſted, that the advantage gained upon the enemy might have been much better improved. Upon this, the houſe entered upon examining the ſeveral inſtructions, orders, and reſults of councils of war, touching the laſt ſummer's expedition, in relation to the proceedings of the fleet, and the deſcent intended to be made upon France, after the victory at ſea. On the 19th of November, ſir John Aſhby being examined, particularly in relation to the French men of war, that made their eſcape into St Malo's, he gave the commons an account of the proceedings of the ſhips under his command, in and after the ingagement; with which they were ſo well pleaſed, that the ſpeaker, by the direction of the houſe, acquainted him, " that the houſe took notice of his " ingenious behavior at the bar; and that he had " given an account to the ſatisfaction of the houſe, " and was diſmiſſed from farther attendance.

Thanks of the commons given to admiral Ruſſel.

Ill managements of the fleet inquired into.

Sir John Aſhby cleared.

The next thing the houſe took into conſideration, was, why a deſcent had not been made into France? admiral Ruſſel was queſtioned about it; but he excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that twenty days had paſſed between his firſt letter to the earl of Nottingham, after the fight, and his lordſhip's anſwer: and, on the other hand, the earl made it appear, that he had acted according to the orders he had received, which was all he could do, as ſecretary of ſtate. While theſe things were in agitation, the lords, at a conference, communicated to the houſe of commons, ſome papers which their lordſhips had received from the King, relating to thoſe affairs; which papers being read, in the lower-houſe, it was reſolved, " that admiral Ruſſel, in his command " of the fleet during laſt ſummer's expedition, had " behaved himſelf with fidelity, courage and con- " duct." The admiral was however ſet aſide the next ſpring, as we ſhall ſee underneath (1).

Admiral Ruſſel cleared.

The 15th of November, a ſupply was moved for, and unanimouſly granted, the 22d. The 2d of December, after a conſideration of the ſtate of war, for the year 1693, it was reſolv'd, " that the " ſum of 1,926,516 l. be granted to their Majeſties " for the charge of the navy (including the charge " of the ordnance, and the finiſhing their Ma- " jeſties naval yard, at Hamoſe, near Plymouth, " and the building four bomb-veſſels, and eight " new ſhips of the fourth rate.") The 3d, it was reſolv'd, that for the making good the ſum of 1,341,000 l. intended to be raiſed by the act for a quarterly poll, the ſum of 750,000 l. be granted

A ſupply granted.

(1) Biſhop Burnet ſays, this affair occaſion'd much heat, in both houſes. The earl of Nottingham laid before the lords, upon an addreſs they had made to the King, all the letters that had paſs'd between himſelf and Ruſſel, with all the orders he had ſent him : and he aggravated Ruſſel's erors and neglects very ſeverely : but the houſe of commons juſtified Ruſſel, and gave him thanks over and over again, and remain'd ſo fix'd in this, that tho' the lords then communicated the papers the earl of Nottingham had laid before them, to the commons, they would not ſo much as read them, but renewed their votes, that juſtified Ruſſel's fidelity, courage and conduct.

to

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to their Majeſties. And the 10th, "that the "ſum of 2,090,563 l. be granted to their Ma- "jeſties for the land-forces, including the ex- "traordinary charge of the office of ordnance, in "relation to the land-ſervice, and the charge of "the tranſports, hoſpitals, contingencies, and other "extraordinary charges of the war.

Ways and means.

To raiſe theſe vaſt ſums, it was reſolved, firſt, the 13th of December, "that there be a pound- "rate, of four ſhillings in the pound, for one "year, charg'd upon all lands, according to their "yearly value: and, the 15th, that the ſame rate "be charg'd upon all perſonal eſtates, and upon all "offices and imployments of profit, other than mi- "litary offices in the navy and army. Secondly, "That there be a fund of 70,000 l. per annum, "ſet apart out of the hereditary exciſe, till the 17th "of May, 1697. And afterwards by an additi- "onal exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for "the payment of the intereſt of a million of mony, "to be raiſed by perſons voluntarily paying in that "ſum, the principal paid in to be ſunk, and the "perſons paying in the ſum to receive, during their "lives, their reſpective proportions, of the ſaid "70,000 l. according to the ſums paid by them, "with the advantage of ſurvivorſhip; and thirdly, "on the 3d of February following, that certain "additional impoſitions be laid upon merchan- "dizes.

Orphans bill left unfiniſh'd.

The 7th of November, a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons, by the ſheriffs, and ſeveral aldermen of the city of London, in favor of the orphans of that city; but the conſideration of it being put off, from time to time, William Goodwin, Henry Goodwin, and other diſtreſſed orphans, likewiſe, preſented a petition, on the 28th of January, to the ſame effect, both which being, at length, conſidered, the commons ordered, the 27th of February, a bill to be brought in "for "ſatisfying the debt due to the ſaid orphans." But, upon a debate which aroſe at the ſecond reading, the bill was commited to a committee of the whole houſe, where it remain'd unfiniſhed.

The affair of the East-India-company reſum'd.

The 14th of November, a meſſage from his Majeſty was deliver'd to the houſe of commons, by ſir Edward Seymour, in anſwer to their addreſs of the laſt ſeſſion, concerning the Eaſt-India-company. This brought that matter again into debate, and, after much time had been ſpent about it, a bill was brought in, the 14th of December, "for "preſerving, regulating, and eſtabliſhing the Eaſt- "India-trade." This bill was about two months in agitation, and occaſion'd ſeveral debates, the reſult of which was, that the commons preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, on the 3d of March, "that he would pleaſe to diſſolve the Eaſt-India- "company, upon three years warning to the ſaid "company, according to the power reſerved in "their charter." To this the King gave almoſt the ſame anſwer he had done to that of the fore-going year, viz. "That he would always do all "the good in his power for this kingdom, and "that he would conſider of their addreſs."

Advice of the commons to the King.

The houſe of commons was long amus'd with that part of the King's ſpeech, wherein his Majeſty ſeem'd to deſire the advice of the commons. After ſeveral debates, a committee was appointed, the 12th of December, "to conſider how the army "abroad, in their Majeſties pay, might be ſup- "plied with bread, cloaths, and other proviſions, "of the growth of this kingdom, to prevent the "exportation of the coin thereof:" and as for the navy, a motion being made, on the 11th of January; "That his Majeſty be humbly addreſs'd, "to conſtiſtute a commiſſion of the admiralty of "ſuch perſons as were of known experience in "maritime affairs," it paſſed in the negative. It was however carried, that his Majeſty ſhould be advis'd, by the houſe, "that for the future all "orders for the management of the fleet, ſhould "paſs thro' the hands of the lords commiſſioners "for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of "England" (1).

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Bill rejected.

The 13th of December, ſir Edward Huſſey preſented to the houſe of commons "a bill touching "free and impartial proceedings in parliament," which was received, and, being paſs'd that houſe, was, the 22d, ſent up to the lords for their concurrence (2). The courtiers, who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this bill, being too numerous, the other party took occaſion (from an objection that was made, viz. "That this act might, by its conſequence, "prolong this parliament, which they allow'd would "be a very great grievance,") to bring in, and paſs, another bill, "for the frequent calling and "meeting of parliaments," which they ſent down, the 21ſt of January, to the commons, for their concurrence: but the King, being loth to part with this parliament, during the war, refus'd his aſſent to it, tho' the lords had agreed to the amendments made to it by the commons.

"A bill for the better preſervation of their "Majeſties perſons," was, by an unanimous vote of the houſe of commons, ordered to be brought in, the firſt day of December, but was, nevertherleſs, rejected, the 14th of the ſame month, at a ſecond reading, and the 17th of the ſame month, the ſame fate attended the "bill for aſcertaining the fees of "officers of juſtice."

An' 1693. Acts paſſed.

The 20th of January, the King went to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal ſanction to "an act, "for granting to their Majeſties four ſhillings in "the pound, for one year;" to another, "for ina- "bling the inhabitants of the province of York "to diſpoſe of their perſonal eſtates by wills, not- "withſtanding the cuſtom of that province," and to eleven private bills.

Pamphlets cenſured.

A complaint was made, the ſame day, to the houſe of a printed pamphlet, intitled, "King "William and Queen Mary conquerors," that it contain'd aſſertions of a dangerous tendency, as well with regard to their Majeſties, as to the liberties of the ſubject, and the peace of the kingdom. The houſe, upon examination of the matter, the next day, order'd the ſaid pamphlet to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman, and that his Majeſty be deſired to remove mr. Edward Bohun, who licens'd it for the preſs, from his imployment. It being, at the ſame time, ſuggeſted, that dr. Burnet, biſhop of Sarum, was the firſt broacher of this poſition, in a paſtoral letter, the houſe paſs'd a cenſure on that letter, and order'd it likewiſe to be publicly burnt by the common executioner. This matter did not ſtop here; for on the 24th, the houſe of peers paſs'd a reſolution; "That the aſſertion of King William and "Queen Mary's being King and Queen by con- "queſt, was highly injurious to their Majeſties, "inconſiſtent with the principles on which this "government is founded, and tending to the ſub- "verſion of the rights of the people." This vote being communicated to the commons, they, the

(1) This vote ſeem'd to be occaſioned by the difference between the earl of Nottingham, and admiral Ruſſel.

(2) By this bill, ſeveral perſons in imployments, both military and civil, were incapacitated to ſit in the houſe of commons, for which reaſon it was very much oppoſed by thoſe lords who ſtood up for the court; tho' on the other hand, ſeveral peers ſpoke vehemently for it, and, among the reſt, the earl of Muſgrave, who, upon this occaſion, made a very memorable ſpeech.

next

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next day, unanimouſly concured with the lords, but made a remarkable addition, viz. That ſuch an aſſertion was "injurious to their Majeſties right-"ful title to the crown of this realm."

More acts paſſed.

The 26th his Majeſty came again to the houſe, and gave the royal ſanction to "an act for granting to "their Majeſties certain duties of exciſe, for ſecuring "the recompences and advantages therein men-"tioned to ſuch perſons as ſhould advance a million "ſterling," and to another act, "for taking ſpecial "bail in the country upon actions and ſuits depen-"ding in the courts of King's-bench, common "pleas, and exchequer, at Weſtminſter.

Complaints againſt officers of the army.

Great complaints were about this time made againſt ſome of the officers of the army, for cauſing, with the help of the preſs-maſters of the navy, ſeveral hundreds of his Majeſty's ſubjects to be kidnapp'd, and forcibly carried away to Holland, where they were compell'd to take ſervice and help to compleat their regiments. Among others, a ſervant belonging to a member of the houſe of commons happen'd to be ſpirited away in this manner: whereupon that houſe ordered ſir Edward Seymour to repreſent this grievance to the King, who, on the 9th of February, let the houſe know, by the ſame gentleman: "How much he reſented, "that his ſubjects ſhould meet with ſuch uſage, and "that he would take all care poſſible, for the fu-"ture, to puniſh the authors of it: And that, "in the firſt place, his Majeſty had called before "him the officers of the army, and given them a "ſtrict charge that they ſhould receive no men "who were impreſs'd; for as they themſelves had "no power to preſs, they ſhould not receive any "man that was preſſed; and that, in the next "place, his Majeſty gave orders to the admiralty "to examine the preſs-maſters, who had commit-"ted theſe abuſes, and that there ſhould be ſuch "exemplary puniſhment inflicted on them, as "ſhould deter others from the like praictces."

Abuſes in Ireland examin'd into.

Hitherto a perfect harmony and good correſpondence had appear'd between the King and the parliament; but it was now near being diſturb'd, by certain informations given to the commons, of the ſtate of Ireland; whereupon, the houſe reſolved, on the 24th of February, that it did appear, there had "been great abuſes and miſmanagements in the "affairs of that kingdom." On the 19th of March, the commons, in a body, preſented to his Majeſty an addreſs, in which they particulariz'd thoſe abuſes and miſmanagements; which were comprized under ſeven general heads, as follows.

An addreſs concerning them.

"1. In expoſing his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects to "the miſery of free quarter and the licentiouſneſs "of the ſoldiers, to the great oppreſſion of the peo-"ple there, which they concevied had been chiefly "occaſion'd, by the want of that pay, which they "hoped they had fully provided for.

"2. In recruiting his Majeſty's troops with Iriſh "Papiſts, and ſuch perſons as were in open rebellion "againſt his Majeſty, to the great indangering and "diſcouraging of his Majeſty's good and loyal "ſubjects in that kingdom.

"3. In granting protections to Iriſh Papiſts, "whereby Proteſtants were hindred from the legal "remedies, and the courſe of law was ſtopp'd.

"4. In reverſing outlawries for high-treaſon "againſt ſeveral rebels in that kingdom (notwith-"in the articles of Limerick) to the great diſcon-"tent of his Proteſtant ſubjects there.

5. "In leting the forfeited eſtates at under rates, "to the leſſening of his Majeſty's revenue.

6. "In the great imbezzlements of his Ma-"jeſty's ſtores, in the towns and gariſons of that "kingdom, left by the late King James, and in "the great imbezzlements that had been made in "the forfeited eſtates and goods, which might "have been imployed for the ſafety and better "preſervation of his Majeſty's ſaid kingdom; "and,

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7. "In the addition made to the articles of "Limerick, after the ſame were finally agreed to, "ſigned, and thereupon the town ſurrendered; "which had been a great incouragement to the "Iriſh Papiſts, and a weakening to the Engliſh "intereſt there.

"Theſe abuſes they moſt humbly beſought his "Majeſty to redreſs; particularly, that as the re-"ducing of Ireland had been of great expence to "this kingdom, that (according to the aſſurance his "Majeſty had given them) no grant might be "made of the forfeited lands in Ireland, 'till there "be an opportunity of ſetling that matter in par-"liament. And as to the additional article, "which opened ſo wide a paſſage to the Iriſh Pa-"piſts, to come in and re-poſſeſs themſelves of the "eſtates which they had forfeited by their rebellion, "they alſo beſought his Majeſty, that the articles "of Limerick, with the ſaid addition, be laid before "the houſe of commons, that the manner of ob-"taining the ſame might be inquired into." They cloſed this addreſs by ſaying; "that as his Ma-"jeſty had been pleaſed to give ſuch gracious aſ-"ſurances of his readineſs to comply with them, "in any thing that might tend to the peace and "ſecurity of this kingdom, ſo they doubted not of "his Majeſty's like grace and favor to that of Ire-"land, in the ſafety and preſervation whereof this "his Majeſty's kingdom was ſo much concerned."

The King's anſwer.

To this addreſs, the King anſwered; "that he "ſhould always have great conſideration for what "came from the houſe of commons; and that he "ſhould take great care, that what was amiſs ſhould "be remedied."

However, his Majeſty, being probably apprehenſive that ſome of the diſcontented in that houſe might take this occaſion, to raiſe clamors, went, the fourteenth, to the houſe of peers, where he gave his aſſent to the following bills: 1. "To an act for "granting to their Majeſties certain additional im-"poſitions upon goods and merchandizes. 2. For "the review of the quarterly poll, granted to "their Majeſties, in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. "3. For continuing certain acts therein mentioned, "and for charging ſeveral joint-ſtocks. 4. For pre-"venting ſuits againſt ſuch as acted for their Ma-"jeſties ſervice in the defenſe of this kingdom. "5. For reviving two former acts for repairing "the highways in the county of Hertford. 6. For "incouraging the apprehending of highway-men. "7. To prevent abuſes commited by the traders "in butter and cheeſe. 8. For raiſing the militia of "this kingdom for the year 1693. 9. For examin-"ing, taking and ſtating the public accounts. "10. For prohibiting the importation of all foreign "hair-buttons. 11. For delivering declarations to "priſoners. 12. Againſt pochers. 13. For regain-"ing, incouraging and ſetling the Greenland-trade. "14. For puniſhing mutineers and deſerters, &c. "15. To prevent malicious informations in the "court of King's-bench, and for the more eaſy "reverſal of outlawries in the ſame court. 16. "To prevent frauds by clandeſtine mortgages. "17. For reviving, continuing and explaining "ſeveral laws therein mentioned. 18. To make "pariſhioners of the church united, contributors "to the repair and ornaments of the church to "whom the union is made. 19. For regulating "the proceedings in the crown-office of the court "of King's-bench at Weſtminſter. 20. For the "better diſcovery of judgments in the courts of "King's-bench, common-pleas, and exchequer at "Weſtminſter. 21. For continuing the acts for "prohibiting all trade and commerce with France":

Acts paſſed.

and to twenty private bills. This done, his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein;

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"He thanked them for the large ſupplies they "had given him this ſeſſion, which he promiſed "them he would take care to ſee effectually ap- "plied to ſuch ſervices as might be moſt for the ho- "nor and intereſt of England. He then recom- "mended to their care, both the peace and quiet "of the ſeveral counties, to which they were re- "turning; and the effectual levying of the ſup- "ply, they had ſo freely given, with the "greateſt equality, and the leaſt uneaſineſs to "the people that was poſſible. He told them the "poſture of affairs did neceſſarily require his pre- "ſenſe abroad, but that he ſhould take care to leave "ſuch a number of troops here, as might be ſuffici- "ent for the the ſecurity of the kingdom; aſ- "ſuring them farther, that as he ſhould continue "to expoſe his own perſon, for the good and ad- "vantage of theſe kingdoms, ſo his hearty and "ſincere indeavors ſhould never be wanting, in "any other kind, to make this a great and "flouriſhing nation." After which the parliament was prorogued, by his Majeſty's command, till the ſecond of May, next inſuing (1).

The parliament prorogued.

I return now to other affairs which happened out of parliament; and firſt to thoſe of the navy; where we find, that notwithſtanding the houſe of commons had taken ſo much pains to juſtify the conduct of admiral Ruſſel, he had loſt ground in his royal maſter's favor; for, on the 24th of January, his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſet him aſide, and to put the chief command of the fleet, into the hands of Henry Killigrew, eſq; ſir Ralph Delaval, and ſir Cloudeſly Shovel; and conſtituted them to be admiral by a joint-commiſſion (2). The 8th of February, the King was pleaſed to appoint George Rooke eſq; to be vice-admiral of the red; the lord John Berkley, vice-admiral of the blue, colonel Matthew Aylmer, rear-admiral of the red, and David Mitchell, eſq; rear-admiral of the blue.

Admiral Ruſſel ſet aſide.

Admirals appointed.

The 16th the King came to Portſmouth, as well as to ſee the men of war, at Spithead, and going aboard of vice-admiral Rook confered the honor of knighthood upon him.

The King goes to Portſmouth.

The 30th of the preceding month, the lord Charles Mohun was indicted for the murder of William Mountford, a player, on account of the celebrated actreſs, mrs. Bracegirdle; and was tried for it before the peers in parliament. A court was erected for that purpoſe, in Weſtminſter-hall, the marquis of Caermarthen, lord preſident of his Majeſty's council, being conſtituted lord high-ſteward of England pro hac vice. The trial laſted from twelve till near ſix, when the lords adjourned, and aſſembling again, the 5th of February, declared their opinion ſeriatim, and by a great majority acquitted the lord Mohun.

The lord Mohun tried and acquited.

The 23d of March, his Majeſty, being preparing to go to Holland, diſpoſed of ſeveral places; ſir John Trenchard was ſworn one of their Majeſties principal ſecretaries of ſtate, in the room of the earl of Nottingham (3). The cuſtody of the great-ſeal of England was commited to ſir John Sommers, and Edward Ward, of the Inner-temple, eſq; ſucceeded him as attorny-general. His Majeſty ordered, at the ſame time, a new commiſſion to paſs under the great-ſeal, conſtituting ſir John Lowther, Henry Prieſtman, eſq; the lord viſcount Falkland, Robert Auſten, eſq; ſir Robert Rich, Henry Killigrew, eſq; and ſir Ralph Delaval to be commiſſioners for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of England.

Places diſpoſed of.

All domeſtic affairs being thus ended, the laſt day of March, the King ſet ſail from Graveſend with a fair wind for Holland, being attended by ſeveral yachts, and a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Mitchell, and was accompanied by the duke of Ormond, the earl of Eſſex, and other perſons of quality. He arrived in the Maeſe, on the ſecond of April, and, after a ſhort ſtay at the Hague and Loo, repaired to the army in Flanders, where we ſhall leave his Majeſty exerciſing his martial genius, and return to the fleet, which, notwithſtanding both the Engliſh and Dutch were not only numerous but pretty early ready, yet was, this year, very unſucceſsful.

The King goes to Holland.

The joint-admirals I have mentioned above were at firſt not reſtrained by any particular inſtructions, but ordered in general only to uſe their utmoſt indeavors to annoy the enemy and protect the trade: (4). But afterwards they received her Majeſty's commands, more particularly, from the lords of the admiralty, chiefly regarding the ſecurity of a great fleet of merchant-men, of near 400 ſail; Engliſh, Dutch, Hamburghers, &c. Much time was however ſpent, ſeveral councils of war held, and diverſe repreſentations made, before they could come to a reſolution what number of ſhips to appoint for the ſpecial convoy, and how far to accompany them with the whole fleet (5).

Proceedings of the main fleet.

Sir

(1) As it had been uſual in former ſeſſions of parliament, ſo in this, ſeveral bills miſcarried. The commons had paſſed one, "to inable their Majeſties to make grants, leaſes, and copies of offices, lands and hereditaments, parcel of their duchy "of Cornwall, or annexed to the ſame, and for confirmation of leaſes and grants already made;" to which the lords made ſome amendments, that were diſagreed to by the commons. The "bill for prohibiting the uſe of all lotteries", which had likewiſe paſſed the lower houſe, was ſtoped by the intereſt of the patentees of the royal-oak-lottery in the houſe of peers. The "bill for the preventing of the prophanation of the Lord's-day" lay neglected after the firſt reading, as did alſo the "bill for removing doubts, and preventing controverſies, concerning royal mines", after it had been ingroſſed. Nor was any progreſs made in the "bill for preventing the exportation of gold and ſilver, and the melting down the coin of this realm." but what was the moſt taken notice of, in prejudice to the King, was his refuſing the royal aſſent to the "bill for a triennial "parliament, &c.

(2) Biſhop Burnet ſays the two firſt were thought ſo inclinable to King James's intereſts, that it made ſome inſinuate, that the King was in the hands of thoſe, who intended to betray him to his enemies; for tho' no exception lay againſt Shovel, yet it was ſaid he was only put with the other two, to give ſome reputation to the commiſſion, and that he was one againſt two, ſo that he could neither hinder nor do any thing. The chief blame of this nomination was thrown on the earl of Nottingham. Hiſt. of his own times.

(3) It was generally believed, that as well the earl of Nottingham, as admiral Ruſſel, were diſplaced on account of the warm debates, that had paſſed, on their account in parliament, after the victory at ſea: King William expreſſing himſelf in relation to his officers, as Julius Cæſar had formerly done with reſpect to his wife: "That it was not enough for them to be faith- "ful, but that they muſt alſo be free from ſuſpicion." Hiſt. of King William, Vol. 2. p. 360.

(4) The number of Engliſh ſhips appointed for the body of the fleet were, ſix firſt-rates; ten ſecond-rates; twenty-eight third-rates, ſix fourth-rates; four fifth-rates, beſide fire-ſhips, a bomb-veſſel, and four hoſpitals: but when afterwards joined by the Dutch-ſquadron, and formed into a line of battle at St. Helens, the united fleet appeared to conſiſt of 102 ſail (not reckoning brigantines, bomb-veſſels, and hoſpital-ſhips) ſeventy-five of which were of the line of battle. Lediard's naval Hiſt. Vol. 2. p. 674.

The continuator of Rapin in French, makes the body of the confederate fleet to conſiſt of ninety-two ſhips of the line, beſide ſmall-craft, and not reckoning the ſquadron under ſir George Rook. B. 25. p. 181.

(5) It was determined that the whole fleet, together with the Mediterranean ſquadron, ſhould proceed together thirty leagues W. S. W. from Uſhant, and that when the admirals ſpread a blue flag at the main top-maſt-head, and fired three guns, ſir George Rooke, as well as the other convoys, ſhould go forward, according to the orders they had received from the lords of the admiralty: but being come to the height limited, on the 4th of June, they reſolved, in another council of war, to proceed with

Sir George Rooke with the Smyrna convoy leave the main fleet.

Sir George Rooke, with twenty-three men of war, and the Turkey-fleet, left the main body of the fleet, on the 6th of June, and, ſteering for the Streights (1), left by the way the veſſels bound for Bilboa, Liſbon, St. Ubes, and other parts, under the convoy of two men of war: being come, the 15th, within ſixty leagues of Cape Vincent, he diſcovered part of the French fleet, which made him call a council of war, wherein it was reſolved, that the wind being freſh weſterly, and giving a fair opportunity to haſten their paſſage to Cadiz, the merchant-ſhips ſhould make the beſt of their way.

They diſcover the enemy's whole fleet.

Upon the diſcovery of the enemy's whole fleet, conſiſting of eighty ſail, commanded by monſ. de Tourville, ſir George Rooke being of opinion that he was too far advanced to think of a retreat, reſolved to puſh for it: but the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes bringing to, and letting him know, he choſe to avoid fighting, which he thought too hazardous, he likewiſe, brought to, and ſtood off with an eaſy ſail, to give what time he could to the heavy ſailers to work away to the windward (2). In the mean time he ſent away the Sheerneſs, to order the ſmall ſhips which were under the ſhoar, to get, in the night, into Faro, St. Lucar and Cadiz. About ſix in the evening, the French admiral and vice-admiral of the blue, which had the whole afternoon gained upon the ſquadron, notwithſtanding all the ſail they could make, came up with the leeward, and ſternmoſt of the confederate fleet. Theſe were three Dutch men of war, whereof two were commanded by the captains Schryver and Vander Poel, who for five hours together, bravely fought firſt eleven and then ſeven of the enemy's men of war. They had the good fortune to get clear off the firſt eleven; but were at laſt forced to give way to the ſuperior force, and were taken; whereupon the Dutch merchant-ſhips tacked, and ſtood in for the ſhoar, as the enemy did after them (3).

A great part of the Smyrna fleet deſtroy'd.

The admiral ſtood off all night with a preſſed ſail, having a freſh gale at N.N.W. and, the next morning, fifty-four of the merchant-ſhips, with ſeveral men of war, were about him, five of the enemy's ſhips being to leeward, and two to windward, which laſt kept ſight of him, 'till it was night. The day following, the admiral called the officers of the men of war, and merchant-men, on board him, that they might give him what account they could of the reſt of the fleet, and to adviſe what was beſt to be done for their ſecurity (4).

But before I proceed, it may not be improper to give the reader a copy of a letter, written by captain Littleton, commander of the Smirna-factor man of war, from Cadiz, as it contains ſome farther particulars which I have not found elſewhere:

The 26th of June, N. S. (ſays the captain) at nine in the morning, we arrived in the height of Cape St. Vincent. About two in the afternoon the headmoſt ſailors diſcovered the French, and about four in the afternoon both ſides ingaged, for ſome time. After this the headmoſt retired, and gave notice the ſame evening to the officer in chief: the ſeven and twentieth, in the morning, we arrived near Lagos, and our ſhips took a fire-ſhip of the enemy's, which reported, that there were at Lagos eighteen French men of war, with ſome fire-ſhips and merchant-men. About four in the morning, two ſhips blew up, or elſe the enemy ſet them on fire themſelves, within cannon-ſhot of the convoy. The commander alſo gave the ſignal of drawing into a line of battle; for till then we deſcried no more than nine and twenty ſail of the enemies. There was no wind ſtiring till ten o'clock; at which time a freſh gale aroſe, and then we diſcovered a greater number of ſhips. The convoy alſo ſteering ſouthward, perceived, on the one ſide, forty ſail, under three flags, beſide another ſquadron which indeavored to get between us and the coaſts: which the admiral obſerving, gave notice to the merchant-men to make all the ſail they could for the port of Cadiz, while the men of war kept the enemy in play. This deſign was obſerved by the French, who made all the ſail they could to intercept us. But the convoy having the wind, kept the enemy in play, 'till the evening, and gave time to the nimbleſt ſailers to get hither. Towards five in the afternoon, the eighteen French men of war abovementioned ingaged the convoy, and the fight laſted ſome part of the begining of the night, the reſt of the fleet not being able to come up with them: The 28th in the morning, the fight began with greater fury, ſo that about ſeven o'clock, our veſſels ſaw four ſhips on fire, not knowing whether French or Engliſh, and the guns were heard 'till nine, tho' the event be not yet known. It is to be feared we have loſt ſome men of war, and ſeveral merchants. This ingagement happened about ſix miles from cape St. Mary.

Sir George Rooke returns to Ireland,

The admiral, having diſpatched the Lark to England, to give an account of the diſaſter, ſailed to the Maderas to water, and in hopes of finding ſome of the ſcattered ſhips there: but finding only the Monk, he departed thence, the 27th of June, O. S. and arrived, the 3d of Auguſt, at Cork, in Ireland, and ſoon after joined, according to the orders he there found from the joint-admirals, the main fleet, with a detachment of the ſquadron, leaving the reſt at Kingſale with captain Fairborn (5).

And the fleet.

The

with the Mediterranean ſquadron twenty leagues farther, and then to return to the former ſtation, to take up the cruiſers, from whence it was judged adviſeable, to proceed to the rendezvous ten leagues N.W of Uſhant. Accordingly they left the Streights ſquadron, the ſixth, in the evening, and arrived, at the ſaid rendezvous, two days after. Ib.

It was given out, in thoſe times, by ſome, that they were inſtructed to keep company with the Mediterranean fleet, till they had certain intelligence where the French fleet was; which made their orders diſcretionary. Hiſtory of King William, Vol. 2. p. 301.

(1) It has been ſaid, that ſir George left the fleet with ſome reluctance, as perhaps foreſeeing the dauger they were going to be expoſed to; and (as biſhop Burnet juſtly obſerves) he was unhappy in that which, on any other occaſion, would have been his greateſt happineſs, viz. a fair and ſtrong gale of wind; ſo that no advice ſent after him could overtake him; nor did he meet with any ſhips at ſea, that could give him notice of his danger.

(2) The French either were, or feigned to be, at firſt, in as great a ſurprize as the confederates; for they ſtood away with ſeveral of their ſhips, and abandoning others, ſet fire to them; and tho' it may have been a decoy to draw them on; yet the great number of ſhips might very well make them apprehend it to be the whole body of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets coming upon them. Happy had it been that the whole fleet had accompanied them ſo far: for (as biſhop Burnet obſerves) ſuch an occaſion offered here, of deſtroying the whole naval force of France, as may not perhaps be found again, in an age.

(3) This was a great overſight of the French, for they thereby gave an opportunity, to the ſhips which were to the windward and a-head, to make their eſcape; which ſaved a great part of their fleet.

(4) Had the enemy purſued their advantage, with as much conduct and reſolution, as their deſign was projected, in all probability, hardly a ſhip of the confederate fleet would have eſcaped: for their admiral and vice-admiral of the blue were within ſhot of ſir George Rooke, when they tacked and ſtood into the ſhoar, after the Dutch, which as I have ſaid above ſaved the reſt of the fleet.

(5) After having given an account of this misfortune from our writers, let us now hear what the French ſay to it: "the "Engliſh and Dutch, ſays F. Daniel, ſuſtaining every day great loſſes from the French privateers, and more particularly by "thoſe of St. Malo, had reſolved to ſecure their Smyrna-fleet, from any ſuch inſults, by puting it under a convoy of two

and

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The French go up the Streights.

The French admiral, in the mean time, proceeded up the Streights, and coming to Malaga, the twentieth of July, aſſur'd the governor, his deſign was only upon the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, unleſs the city attempted to defend them, in which caſe he ſhould bombard it. The governor anſwered him, that he ſhould protect theſe ſhips to the utmoſt of his power, having his maſter's orders ſo to do; upon which, the next day, he lay'd his Broad-ſides againſt four Dutch and one Engliſh ſhip in the Mole. He twice attempted to burn the Union frigate; but was bravely repulſed; however he continued his fire, with ſo much fury, that the maſters themſelves ſeing there was no poſſibility of ſaving the ſhips, after having done their utmoſt to defend them, ſunk them (1).

Some Engliſh and Dutch ſhips ſunk at Malaga.

The French return to Cadiz.

The French, upon this, returned to Cadiz, from whence they ſent their prizes (being about eighteen) to Toulon, with two men of war; and detach'd about fourteen ſhips with two bomb-veſſels to Gibraltar, where they approach'd ſo near the fortifications, that they were fired upon, as well from them, as the Mole and ſhips, the whole day, but without any return on their ſide. They ſent in a frigate to attack four merchant-ſhips, which were bound for Turky; but ſhe met with ſo warm a reception, that they were obliged to reſcue her with their boats; and the maſters of the merchant-men, in the end, followed the example of thoſe at Malaga, and, boring holes in their ſhip's ſides, ſunk them. Upon which the French retired to Lagos-bay (2). Here

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Some ſhips ſunk at Gibraltar.

The fleet ordered to St. Hellens.

But to return home, the winter-ſeaſon advancing, the admirals received orders, the five and twentieth of Auguſt, to come with the fleet to St. Helens; the ſoldiers were put aſhore at Portſmouth, and the three-deck'd ſhips ſent to Blackſtakes, excepting four which were to be refited at Portſmouth. The nineteenth of September, fifteen of the large Dutch ſhips, with two frigats, were ordered by his Majeſty to Holland; and the body of the fleet being now ſeparated, it was ordered, that one ſecond-rate, ſeventeen third-rates; ſeven fourth-rates; one fifth-rate; ſeven fire-ſhips, and two hoſpital-ſhips ſhould be the winter-guard.

St. Maloes bombarded.

About the middle of November, captain Bembow, with a ſquadron of men of war, bombarded St. Malo, for four days together; but without any great ſucceſs, having only deſtroyed ſome few houſes, and thrown down part of the town-wall (3).

" and twenty men of war. Advice of this precaution being carried to the French King, his Majeſty ordered the marſhal " de Tourville, to ſail with ſixty ſhips, which had been got together in the ports of the Ocean, to ſail towards the " coaſt of Portugal, and there way-lay the Smyrna-fleet. Their ſcouts diſcovered it few days afterwards; but as they " had information that the Engliſh were at ſea, with a fleet of ninety men of war, which had been ſeen on the " coaſt of France, the marſhal, who was not yet joined with the Toulon-ſquadron, conſiſting of thirty ſhips under " the count d' Eſtree's, thought fit to detach twenty of his beſt ſailors to take a view of the Engliſh fleet, and to " begin the attack, if they did not find them much more numerous than themſelves, whilſt he would back them " with the body of his fleet. They executed the orders given them, and took, at the begining of the attack, two men of war, " after which they burnt, ſunk or run aground upon the coaſt, ſixty merchant ſhips, ſeven and twenty were taken, and the " remainder, which could not make their way for England, took refuge at St. Lucar, Cadiz, and Gibraltar. The marquis of " Coetlogon, commander of a ſquadron, burnt four ſhips, very richly laden at Gibraltar, and carried off thirteen, tho' they " were defended by the batteries of the place, and an eſtacade. If a greater number of men of war had taken the ſame courſe " by night, asthe Sieurs de Belliſle-errard, de Chaland and de Henri, the Engliſh and Dutch would have ſuſtained a far greater " loſs, tho', as it was, it was very conſiderable, and amounted to, according to the relation of the captains of ſhips who were " taken, above twenty, de Larrey ſays five and twenty millions of Livres (that is, ſomething above a million ſterling.) Monſ. de Fourbin, who was in the action, gives us the following account of it, in his memoirs; " The King's (that is the French " King's) fleet, which conſiſted of ſeventy-five men of war, commanded by the marſhal de Tourville, ſet ſail for the Streights " of Gibraltar, where the count d' Eſtrees, who was coming with twenty other ſhips from Provence, was to join them. They " came to anchor in the road of Lagos, on the coaſt of Portugal. I (ſays my author) was ſent out for intelligence, with or- " ders ſtrictly to examine whatever came to my view; and particularly, if I ſaw a great number of ſhips, I was to make it my " buſineſs to diſcover whither they were merchant-men or the enemy's ſhips of force. I was accompanied with three other " captains, who were ſent on the ſame errand. We ſet ſail together, and in a few days we diſcovered a fleet of the enemy's mer- " chant-men. We found they conſiſted of upwards of a hundred and fifty ſail; and being well aſſured of our fact we returned " with all poſſible haſte to the fleet, to give the admiral an account of it, with aſſurance that it was a fleet of merchant-men, " and not men of war. Upon this advice the admiral made ready for ſailing, and ſtretch'd out, for what reaſon I am at a loſs " to ſay, before the wind, to ten leagues diſtance. (The reaſon is explained above.) The next day our whole fleet diſcovered " the enemy. The general gave orders for the chaſe; but the enemy took the advantage of the wind, which our working, " the night before, had made us loſe, and fled: inſomuch that we did them very little damage. We took, nevertheleſs, two " of their men of war of ſixty guns, and about thirty of their merchant-ſhips, which run aground, on the coaſt of Portugal, " were burnt. I, for my part, burnt three of them, and took a fourth. It was happy for them that they came off ſo well, " for had it not been for the falſe ſtep, I juſt now hinted at, their whole fleet would have been loſt." Monſieur de Forbin was not, it ſeems, let into the ſecret, nor did not obſerve the real neglect, which our fleet took the advantage of, and thereby eſcaped. We find a very wide difference in theſe two accounts, as to our loſs. How monſieur de Forbin comes to leſſen it ſo very much, I cannot conceive. He does not uſe to diminiſh the glory of actions he was concerned in: but I am ſorry I muſt ſay it, and the reader will find it by an account below, that F. Daniel, for this time, comes much nearer the truth.

(1) F. Daniel pretends that the French took ſix ſhips here.

(2) F. Daniel again gives the French an advantage which I do not find mention'd elſewhere; and ſays, monſ. de Coetlogon burnt four ſhips richly laden, and took thirteen more. Of Engliſh he could take none, there being no more in that harbor than the four which ſunk themſelves. The one Dutch ſhip which was there, follow'd the example of the Engliſh; beſide theſe, there were none but ſeven Danes and Swedes, and two Genoeſes, who were ſuffered to come peaceably out of the bay, and to go unmoleſted whither they thought fit.

Having given an account above of the ſeparation of ſir George Rooke's ſquadron, and the merchant-ſhips under his convoy, after they fell in with the French fleet, under the command of monſ. de Tourville, as likewiſe what happened to ſome of the ſhips afterwards; it may not be amiſs, to give a brief account of the total loſs occaſioned by this unlucky accident, and with what eye that accident was looked upon by the public. Notwithſtanding the French, by following the Dutch towards the ſhoar, gave a fair opportunity, as I have obſerved before, for a great part of our fleet to get off, yet the loſs was very conſiderable: for, (according to Kennet, and the hiſtory of King William) beſides four of the greateſt Smirna-ſhips, and one Dutch man of war, which monſieur Coetlogon burnt or ſunk at Gibraltar, and ſeven which he took, monſ. de Tourville, and the count d' Eſtrees, took two Dutch men of war, burnt a rich pinnace, and an Engliſh man of war, took nine and twenty merchant-men, and deſtroyed about fifty more.

The misfortune lay heavy upon the hearts of the merchants, and, indeed, upon the minds of all the people of England. The Turky-company, in particular, complain'd that the departure of the fleet (ſome ſhips having lain twelve ſome eighteen months for a convoy) was deſignedly put off, till the French fleet was in a readineſs, to wait for them; that the admirals had advice of part of their fleet being at ſea when they left the Turky convoy: and that the whole tranſaction, as it happen'd, was publicly talk'd of ſix weeks before at Marſeilles.

(3) There is all the reaſon in the world to believe, this attempt might have been more ſucceſsful, had it been puſh'd with vigor; for the French were ſo little apprehenſive of the attack, that the Engliſh having put out daniſh colors, they were deceived by them, and ſuffered them peaceably, not only to approach them near enough, with their ſquadrons, to do execution, but to range themſelves in proper order, without ſo much as firing upon them, either from the town or fort-royal. French authors ſay, the Engliſh did not make great uſe of their bombs, having ſo intire a dependance on their infernal machine, (a ſort of fire-ſhip, made after the model of thoſe, which the engineer Jambelli contriv'd to blow up the bridge built by Alexander of Parma, over the Scheld, at the ſiege of Parma, in 1585,) But this machine miſcarrying, or, at leaſt, doing little execution, the Engliſh were ſo diſcourag'd, that they gave over the attempt. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. 2. p, 681-2.

We

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Proceedings of a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies.

We had this year, likewiſe, a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies, conſiſting of two third-rates, ſix fourth-rates, three fifth-rates, one ſixth-rate, three fire-ſhips, a ſtore-ſhip, an hoſpital, and a bomb-veſſel, under the command of ſir Francis Wheeler; about 1,500 ſoldiers were order'd for the ſervice, and neceſſary tranſports were provided. Colonel Codrington, general of the Leeward-iſlands, had likewiſe orders to be aſſiſtant, with all the forces he could get together in thoſe parts. From ſo great a force, and ſuch diſpoſitions, there was reaſon to expect the obtaining of ſome conſiderable advantages in that part of the world; but the ſucceſs was, by no means, anſwerable to the coſt.

This ſquadron arrived, the firſt of March, in Carliſle-bay, at Barbadoes, and it was there determined to make an attempt firſt upon Martinica: and the two regiments of Fowlkes and Goodwin were join'd to about 800 land-men, provided at Barbadoes, commanded by the captains Salter and Butler. The ſquadron being arrived, at Cul de Sac-Marine, in Martinica, the firſt of April, it was agreed to land, at or near fort St. Peter, and that the fleet ſhould ſail, the next morning, to favor this attempt.

At Cul de Sac-Marine, they burnt and ruined all the houſes, and all the plantations thereabouts, ſome of which were conſiderable, and then the troops were put on board again. Two days after, ſir Francis made another deſcent, with fifteen hundred men, and, after he had burnt and deſtroyed ſeveral houſes and plantations, the troops came again to their ſhips. The next day, lieutenant-colonel Lillingſton was ſent aſhore with a conſiderable party, to ruin the country on this ſide Diamond-bay, which he did and returned. The ninth and tenth, colonel Codrington, with the forces of the Leeward-iſlands, and colonel Floyd's regiment, joined the fleet, and then they weigh'd anchor, and came before Fort-royal, and St. Peter's fort. Soon after, the troops were landed, ravaged the country, and ſome ſkirmiſhes happened between them, and the enemy, with various ſucceſs, in the neighborhood of St. Peter's (1).

Nothing happen'd farther worthy our notice during this unſucceſsful expedition, from which ſir Francis returned to England, about the middle of October, and at Portſmouth found a commiſſion appointing him rear-admiral of the red.

Campain in Flanders.

I return now to the King, whom we left in Flanders, at the head of the confederate army, which, at the begining of the campain, was much inferior to that of the French. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had form'd great deſigns upon Brabant; but they were intirely broke, by King William's vigilance, in poſſeſſing himſelf of the camp at Park; (2) whereupon the French King ſent a ſtrong detachment, under the command of the Dauphin and the marſhal de Boufflers, into Germany, and return'd himſelf to Verſailles, without making any attempt whatſoever. The French army, under the duke of Luxemburg, lay incamp'd at Meldert, till the thirteenth of July, and then march'd to Heiliſheim, in their way towards the Maeſe. This gave King William an opportunity of ſending a ſtrong detachment, under the Prince of Wirtemberg, to force the lines, which the French had made to cover their conquered countries, from the Scheld to the Lys, and ſo to Ipres, Berg St. Vinox, and to the very ſea by Dunkirk. This was effectually perform'd the 18th of July, and the conſequence of it was raiſing great contributions, in the enemy's country: but this did not hinder the duke of Luxemburg, from laying ſiege to Huy, the next day, upon which, King William advanced nearer the country of Liege. In the mean time, count Tilly, general of the troops of that country, marching with a reinforcement to join his Majeſty, was ſurpriz'd, by Luxemburg, and obliged to retreat with the loſs of 200 men, and all his baggage.

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When King William came to Tongres, he heard the diſagreeable news, that the caſtle of Huy had capitulated, the 23d, and, upon advice, that monſ. Luxemburg was drawing nearer Liege, which had abſolutely rejected the neutrality offer'd by the French, his Majeſty ſent ten batallions thither, who, after having met with ſeveral difficulties, got, at length, into the place. The French general made, hereupon, a feint of beſieging Liege, tho', it afterwards appear'd, his real deſign was to attack the confederate army, which now lay incamp'd at Neerheſpen (3).

His Majeſty was no ſooner inform'd of the enemy's approach, on the 28th, than he, together with the elector of Bavaria, and other chief officers, got on horſe-back, and finding it to be the vangard of their whole army, coming to attack him, in his camp, the troops were immediately ordered to arms, and to draw in battle, to expect the enemy (4). About ſix in the evening, the marſhal de Joyeuſe came up,

(1) This is the account given by our hiſtorians: but F. Daniel pretends, that the Engliſh, attempting to make themſelves maſters of Martinica, with ſixty ſail of ſhips, ſeventeen whereof were men of war, ſix frigats, and three fireſhips, and four thouſand two hundred men on board, made a deſcent in two places, and landed two thouſand men in each: that they actually made an attempt with theſe forces, and that monſ. Gabaret, who commanded in the iſle, monſieur Augier, the King's lieutenant, and monſ. de Blenac lieutenant-general of America, killed, upon theſe two occaſions, three hundred of the Engliſh-men, wounded four hundred more, and obliged them to re-imbark with the greateſt precipitation, without having done any damage to the iſle, farther than the burning of a few ſugar-works. De Larrey ſays, the Engliſh appeared off of Martinica with ſix and forty ſhips, the ſecond of April, and, having anchored in a place proper for a deſcent, landed ſixteen hundred men, who began to burn the adjacent country. Three days after, they were re-inforced by fourteen barks with militia, notwithſtanding which the French oblig'd them to retire. The twelfth, they appeared before Fort-royal, from whence being likewiſe repulſed, the ſeventeenth, they landed four or five thouſand men, about a league from fort St. Peter, the chief of the iſland, and advanced with a deſign of attacking it. The governor, monſ. Gabaret went to meet them, with a thouſand men only, but was oblig'd to give way to the ſuperior force of the Engliſh; but having received a re-inforcement, under the command of the count de Blenac, governor of all the French iſlands (in ſix Brigantines, one Saick, one Galliot and ſeventy ſloops) he obliged the Engliſh to retire, in their turns, leaving two hundred dead on the ſpot, beſide wounded and priſoners. The eighteenth they were again driven from a riſing ground, where they had lodged ſix hundred men, and they were afterwards worſted in diverſe incounters: ſo that after having remained five days before fort St. Peter, and one and twenty on the iſland, they re-imbarked and ſet ſail, with the loſs of five hundred killed, two hundred wounded, and a hundred priſoners. The French pretend, that, on their ſide, there were only ſix killed and two wounded, in the laſt action, and, in all, but ten killed, eight and thirty wounded, and two taken priſoners. They, likewiſe, ſay, the Engliſh left behind them a hundred barrels of powder and bullets, with good ſtore of arms and appurtenances to artillery.

(2) The continuator of Rapin, in French, unwilling to allow King William the honor of it, conceals this circumſtance, and tho' he allows the French army, which he computes at 120,000 men, to be greatly ſuperior to that of the confederates, and is oblig'd to confeſs, that the French King ſaw all his great projects would be fruſtrated, by King William's ſkill and vigilance, yet makes a myſtery of this particular motive for Lewis XIV's leaving his army.

(3) Monſ. de Luxemburg was incourag'd to this attempt, by the ſuperiority of his army, which now was computed to exceed that of the confederates by 35,000 men, occaſion'd, in part, by the large detachments King William had ſent to re-inforce the gariſons of Liege and Maeſtricht.

(4) The continuator of Rapin, in French, ſays, King William deſign'd to have quited his camp, the very next day, and have retaken the poſſeſſion of Park, which (continues the ſame author) if he had done, he had been out of danger of the enemy.

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with the left wing of the French horſe, and about eight their body of infantry, in four columns, with a good part of the artillery: but as it was then too late to begin an ingagement, monſ. de Luxemburg put it off till the next morning, and ſpent the night in making the neceſſary diſpoſitions of his army, and particularly in taking poſſeſſion of the villages of Landen, St. Gertruydenland, and Overwinden (1).

King William, in the mean time, order'd brigadier Ramſey, with his brigade, to the right of all his army, to guard ſome hedges and hollow ways, upon the right of the village of Lare; to the left of this village were planted the Brandenburg battalions, and more to the left thoſe of Hanover, the former commanded by Prince Charles of Brandenburg, a major-general, and the latter, by lieutenant-general Dumont, who had orders to defend the village of Neer-winden, which cover'd part of their camp, between the right wing of horſe, and their main body; and they were, afterwards, re-inforced by the firſt battalion of the firſt regiment of Engliſh-guards, and the ſecond battalion of Scotiſh-guards. Upon the left, at Neer-landen, his Majeſty order'd the firſt battalion of the royal-regiment, Churchill's, Selwin's, Trelawny's, Prince Frederick's battalion of Danes, and Fagel's, to poſſeſs that village, which cover'd the left of their body of foot. The ground was open between the villages of Neer-winden and Neer-landen; his Majeſty, therefore, order'd, in the night, a retrenchment to be made from the one to the other, and placed what remained of the body of the foot, within it. The dragoons, on the left, were ordered to the village of Dormal, to guard that paſs, on the brook of Beck, and, from thence, the left wing of horſe reach'd to Neer-landen, where it was cover'd by this brook, and from thence, turn'd off to the right, behind the body of foot (2).

The battle of Landen.

The 29th of July, by ſun-riſing, the French were drawn up within reach of the confederate cannon, which play'd ſucceſsfully upon them 'till towards ſix, when they made a motion to advance nearer towards the King's retrenchments. About eight, a ſtrong body of their troops attack'd the villages of Lare and Neer-winden, but were ſeveral times repuls'd, with conſiderable loſs, and here the duke of Berwick was taken priſoner by brigadier Churchill. This did not diſcourage them from trying their fortune againſt the confederates left wing at Neer-landen; but tho', at firſt, the firſt battalion of the royal-regiment, was oblig'd to retire, after a hot diſpute, yet being, ſoon after, incouraged by the King's preſenſe, and ſuſtained by other troops, the enemy, after about two hours warm action, were intirely repuls'd, and purſued to the very plain. Thus far, the ſucceſs of the day was viſible on the ſide of the confederates; and the French once ſeem'd to deſign drawing off: but monſ. de Luxemburg, having ſeveral brigades of freſh men, reſolved to gain the village of Neer-winden, at any rate, and order'd the Prince of Conti to make the attack. This he did with the beſt foot of the French army, with ſo much vigor, that the confederates, being already ſpent by the former action, were oblig'd to give way to the ſuperior force, and yield the avenues of Neer-winden to the enemy. The marſhal de Villeroy, who, in the mean time, was coming up with a ſtrong body of horſe, that way, was charg'd by the count d' Arco, general of the Bavarian cuiraſſiers, who, notwithſtanding a brave reſiſtance, drove them quite within their own foot. This ſucceſs put the confederates upon indeavoring to recover their poſt; but the French rallying, and being conſiderably re-inforced, they found it impoſſible, the Dutch and Scotiſh guards having ſpent all their ammunition. The King himſelf twice led the Engliſh battalions to the charge, with great courage and conduct, up to the right of the retrenchment, which was now flank'd, and in the power of the enemy, where they fought with great bravery.

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The French general finding, in the mean time, a convenient paſſage for the horſe, came himſelf, with the Prince of Conti, and the count de Marſin, with the carabineers, and ſeveral other regiments, into the plain of the confederate camp, while the marſhal de Joyeuſe paſs'd, with three brigades, between Neer-winden and Lare. The Prince of Conti, with the firſt horſe that came in, join'd with the King's horſe, and falling upon the horſe of Hanover, broke them, while part of the enemy's ſecond line of horſe, and the reſerve, came in upon their left, along the hedges of Lare. The marquis of Harcourt, with his detachment of twenty-two ſquadrons, came time enough from Huy, to have his ſhare of the day. He join'd with the ſecond line of the enemy's horſe, and the reſerve, and made his dragoons alight, to force the confederate foot out of Lare. The duke de Villeroy, in the mean time, came in upon the right of the retrenchments, which was bravely defended by the Engliſh foot, 'till being over-power'd by numbers, they were oblig'd to give way, and the French levell'd that part of the retrenchment, to make way for a body of horſe. The Hanover-horſe being thus broken, the reſt of the confederates right wing of horſe, being cut off from the body of the foot, was likewiſe over-power'd by the enemy, who now could charge them both in front and flank. The elector of Bavaria did what he could to ſtem this torrent of the enemy's horſe, and King William, on his ſide, omited nothing that could be done to remedy this diſorder, riding, in perſon, to the left, to bring up the Engliſh horſe, for the relief of the right wing: but the French had, by this time, got another body of horſe, commanded by the duke d' Elboeuf, within the confederates camp, and the duke de Montmorency, Luxemburg's ſon, fell upon the right flank of the Dutch horſe, and brought them into confuſion (3), before the Engliſh horſe, led on by the King, could come up, and form their ſquadron, ſo that they were forced to charge in the ſame order they rode up, notwithſtanding which, they did very good ſervice (4).

(1) The right of the confederate camp was at Heyliſheim and Wangan, upon the river Geet, and reach'd as far as Neer-winden, being cover'd with a ſmall brook, ſeveral hedges, and hollow ways. The elector of Bavaria had his quarters at Wangen; the body of foot, and left wing of the horſe reach'd from thence as far as Dormal, upon the brook of Beck, where Lewe remain'd in their rear.

(2) His Majeſty, who continued on horſe-back 'till late in the evening, order'd his coach then to be brought to the rear of Stanley's regiment, where he repos'd himſelf about two hours, and, early in the morning, ſent for one of his chaplains to him, into the coach, to perform a ſuitable devotion; before he enter'd into action.

(3) Some hiſtorians have attributed the whole misfortune of this day to a want of courage and reſolution in the Dutch horſe; and one of our nation (Salmon) carries it yet farther, and ſays, "the Dutch-horſe, as uſual, gave way," &c. but this favors ſomething of partiality.

(4) The King himſelf charged at the head of the lord Galway's regiment, which diſtinguiſhed itſelf, in a particular manner, on this occaſion. Colonel Wyndham, at the head of his own regiment, charged ſeveral times thro' and thro' the enemy's ſquadrons, and colonel Langſton was made priſoner; count Solmes, general of the Dutch infantry, had his leg ſhot off in this battle, and died of the wound, and the duke of Ormond, having charged at the head of one of Lumley's ſquadrons, received ſeveral wounds, his horſe was ſhot under him, and he himſelf was reſcued, by a gentleman of the French King's guards, from the hands of a villain who was going to ſtab him, but remained priſoner.

His

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The confederate army defeated.

His Majeſty ſeeing, however, the battle loſt, ordered the infantry to retreat to Dormal, upon the brook of Beck, which poſt the dragoons of the left-wing had kept, not having been in any action; and finding that the enemy was ſurrounding him on every ſide, he ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway, to cover his retreat, over the bridge at Neer-heſpen, which he gained, not without great difficulty. Having ſecured this poſt, his Majeſty gave his direction to almoſt every body of troops in particular, for their greater ſafety, in retreating, and having been an eye-witneſs of every thing, he retreated himſelf to the eminences of Tillemont, where he halted, till he was joined by the elector of Bavaria, with part of the right-wing, which he had rallied. Nothing was, however, now ſeen in the confederates camp but confuſion and diſorder, and all that could not reach the paſſes for a retreat, being preſſed by the enemy, were reduced to the neceſſity of flinging themſelves into the river, where many were drowned, and the earl of Athlone narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate. Lieutenant-general Talmaſh ſhewed a great deal of prudence, as well as bravery, in bringing off the Engliſh foot, and his indeavors were ſucceſsful.

Loſs on both ſides.

The confederates loſt ſixty pieces of cannon, and nine mortars; to which the continuator of Rapin, in French, adds ſixty ſtandards, twenty-two colors, and twelve pair of kettle-drums. And tho' their baggage, which had been ſent away to Lewe, the night before, eſcaped the enemy, it was moſtly plundered by their own fugitive ſoldiers. As for the number of men loſt in this action, the confederates owned but 6000 killed, wounded, or taken priſoners; and the French could not deny but that they had above 2000 officers killed and wounded, how great muſt then the number of their private ſoldiers have been. The confederates, indeed, pretended the French had loſt 18000 men in the battle, but this ſeems to be carrying the matter too far: however, it was the general opinion, that 24,000 were killed and wounded on both ſides, and that the loſs on each ſide was pretty equal. The French ſuffered moſt at firſt, and the confederates in the concluſion. That the loſs of the enemy muſt have been very conſiderable, is apparent, becauſe Luxemburg, did not purſue his victory, but lay, for above a fortnight at Waren, without attempting any thing (1).

Charleroy ſurrendered to the French.

After this delay, having been re-inforced with ſome troops from the ſea-coaſts, and a great detachment, under monſ. de Boufflers, from the Rhine, the French, at length, ſat down before Charleroy, which they attacked with great fury; but the gariſon made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that tho' they had little or no proſpect of relief, yet they held out twenty-ſix days, from the opening of the trenches, andthe n made an honorable capitulation.

Campain in Piedmont;

In Piedmont, the allies were yet more unfortunate, and were intirely defeated at Marſiglia, where duke Schomberg commanded the troops in Engliſh pay, and the duke of Savoy, and Prince Eugene, the reſt of the army. The French general, Catinat, obtained this victory chiefly by means of a new method never till then uſed in war, viz. by making his ſoldiers ſcrew their bayonets, over the barrels of their pieces, and charge with them loaded; for the confederate-generals obſerving them to advance, with their bayonets at the end of their muskets, concluded they were diſcharged; but ſoon after, a volley of ſhot being poured in upon their troops, unexpectedly, they were thrown into confuſion; and, at length, after a gallant reſiſtance, were forced to abandon the field of battle, and retire with the loſs of the greateſt part of their cannon, and ſeven or 8000 men; duke Schomberg himſelf being mortally wounded, and taken priſoner. In this manner were bayonets brought into uſe, and pikes laid aſide, by degrees, all over Europe. WILLIMM & MARY. AN' 1693.

In Catalonia;

In Catalonia, the French were not leſs ſucceſsful, where they begun the campain, the 29th of May, by inveſting Roſes, both by ſea and land, and carried the ſiege of it on, with ſuch diligence, that they made themſelves maſters of the place, within the ſpace of a week.

And in Germany.

The French were, likewiſe, too forward for the Germans, on the Rhine, which river they paſſed, about the middle of May, at Philipſburg, and without any oppoſition, inveſted the city of Heidelberg. The 21ſt of the ſame month, they made themſelves maſters of the ſuburbs, without any great reſiſtance, and their grenadiers drove the beſieg'd with ſo much fury to the gates of the caſtle, that they left above 600 of their ſoldiers without, who were all put to the ſword; and the 2d of June, the gariſon, conſiſting of 1200 men, ſurrendered the place to the French, who ſet fire both to the city and the caſtle. They commited ſeveral other barbarities in the Palatinate, not ſparing even the ſacred repoſitories of the aſhes of the deceaſed electors. They afterwards attempted to attack Prince Lewis of Baden; but tho' the Dauphin afterwards joined their army, which was then computed to conſiſt of near ſeventy thouſand men, they found the Imperial army ſo well poſted, that they repaſſed the Neckar, the firſt attempt of the paſſage of which river had coſt them 1,000 men. The Dauphin having put a gariſon into Stutgard, and ſent detachments into Flanders and Piedmont, returned, in the month of Auguſt, to Verſailles. Notwithſtanding the French had this ſucceſs, every where, they had ſo dangerous and terrible an enemy to incounter at home, I mean famine, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty found himſelf under a neceſſity of making overtures for a peace, by ſeveral channels, which however were all rejected. But to return to England.

Famine in France.

The French King ſues for a peace.

Juſtices of Ireland appointed.

The 10th of July, the lord Capel, ſir Cyril Wych, and William Duncomb, eſq; ſet out for Ireland, and being appointed lord-juſtices of that kingdom, in the room of the lord viſcount Sydney, who was recalled and made maſter-general of the ordnance. The ſame month, the lord Bellamont, and James Hamilton, eſq; petitioned her Majeſty, that a ſtop might be put to the paſſing of pardons to the lord Coningſby, and ſir Charles Porter, until the petitioners, and many others of their Majeſties ſubjects in Ireland, might be permited to produce their proofs againſt them, in which petition the ſaid lord Coningſby and ſir Charles Porter joined iſſue. The 17th of Auguſt, the petitioners exhibited ſeveral accuſations, but declining to be heard, to make good the ſame, and the accuſed offering to produce proof of their innocency, the Queen ordered the ſaid petitions and charge to be diſmiſſed.

A proclamation againſt the exportation of corn.

Some time after, the Queen taking into her royal conſideration, that the great ſcarcity and exceſſive price of corn in France incouraged the exportation of it from this kingdom thither, whereby not only

(1) Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of this day, King William behaved himſelf, as he had always done, like a hero, and a commander. He narrowly eſcaped three wounds by muſket-balls, one of which paſſed thro' his peruke, another thro' the ſleeve of his coat, and a third carried off the knot of his ſcarf, and left a ſmall contuſion on his ſide. The Prince of Conti, in a letter to the Princeſs, his wife, ſaid: "He had ſeen the King expoſing himſelf to the utmoſt dangers; and that ſurely ſo much "valor very well deſerved the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown he wore.

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her enemies might be ſupplied, but her own ſubjects expoſed to want, her Majeſty, on the 19th of October, cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued, for preventing the ſaid exportation of corn abroad, and enhancing the price of it at home.

King William returns to England.

King William, having left the command of the confederate army in Flanders, to the elector of Bavaria (1), went firſt to Loo, and arrived at the Hague the 11th of October, N.S. He there repreſented to the States-general, the neceſſity of increaſing their forces both by ſea and land; upon which, on the 14th, they agreed to the raiſing of 15,000 men, for augmenting their land-forces; and likewiſe to the addition of a conſiderable number of ſhips to their navy, for which his Majeſty thanked them in their aſſembly. Having been long detained by contrary winds, his Majeſty, at length, imbarked the 28th of October, O. S. landed at Harwich the 29th, and arrived the next day at Kenſington.

Mr. Ruſſel made admiral again.

One of the firſt things, which the King did, after his return, was to ſhew his diſlike of the proceedings of the fleet, the laſt ſummer, by declaring in council, the 6th of November, that he had appointed the right honorable Edward Ruſſel, eſq; to be admiral of the fleet.

The parliament meets.

The 17th of November, the parliament met, purſuant to their prorogation, when the King told them:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"He was always glad to meet them there, and "he could heartily wiſh, that their common ſatiſ- "faction were not leſſened at preſent, by reflecting "upon the diſadvantage they had received, this "year, at land, and the miſcarriages in the affairs "at ſea: that he thought it evident, that the for- "mer was only occaſioned by the ſuperiority of the "enemy's number in all places: that for what re- "lated to the latter, which had brought ſo great a "diſgrace to the nation, he had reſented it extream- "ly; and as he would take care that thoſe who "had not done their duty ſhould be puniſhed, ſo "he was reſolved to uſe his indeavors, that the "power at ſea might be rightly managed for "the future: and, ſaid he, it well deſerves our "conſideration, whether we are not defective both "in the number of our ſhiping, and in proper "ports to the Weſtward, for the better annoying "our enemies, and protecting our trade, which is "ſo eſſential to the welfare of the nation.

"I am, added he, very ſenſible of the good "affection wherewith you have always aſſiſted me, "to ſupport the charges of this war, which have "been very great, and yet I am perſuaded, that "the experience of this ſummer is ſufficient to con- "vince us all, that to arrive to a good end of it, "there will be a neceſſity to increaſe our forces, "both by ſea and land, the next year. Our allies "have reſolved to add to theirs: and I will not "doubt, but you will have ſuch regard to the "preſent exigency, as that you will give me a ſuit- "able ſupply to inable me to do the like.

"He, therefore, earneſtly recommended to the "houſe of commons, to take ſuch timely reſoluti- "ons, as that their ſupplies might be effectual, and "his preparations ſo forward, as would be neceſſary "both for the ſecurity and honor of the nation."

Miſcarriages of the fleet inquired into.

The commons, in anſwer to this ſpeech, unanimouſly reſolved; "that they would ſupport their "Majeſties and their government:" but the firſt thing they did was to inquire into the miſcarriages of the fleet, the laſt ſummer, and to conſider how beſt to preſerve the trade of the nation. Some time was ſpent in examining the inſtructions and orders give to the fleet (which were thought weakly drawn, ambiguous and defective, but worſe executed) the number of the ſhips for the line of battle, and of the convoys and cruiſers, the admirals who commanded both, and the reſults of the ſeveral councils of war held by them; great exceptions were taken to the many delays, by which it ſeemed a train was laid, that they ſhould not get out of our ports, 'till the French were ready to lay wait for them. They were accuſed of not having uſed any zeal or diligence in geting information, concerning the French fleet; but had, in that important article, truſted too eaſily to general and uncertain reports. Againſt which they chiefly ſcreened themſelves, by alleging they had punctually obeyed their orders. After all which, on the 17th of November, the commons reſolved: "it was the opinion of that houſe, "that there had been a notorious and treacherous "miſmanagement in the miſcarriage of the Smyrna "fleet." their next inquiry was: why the Streights-fleet was ſtoped, till the main fleet went out? and then, why the main fleet did not convoy ſir George Rooke's ſquadron, and the merchant-ſhips, out of danger of the French fleet: and, it being alleged, That the main fleet was not ſufficiently victualled, the commons examined the ſtate of their ſtores at ſailing from Spithead, and thereupon reſolved, on the 27th of November, that there were ſufficient beer and other ſtores, on board the main fleet, when ſir George Rooke ſeparated, to have ſerved them, 'till they had convoyed his ſquadron and the merchant-ſhips, out of danger of the Breſt-fleet. But tho' the miſcarriage was very notorious, they knew not where to fix the particular blame: for, on the 29th, the queſtion being put, that it did appear to that houſe, that the admirals that commanded the fleet the laſt ſummer, had, on the 11th of May laſt, information that part of the Breſt-fleet was going out to ſea, it paſſed in the negative: and, on the 6th of December, another queſtion being put, that the admirals, by not ſending into Breſt, for intelligence, before they left the Streight's ſquadron, were guilty of a high breach of truſt that was repoſed in them, to the great loſs and diſhonor of the nation; it was likewiſe carried in the negative. Before this inquiry in parliament, the admirals had been examined before the council-board; but nothing could be made appear to the prejudice of their honor, only ſome flying reports, which gave occaſion to this order of council, on the 25th of October, "Whereas a report has been raiſed and ſpread "by Henry Killigrew, eſq; ſir Ralph Delaval, and "ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, knights, admirals of their "Majeſties fleet, that the honorable the lord viſ- "count Falkland, one of the lords of their Majeſties "moſt honorable privy-council, did, upon read- "ing a paper at the board, ſtifle ſomething that "was material to their juſtification. The lords of "the council having conſidered of, and examined "into the matter, are ſatisfied, and do declare, that "the ſaid report is falſe and ſcandalous; altho' "upon the ſaid examination it did alſo appear, that "ſomething happened which might miſlead the "admirals into that error; and it is ordered in coun- "cil, that this be printed and publiſhed in the "Gazet."

Bill for frequent parliaments.

The 28th of November, "a bill for the more fre- "quent election of parliaments" was rejected by the commons, after the third reading; whereupon another bill, to the ſame purpoſe, was ſent down to them by the lords, which being read, the third time, was likewiſe rejected.

(1) Before his Majeſty left the army, he thought it neceſſary to ſhew an example of ſeverity. Some of the troops having behaved ill at Neer-winden, matters were ſtrictly examined into by his orders. Three regiments of cavalry were found to have been wanting in their duty, and three troopers of each were ſhot, for an example to the reſt. Contin. of Rapin. in French, B. 25. p. 185.

The

WILLIAM & MARY. AN' 1693.

A ſupply granted.

The commons having unanimouſly voted a ſupply for the vigorous proſecution of the war, reſolved, on the 25th of the ſame month; "that the ſum of "500,000 l. be raiſed towards the diſcharging the "wages due to the ſea-men; and that a farther "ſum of two millions be granted to their Majeſties "in full for the maintenance of the fleet, including "the ordnance, by reaſon of the revenue now "falling ſhort." With regard to the army, the commons, after having examined the offenſive treaties and alliances, which his Majeſty was under with the confederates, and the proportions of forces, which the confederates were obliged to make for the carrying on this preſent war, reſolved, on the 20th of November, unanimouſly; "that the number of "the land-forces, in their Majeſties pay, be in-"creaſed, by the raiſing of ſix new regiments of "Engliſh horſe, four new regiments of Engliſh "dragoons, and fifteen new regiments of Engliſh "foot, to be commanded by officers who were his "Majeſty's natural born ſubjects. That 83,121 "men, including commiſſion and non-commiſſion "officers, were neceſſary for the ſervice of the year "1694, to be imployed in England and beyond the "ſeas, and that the ſum of 2,530,590 l. be grant-"ed, to the maintenance of the land-forces, viz. "210,773 l. for the office of ordnance, 31,808 l. "for the pay of the general officers; 11,060 l. for "levy-mony; 40,808 l. for the tranſports; "147,000 l. for hoſpitals and contingences, and "1,990,781 l. for the pay of the horſe, dragoons and "foot:" ſo that the whole ſupply hitherto granted for the inſuing year, amounted to 4,530,590 l. excluſive of the 500,000 l. granted for payment of the arrears of ſea-mens wages.

Deficiencies;

Beſide theſe large ſupplies, it was found, that the ſum of 118,000 l. was wanting to compleat the ſum of one million granted to their Majeſties by an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of the preſent parliament, for ſecuring recompences to ſuch perſon as ſhould "voluntarily advance the ſaid million:" and likewiſe, that the ſum of 293,692 l. was wanting to compleat the ſum of 300,000 l. granted by a late act, "for the review of the quarterly-poll." So that with the ſum for arrears of ſeamen, and theſe deficiencies, the whole ſum, 'till now granted in this ſeſſion, was 4,942,182 l. The firſt of which defective funds, the commons reſolved, the 9th of December, to make good, "by inlarging the time for perſons "to pay in the reſt of the ſum of one million;" "and that towards the raiſing of mony for the "maintenance of the fleet, any perſons be at li-"berty to add a ſecond life to the life that was, "or ſhould be, nominated upon the act for ſecuring "the recompenſe before mentioned, upon paying "the ſum of 35 l. for every 100 l. paid in, or to be "paid in, upon the ſaid act, and for adding a third "life, the ſum of 20 l. for every the ſaid 100 l. and "ſo for any greater proportion."

Ways and means.

Towards raiſing the two millions granted for the fleet, it was reſolved, on the 21ſt of December; "that the ſum of one million be charged on land; "and that a duty of 3 d. per gallon be laid upon all "foreign ſalt imported; and a duty of one and an "half penny per gallon, upon all Engliſh ſalt, "except all ſalt imployed in the curing of fiſh and "fleſh to be exported."

The commons being pretty much at a loſs how to levy the reſt of the large ſums they had already granted, reſolved, on the 26th, "that a farther "ſum of one million be charged upon land"; and, on the 29th, "that an aid, not exceeding 4 s. in the "pound, be granted to their Majeſties, by charging "each reſpective county with double the ſum return-"ed, charged by an act made in the firſt year of "their Majeſties reign, for a grant of 2 s. in the "pound." But as the committee of the whole houſe, appointed to draw up the bill, met with great difficulties in framing it after that manner; the houſe gave them power to alter the ſame, and to frame it into a bill of 4 s. per pound, to which the King gave the royal aſſent, on the 25th of January.

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Land tax-bill paſſed.

Affairs of the Eaſt-India-compa-ny.

The Eaſt-India-company having obtained a new charter, on the 11th of November, whereby they were impowered to raiſe the ſum of 744,000 l. to be added to their general joint-ſtock, and ſubſcribed by their Majeſties natural-born ſubjects, naturalized or indenized, the ſubſcription of each perſon not exceeding 10,000 l. ſeveral merchants, and others, in and about the city of London, on the 7th of December, petitioned the commons for erecting a new Eaſt-India-company. The houſe, thereupon, examined the charters of the Eaſt-India-company, the book of the ſubſcriptions, the ſtate of their preſent ſtock, and the petition above mentioned; and, after mature deliberation, they reſolved "; That all "the ſubjects of England have equal right to trade "to the Eaſt-Indies, unleſs prohibited by act of "parliament;" which gave the firſt hint to the forming of a new Eaſt-India-company by ſtatute.

A blaſphe-mous pam-phlet cenſu-red.

The 16th of December, a complaint having been made to the commons, of a blaſphemous pamphlet, intitled; "a dialogue concerning the Deity; and a "brief, but clear, confutation of the doctrine of "the TRINITY", which had been diſperſed, and ſent incloſed, under covers, directed to ſeveral members of that houſe; it was thereupon reſolved, "that the ſaid pamphlet ſhould be burnt by the "hands of the common hang-man, and an inquiry "made after the author, printer, and publiſher "of it."

Lord Con-ingſby and ſir C. Porter im-peached.

The 29th of the ſame month, the earl of Bellamont preſented to the lower-houſe, articles of impeachment of high-treaſon, and other crimes and miſdeameanors, againſt the lord Coningſby and ſir Charles Porter, late lords-juſtices of Ireland, the conſideration of which, together with the examination of witneſſes, took up a great deal of their time. At length, on the 29th of January, the houſe agreed to this reſolution; "that conſider-"ing the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, at that time, "they did not think fit to ground an impeachment "againſt the ſaid lord Coningſby and ſir Charles "Porter, for the matters charged upon them."

I ſhall now leave the parliament for a while, to mention ſome few tranſactions out of parliament.

Places diſ-poſed of.

The 22d of November, the lord viſcount Sydney, maſter of the ordnance, was made colonel of the firſt regiment of foot-guards, in the room of the late duke of Schomberg, and, at the ſame time, the lord viſcount Galway was appointed to command their Majeſties forces in Piedmont, in the quality of lieutenant-general, being, likewiſe, conſtituted their Majeſties envoy extraordinary to the duke of Savoy. The 30th, the duke of St. Albans was made captain of their Majeſties band of penſioners, vacant by the death of the lord Lovelace.

Death of archbiſhop Sancroft.

The 24th of the ſame month, died dr. William Sancroft, the deprived archbiſhop of Canterbury (1). After

(1) An hiſtorian of thoſe times, gives him the following character: "he was (ſays he) a prelate, whoſe great abilities, learning, "wiſdom, courage, and ſincerity, abundantly qualified him to fill the high and important ſtation he held, a long time, in the church "of England; and which he contentedly reſigned, rather than to violate his conſcience, or ſwerve from thoſe principles he had "always maintained. As for his conduct in the diſcharge of his epiſcopal office, he earneſtly indeavored to preſerve the church "of

William & Mary. An' 1693.

After his deprivation he returned to a little eſtate he had at Fretchingfield in Suffolk, where, by his own direction, he was buried in the church-yard, having this inſcription on his tomb:

P. M. S.

Lector, Wilhelmi nuper archipræſulis
(Qui natus in Vicinia)
Quod morti cecidit, prope hunc murum jacet;
Atqui reſurget. Tu interim
Semper paratus eſto; nam hora quam non putas
Dominus venturus eſt.

Obiit, 24. Novemb. Anno { Nat. Dom. 1693. / Ætat. ſuæ 77.

P. M. S.

William Sancroft born in this pariſh; afterwards by the providence of God, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and at laſt deprived of all that he could not keep with a good conſcience, returned hither, to end his life, where he began it, and profeſſeth here, at the foot of his tomb; "that as he naked came forth, "ſo he naked muſt return: the lord giveth, and "the Lord hath taken away: as the lord pleaſeth, "ſo things come to paſs: bleſſed be the name of the "Lord:" and over his effigies was written this text, St. Matthew, xxiv. 27. "As the "lightening cometh out of the Eaſt, and ſhineth "unto the Weſt, ſo ſhall alſo the coming of the "Son of Man be.

Mr. Germain proſecuted for adultery.

About this time the town was entertained by a remarkable trial, in Weſtminſter-hall. The duke of Norfolk, impatiently bearing the unlawful commerce, which, for many years paſt, mr. Germain had held with his ducheſs, had, in January before, lodged a bill of divorce, in the houſe of peers; but their lordſhips being unwilling to proceed in that affair, before there were ſome proofs of the fact in the common-law, his grace, thereupon, brought an action of adultery againſt mr. Germain, before the court of King's-bench, and upon a full hearing of many obſcene evidences, the jury found for the plaintiff, and allowed his grace 100 marks damages, with coſt of ſuit.

Prince Lewis of Baden in England.

The laſt day of the year, Prince Lewis of Baden came to England, and landing at Graveſend, went from thence to Whitehall, where an apartment was provided for his reception. During the time of his ſtay here, which was till the 14th of February, his Highneſs was ſplendidly entertained, and diverted not only by his Majeſty, but by ſeveral of the nobility, and, in a particular manner, by the duke of Ormond.

An' 1694. Acts paſſed.

The 25th of January, the King came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to "an act for "raiſing 4 s. in the pound upon lands; to an act "for the importation of Italian thrown-ſilk, and "to ſome others of leſs moment.

"A bill concerning free and impartial proceedings "in parliament, by incapacitating the members "to have places in the government," paſſed both houſes; but the King refuſing to give it the royal ſanction, the commons took it ſo ill, that having, on the 26th of January, conſidered the ſtate of the nation, they reſolved, "that whoever "adviſed the King not to give the royal aſſent to "that act, was an enemy to their Majeſties and "the kingdom". They alſo appointed a committee to draw up a repreſentation, in which they laid before his Majeſty:

William & Mary. An' 1694.

Repreſentation of the commons to his Majeſty.

"That the uſage in parliament, in all times, had "been that what bills had been agreed to by both "houſes, for the redreſs of grievances, or other "public good, had, when tendered to the throne, "obtained the royal aſſent: and that there were "very few inſtances, in former reigns, where ſuch "aſſent, in ſuch caſes, had not been given; and "thoſe attended with great inconveniences to "the crown of England; eſpecially where the ſame "had been with-held by inſinuations of particular "perſons without the advice of the privy-council, "thereby creating great diſſatisfaction and jealouſies "in the minds of the people. That the commons, "therefore, out of their ſincere deſire of the welfare of his Majeſty and his government, could "not without grief of heart reflect, that ſince his "Majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, ſeveral public "bills, made by advice of both houſes of parliament, had not obtained the royal aſſent, and, "in particular, one bill, intitled, an act touching "free and impartial proceedings in parliament, "which was to redreſs a grievance, and take off a "ſcandal, relating to the proceedings of the commons in parliament, after they had freely voted "great ſupplies for the public occaſions, which they "could impute to no other cauſe than the inſinuations of particular perſons, who took upon them, for "their own particular ends, to adviſe his Majeſty, "contrary to the advice of parliament; and, therefore could not but look on ſuch as enemies to his "Majeſty and his kingdoms; upon which conſideration, they humbly prayed, that, for the future, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to hearken to "the advice of his parliament, and not to the "ſecret advices of particular perſons, who might "have private intereſts of their own, ſeparate "from the true intereſt of his Majeſty and his "people.

To this repreſentation, the King anſwered, the 29th of January:

The King's anſwer.

"That he was very ſenſible of the good affecti- "ons the commons had expreſſed towards him, "upon many occaſions, and of the zeal they had "ſhewn for the common intereſt: that no Prince "ever had a higher eſteem for the conſtitution of the "Engliſh government than himſelf: and that he "ſhould ever have a great regard to the advice of "parliaments; that he was perſuaded, nothing "could ſo much conduce to the happineſs and welfare of this kingdom, as an intire confidence, "between the King and people: and that he ſhould "look upon ſuch perſons to be his enemies, who "ſhould adviſe any thing that might leſſen "it."

The firſt of February, the commons took his Majeſty's anſwer into conſideration, and the queſtion being propounded, "that an humble addreſs be "made to his Majeſty for a farther anſwer", it paſſed in the negative.

The Million lottery.

At this time, the humor of the nation run very much upon lotteries; ſome members of the houſe of commons, therefore, to give into it, contrived a method to raiſe, in that manner, a million ſterling, for the government. This deſign having been propos'd to, and approved by the houſe, it was reſolved, on the 6th of February; firſt, "That a

"of England, in its rights and eſtabliſhments, and to ſecure the purity of her doctrine, worſhip and diſcipline, ſo far as his "power and authority extended. He was a very wiſe, but withal a very plain and ſincere man; and uncapable of any politic arts "to curry favor with Princes. Laſtly, he wanted not tenderneſs toward the Diſſenters, but he had not that latitude of principle "to break down what he conſcienciouſly believed to be the mounds and fenſes of the church, in order to let in the ſtragling "ſheep; which, he thought, might, as well have entered at the right door. Hiſt of King William, Vol. 2. p. 385.

"fund

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" fund of 140,000 l. per annum, be raiſed and veſted " in their Majeſties, for the term of ſixteen years, " for recompenſing ſuch perſons as ſhould advance " the ſum of one million. Secondly, That the impo- " ſitions lately reſolved by the houſe, to be laid up- " on ſalt, be part of the ſaid fund. Thirdly, That " towards the farther anſwering of the ſaid " 140,000 l. per annum, one moiety of the duties " of exciſe, granted to their Majeſties, by an act " made in the ſecond year of their Majeſties reign, " be granted and continued to their Majeſties, after " the mony charged upon the ſaid duties ſhould " be ſatisfied: and Fourthly, that a bill be brought " in upon the ſaid reſolutions."

Acts paſſed.

The 18th of February, the King came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to an " act to " ſupply the deficiency of the mony raiſed by a " former annuity-act;" and to another, to " pre- " vent diſputes and controverſies concerning royal " mines."

The commiſſioners whom the commons had appointed to take the public accounts, being order'd to lay before the houſe, " an account of what " mony had been paid for ſecret ſervice, and to " members of parliament, out of the public " revenue," upon examination of the whole matter, it was reſolved, on the 17th of February; " That " the lord Falkland, being a member of that " houſe, by begging and receiving 2000 l. from " his Majeſty, contrary to the ordinary method of " iſſuing and beſtowing the King's mony, was " guilty of a high miſdemeanor and breach of " truſt; and that he be commited to the Tower " of London, during the pleaſure of the houſe."

Lord Falkland call'd to account for bribery.

The 19th, the lord Falkland preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, ſeting forth, " that " he was highly ſenſible of their diſpleaſure, and " that a longer continuance of his confinement " would be extremely prejudicial to him;" whereupon it was order'd that he ſhould be diſcharg'd from his impriſonment in the Tower.

More acts paſs'd.

The 23d of March, the King came again to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent, to an " act for granting to their Majeſties certain duties " upon ſalt, and upon beer, ale, and other liquors; " another for relief of the orphans, and other cre- " ditors of the city of London; another for the " more effectual relief of poor priſoners," and to ſeveral other, as well private as public bills; another act alſo paſs'd this ſeſſion, " for raiſing " 1,500,000l. by voluntary ſubſcriptions; the " ſubſcribers to be incorporated, and to erect a " Bank, and were to receive recompences out of " certain duties ariſing from tonage and poun- " dage, and from beer and ale, which was the " foundation of the Bank of England. After this his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which, " he earneſtly recommended to them the diſpatch " of thoſe important affairs, which they had under " their deliberation; and the diſcharging of the " debt for the tranſport-ſhips."

The Bank of England erected.

The King's ſpeech.

Notwithſtanding the funds I have already mention'd, the houſe of commons laid, the 22d of February, a " duty upon leather; the 28th, another " upon ſoap, and, on ſubſequent days, others on " wine, and the tonage of all ſhips and veſſels." All theſe impoſitions coming yet ſhort of anſwering the mony to be levied within this year, they reſolved to grant " a poll-tax to their Majeſties, as " alſo a duty upon all hackney-coaches and ſtage- " coaches, and laſtly upon paper and parchment."

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The ſixteenth of April, the King, being come to the houſe of lords, gave the royal ſanction, to an " act for raiſing mony by a poll-tax; another " for puniſhing mutineers in the army, &c. another " for the exportation of Iron, Copper, and Mundick- " metal; another for the importation of Salt-petre," and to five private acts. The 25th of the ſame month, the King gave his aſſent to an " act for inabling " their Majeſties to make grants and leaſes in the " du chy of Cornwal; another for raiſing the mili- " tia of this kingdom; another for granting to " their Majeſties ſeveral duties upon tonage of ſhips, " &c. and another for granting a tax upon vel- " lom, parchment and paper; another for licenſing " and regulating hackney and ſtage-coaches; ano- " ther for appointing commiſſioners to take and " ſtate the public accounts; another for building " good and defenſible ſhips; another for the better " diſciplining of their Majeſties navy," and to ſeveral private bills (1).

Other acts paſs'd.

After this, " his Majeſty thank'd both houſes, " for the great proofs they had given him of their " affections, this ſeſſion; and having acquainted " them with the neceſſity of his being abſent for " ſome time, out of the kingdom," he put an end to this long ſeſſion of parliament, by proroguing it the 18th of September.

The parliament prorogued.

During this winter, the French King again made ſeveral private overtures towards a peace, at different courts, by means of the miniſters of neutral Princes. Great diligence was, likewiſe, uſed to draw off ſeveral Princes from the grand-alliance, particularly the King of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria: but as all theſe private intrigues and efforts of France came to nothing, I ſhall not detain the reader by particularizing them.

France ſeeks a peace.

The 27th of January, mr. Charles Butler, brother of the duke of Ormond, was created a baron of England, and earl of Arran in Ireland. Three weeks after, Peregrine Bertie, eſq; was made vice-chamberlain to his Majeſty, in the place of ſir John Lowther, who reſigned the 4th of March. The earl of Shrewſbury was, once more, made one of the principal-ſecretaries of ſtate, and the 25th of April, the King confered the title of duke upon him. The ſame day, his Majeſty created the earl of Muſgrave, marquis of Normandy, and beſtowed a penſion on him of 3000 l. a year, in lieu of the place of lord-chamberlain, which he injoy'd in the former reign. About the ſame time, the lord viſcount Sydney was made earl of Romney, and Henry Herbert, eſq; baron Herbert of Cherbury. Edward Ruſſel, eſq; ſir John Lowther, Henry Prieſtman, eſq; Robert Auſten, eſq; ſir Robert Rich, ſir George Rooke, and ſir John Houblon, were appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of England and Ireland (2): and the treaſury was given in commiſſion to the lord Godolphin, ſir Stephen Fox, Charles Montague, eſq; ſir William Trumbal, and John Smith, eſq;

Places diſpos'd of, and honors confer'd.

His Majeſty having thus ſettled his domeſtic affairs, and being again reſolved to command the confederate army in Flanders, imbarked the 6th of May at Margate, on board the Fubs-yacht, and ſailed the ſame day, about noon, with a fair wind,

The King goes to Holland.

(1) As uſual, ſeveral bills were again left unfiniſh'd; viz. " a bill to regulate trials, in caſes of high treaſon;" which the commons had ſent to the lords for their concurence. " A bill for the naturalizing of all ſuch Prote ſtants as ſhould take the oaths " to their Majeſties, and the teſt againſt Popery. A bill concerning the forfeitures both in England and Ireland; a bill for re- " giſtering of wills, &c. a bill againſt ſtockjobbers, and another for the incouragement of privateers.

(2) As I am ſpeaking of the admiralty, it may not be amiſs to take notice here, that on the 22d of February, of this year, King William, having taken into conſideration the ſmallneſs of the pay, allowed to ſea-officers, which was then leſs than that of our neighbors, &c. was pleaſed to make the following eſtabliſhment in council:

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wind, for Holland, being attended by eight Dutch men of war. He arrived the next day in the Maeſe, and, landing in the evening, came about midnight to the Hague, from whence he went a few days after to Loo, to take the diverſions of that place, before he opened the campain. I ſhall here leave his Majeſty to give firſt an account of the maritime affairs of this year.

Misfortune of a ſquadron of ſhips under ſir Francis Wheeler.

Before I proceed to an account of the tranſactions of the grand fleet, I muſt juſt mention a misfortune which happened to a ſquadron, that was ſent, at the concluſion of the foregoing year, to the Mediterranean, under the command of ſir Francis Wheeler. This ſquadron having ſailed on the 17th of February from Gibraltar, towards the Streights, met, the next day, with a violent ſtorm, which continued all that day, and the following night; inſomuch that, on the 19th about five in the morning, ſir Francis Wheeler's own ſhip, the Suſſex, was foundered, and himſelf, with all his men, to the number of 550 drowned, two Moors only excepted, who eſcap'd by ſwiming (1).

Rear-admiral Nevil, with two Dutch men of war, had the good fortune to be blown out of the Streights, and put ſafe into Cadiz, as did the reſt of the fleet after the ſtorm, into Gibraltar.

Proceedings of the main fleet.

Tho' the confederate-fleet, under the command of admiral Ruſſel, was this year pretty early at ſea, they had, in the begining, no ſucceſs to boaſt of. As deſirous as they were to fight the French, they on the contrary were induſtrious to avoid an ingagement; and no ſooner was the Breſt-ſquadron out of harbor, than they made all the ſail they could towards the Mediterranean, the court of France having reſolved to act, this campain, offenſively againſt Spain, both by land and ſea. King William, in order to break their meaſures, and to prevent the intire loſs of Catalonia, thought fit to ſend his main fleet, this year, into thoſe ſeas. While the fleet was on the coaſt of France, the admiral received information, that there was a fleet of French merchant-ſhips, of forty or fifty ſail, lying in Bertheaume-bay, bound Eaſtward, and laden with corn, wine, brandy and other merchandize, under convoy of a man of war or two. He thereupon ordered the Monmouth and the Reſolution, with the Roebuck fire-ſhip, to go between the trade-way and the main, and indeavor to take or deſtroy them. Captain Pritchard, who commanded them, executed his orders with ſo good ſucceſs, that notwithſtanding the great fire of the enemy from their veſſels, and the forts of Conqueſt-bay, he burnt or ſunk thirty-five of them, beſide their convoy, which run among the rocks, and, ſoon after blew up, with her two ſloops of between ten and fifteen guns each, and brought a large fly-boat and a pink laden with ſalt, into the fleet. Some few days after, they likewiſe took or deſtroyed a good number of ſhips, laden with proviſions for the French fleet in the Mediteranean, and drove ſome others aſhoar, which were bound for Diep and Dunkirk, with ammunition and proviſions, for the uſe of the French army in Flanders.

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French merchant ſhips deſtroyed.

It had been ſo ordered, that, at a proper ſtation, the ſquadron under the lord Berkley (2), appointed to act with the land-forces, which had been put on board, to the number of near 10,000 men, under the command of lieutenant-general Talmaſh, with deſign to deſtroy the harbor of Breſt, was to ſeparate and ſteer away for that place; and then, the admiral himſelf, with the body of the fleet, was to ſhape his courſe towards the Mediterranean. All things being ſettled for the ſeparation, at a council of war, of the flag and general officers, held the 31ſt of May, proper ſignals were diſtributed for that purpoſe.

The 5th of June, the two fleets ſeparated, and as that commanded by the lord Berkley came firſt

1. That the ſea-pay of flag-officers, commanders, lieutenants, maſters, and ſurgeons of his Majeſty's ſhips ſhould be "doubled.

2. "That all flag-officers, and captains of the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth and fifth rates, and of fire-ſhips; and the firſt lieute-"nant and maſters of firſt, ſecond, and third-rates, who have ſerved a year in the ſame poſts, in ſhips of thoſe rates, or been "in a general ingagement, ſhould have half-pay while on ſhoar, to be paid quarterly out of the general eſtimate of the navy.

3. "That only ſuch commiſſion-officers as have been put in by the admiral or admiralty, and warrant-officers, as have been "put in by the navy-board, ſhould receive the benefit of half-pay.

4. "That the ſame ſhould commence from the ſecond of January, then laſt paſt.

5. "That no officer, who leaves the ſervice, or is diſmiſſed for any miſdeamenor, injoy that benefit.

6. "That the number of ſervants allowed the commanders ſhould be no more than ten to the admiral of the whole fleet; "all other inferior flags one each; captains of firſt and ſecond-rates, ſix; of third and fourth-rates, five; of fifth and ſix-rates, "four each; and that the number of ſervants leſſened be deducted out of every ſhip's company.

7. "That half-pay officers be aſſiſting to the navy-board.

8. "That no convoy-mony be demanded or received, under the penalty of forfeiting and loſing imployment for ever.

9. "That the commanders tranſmit to the admiralty when and why they come into port.

10. That the commiſſioners of the navy at the ports, inquire why ſhips come in; and that all theſe articles and rules be ſtrictly obſerved.

But the fund for that eſtabiſhment ending with the war, and the King having no other means to afford it, except he had allowed it out of his revenne, the then lords of the admiralty formed another ſcheme. Lediard's Naval Hiſt. Vol. 2. p. 685.

(1) Beſide this loſs, there were many others both of ſhips and men, viz.

	Men
The Cambridge, ſeventy guns, forced on ſhoar, and loſt	100
The Lumley-caſtle had the ſame misfortune, and loſt	130
The Serpent bomb-veſſel founder'd, and loſt	15
The William-ketch run aſhoar, and loſt	15
The Mary-ketch foundered and loſt	16
The Great George, a Turky-ſhip, run on ſhoar, and loſt	90
The Alleppo-factor run on ſhoar, and loſt	3
The Golden frigat of Venice, run on ſhoar, and loſt	23
The Berkſhire, a Turky ſhip, run on ſhoar, and loſt	15
The Indian merchant, another Turky ſhip, run on ſhoar, and loſt	1
The William, bound for Leghorn, run on ſhoar, and loſt	1
	409
Loſt in the Suſſex	448
In all	857

The Hollandia, a Dutch ſhip of ſeventy guns, run on ſhoar in Gibraltar-bay; but got off again, with the loſs of all her maſts. Several other ſhips, both Dutch and Engliſh were on the ground, and few or none eſcaped without conſiderable damage. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 684.

A Dutch writer ſays, this was the moſt violent ſtorm, that ever had been known in thoſe ſeas, ſince the memory of man. The ſame author ſays, the body of admiral Wheeler was found on a ſand-bank, not far from Gibraltar, in his ſhirt and ſlippers, which made it believed, that ſeeing himſelf in great danger, he had ſtriped, with a deſign to indeavor the ſaving his life, by ſwiming.

2) This ſquadron conſiſted of forty-one men of war, fourteen fireſhips and eight ſmall craft, in all ſixty-one. And here F Daniel does not increaſe their number as is uſual with him; for he makes but fifty-ſix of them together.

to

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to action, I ſhall begin with a relation of his proceedings, and then follow the admiral to the Streights.

The deſign, and the ſituation of the place.

But firſt, in order to obtain a better idea of the undertaking, it may not be amiſs to give a brief account of the deſign, and of the ſituation of the place. The deſign was, in general, to ruin the harbor of Breſt, or render it uſeleſs to the French. There is a promontory, which runs from Camaret to the entrance of the harbor of Breſt, which, whoever is maſter of, may command the ſhipping going in or out. This promontory is join'd to the continent by a narrow Iſthmus, which it was propos'd to get poſſeſſion of, and then, it was thought, four or five thouſand men might defend the promontory againſt any force that could have been brought before it. By this means, the confederates would not only have been maſters of the paſſage to Breſt, but have had it in their powers to have made incurſions into Bretagne at pleaſure. This was the deſign in 1692, after the victory at la Hogue, when ſeven or eight thouſand men were put on board the fleet, for that purpoſe, and had it then been executed, France would not have had one port upon the ocean, fit to receive their large men of war (1): but the French King being apprized of the deſign, and the conſequences it might be attended with, if ever ſuch an attempt ſhould be made again, order'd the Iſthmus, and all the avenues to it, to be ſo fortified as render'd it inacceſſible.

The lord Berkeley's proceedings.

The lord Berkley, arriving the 7th, came to an anchor between Camaret and Bertheaume-bay, tho' continually played upon by the enemy's bombs; firſt from Camaret-weſtern-point, then from a caſtle on a high rock, in Bertheaume-bay, and laſtly, from two forts on each ſide of the Iſthmus going into Breſt road. The ſame day the lord Cutts, and the marquis of Caermarthen, in his own gally, ſtood in, a conſiderable way, into the bay; and having taken a view of it, amidſt the enemy's fire, they returned and gave the lord Berkley an account of the poſture of the bay, and ſituation of the caſtle, which they found very advantageous to defend the landing places (2). It was at firſt ordered, that the Monk, a ſhip of ſixty guns, and the Diamond of equal force, ſhould go in; but the marquis repreſented, that thoſe two men of war would not be ſufficient to cover the boats at their landing, becauſe the enemy were better prepared, and more numerous than was expected, and ready to be ſeconded, on all occaſions, by fourteen ſquadrons of horſe.

Reſolutions taken to land near Breſt.

Hereupon, a council of war was called, on board the ſhip Queen, the 8th of June, at which were preſent, his lordſhip, lieutenant-general Talmaſh, and all the Engliſh and Dutch flag and general officers, by whom it was reſolved, that the lieutenant-general ſhould go on ſhoar with the troops, as ſoon as it was poſſible, and indeavor to make himſelf maſter of the fort at Camaret, and that ſix other men of war ſhould be added to the former to cover him in landing: viz. the Greenwich of four and fifty guns, the Charles-galley, of two and thirty, the Shoreham of two and thirty, the Darkenſtein of four and forty, the Weſep of thirty, and the Wolf of thirty, all which the marquis undertook ſo to poſt, that they ſhould bear upon the caſtle to the beſt advantage.

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This was, nevertheleſs, a work of great difficulty and danger; for no ſooner was the Monk come within reach of the enemy's mortars, but they began to throw bombs at her from Point-des-Fillettes, and the weſtern point of Camaret-bay; and the reſt of the ſhips that followed were ſurpriſed with three batteries more, which they never perceived, till they felt their ſhot. But under all theſe difficulties the brave marquis made a ſhift to poſt the eight ſhips, in ſuch manner, as gave great ſuccor to the landing-forces, and did the French conſiderable miſchief; dropping their anchors, and firing with ſo much reſolution, that the French began twice to run out of Camaret-fort; but they could eaſily perceive the enemy very advantageouſly intrenched, at every place, where there was any poſſibility of landing, and great numbers of foot were drawn behind the trenches.

Eight ſhips enter the bay with great difficulty and danger.

Some forces land; but are repulſed with great loſs.

Amidſt theſe difficulties, there could be no proſecution of that regular landing which was propoſed by the lord Cutts, and had been agreed on. However, the undaunted general Talmaſh was reſolute in the enterpriſe, tho' unlikely to ſucceed; and therefore, with a ſmall number of well-boats, and about nine hundred men (Burnet ſays ſix hundred) went aſhoar, in a confuſed manner, under a little rock, on the ſouth-ſide of the ſmall bay; but immediately a detachment of the French marines, fell in upon them, with ſo much fury, that the Engliſh were forced to retire to their boats, in great diſorder; and, it happening at the ſame time to be an ebb-tide, moſt of the boats ſtuck faſt, ſo that the men on board them were either miſerably ſlaughtered, or forced to beg quarter; Burnet ſays, not above a hundred came back; ſo that in this action were ſlain, wounded, or taken priſoners, of the land-troops, at leaſt five hundred men, and the brave lieutenant-general Talmaſh himſelf, being wounded in the thigh, died ſoon after at Plymouth (3). The Monk, Charles-galley and Shoreham, three of the ſhips which were ſent to protect the landing, and to batter the French forts, were very much ſhattered, and in them, and the others, a good number of men were kill'd and wounded. A Dutch frigat of thirty guns, called the Weſep, was ſunk, and her captain kill'd: beſide ſeveral other damages; and it was with incredible labor and hazard, that the marquis of Caermarthen brought the ſhips off,

(1) The earl of Nottingham, then ſecretary of ſtate, reflected very ſeverely on admiral Ruſſel, on this account, and for returning to Spithead, when he had land-forces on board for that ſervice, without attempting it, there being then no French troops there, or fortifications to hinder ſuch a deſcent.

(2 Biſhop Burnet ſays, that when our fleet came ſo near to ſee what preparations they had made for their defenſe, the council of officers, were all againſt making the attempt; but Talmaſh had ſet his heart ſo much upon it, that he could not be diverted from it. He would not be perſuaded, but the number of people they ſaw were rabble, brought together to make a ſhew; but he was ſoon undeceived, to his coſt.

The famous engineer Vauban, whom the King of France had imployed to put Breſt, and the places in the harbor which was likely to be attack'd, in a poſture of defence, wrote to the King, before the Engliſh fleet arrived: "That his Majeſty need be under "no apprehenſions, that he had made all the ſubterraneous paſſages under the caſtle bomb-proof, that he had placed ninety "mortars, and three hundred pieces of cannon, in proper places; that all the ſhips were out of the reach of the enemy's "bombs, and all the troops in good order; that there were three hundred bombardeers in the place, three hundred gentlemen, "four thouſand men, regular troops; and a regiment of dragoons juſt arrived.

(3) Some have pretended to ſay that this gallant officer was deſtined to be a ſacrifice in this undertaking, by the envy of ſome of his pretended friends; it being certain, that the French had time to provide themſelves againſt a deſign, which was become a town-talk in London, ſome months before it was put in execution. Burnet gives him the character of a brave and generous man, and a good officer, very fit to animate and incourage inferior officers and ſoldiers; but, adds he, he was much too apt to be diſcontented, and turn mutinous; ſo that, upon the whole, he was one of thoſe dangerous men, who are capable of doing as much miſchief as good ſervice.

A little before his death he is reported to have ſaid, that as he loſt his life in the performance of his duty to ſo good a Prince, he was perfectly eaſy as to that; but it was a great trouble to him, that the government had been ſo baſely betrayed.

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with all their riging cut to pieces, and moſt of their ſails and yards diſabled. It was, indeed, no wonder that they far'd no better, for the whole extent of the bays of Camaret and Bertheaume, was, in a manner, one continued fortification: for where-ever there was a place, fit for landing of troops, there had the French raiſed batteries and intrenchments, and they threw bombs, at the ſhips, from five or ſix places (1).

The land-forces being imbarked, a general council of war was held, and as the attempt upon Breſt was found impracticable, the debate was what could be done with the fleet and army. The lieutenant-general informed them, he was not authorized to attempt any other place; it was therefore agreed to repair to Spithead, to land the troops, and refit the ſhips; and thus ended this fruitleſs expedition.

The ſquadron returns to St. Helens.

The 15th of June, the ſquadron arrived at St. Helens, and there found orders from the Queen, that a council of war, of the general and flag-officers, ſhould conſider how the ſhips and troops might be beſt imployed: and, purſuant to theſe orders, as ſoon as the fleet was refited, it was reſolved firſt to bombard Diep, and then to do what other prejudice they could, along the French coaſt. In the mean time, the lord Berkley having orders to ſtop all ſhips he ſhould meet with, in his paſſage, bound for France, took about ſeventy ſail, coming from the North, laden with corn, and ſea-ſtores (2).

The lord Berkley takes ſeveral prizes.

Diep bombarded.

Bad weather, and other diſappointments prevented the bombardment of Diep, till the 12th of July; but that day 1100 bombs and carcaſſes were thrown into it, with ſuch ſucceſs, that it ſoon appeared in flames in ſeveral places. The townſmen deſpairing to quench the raging conflagration, began to run away in the greateſt diſorder; whereupon two regiments of the militia of Bretagne were ſent to incourage them; but the confuſion was ſo great and the fire ſo dreadful, that the ſoldiers themſelves fled with the reſt. Had the Engliſh known what had paſſed, they might, in all probability, have poſſeſſed themſelves of the place: however, they ſo ruined it, that the greateſt part of the houſes (being then, as F. Daniel ſays all of wood) were reduced to aſhes, and ſcarce any left unſhattered (3). The night before, a machine-veſſel (or as father Daniel calls it, an infernal machine) was blown up at the Pier-head; but with little or no ſucceſs. It made a frightful noiſe, but did little execution, occaſioned, as it was ſuppoſed, by the head lying too low. Captain Dunbar, who commanded this veſſel, behaved himſelf with great bravery: for the fuſee going out, he went on board again in perſon and ſet fire to it; for which, both himſelf and the men he took with him, were deſervedly rewarded. The French did what they could to conceal the damages they ſuſtained: but they were, however, very conſiderable (4).

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Havre de Grace bombarded.

The 14th the fleet ſailed from Diep, moſt of the few houſes which were ſtanding being on fire. The 16th, they began to bombard the town of Havre-de Grace, under the direction of captain Bembow, which they continued till the next morning, when the wind blowing hard, they gave over: but had already ſo good ſucceſs, that the town was in flames in ſeveral places, and had burnt all the night. It continued, likewiſe burning, till the 18th. When the weather growing calm, towards evening, the following night was ſpent in throwing 250 bombs more into the town; ſo that, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, at leaſt, a third part of it was deſtroyed (5). The weather being very bad the 19th, all the bomb-veſſels were ordered off again: and, it was agreed, in a council of war, that it would be to no purpoſe to ſtay longer before Havre-de-Grace (6). It was

(1) Let us now ſee what account the French give of this matter. F. Daniel ſays; that the lord Berkley came into the bay of Camaret, with a ſquadron of ſix and fifty men of war, bombs, and other veſſels. General Talmaſh made a deſcent, at the head of a battalion of grenadiers, and between eight or nine hundred men, which were landed by a great number of Shalloops. A briſk fire inſued, as well from the Engliſh on one ſide, as from the French batteries and intrenchments on land, on the other. The Sieur de Benoiſe, captain of a French company of marines, obſerving that there was ſome confuſion among the Engliſh troops, ſalied out, ſword in hand, at the head of ſixty men, being immediately followed by another company. He defeated the enemy, killed a great number of their men, and purſued them to their ſhalloops, into which they threw themſelves in ſuch numbers, that they could by no means get them off. Upon this the count de Servon, marſhal de Camp, the ſieurs de Vaiſe, brigadier of foot, and du Pleſſis, brigadier of horſe, march'd a ſquadron of the regiment of de Pleſſis up to the ſhoar, which ſoon obliged the Engliſh, in the boats which were ſtranded, to demand quarter. The others, which had not yet made their deſcent, retreated, under favor of the cannon of their ſhips. A Dutch veſſel, which ventured too near the ſhoar, ran aground, and was obliged to ſurrender. The Engliſh loſt four hundred men in the deſcent, among whom was their general Talmaſh; and forty officers, with five ſoldiers made priſoners, many more were drowned; and a bomb happening to fall into a bomb-veſſel full of ſoldiers, it blew up, with all that were in it. This enterprize coſt the Engliſh and Dutch, two thouſand men; they burnt one of their veſſels in the night, and another of ſixty pieces of cannon was run a-ground. The French on the contrary, had no more than five and forty ſlain. Some particulars of this relation, hitherto, muſt be read with a ſmall allowance; but what follows ſeems to have pretty much the face of truth. Monſieur de Vauban (ſays the ſame author) who commanded at Breſt, had taken all his precautions with an admirable skill, as well with regard to the batteries as the intrenchments, in which was placed a battallion of marines, with ſome other ſoldiers, under the command of the marquis de Langeron.

(2) Theſe ſhips were all reclaimed by the Swediſh and Daniſh miniſters, as belonging to their reſpective Sovereigns; however, after a ſtrict examination of the matter, above twenty of them were condemned, and adjudged lawful prize. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 690.

(3) Biſhop Burnet, ſays it was burnt almoſt to the ground.

(4) The following letter from the marquis de Bevron to the King of France, was publiſhed at Paris, to ſooth the people, and extenuate the loſs at Diep.

" From yeſterday noon to this morning at four o'clock, the enemy continued throwing bombs in great number, and played " with the cannon upon the troops which appeared. About half an hour after eleven, that night, they ſent in a machine, with " a purpoſe to enter the port, which I had cauſed to be barred up, and inſtead of that, it ſtruck again the Gallot, but without " any effect. The city, the houſes of which are wood, ſtanding cloſe to one another, have ſuffered a little, in the quarter " where the fire began, which was only kindled by one bomb, in one only houſe, for the reſt never kindled in the other quar- " ters", &c. This deceitful account could not, however, gain credit long: private letters, full of complaints and lamentations " ſoon laid open the fallacy of it: I ſhall give the reader an inſtance of one:

" It was happy for you that you made your eſcape; I wiſh I had done ſo too. If you had ſtaid you would have ſaid the " D----l had been looſe: there was nothing to be ſeen in the air but fire and flame.

" The Engliſh are very D--ls with their fire. The houſes beat down and burnt are innumerable; thoſe next the ſea are " totally ruined. They have burnt ſeveral villages; and, as an addition to our miſery, have ſent us all the beggars in the pro- " vince to eat us up. The King's houſe has fared no better than the reſt. Country and city are gone to rack and ruin.

Another letter begins: " the city of Diep is utterly ruined, nor does there ſtand a houſe, that is not very much ſhattered; " all the churches are deſtroyed: the college of the fathers of the orarory, valued at a hundred thouſand crowns, is utterly " deſtroyed.

(5) Father Daniel will allow but twenty houſes to have been burnt.

(6) The author of the continuation of Rapin mentions a ſtratagem put in practiſe by the French, to leſſen the ſucceſs of the confederates in the bombardment of this town. In the ſuburb (ſays he) on the land-ſide, there is a large ſquare; thither they conveyed a great number of fagots, which they ſet fire to ſometime after the bombardment begun. The Engliſh, deceived by this artifice, directed moſt of their bombs that way, thinking to increaſe the flames, and prevent their being extinguiſhed, which in the mean time ſaved other places. Book 25. p. 208.

therefore

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The fleet returns to St. Helens.

William therefore determined, to proceed to St. Helens, to repair damages; where they arrived the 26th, having firſt alarmed the French coaſt off of la Hogue and Cherburg. Having put ſix regiments aſhoar at St Helen's, they then, by the Queen's orders, ſailed to the Downs, where they arrived the 6th of Auguſt. Attempts were afterwards made, by detached ſquadrons, at Dunkirk and Calais, but with little or no ſucceſs (1).

Proceedings of the confederate fleet in the Mediterranean.

I have already obſerved above, that admiral Ruſſel parted with the lord Berkley, the 5th of June, and on the five and twentieth of that month, he arrived off of the rock of Liſbon. Captain John Jennings, with the Mary and Adventure, being ſent in to the ſhoar for intelligence, whether the enemy were or had been on that coaſt, and if they were, to ſend rear-admiral Nevil and the Dutch vice-admiral Callemberg, who were in the bay of Cadiz, inſtructions to join the fleet, with all the ſhips under their command; the admiral ſettled the proper places for rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation (2). Rear-admiral Nevil, and the two Dutch vice-admirals, Callemberg and Evertzen, having joined the fleet, with eight Engliſh, and as many Dutch men of war, it conſiſted of ſixty-three ſhips of the line, beſide nine Spaniards, who ſailed from Cadiz, with Nevil, but were not yet come to the fleet: and they had advice, that the French were between Alſaques and Barcelona, whither it was reſolved, in a council of war, to proceed.

To follow admiral Ruſſel in the whole courſe of his proceedings with the confederate fleet, in the Mediterranean, this ſummer, and the whole inſuing winter (for it was found neceſſary to leave it there) would carry me too far. I ſhall therefore only ſay, that this expedition, tho' it afforded little or no action, was very glorious to the Engliſh nation. The admiral in the name of his maſter and country, now challenged the dominion of the Mediterranean, as he had, two years before, aſſerted that of the Narrow-ſeas: and as he revived the drooping ſpirits of the Spaniards, ſo he damped the towering projects of the French. The latter were now ſenſible of their error in ſending their grand fleet into thoſe ſeas, where they were cooped up in the harbor of Toulon, and tho' the marſhal de Tourville once adventured out to ſea, with a deſign to ſlip by the Engliſh admiral, yet he quickly found ſo watchful an eye upon him, that he was forced to return to his port again. Indeed nothing is more illuſtrious in the whole courſe of King William's reign, than his fleet riding thus triumphantly in the Mediterranean; for, by this means, I ſay, the Engliſh dominions of the Streights was added to that of the Narrow-ſeas; a ſtop was put to the conquering arms of France in Catalonia; all the French coaſts were expoſed to the inſults of the confederates; and even all the Italian Princes were kept in awe; and the Venetians began now to think of ſending a ſolemn embaſſy into England, to court the friendſhip of his Britannic Majeſty.

Having done with the affairs of our fleet, for this year, I ſhould now have a regard to thoſe on the continent; but ſhall previouſly mention a tranſaction or two at home.

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Knights of the Garter inſtall'd.

The 5th of June, his electoral highneſs, Frederic III, marquis of Brandenburg, his moſt ſerene highneſs George William, duke of Brumſwic and Lunenburg, and the duke of Shrewſbury, knights elect of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, were inſtalled in St. George's chapel at Windſor; the two former by their proxies, and his grace in perſon.

The Bank-charter granted.

The 8th, a draught of a commiſſion for taking ſubſcriptions for the Bank of England, together with a ſchedule containing the draught of a charter for the corporation of the ſaid bank, were firſt approv'd and ſign'd by her Majeſty; and the charter, which was to paſs under the great ſeal of England, after the firſt day of Auguſt, if the ſum of 1,200,000 l. or one moiety, or more thereof, ſhould be ſubſcribed by that time, or ſooner, if the whole ſhould be ſooner ſubſcribed, was accordingly granted towards the middle of July; the commiſſioners having taken ſubſcriptions amounting to that full ſum, by the 5th of that month.

Colonel Parker apprehended; but eſcapes.

While King William was abroad, colonel John Parker was apprehended and commited to the Tower, being charg'd with a deſign to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty ſome time before; but he was ſo fortunate to eſcape out of that priſon and get over to France. But to return to Flanders (3).

Campain in Flanders.

Little or nothing was done in theſe parts, the begining of this campain. The 9th of Auguſt, the confederate army, under King William's command, was incamp'd at Mont. St. André. It then conſiſted of 31,000 horſe and dragoons, and 51,000 foot, all as fine troops as ever had been ſeen in the field; and beſide theſe, there was a body of about 7,000 men, under the command of count Thian, near Ghent. The French were not much inferior in number; great deſigns were form'd on both ſides, and each ſide thought they had ſufficiently provided againſt thoſe of their enemies. Both armies, in the mean time, lay ſtill, watching one another's motions; and the Dauphin, who commanded the French army, in perſon, declared, he had orders from his father, not to ſtir from his camp near Huy, as long as the confederates continued in theirs at Mont St. André: and, as the eyes of all Europe were fix'd on theſe two formidable armies, it was generally believed, that which ever ſhould be oblig'd to decamp firſt, would have the diſadvantage of it. The Dauphin, however, at length, not being able to ſubſiſt, reſolved to decamp firſt, and tho' he thought to have concealed his deſign, by ſending out ſeveral detachments of horſe, under pretenſe of forraging, to re-inforce the marquis d' Harcourt's body (on the other ſide of the Meuſe) who was to ſeize the advantageous poſt of Pieton; yet King William, who ſuſpected his deſign, decamp'd before him, on the 18th of Auguſt, N. S. and ſoon gain'd that poſt, where he found forrage only for about four days: his Majeſty, being inform'd of the enemy's march, moved, on the 20th, from Sombref to Nivelle, on the 21ſt to Soignies, the 22d to Chevre, on the other ſide of Aeth, and the

(1) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that tho' theſe bombardments ſeemed inhumane, the French had no right to complain, ſince they themſelves firſt began them, at Genoa, and other places: not to mention their cruelties in the Palatinate.

(2) As the chief deſign of this powerful fleet's being ſent to the Mediterranean, was by blocking up the French fleet in Toulon, not only to ſecure our own ports and trade, but likewiſe to ſecure the maritime towns of Spain from the inſults of the French, the arrival of it was matter of great joy to the King of Spain, who, in teſtimony of it, ſent the admiral a preſent of four and twenty thouſand crowns, and the vice-admiral twelve thouſand.

(3) The death of the biſhop and Prince of Liege, towards the begining of this year, gave the French ſome hopes of imbroiling the affairs of the confederates on that ſide: but the choice of the elector of Cologn, by the major part of the chapter, and of the grand maſter of the Teutonick order, brother of the Empreſs, by the reſt, in oppoſition to the cardinal de Bouillon, who was put up by France, broke all their meaſures. This double return to the Emperor and the Pope, for confirmation, had like to have been attended by fatal conſequences on the other ſide; one candidate being ſo nearly allied to the Imperial houſe, and the other being brother to the elector of Bavaria, whoſe intereſt was likewiſe ſupported by King William, and the States-general: but the grand maſter dying in the interim, the elector was ſoon after put in the peaceful poſſeſſion of that biſhopric and principality: which, together with the great power of the allies in Flanders, this campain, made things look with an ill aſpect on the affairs of France.

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23d to Grames, near Aeth. The 24th, the elector of Bavaria was detach'd, with a conſiderable body of horſe, and ſome pieces of cannon, to poſſeſs himſelf of a poſt upon the Scheld, and the reſt of the army followed, with the deſign to have paſs'd that river at Pont-Eſperies: but notwithſtanding all the diligence of the confederates to get thither, yet, it appear'd, that the French had taken more to prevent them: for, on the 25th, the elector being advanced towards Pont d'Eſchauffe, in order to force the paſſage of the river, he found the French, to the number of 30,000, ſo well intrench'd on the other ſide, that he did not think it prudence to purſue his enterprize. This haſty march coſt the French, indeed, a great number of men and horſes, but that loſs was very inconſiderable, in compariſon of the advantage they gain'd by hindering the allies from penetrating into French Flanders, where, conſidering their ſtrength, they might probably have made ſome important conqueſt, or, at leaſt, have ſecur'd good winter-quarters, in their dominions (1).

Huy town and caſtel taken by the allies.

King William, finding it impoſſible to attempt any thing on that ſide, ſince the French had deeply intrench'd themſelves near Courtray, and had ſent ſtrong detachments to cover Ipres, Menin, Berg St. Vinox, Furnes and Dunkirk, his Majeſty reſolved to lay hold on this occaſion, to diſpoſſeſs the enemy of the town and caſtle of Huy. In purſuance of this reſolution, Prince Tſerclaes de Tilly paſs'd the Meuſe, and inveſted that place, with all the horſe and dragoons of the biſhopric of Liege, a detachment of Brandenburg horſe, and ſome infantry. The duke of Holſtein-Ploen, who was appointed to command that ſiege, arriving, the next day, with ſixteen regiments of foot, the town, at his approach, immediately ſurrender'd.

The batteries were rais'd againſt the caſtle, by the 19th of September, N. S. and the 21ſt the trenches were open'd. The attacks were carried on with ſo much vigor, that all things being ready for an aſſault by the 27th, the governor beat a parly, and ſurrender'd that fortreſs the next day (2): and thus ended the campain in Flanders: upon which, the King return'd to the Hague, where he ſtaid till the 8th of November.

Campain in Piemont;

In Piemont very little was done this campain: for tho' the duke of Savoy openly rejected the offers made him by France, after his defeat at Marſiglia, and, at the inſtances of England, granted liberty of conſcience to his Proteſtant ſubjects the Vaudois; yet he was, at the ſame time, carrying on a ſecret negociation with the grand Monarch. This render'd him ſupinely inactive on his ſide, and the French as careleſs on theirs, and when every one expected, that the confederate army would have laid ſiege to Caſal, and the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe was not in the leaſt doubted of, they were ſatisfied with taking Fort St. George, which ſerved only to block up that place more cloſely. Nor did they do any thing farther, during this campain, worthy our notice.

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In Catalonia;

In Catalonia, the French, under the command of the marſhal de Noailles, were triumphant: for being 30,000 ſtrong, and much ſuperior to the Spaniards, they arrived, the 26th of May, on the banks of the river Ter, which they took a reſolution to paſs, notwithſtanding they found the Spaniards intrench'd on the other ſide. This they did, the ſame evening, forcing the Spaniards to abandon their intrenchments, with the loſs of their baggage. This advantage was followed by the ſiege of Palamos, which, after having held out a week, was taken by ſtorm, with great ſlaughter of the Spaniſh gariſon, the 7th of June, and ſoon after the gariſon of St. Felix, Quinola, and the caſtle of St. Elmo, withdrew their gariſons. Gironne, a well fortified town, pretended to make a ſtout reſiſtance; however, after about ten days ſiege, they ſurrender'd, on the 29th of the ſame month, on very ignominious terms. Oſtalrick and Caſtlefolet, falling, likewiſe, into the hands of the French, they were now ſo fluſh'd with ſucceſs, that they threatned nothing leſs than the ſiege of Barcelona, and they had probably ſucceeded there too, had not the arrival of the confederate fleet, under admiral Ruſſel, in the Mediterranean, as I have given an account above, put a ſtop to the career of their victories.

And Germany.

In Germany, nothing of moment happen'd; what advantage was gain'd, tho' ſmall, was on the ſide of the Imperialiſts, and it might probably have been greater had they purſued it, when fortune pointed out the way for them. Prince Lewis of Baden, who commanded them, lying incamp'd near Heilbrun, the marſhal de Lorge, with the French army under his command, croſs'd the Rhine, and march'd up towards him, in order of battle. The Prince, believing their intention was to fight him, march'd on to meet them; but the French finding him in earneſt, retreated toward Wieſelock, paſs'd the Neckar, burnt the town of Laudenburg, and ruin'd the flat country. Prince Lewis, tho' he was not yet join'd by the Saxons, was ſo inraged at this, that he advanced to Wieſelock, an advantageous poſt, which he took, after a ſharp rencounter, in which the French loſt 300 men, and the Germans about 150. Hereupon monſ. de Lorge repaſs'd the Rhine, and, for ſome time, the two armies only obſerved one another. At length, Prince Lewis croſs'd the Rhine, in his turn; of which the French general being adviſed, he march'd towards Landau. The Prince, on the other hand, advanced, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſmall places, and of all the paſſes, as far as Croon-Weiſſemburg. Here it was expected that the Germans would have purſued their good fortune, and have forced the French to a battle, or, at leaſt, have ſecured winter-quarters, on that ſide the Rhine: but they did neither; on the contrary, the Imperialiſts repaſs'd the Rhine, a few days after, and were contented with carrying away 14,000 head of cattle, and having deſtroy'd a vaſt quantity of forrage in the country, and ſome magazines belonging to the

(1) The French King was ſo ſenſible of this ſervice, that he writ a letter, which he order'd to be read at the head of the army, in which he return'd thanks, in the firſt place, to the Princes of the blood, next to the marſhal de Luxemburg, as having a principal ſhare in the conduct, then to the reſt of the marſhals of France, and all the general officers; and, laſtly, to all the French and Swiſs infantry, regiment by regiment, acknowledging how much he was beholden to their zeal and incredible diligence. Hiſtory of King William, vol. 2. p. 392.

If the account given us by the continuator of Rapin in French, of the marches of theſe two armies, be to be depended on, there muſt have been an impardonable neglect, if not ſome treachery, on the ſide of the confederates: for, according to him, the allies, who march'd firſt, had but eighteen leagues to go, in a plain even way; whereas the French, who did not ſtir, till they had notice of the march of the confederates, had forty-two leagues to march, in a way cut by ſeveral rivers and brooks, which could not but very much retard their march; notwithſtanding all which difficulties, they arrived firſt, at the important paſs, and had time to retrench themſelves there. And, indeed, it was but too common, for King William's well laid deſigns to be fruſtrated, by ſome ſuch unaccountable means or other. Our author here lays the blame, and ſeemingly with reaſon, on the ſupinity, and too great ſecurity of the officers of the confederate army; and particularly on the two generals who were order'd to ſecure the paſſage over the Scheld. Book 25. p. 200.

(2) By this conqueſt, the French were totally expelled out of the biſhopric of Liege: for St. Dinant was, at that time, a part of France. This ſiege was particularly remarkable for the fine and numerous artillery which was imploy'd at it; and the dexterity with which it was managed. It conſiſted of 120 cannon and mortars, and during this ſhort ſiege, 25,000 cannon-balls, and between ſeven and eight hundred bombs were thrown into the place.

French,

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French, with which they put an end to the campain: but to return to the King.

The King returns to England.

His Majeſty, as I have ſaid above, having finiſh'd the campain, in Flanders, imbark'd on the William and Mary-yacht, in the Maeſe, the 8th of November, being attended by a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of the lord-marquis of Caermarthen, and the next day, about noon, he landed at Margate, and lay that night at Canterbury. The Queen met him, the next day, at Rocheſter, and, the ſame night, between eleven and twelve their Majeſties came to Kenſington.

The parliament meets.

The 12th of November, the parliament being met, according to their laſt prorogation, the King went to the houſe of lords, and being attended by the commons, his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them:

The King's ſpeech to the parliament.

"That he was glad to meet them, when he could "ſay their affairs were in a better poſture, both by "ſea and land, than when they parted laſt. That "the enemy had not been in a condition to op-"poſe the confederate fleet, in theſe ſeas; that the "ſending ſo great a force into the Mediterranean "had diſappointed their deſigns, and left the na-"tion a proſpect of farther ſucceſs; and that with "reſpect to the war by land, he thought he might "ſay, that, this year, a ſtop had been put to the "progreſs of the French arms.

He then addreſs'd himſelf to the houſe of commons; "of whoſe good affection to him, and of "whoſe zeal for the public (he ſaid) he had ſo "much experience, that he could not doubt of "their aſſiſtance at this time; he earneſtly recom-"mended to them; firſt, to provide ſuch ſupplies "as might inable him to proſecute the war with "vigor, which was the only means to procure peace "to Chriſtendom, with the ſafety and honor of "England. Secondly, to continue the act of "tonage and poundage, which expired at Chriſt-"mas, and which was the more neceſſary at this "time, in regard the ſeveral branches of the re-"venue were under great anticipations; and laſt-"ly, the debt for the tranſport-ſhips, imploy'd in "the reducing of Ireland, which was a caſe of "compaſſion, and deſerv'd relief.

He cloſed his ſpeech, by telling both houſes; "that he ſhould be glad they would take into their "conſideration, the preparing ſome good bill for "the incouragement of Engliſh ſea-men, which "law, they were ſenſible, would tend to the ad-"vancement of trade, and of the naval ſtrength of "the kingdom, which was their common great in-"tereſt, and ought to be their greateſt care."

A bill for frequent parliaments.

The firſt common buſineſs of parliament being over, the commons adjourned to the 19th. When, the next thing they did, was to order mr. Harley to prepare and bring in "a bill for the frequent meeting "and calling of parliaments;" a bill they had been ſo earneſt upon in the foregoing ſeſſion, and which they ſeemed reſolved to ſtickle for in this. The bill was preſented accordingly, the 22d of November, the 13th of December, it was read the third time, paſſed, and ſent up to the lords, who, on the 18th, gave concurrence to it, without any amendment.

A ſupply voted.

The 21ſt of November, the commons unanimouſly voted a ſupply to their Majeſties; and having afterwards examined the eſtimate for the next year's ſervice for the war; the account of the mony paid to the fleet, to the army, to the allies, and for forage, and the quota's that the confederates were ſeverally to furniſh, they reſolved, the 30th, "that "the ſum of 2,382,712 l. be granted for the main-"tenance of the navy;" and, on the 4th of Decem-ber, "that the ſum of 2,500,000 l. be grant-"ed for the ſupport of the land-forces, for the "ſervice of the year 1695. WILLIAM & MARY. AN' 1694.

To raiſe theſe vaſt ſums, it was reſolved, firſt, "that an aid of 4 s. in the pound be granted to "their Majeſties, to be laid and levied, in the ſame "manner as formerly;" and, ſecondly, "that the "ſubſidies of tonage and poundage be continued, "for the term of five years longer, begining on "the 26th of that month of December." The King ſoon went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal ſanction to the bill, that had been brought in and paſſed, according to this ſecond reſolution. At the ſame time his Majeſty, to the general ſatisfaction of the commons, gave likewiſe, his royal aſſent to the act for triennial parliaments (1).

Death of archbiſhop Tillotſon.

About this time died, at his palace at Lambeth, dr. John Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age. After the deprivation of archbiſhop Sancroft, he ſucceeded him, in that eminent ſtation, in May 1691. As his piety, learning, charity, and moderation, had gained him the eſteem of ſuch as looked upon the toleration of the Diſſenters, to be the beſt means to ſecure, and even to inlarge the church of England, and, on the other hand, as his conſtant care and ſtedfaſt zeal for the national church, of which he was ſo eminent a pillar, indeared him to all true ſons of that community, ſo his death was greatly lamented by all ſincere lovers of unity and peace among Chriſtians. The purity of his morals, which ſhined thro' all his ſermons, were no more than a copy of his life and converſation; and as the latter may juſtly be laid down as a model, for the imitation of all Proteſtant prelates, ſo the purity of his ſtile, in the former, will ever be a ſtanding pattern to all who aim at writing true Engliſh. He was ſucceeded by dr. Tenniſon biſhop of Lincoln.

His character.

Death of Queen Mary.

This truly worthy prelate was not long ſurvived by his royal miſtreſs, Queen Mary, whoſe character ſhone as bright, in every reſpect, among thoſe of her high ſtation, as his among thoſe of his eminent dignity. She was taken ill, at her palace at Kenſington, on Friday the 21ſt of December, and the diſtemper, which appeared to be the Small-pox, grew, in a few days, ſo violent, and was accompanied by ſuch mortal ſymptoms, that in ſpight of the moſt exquiſite care of her phyſicians, her Majeſty departed this life, on Friday, the 28th, about one in the morning, in the thirty-third year of her age, and the ſixth of her reign, leaving the King under an inexpreſſible grief and affliction, and the whole kingdom under the deepeſt and moſt ſenſible ſorrow, for the loſs of a Princeſs poſſeſſed of ſo much piety, clemency, goodneſs, and of every other great and exemplary royal virtue.

Oppoſition made to the validity of the King's title, after the Queen's death.

The death of Queen Mary, tho' it gave occaſion to what we may call a new reign; yet made no alteration but in the royal title, which now, inſtead of that of William and Mary, was changed to William III. There were not, indeed, wanting reſtleſs ſpirits, who, notwithſtanding the order of ſucceſſion, ſettled and eſtabliſhed at the revolution, pretended to inſinuate, that the Princeſs of Denmark ought immediately to ſucceed her ſiſter, who alone had a right to the throne, and as King William acceeded to it, in her right only, that right ceaſed by her death, and of courſe devolved to the next heir. Theſe pretenſes, being

(1) By this bill it was inacted, that a parliament ſhould be held once in three years at leaſt, and that no parliament ſhould continue longer than three years, from the day appointed by the writs for their meeting.

The ſame day this act paſſed the royal aſſent, mr. Dyer, a news-letter-writer, was reprimanded by the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, for preſuming to intermeddle with their proceedings.

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directly oppoſite to an expreſs act of parliament, fell away of courſe: but the ſame party which made this oppoſition to King William's right, being defeated in their expectations, raiſed another objection, which, at firſt view, ſeemed to carry ſomething more of reaſon with it, viz. that the preſent parliament having been convened in the name of William and Mary, was of courſe diſſolved, by the death of this Princeſs. This poſition, had it taken place, might, at this time, have been of infinite prejudice to the King and nation. All public affairs muſt have been ſuſpended, at a time when every interruption would have been pernicious. New elections might have cauſed great diſorders throughout the whole kingdom, and a new parliament might have been of yet worſe conſequence: but it happily appeared, that the ſame act, which veſted King William and Queen Mary with the royal dignity, veſted King William with the ſole and whole adminiſtration of the government, which fully anſwered this objection, and put an end to that deſtructive project.

And to the eſſence of the ſaid parliament.

But in vain.

In the mean time, both houſes of parliament, to ſhew their deteſtation of theſe principles, attended his Majeſty, the laſt day of the year, with their addreſſes of condolance, on this melancholy occaſion.

The lords addreſs of condolance.

"The lords humbly aſſured his Majeſty, with "inexpreſſible grief, of the deep ſenſe they had of "the loſs his Majeſty and the whole kingdom "ſuſtained by the death of that excellent Princeſs, "the Queen: beſeeching his Majeſty, that he "would not indulge his grief, to the prejudice of "the health of his royal perſon; in whoſe preſervation, not only the welfare of his own ſubjects, but of all Chriſtendom, was ſo nearly concerned. They alſo begged leave to renew to his "Majeſty the hearty and ſincere aſſurances of "their utmoſt aſſiſtance, againſt all his enemies, "both at home and abroad, and of all other "demonſtrations of the greateſt duty and affection, "that could poſſibly be paid by the moſt faithful "ſubjects.

The King's anſwer.

To this addreſs his Majeſty anſwer'd: "That "he heartily thank'd them for their kindneſs to "him: but much more for the ſenſe they ſhew'd "of their great loſs, which was above what he "could expreſs.

The commons "condoled, with unſpeakable "grief of heart, the irreparable loſs of that moſt "excellent Princeſs, to enumerate whoſe virtues "(ſaid they) were to aggravate our ſorrow.

Addreſs of the commons.

"We cannot (added they) but bleſs God for the "preſervation of your Majeſty to us, on whoſe "life the welfare and happineſs of this kingdom, "and the liberties of Europe, do, in ſo great a "meaſure, depend; humbly beſeeching your "Majeſty, ſo to moderate your grief, under this "affliction, as not to prejudice or indanger your "health, and that your Majeſty would pleaſe to "take ſuch farther care of your royal perſon, that "we may all injoy the bleſſing of your Majeſty's "long life, and happy reign: we do alſo (ſaid they "in the concluſion) look upon it as a duty we "owe, to your Majeſty, to ourſelves, and to "thoſe we repreſent, to take this occaſion of "aſſuring your Majeſty, that we, your faithful "commons, will always, to the utmoſt of our "power, ſtand by, ſupport and defend your Majeſty, and your government, againſt all your "enemies, both at home and abroad."

To which, the King made anſwer; "that he "took very kindly their care of him, and the public: eſpecially at this time, when he was able "to think of nothing but their great loſs.

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His Majeſty's anſwer.

Theſe addreſſes of condolance were, ſoon after, followed by the like from the city of London, and moſt corporations throughout his Majeſty dominions. But nothing gave greater ſatisfaction to the King, than a letter he received from her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs Ann, of Denmark, in which, "ſhe deſired him to accept of her ſincere and hearty ſorrow, for his great affliction, in the loſs of "the Queen: and did aſſure his Majeſty, that ſhe "was as ſenſibly troubled with his misfortune, as "if ſhe had never been ſo unhappy to fall under "her diſpleaſure. She earneſtly deſired his Majeſty to give her leave to wait upon him, as ſoon "as it could be, with no inconveniency to him, "and without danger of increaſing his affliction, "that ſhe might have an opportunity, in perſon, "not only of repeating this, but aſſuring his Majeſty, of her real intention, to omit no occaſion "of giving him conſtant proofs of her ſincere reſpect and concern for his perſonal intereſt and "ſafety." By this all apprehenſions were removed of the Princeſs's forming a party againſt his Majeſty, and he took theſe offers of friendſhip ſo kindly, that he is ſaid to have immediately made her a preſent of the greater part of the late Queen's jewels (1).

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Princeſs Ann's letter to King William.

Having given a brief account of the univerſal ſorrow occaſioned by the death of this excellent Princeſs, it might be expected, that I ſhould draw a ſketch of her character: but as that has been ſo often done by others already, and it is ſo univerſally known, as well as admired, I ſhall only ſum it up, in theſe few words: "that ſhe was a tender and "reſpectful wife, a kind friend, a gentle miſtreſs, a "gracious Queen, a good Chriſtian, and the beſt "of women; and as ſhe was the glory and delight "of this happy iſland, ſo her memory will ever "be bleſſed, and live among us."

Character of the Queen.

The royal corps having lain in ſtate, at Whitehall, till the 5th of March, was that day inter'd, with great magnificence. Not only her Majeſty's houſhold ſervants, but all the judges, ſerjeants at law, lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and, what raiſed that mournful pomp to the higheſt pitch of ſplendor, both houſes of parliament, attended the remains of that incomparable Princeſs, from Whitehall to Weſtminſter-abby, the ducheſs of Somerſet being chief mourner. The archbiſhop of Canterbury having preach'd a funeral oration, in honor of her late Majeſty's bleſſed and pious memory, the royal corps was afterward depoſited in a vault in King Henry the VIIth's chapel.

Her funeral.

But to return to the proceedings in parliament. The bill I mentioned above, "for the frequent "meeting of parliaments," having happily received the royal aſſent, before the death, and even before the ſickneſs of the Queen, was a favorable incident for King William: for had he not given his aſſent to that bill, till after the Queen's death, people would have been apt to judge, that the neceſſity of his affairs had obliged him to it. But now, the commons, being ſatisfied in that point, went unanimouſly about the ſupply, and other affairs of importance.

Proceedings in parliament.

The 12th of January, it was ordered; that a "ſtate of the revenue, with the loans, debts, and "charges thereupon, and likewiſe an account of "the eſtabliſhment, charge and expenſe of the

Ways and means.

(1) It is ſaid that the new archbiſhop of Canterbury, dr. Tenniſon, laying hold of this favorable opportunity to reconcile the Royal family, repreſented to his Majeſty, both her Royal Highneſs's, and her Royal Conſort Prince George of Denmark's prudent and loyal conduct, during their receſs from court; urging, that by their intereſt, they might have given his Majeſty conſiderable diſturbance; but they were ſo far from any ſuch deſign, that thoſe members of either houſe of parliament, who had places under their Highneſſes, had always appeared foremoſt, in promoting his Majeſty's intereſt. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 3. p. 2.

civil

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" civil liſt, ſhould be laid before the houſe, by " the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and thoſe for " taking and ſtating the public accounts." The ſaid ſtate and account having been communicated accordingly, and examined in the houſe, " the bill " for granting to his Majeſty an aid of four ſhil- " lings in the pound" was brought into form, and another bill tacked to it ; " for applying the yearly " ſum of 30,000 l. for five years, out of the duties " ariſing by an act of this preſent ſeſſion of parlia- " ment, for granting to his Majeſty a ſubſidy of " tonage and poundage, &c." Theſe two bills, thus made into one, were read the third time, paſſed, and ſent up to the lords, on the 7th of February, and ſent back by their lordſhips, without any amendments, on the 11th. The King went, the ſame day, to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal ſanction to that, and two other acts, viz. " one for exempting of apothecaries ſerving " upon juries, and other pariſh and ward-offices ; " and another for rebuilding the town of Warwick, " and for determining differences touching houſes " burnt or demoliſhed, by reaſon of the late dread- " ful fire there.

Lancaſhire plot examin'd into.

The 6th of February, the houſe of commons, after ſeveral hearings, ſtrict examinations and long debates, which had continued, at the ſeveral appointed times, for the ſpace of eleven weeks, proceeded farther in reading ſeveral informations and papers, delivered in to the houſe, by mr. Aaron Smith, touching certain proceedings and trials in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire (1). After reading of theſe and ſeveral other, as well written as printed papers, the houſe came to the following reſolutions, viz. that it did appear to the houſe; firſt, " that there " was ſufficient grounds for the proſecution and " trials of the gentlemen at Mancheſter, " and " ſecondly, that there was a dangerous plot carried " on againſt the government."

The ſame complaints were afterwards laid before the houſe of peers, where, after examining ſome witneſſes, and many debates, the queſtion being put; " whether the government had ſufficient cauſe " to proſecute the Lancaſhire and Cheſhire gentle- " men ?" it was carried in the affirmative.

Proceedings againſt briberies.

Tho' this buſineſs occaſioned a great noiſe, yet that was nothing to what inſued upon the ſtrict inquiry made by the houſe of commons into bribery, and the timely check they gave to that ſcandalous and moſt dangerous corruption, which had tainted not only the agents of the army, and ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, but alſo the ſpeaker of that auguſt aſſembly, and was even crept into his Majeſty's privy-council : which inquiries, tho' they afterwards went a great length, were begun on a very trivial occaſion.

The 12th of January, the inhabitants of Royſton in Hertfordſhire, came by petition before the houſe of commons, ſeting forth, " that the officers and " ſoldiers exacted ſubſiſtence-mony of them, in " their quarters." The petitioners, and likewiſe mr. Tracy Pauncefort, agent of colonel Haſtings's regiment, and the officers complained of, being examined, it was unanimouſly reſolved, the twenty-third of that month, " that the officers and ſoldiers " of the army demanding and exacting ſubſiſtence- " mony, in their quarters, or upon their march, " is arbitrary and illegal, and a great violation of " the rights and liberties of the ſubject," and thereupon ordered, " that the commiſſioners for taking " and ſtating the public accounts do lay before the " houſe their obſervations of the abuſes and ill " practiſes commited by the agents of the regiments " of the army, and that the ſaid agent Pauncefort " ſhould forthwith lay before the houſe a particu- " lar account of all the monies received by him, " from the earl of Ranelaugh, and the times of " ſuch receipts, ſince the 28th of May laſt ; and " how he had paid the ſame, and when, and to " whom, and what remained in his hands.

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The 25th, Mr. Harley, from the commiſſioners for taking and ſtating the public accounts, preſented to the houſe, purſuant to the above orders, their obſervations of the ill practiſes commited by the agents ; which being taken into conſideration, and mr. Tracy Pauncefort, upon bringing in his account, the 29th, being, together with colonel Haſtings, major Montcal, and ſome other officers and agents examined, it was reſolved, by the houſe, " that agent Tracy Pauncefort, for neglecting to " pay the ſubſiſtence-mony, to the officers and ſol- " diers that quartered at Royſton, having monies " in his hands to do the ſame, be taken into the " cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms attending the " houſe." The 12th of February, mr. Tracy Pauncefort was again examined, but refuſing to anſwer to ſeveral queſtions, tho' required to do it, under the penalty of being proceeded againſt with the utmoſt rigor and ſeverity, it was unanimouſly reſolved : " that by his obſtinate refuſal, to an- " ſwer to a matter of fact demanded of him by the " houſe, he had violated the privileges, and con- " temned the authority of the houſe, and the fun- " damental conſtitution thereof. For which of- " fenſe he was immediately commited priſoner to the Tower. The 15th, he petitioned the commons for his diſcharge, but being thereupon again examined, and not given then ſuch anſwers as were ſatisfactory, he was remanded thither.

The next who was brought upon the ſtage, was mr. Edward Pauncefort, brother of mr. Tracy Pauncefort, who, being ſummon'd, was, on the 16th of February, examined by the houſe ; after which, it was reſolved ; " That he, for contriving " to cheat colonel Haſtings's regiment of five hun- " dred guineas, and for giving a bribe to obtain the " King's bounty, be taken into the cuſtody of the " ſerjeant at arms attending the houſe." He was immediately follow'd by mr. Henry Guy, a member of the houſe, in whoſe caſe, upon conſideration of the foremention'd obſervations, it was the ſame day reſolved, " That he, for taking a bribe of " two hundred guineas, be commited priſoner to " the Tower." Upon this, the houſe, on the 26th, in order to redreſs the notorious abuſes, ill practiſes, and intolerable exactions of the colonels and their agents, upon the inferior officers and common ſoldiers, agreed upon an humble repreſentation to the King, in which they laid before his Majeſty :

Repreſentation of the commons to the King.

1 " That ſome of the agents had detained the " mony due to the ſoldiers, in their hands, and " made uſe of it for their own advantage ; inſtead of " immediately applying it to the ſubſiſtence of the " officers and ſoldiers, for whom they were in- " truſted,

2. " That by their intolerable exactions, and great " extortions, upon the officers and ſoldiers, for " paying mony, by way of advance, and by their " charging more for the diſcount of tallies, than

(1) It will be neceſſary to obſerve, in order to give the reader an idea of this affair : that towards the begining of this ſeſſion, ſeveral gentlemen of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, who had been tried at Mancheſter, for the Lancaſhire-plot, and acquited, inſtead of acknowledging their good fortune, and the lenity of the government, indeavored to repreſent thoſe proſecutions, as a ſtate-trick, and the contrivance of ſome courtiers to inrich themſelves by the ruin of others : They, therefore, ſubmited the whole matter to the examination of the houſe of commons ; and this was the occaſion of the debates I have mentioned, and the reſolutions which inſued.

they

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" they actually paid, it appear'd; that thoſe who " ſerved in his Majeſty's armies, notwithſtanding " they had greater pay, than is given in any " other part of the world, were yet reduced to " inconveniencies and extremities, which ought not " to be put upon thoſe, who venture their lives for " the honor and ſafety of the nation.

3. " That, in particular, colonel Haſtings had " compell'd ſome officers of his regiment, to take " their cloaths from him, at extravagant rates, by " confining and threatning thoſe, who would not " comply therewith; by which the authority, that " might be neceſſary to be lodg'd in the colonel, " over the inferior officers, in ſome caſes, was miſ- " applied, and extended ſo as to promote a private " advantage of his own, without any regard to " his Majeſty's ſervice, or to the diſcipline of the " army.

4. " That colonel Haſtings's agent had preſumed " fraudulently to detain five hundred guineas out of " a bounty given by his Majeſty, to the officers " of that regiment, under pretenſe of giving them " as a bribe to obtain the ſame, to the diſhonor of " his Majeſty, and injury of the officers: and had " taken two pence per pound out of the mony due " to the officers and ſoldiers; for which deduction, " there being no warrant, the colonel, whoſe ſer- " vant the agent is, was anſwerable.

5. " That colonel Haſtings's agent had refus'd or " neglected to give an account of the pay due to " the captains of his regiment, and their compa- " nies, which tended, apparently, to the defraud- " ing the officers and ſoldiers.

6. " That ſome of the agents aſſumed to them- " ſelves, the liberty of making great deductions, " which ſince they knew not how to juſtify, they " indeavor'd to cover, by puting them under the " ſhelter of the uncertain head of contingencies, " which gave them the better opportunity of hid- " ing the frauds and abuſes, that would otherwiſe " be more liable to be detected.

7. " That colonel Haſtings had diſcharg'd an " enſign, by puting another into his room, con- " trary to the true diſcipline of an army; from " which the colonels have no right to exempt them- " ſelves, to inlarge their own authority, to the " prejudice of his Majeſty's ſervice, and of the " officers that ſerve under them."

8. " That colonel Haſtings had taken mony " for the recommending to commands in his regi- " ment, to the great diſcouragement of the officers " who were to ſerve in his Majeſty's armies, who " ought to be ſuch as deſerved their commands, " and not ſuch as paid for them: which things " they moſt humbly repreſented to his Majeſty, " in confidence of having them redreſs'd, by his " Majeſty's juſtice and wiſdom.

His Majeſty's anſwer.

This repreſentation being preſented to the King, the 4th of March, by the whole houſe, his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer; " that he would conſider it, " and take all care poſſible to have the grievances " redreſs'd."

In order thereto, colonel Haſtings, againſt whom the facts were notoriouſly proved, was immediately caſhier'd, and his regiment given to ſir John Jacob, his lieutenant-colonel. But I do not find, that any other offenders were puniſhed on this account: however, to prevent the like irregularities for the future, on the 13th of March, his Majeſty's declaration was publiſhed, for the ſtrict diſcipline of the army, in which, particularly, " all " officers and ſoldiers, were ſtrictly forbid, to exact " or demand ſubſiſtence-mony in their quarters, or " on their march" (1).

Proclamation for ſtrict diſcipline.

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The commons did, indeed, proceed to call before them ſeveral of the contracters for cloathing of the army, in order to come at a farther knowledge of the male-practiſes of the colonels and their agents. Mr. James Craggs, in particular, was ſummoned to attend the houſe of commons, but upon refuſing to produce his books, or to be examined upon oath, and thereby obſtructing the inquiry of the houſe, into the diſpoſal of the public mony, it was reſolved, on the 7th of March, " that he be " commited priſoner to the Tower of London." The 26th, mr. Harley reported the farther examination of mr. Edward Pauncefort, and that mr. Richard Harnage, another of the contracters for cloathing the army, had refuſed to be examined upon oath, upon which it was ordered, " that " a bill be brought in, to oblige mr. Edward " Pauncefort, to diſcover how he diſpos'd the " monies paid into his hands, relating to the army, " and for puniſhing him in caſe he ſhould not make " ſuch diſcovery, and that mr. Tracy Pauncefort, " mr. James Craggs, and mr. Richard Harnage, " be included in the ſaid bill." The 1ſt of April, mr. Harnage was alſo order'd to be taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms attending the houſe.

Contracters for cloathing commited.

Theſe inquiries came, however, to little or nothing; whether it was, that ſo many great perſons were concern'd in theſe frauds, as had influence to prevent any farther proceedings, or whether the offenders, who were very numerous (2), found means to bribe ſome leading men, or whether the diſcovery of more notorious corruptions (of which I ſhall quickly give an account) took off the attention of thoſe who were to proſecute the officers and agents, to purſue more noble game, I ſhall not determine: but certain it is, they were never puniſh'd according to their deſerts: and it is as certain, that ſuch like frauds, and other ill-managements of the revenue, contributed greatly to that heavy debt, which the nation yet ſtrugles under, and that two thirds of the vaſt ſupplies, which were yearly given, honeſtly and prudently manag'd, would have gone as far, as thoſe enormous ſums.

Theſe inquiries not duly purſued.

The commiſſioners for licenſing hackney-coaches, were, likewiſe, about this time, accuſed of bribery, and three of them, viz. Henry Killegrew, Henry Villers, and Richard Gee, eſqs; upon an addreſs of the houſe of commons to his Majeſty, for that purpoſe, remov'd from the commiſſion.

Commiſſioners for Hackney-coaches removed.

But I proceed to diſplay a ſcene of iniquity among perſons of a higher rank. The Eaſt-india-company had been ſeveral times ſtruck at. Great complaints were made of their patent, as an illegal monopoly. Another company was propos'd to be erected by parliament, or, at leaſt, the trade laid open to all his Majeſty's ſubjects; but they had always found means, when they were hardeſt purſued, to ſoften thoſe gentlemen, who appear'd moſt zealous againſt their patent. It was particularly obſerv'd, that thoſe, who, in former ſeſſions, had been their greateſt enemies, were, in this ſeſſion, become their advocates. The ſuſpicions, that great ſums had been diſtributed among ſome leading members, in behalf of the company, were at length, ſo great, that the houſe of commons, thought fit, on the

Briberies in the caſe of the Eaſt-india-company inquir'd into.

(1) The King had before, on the 19th of February, in council, ordered the chief officers of the army, to meet twice a week, at the great chamber in the horſe guards, at Whitehall, to receive and examine all informations and complaints, that ſhould be brought before them, of any wrong or injury done, by any officer or ſoldier of his Majeſty's land-forces, in order to redreſs the ſame.

(2) It has been ſaid, that there was ſcarce a colonel or general-officer in the army, but had ſome profit out of theſe frauds. Salmon's modern hiſtory, vol. 24. p. 165.

7th

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A committee appointed for that purpose.

7th of March, to appoint Paul Foley, esq; sir Richard Onslow, John Pollexsen, esq; sir John Thomson, Foot Onslow, esq; Thomas Pelham, esq; Sir Samuel Bernadiston, Thomas Wharton, esq; and Francis Gwin, esq; to be a committee to inspect the books of the East-India-company, and impower'd them to send for persons and papers.

Report of the committee.

The 12th of March, mr. Foley, from that committee, reported; that as soon as they came to the East-India-house, they called for an account of all monies paid for the special service of the company; upon perusal of which observing, that the greatest payment was in the year 1693, they searched for the orders for issuing that mony, the chief of which were, one dated the 13th of April 1693, another dated the 24th of November 1693, and another the 22d of January 1693-4, in pursuance of which, the sums of 22,275, l. 24,983 l. and 30,000 l. were severally paid out of the cash, amounting in all to 77,258 l. beside several smaller sums, amounting in the whole to 10,144 l. which, with the former sum, makes 87,402 l. all issued in the year 1693, while sir Thomas Cooke was governor, and Francis Tyssen, esq; deputy-governor, for the special service of the house, and obtaining a new charter. That they found by examination of most of the persons present at the committee of the East-India-company, where the said orders were made: the governor, in the said committees, did only, in general, inform what sums he had disbursed without naming the particulars, to whom, or to what service, which several of them said was a new course, since sir Thomas Cooke came to be deputy-governor or governor. That in a state of the company's cash, dated at the East-India-house, the 7th of March 1694-5, and drawn up by several members of the company impowered for that purpose, near all the aforesaid sums were observed to be paid, and placed to the company's account of charges general, paid out of cash, viz. in 1688, and 1689, sir Benjamin Bathurst governor, and sir Josiah Child, deputy-governor, 2230 l. 14 s; in 1690 and 1691, sir Joseph Herne governor, and sir Thomas Cooke deputy-governor, 13,532 l. 9 s; in 1692 and 1693, sir Thomas Cooke, governor, and mr. Tyssen, deputy governor, 87,402 l. 12 s; in the whole 103,165 l. 15 s. That upon examination of the company's cash-book, having found the ballance, the 31st of October 1694, was 124,249 l. they demanded of mr. Portman, the cashier, if he had the same in cash? that he replied he had not, but instead thereof, laid before them in writing, that 90,000 l. were lent upon sir Thomas Cooke's notes, which he produced, with other particulars, that made up the above-mentioned balance. That, in his note, sir Thomas Cooke owned the receit of 90,000 l. which he had disbursed and paid for 99,197 l. stock in the East-India-company, for their account: tho' they did not find any warrant for the said sum, or any of that stock transferred in the company's books, for their account, exceeding 18,300 l. the 16th of January 1694-5. They reported farther, that they found a contract dated the 26th of February, 1693, for 200 ton of salt-petre, to be brought home in the ship Seymour, from India, to pay 12,000 l. for the same, and 25 l. freight, per ton, beside all charges here. That 2000 l. which was the sum sent out to purchase the said salt-petre, was actually paid out of the company's cash, and that a bond for the remaining 10,000 l. was given under the seal of the company, payable the 31st of March 1695, whether the ship arrived in safety or not, with this limitation only, that if 200 ton of salt-petre be not laden on the said ship, than to repay in proportion to the want thereof: so that the result of this contract was, that the company run the adventure of 12,000 l. for that which cost only 2000 l. and must consequently lose 12,000 l. if the ship miscarried. And, on the contrary, the seller got 10,000 l. clear, without disbursing, or running the hazard of one penny, and what is yet more, a certain loss of 9, or 10,000 l. would attend it, if the ship arriv'd in safety. That the committee having examin'd the members of the company concerning this contract, they own'd it to be true, that the 2000 l. was paid, and the 10,000 l. bond given to mr. Thomas Colston. That about the same time this contract was made, so many of the Interlopers as would sell their shares in the Interlopers to the East-India-company, were allow'd their first cost, and 25 per cent. advance; which was done by giving them credit for so much in the East-India-company's books. That the committee found sir Samuel Dashwood, sir John Fleet, John Perry, esq; sir Joseph Herne, and sir Thomas Cooke were present at the court of committees, when the orders above-mentioned were made; but they being all members of the house of commons, the committee did not think fit to examine them. That the rest of the committees, who were present at making those orders, and most of whom had been examined, could give no account of the disposal of the mony issued out during the time of sir Joseph Herne and sir Thomas Cooke's government; but only that the same was paid for special service, and that a great part thereof was put into the hands of sir Basil Firebrass. That one of them, viz. sir Benjamin Bathurst, said, sir Joseph Herne had the greatest part of the 13,932 l. 9 s. to dispose of, and sir Benjamin Bathurst would have call'd for an account thereof, but sir Thomas Cooke desir'd he would not. That the company's committee of nine had often call'd upon sir Thomas Cooke, to give an account to whom he had distributed the mony he received, which he had sometime promis'd, and afterwards declined it: so that the secret of that service, and the placing of that mony, lay principally with sir Thomas Cooke and sir Joseph Herne. That sir Benjamin Bathurst, finding so great a sum as 30,000 l. charged for secret services, he had some warm discourse with sir Thomas Cooke about it, to know how it was disburs'd: but Sir Thomas refus'd to give him any particulars, and told him, he should remember he was bound by his oath to the company, to keep their secrets. To which, sir Benjamin replied; he was under the same obligation, to be true to the interest of the company. Sir Benjamin Bathurst farther said, that about April 1694, understanding that they were in want of mony, he look'd into the cash-book, which casting up, he found a considerable sum in cash, and taking some persons with him, discoursed sir Thomas Cooke about it, who said the 90,000 l. he had received, was to gratify some persons, in case the bill should pass. As for the contract about salt-petre, sir Benjamin Bathurst said, it was made by sir Thomas Cooke and sir Basil Firebrass, but he knew nothing of it, 'till it came into court. The committee farther reported, that sir Basil Firebrass, being examined, owned he had received upwards of 16,000 l. which was for buying shares of stocks, and of which the company had allow'd: but said, he knew no ground the committee of nine had to say, that a great part of the other sums were put into his hands. He confessed he invited several persons to come into the company, and offered to lay down mony for several, and that if they liked it not, at the year's end, he would then take it off their hands, which offer he made to some members of parliament, among others, and gave an account to the company of his doing so, who promised to indemnify him. That concerning the accommodation with the Interlopers, the company had a letter from the lord Nottingham, that

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that it was the King's pleaſure, that they ſhould come to an agreement, with the Interlopers. That the propoſal to them was 25 per cent. for bringing in their ſtock to the company, and one half of the profit beſide, which one half of the Interlopers accepted; but mr. Godfrey, and ſome others, ſtanding upon 30 per cent, mr. Colſton went off with them, and did not come into the company. That mr. Ward ſaid, it was agreed by the Interlopers, that only 2000 l. ſhould be imploy'd in buying ſalt-petre; that mr. Colſton was to have the advantage of it, which he believed was not for mr. Colſton himſelf, but for ſome other gentlemen; and laſtly, that the original inducement, to the leave of the Interlopers going out, was that agreement with mr. Colſton.

Bribery in the caſe of the orphans bill examin'd into.

This committee being, likewiſe, appointed, to inſpect the books of the chamberlain of the city of London, to ſee what ſums had been diſtributed among the members of the houſe of commons, for facilitating the paſſing of the orphans bill; they reported, that they found an order made by the committee of the common-council of the city, dated the 12th of February 1693-4. directing the chamberlain to pay ſir John Trevor, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, 1000 guineas, ſo ſoon as a bill was paſs'd into an act of parliament, for ſatisfying the debts of the orphans, and other creditors of the ſaid city; which ſum was paid and deliver'd to ſir John Trevor, on the 22d of June 1694, in the preſenſe of ſir Robert Clayton and ſir James Houblon. That they found another order, dated the 26th of April 1694, for paying Paul Jodrel, eſq; clerk of the houſe, 100 guineas, for his pains and ſervice, in aſſiſting the orphans bill to paſs the parliament: that ſeveral other ſums were entered in the chamberlain's book, paid to mr. Barret, the city-ſolicitor, to defray the charge of drawing the bill, and making copies thereof, and of the petitions and orders relating to the ſame; among which payments were five guineas paid to mr. ſolicitor-general for his advice, five guineas to mr. Harcourt, twenty-three guineas, to mr. Hungerford, chairman of the committee, for his pains and ſervice, and ſixty pounds to mr. Jodrell; and they underſtood that the orphans had given bond to mr. Smith and to mr. Charles Nois, to allow them twelve pence in the pound, when the bill paſs'd: that the ſaid Nois and Smith produced to the committee of the common council, a bill of their charges, amounting to 3457 l. 16 s. and alledged that they were then 10000 l. out of purſe. Upon which report, the commons reſolved, "that their ſpeaker, ſir John Trevor, receiving a "gratuity of 1000 guineas, after paſſing the or-"phans bill, was guilty of a high crime and miſ-"demeanor;" and he was obliged, after having been forced to hear all that could be ſaid to his diſadvantage, to put the ungrateful queſtion himſelf. He did not, however, think fit to offer any thing in his defenſe, but ſending the mace, the next day, to the houſe, abſented himſelf, upon which, on the 14th, Paul Foley, eſq; was choſen ſpeaker in his room (1). The 16th, the commons reſolved, "that ſir John Trevor, being declar'd guilty of a "high crime and miſdemeanor, be expelled the "houſe." The 18th, they paſſed a vote; "that "whoever ſhould diſcover any mony, or other gra-"tuity, given to any member of the houſe, for "matters tranſacted in the houſe, relating to the "orphans bill, or the Eaſt-India-company, ſhould "have the indemnity of the houſe for ſuch gift." And ordered, that mr. Charles Nois, and ſeveral others, ſhould attend the houſe, the next day. Mr. Nois attended, accordingly, and being examined, it was reſolved, "that he having pretended, to "ſeveral perſons, that he was out of purſe, or in-"gaged to give great ſums of mony to ſeveral mem-"bers of the houſe, in order to paſs the orphans "bill, which, on his examination he denied to "have given or promiſed, had been an occaſion of "ſcandal to the houſe, and the members thereof:" and it was thereupon order'd, that the ſaid Nois be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, attending the houſe. Mr. Bird, an attorney, was alſo brought upon his knees, at the bar of the houſe of commons, and reprimanded, for having offer'd bribes to ſeveral members. The 26th, the commons reſolved, "that mr. Hungerford, one of "their members, having received twenty guineas for "his pains and ſervice, as chairman of the com-"mittee of the houſe, to whom the orphans bill "was committed, was guilty of a high crime and "miſdeameanor, and that he be expell'd the houſe.

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Enquiries concerning the affairs of the Eaſt-India company continued.

The ſame day, they ordered, "that ſir Thomas "Cooke, a member of that houſe, having refuſed "to give an account how the 87,402 l. mentioned "in the report of the committee, was diſtributed, "be commited priſoner to the Tower of London; "and that a bill be brought on to oblige him to "ſuch account." This bill was preſented and read the firſt time, the 28th; and, on the 6th of April, ſir Thomas having, according to his petition for that purpoſe, been previouſly heard by his counſel, againſt the bill, it was read the third time, paſſed, and ſent up to the houſe of peers, for their concurrence.

The firſt time this bill was read, in the houſe of lords, the duke of Leeds, (2) preſident of his Majeſty's privy-council, made a vehement ſpeech againſt it; making previouſly a ſolemn proteſtation of his own innocency and diſintereſtedneſs, which did but raiſe ſuſpicions, that otherwiſe might not have been thought of. The lords proceeded however, in the bill, and having, on the 13th of April, deſired and obtained an order from the commons, that ſir Thomas Cooke, a member of their houſe, but then a priſoner in the Tower, might attend that houſe, in order to be examined, ſir Thomas declared, at their bar, "that he was "ready and willing to make a full diſcovery, and "ſaid he would have done it before the houſe of "commons, if he could have obtained a vote to "indemnify him." He being, thereupon, aſked what he deſired to be indemnified from, he anſwered from Scandalum magnatum, and all actions and ſuits, except from the Eaſt-India-company, whom, if he had injured, he would willingly ſuffer for it, whatever the ſtricteſt rigor of the law could inflict upon him. Sir Thomas being withdrawn, the duke of Leeds ſtood up again, and declared: "he "was very glad that gentleman was come to ſuch "a temper, as to be willing to diſcover, whereby "that bill was prevented, which he eſteemed of "ſo pernicious a nature." His grace then minded their lordſhips, "how the commons had taken "care of the reputation of their own houſe, "in aſking ſir Thomas Cooke, whether he had "diſtributed any mony, among any of their mem-"bers? who purged them by a ſolemn proteſta-"tion, that he had not. His grace, therefore, "thought it ſeaſonable, that the lords ſhould have "ſome regard to themſelves, and moved, that "ſir Thomas Cooke might be called in, and "aſked, whether he were willing, upon oath, to "purge all that ſate there"? This motion being "rejected, the lords reſolved, "that the bill

(1) Sir Thomas Littleton was propoſed as a canditate againſt him, and the majority ſeem'd to favor him: but mr. comptroller Wharton having ſpoken in his behalf, it was immediately preſum'd that he was a ſtaunch courtier, and, thereupon, the majority fell on the other ſide.

(2) He was marquis of Caermarthen, and had been made a duke, with that title, the 30th of April 1694.

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" ſent up by the commons, againſt ſir Thomas " Cooke, ſhould not be proceeded upon; but a " committee be appointed, to draw up a bill " for his indemniſation, according to his re- " queſt."

Acts paſs'd.

This bill paſſed both houſes by the 19th of April, and received the royal aſſent the 22d of the ſame month. His Majeſty, at the ſame time, gave the royal ſanction to ſeveral other acts, viz. 1. " To an act for inabling ſuch perſons as had " eſtates for life in annuities, payable by ſeveral " acts therein mentioned, to purchaſe and obtain " farther or more certain intereſts in ſuch annui- " ties; and in default thereof, for admiting other " perſons to purchaſe or obtain the ſame, for raiſing " mony to carry on the war (1). 2. To an act for " granting to his Majeſty certain rates and duties " upon marriages, births and burials, and upon " bachelors and widowers for five years. 3. An " act for granting to his Majeſty ſeveral additional " duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate and ſpi- " ces, towards ſatisfaction of the debts due for " tranſport ſervice, for the reduction of Ireland. " 4. An act for the more effectual ſuppreſſing pro- " phane curſing and ſwearing. 5. An act to con- " tinue two former acts for puniſhing officers and " ſoldiers, &c. 6. An act for explaining and " regulating ſeveral doubts, duties and penalties, " in the late act for granting ſeveral duties upon " vellom, parchment and paper; and for aſcertain- " ing the admeaſurement of the tonage of ſhips. " 7. An act for raiſing the militia of the king- " dom, for the year 1695, and for repealing the ſta- " tute of the ſecond and third years of K. Edw. VI, " intitled, an act for ſhooting in hail-ſhot. " 8. An act for continuing ſeveral laws therein " mentioned. 9. An act for the better admeaſure- " ment of keels and keel-boats, in the port of " New-caſtle, and the members thereunto belong- " ing: 10. An act for making ſalt-water freſh"; and to ſeveral private acts.

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

His Majeſty then laid hold of this occaſion to tell both houſes, " that the ſeaſon of the year was ſo far " advanced, and the circumſtances of affairs were " ſo preſſing, that he very earneſtly recommended " to them the ſpeedy diſpatch of ſuch buſineſs as " they thought of moſt importance for the public " good, becauſe he muſt put an end to this ſeſſion, " in a few days."

Two addreſſes from the commons.

The next day, two addreſſes were preſented by the houſe of commons, to his Majeſty; the firſt, " that he would be pleaſed to give directions to the " colonels and officers of the army imployed in " the reduction of Ireland, to ſatisfy their inferior " officers and ſoldiers, as far as they had received " mony from his Majeſty:" the ſecond, " to deſire " his Majeſty would take care for the future, that " this kingdom be put upon an equal foot and pro- " portion, with the allies, in bearing the charges " of the preſent war."

The King's anſwer.

To the firſt of thoſe addreſſes his Majeſty anſwered: " that he had already given orders as well " in Flanders as in England, to do what they " deſired."

To the ſecond, he anſwered only in general terms; " that in this, as well as every thing elſe, " he ſhould always indeavor to have a due regard " to the intereſt and honor of the nation."

The act to indemniſy ſir Thomas Cooke, being paſſed, the lords let the houſe of commons know, that they had reſolved to nominate twelve of their houſe, to be of the committee of lords and commons appointed by the ſaid act; upon which the commons reſolved, that twenty-four of their houſe ſhould be of that committee, and ordered that ſir Thomas Cooke ſhould attend the ſaid committee the next day.

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Continuation of the Eaſt-India company's affairs.

The 23d of April, ſir Thomas Cooke appeared accordingly before the committee, and being ſworn, he delivered to them, in writing, his diſcovery of the diſpoſal and application of 67,000 l. and 90,000 l. In his account of the former, he mentioned 10,000 l. to be delivered to Francis Tyſſen, eſq; 12,000 l. to mr. Richard Acton; 338 l. to mr. Nathaniel Molyneux; 220 l. to ſir John Chardin; 350 l. to Paul Dominicque, eſq; 382 l. to captain John Germain; 1000 guineas to colonel Fitz-Patric; 545 l. to Charles Bates, eſq; and 40,000 l. to ſir Baſil Firebraſs, all which, were ſaid to be paid for ſpecial ſervice of the Eaſt-India-company, to defray the charges, and acknowledge the pains and ſervices of the afore-mentioned perſons, and their friends, on ſolliciting to prevent a new ſettlement of the Eaſt-India-company; or to indeavor the eſtabliſhment of the old, or in conſideration of loſſes they had by the Eaſt-India-ſtock. Beſide 500 guineas paid to the attorney-general, 200 to the ſolicitor-general, and 200 more to mr. Sambrock, for their trouble and charges in paſſing the charters, and other affairs relating to the company. As for the ſum of 90,000 l. mentioned in the bill, it was ſaid to be laid out in buying Eaſt-India-ſtock of ſeveral perſons, for account of the Eaſt-India-company.

The committee, conceiving this account to be imperfect, let ſir Thomas Cooke know, that a more particular account of theſe matters was required of him; upon which he ſaid farther; that as to the firſt ſum of 10,000 l. paid to mr. Tyſſen, in tallies in 1692, no directions were given him how he was to diſpoſe of it; but it was in expectation of having the charter of the Eaſt-India company confirmed: that it was intended for the ſervice of the King; tho' he could not ſay the King had it, he believed mr. Tyſſen told him, that he delivered it to ſir Joſiah Child, who preſented it to his Majeſty, as a cuſtomary preſent, for the like had been done in former reigns, as appeared by their books. That as to the 12,000 l. it was paid to mr. Richard Acton, who declared he had ſeveral friends capable of doing great ſervice to the company's affairs, and ſeveral of them would ſpeak to parliament-men. That he could not name them, but the end aimed at was to get an act of parliament; that this mony went no farther than the houſe of commons; and that he found no fruit of that diſtribution. That as to the 338 l. paid to mr. Molineux, he pretended this mony was to be diſpoſed of to the lord Rivers; but ſince his confinement, he owned that lord never had it, and that he kept it for his own uſe. That as to the 1000 guineas to the late mr. Fitz-patric, he pretended he had great intereſt with the lord Nottingham, and doubted not but he could do great ſervices, provided he had ſuch a ſum: but he believed Fitz-patric kept the mony himſelf. That the 545 l. was to be paid to Bates, when the charter was ſettled, and was paid accordingly in October 1693. That ſir Baſil Firebraſs had told him, Bates had acquaintance with ſeveral lords, and named the duke of Leeds, then marquis of Caermarthen. That as to the 40,000 l. paid to ſir Baſil Firebraſs, the firſt 10,000 l. which was paid him about November 1693, he believed he kept himſelf, to recompenſe his loſſes in the interloping trade, and for the other 30,000 l. he ſuppoſed he diſtributed it to

(1) By this act, any perſon, on payment of 63 l. over and above the 100 l. formerly paid, might have a reverſion in a 14 l. per ann. annuity, for ninety-ſix years, reckoning from the preſent year; his intereſt to commence, after the eſtates for lives were expired.

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several persons. That as to the sums paid to sir John Chardin and mr. Dominicque, he believed they were expended in the company's service, and as to the 382 l. to captain Germain, it was paid him to bring him off from the Interpolers, and to ingage him in the company's interest.

Farther examinations.

This examination being reported to the house of commons, by mr. Comptroler, on the 24th of April, some debates arose, thereupon, and one of the members acquainted the house, "that the earl "of Rivers protested, he never received a penny, "and that, according to his lordship's motion, the "lords had sent for mr. Molyneux, to be examined." Another member observed, "that as to "all the little sums, sir Thomas Cooke knew very "well to whom they were delivered, but he could "never learn to whom sir Basil Firebras distributed "the monies he received; for sir Basil would not "give an account of that matter, tho' often "asked by him to do it; but that, on the other "hand, Acton would have told sir Thomas, and he "would not hear him." A third member said, "sir Thomas Cooke's account contained nothing but "generals; not one date, not one time, &c. That as to the 10,000 l. to mr. Acton, "he offered to "tell him the particulars, and he was unwilling to "hear him, but did not doubt Acton would give "a particular and satisfactory account of all dis-"tributed by him;" and yet, in the same moment being asked where, and in what condition this Acton was, he declared; "that he was a dis-"tracted man, not able to give the house any ac-"count at all;" a fourth member said, "no man "is innocent, if every man be guilty; we can-"not be innocent, if we do not lay our hands "on these men, that have betrayed us, and the "company, and I hope themselves; let us go as "far as we can, and then we shall not be in fault:" he therefore, moved, "that Firebras and Acton "be ordered to attend the house the next day." This motion was seconded by another member, who moreover, moved, "that they forget not a "member of their own, who was accused for receiv-"ing a considerable sum."

It was agreed, between the two houses, the same day, that all future examinations of the persons mentioned in the report, relating to sir Thomas Cooke, should be before a committee of both houses. Accordingly, the 25th, sir Basil Firebras was examined before that committee, where he deposed; "that the 40,000 l. paid him by sir Thomas "Cooke, was for himself, and for no other person: "the first 10,000 l. as a gratuity for his losses, some "time before the charter for the East-India-com-"pany passed; 10,000 l. by virtue of a contract "with sir Thomas Cooke, for favors and services "done, and the rest for the difference of the value "of stock upon its falling 50 per cent." However he confessed, the next day; "that he gave two "notes for 5500 guineas, to mr. Atwell, payable "to mr. Bates, or bearer, he believing the said "mr. Bates might be serviceable, in geting the "charter passed, as he was acquainted with several "persons of honor and quality: that one of these "notes was for 3000 and the other for 2500 gui-"neas. That the latter was paid after the charter "for restoring the East-India-company passed, and "the other, after the charter for regulation passed. "That Bates did several times introduce him to "the lord president, now duke of Leeds, who "made some scruples in point of law, which were "removed by the attorney-general. That 4400 "guineas were brought back again by Bates, who "said that so large sum might make a noise (1), "and that the rest still remained in Bates's hands. "But that these sums were not to be accounted as "any part of the 40,000 l. above-mentioned, "which he always understood to be wholly for his "own use and benefit. That colonel Fitz-patric "pretended great interest in the lord Nottingham, "and received 1000 guineas, promising to prevail "on that lord to accept 5000 guineas, on passing "the charter, and 5000 more on geting an act of "parliament; but that the earl of Nottingham "absolutely refused to accept of them. That he "heard, a note, signed by sir Josiah Child and sir "Thomas Cooke for 50,000 l. was lodged in "mr. Tyssen's hands, about a year, to be paid in "case the act passed; but that, as he understood, "it was refused by the lord Portland, to whom "Tyssen had offered it."

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Mr. Richard Acton, being examined, said, "he received of sir Thomas Cooke 12,000 l. "whereof 2000 were for his trouble in attend-"ing two sessions, but that, if the bill for the new "company had passed, he was to have had nothing. "That he had distributed the 10,000 l. to per-"sons who had interest with members, and par-"ticularly he had given part of it to be distributed "to mr. Craggs, mr. Wallis, mr. Ridley, mr. "Dominicque, and others, and that colonel Gold-"well and colonel Dean, who were since dead, "were the only persons to whom he had distributed "mony himself."

The 26th, mr. Bates being examined, "ac-"knowleged, that he had received the 5500 gui-"neas, and had offered them to the lord president "who refused them. That thereupon, because he "could not well tell the mony himself; he had "asked the duke to lend him his servant Robart, to "receive the mony for him, which he did, and "bringing it to him, he kept it in his possession, "'till he returned 4400 guineas of it to sir Basil, and "as to the remainder, he had spent part of it." However, upon a re-examination, soon after, "he "allowed, that the 4400 guineas, which he paid "back, where brought to him by mons. Robart.

Upon re-examination of sir Basil Firebras, "he "said, that 500 guineas were only designed for "Bates, and for the rest, he always said it was "for his friend at St. James's, without naming "any body, but insisted upon 5000 guineas for "that friend, when a lesser sum was offered, pre-"tending, more than the first sum proposed had "been offered him by the other side; that it was, "at length, agreed, that if the duke did act in favor "of the company, he should have 2000 and "3000 guineas, and Bates 500 for himself. That "from the time the notes were given, for the "5500 guineas, they had free access to the lord "president, and found him easy and willing to "give the company his assistance. That he in-"tended to have distributed the 30,000 l. afore-"mentioned, in the following manner, viz. 10,000 l. "to sir Edward Seymor, sir John Trevor, and "mr. Guy, in case the charters and the act of par-"liament passed; 10,000 l. to the merchants in-"terlopers, and to keep the remaining 1,0000 l. "himself: that he designed to divide 5000 l. more "between sir Edward Seymour, sir John Trevor "and mr. Guy: but that as sir Edward Seymour "refused to accept his share of it, he thought "himself in honor bound, to pay the two thirds to "sir John Trevor and mr. Guy, but intended to "keep what sir Edward refused for himself: and "that sir John Trevor gave him a hint of his ex-"pectations, some time afterwards."

Sir Josiah Child being examined, said, "he "never disposed of ten pounds of the East-India-"company's mony: that he did indeed, propose

(1) It was observed that this restitution was not made 'till after the discovery; and when the matter was under examination.

"to

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" to make a preſent of 50,000 l. to his Majeſty, " if he would ſo far wave his prerogative, that an " act of parliament might be made for the eſta- " bliſhment of the company; but that mr. Tyſſen " had told him, the King would not meddle in " that matter, as the lord Portland had informed " him."

Debates of the houſe of of commons thereupon.

The 27th, theſe examinations were reported to the houſe of commons, when a member ſtood up, and argued the neceſſity of ſearching this matter to the bottom, and of providing laws, to prevent, for the future, the members of that houſe taking mony. " Ten thouſand pound, he ſaid, had been pretend- " ed to be given to the King, and 50,000 offered " to buy an act of parliament." Another ſaid; " there never were greater, nor more general in- " ſtances of corruption, he therefore inſiſted on " the neceſſity of a ſpeedy remedy, and that it was " highly requiſite the houſe ſhould ſhew the world " they were in earneſt. That it was not to be " wondered, ſuch arts had been uſed to put a ſtop " to their diſcovery, ſince they found ſo great a " man at the bottom: but (added he) no perſon is " in ſo high a poſt, that this houſe cannot reach; no " man's practiſe or art ſo deep, that this houſe " cannot diſcover. Here have been all imaginable " indeavors uſed to obſtruct the inquiry: firſt, his " Majeſty's name was made uſe of at the committee, " with hopes, perhaps, that might put a ſtop to " any farther ſearch; and if it were made uſe of " there, there was reaſon to expect it had been " elſewhere. But that appeared to be ſo far from " being a matter of reflection on the King, that ſir " Joſiah Child often complained of it, as a rude- " neſs to his Majeſty, that what other Kings had " yearly as a preſent, they had not offered his Ma- " jeſty in three years: it was indeed, if not a " matter of right, a matter of cuſtom. As for " the earl of Portland, who may be named for his " honor, on this occaſion, when the great ſum of " 50,000 l. was preſſed upon him, he abſolutely " refuſed it, and told them", he would for ever, be their enemy and oppoſer, if they offered any ſuch thing to him. " Having thus mentioned the " innocent, I muſt, continued he, ſay ſomewhat " of the guilty; a ſtop having been put, the duke " of Leeds muſt be applied to: certainly, there " never was a more notorious bribery, and that in a " perſon, whom we might have expected to have " been free from ſuch a crime, if you reſpect either " the greatneſs of his place, or of his former ob- " ligation. It is fit to ſpeak plainly on ſuch occa- " ſions; the houſe ought to indeavor to remove " ſuch a perſon from the King's council and preſenſe. " What ſecurity can the nation have when we are " bought and ſold to one another? We have ſeen " our deſigns defeated, our attempts betrayed, " and what wonder is it? Can any man think it " more ſtrange that our counſels ſhould be ſold " abroad, than that charters ſhould be ſold at " home? Certainly, a man may reaſonably believe, " that he who will ſell the ſubjects, will ſell the king- " dom, if he can have a ſufficient bribe. What " Prince can be ſafe in ſuch counſels, which are " given for private advantage? Several propoſals " (ſaid he, to conclude) may here be offered for " remedy. One, that this houſe ſhould addreſs " his Majeſty, to remove the duke of Leeds; " but, with ſubmiſſion, an addreſs is too mean, " too low a thing for this houſe to do, at this time, " and upon ſuch an occaſion; I, therefore, move " that we may lodge an impeachment."

This remarkable ſpeech, tho' in the main, it was approved of, was thought, however, by ſome, to be too fraught with reflections: one member, in particular, ſtanding up, ſaid; " he wondered, " the gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, ſhould ſay what, " he hoped, he did not believe, that this great man " ſhould have ſold our counſels to France." The other, thereupon, roſe again, and ſaid; " It was " with ſome uneaſineſs he ſtood up, for he did not " take pleaſure to rake in a dunghill: that he was " far from ſaying the duke had betrayed our coun- " ſels; but argued only from a poſſibility; that " it was as reaſonable to believe one as the other; " and that when honor and juſtice were not the rule " of men's actions, there was nothing incredible " that might be for their diſadvantage." How- ever, ſeveral members ſeconded the motion for an impeachment, and ſome added; " that ſuch actions " as theſe were a blemiſh, if not a ſcandal, to the " revolution itſelf." And it being demanded, " by what law, it was a crime to take mony at " court?" it was anſwered; " that if there was " not a law, it was time there ſhould be one, to " prevent it; that the law of God was againſt the " duke, and that there were parliaments to puniſh " ſuch crimes." It was again ſuggeſted: that it ſeemed doubtful, whether there was matter in this report for an impeachment, and therefore, before the houſe went that length, they ought to put the queſtion upon the report, to know whether it be a crime? ſome of the duke's friends objected, hereupon; " that there was no law, and conſequent- " ly no tranſgreſſion", and therefore moved for excuſing him. However, the queſtion being put that " there did appear, in the report made from " the committee of both houſes, ſufficient matter " to impeach Thomas, duke of Leeds, of high " crimes and miſdemeanors," it was carried in the affirmative. Mr. Comptroler was, hereupon, order- ed to go up to the lords, and at their bar, in the name of the houſe, and of all the commons of England, to lodge the ſaid impeachment, which, in due time, they would make good.

The duke of Leeds's ſpeech to the lords.

The lord-privy-ſeal having, in the mean time, made the report to the lords, the duke of Leeds, to excuſe his conduct, ſaid, " That as he had for- " merly proteſted himſelf to be clear in this matter, " ſo he ſtill denied, upon his faith and honor, that " he was guilty of any ſuch corruptions, as were " ſuggeſted againſt him, and that, if the whole " truth were laid open, it would tend to his honor " and advantage. That he would be very free, in " telling their lordſhips now before-hand, all that " paſſed, in which he was any ways concerned. " That mr. Bates introduced ſir Baſil Firebraſs to " him, and that he had conferences with ſir Baſil, " upon the ſubject of the Eaſt-India-company, " which he was concerned for: that mr. Bates, " ſome time after, informed him, he was to have " a ſum of mony of ſir Baſil Firebraſs, and deſired " his lordſhip to lend him one of his ſervants (mr. " Bates keeping only a footman) to receive the " mony; and ſo he lent him monſ. Robart: that " he knew nothing of the ſum; but afterwards mr. " Bates came to him, and told him, he had receiv'd " 5000 guineas, and that in acknowledgment of " the many favors he had received from his lord- " ſhip's hands, he humbly deſired him to accept the " ſame; which he refuſing, Bates preſs'd him ear- " neſtly, to take one half, or a quarter; which he " ſtill refuſed, declaring he would not touch a " penny of them; that, however, he told him, " ſince he had taken them, he thought there was " no need of returning them; that they were his " own, and wiſh'd him good luck with them: and " thus (concluded the duke) I was but a ſhadow to " mr. Bates.

His ſpeech to the houſe of commons.

While the duke was thus indeavoring to clear himſelf in the houſe of lords, private notice was brought him, that the commons were preparing an impeachment againſt him. He, thereupon, went immediately to the door of that houſe, and deſired

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to be heard, which being granted, he was admited, and a chair was placed for him within the bar. His grace, being ſeated, put on his hat, then roſe, and uncovering himſelf, made a ſpeech to the houſe, in which, in the firſt place: "he thank'd them heartily "for this favor of hearing him; and then proceeded, "declaring his innocence, and that he had attended "ſooner had he known what the houſe was upon: "that the occaſion of his coming was from the two "votes, upon the report from the committee of both "houſes: that he had done all he could to be in-"formed of the particulars, but could not: that "hearing of a report, a monſtrous long report, "and finding himſelf concerned, he was earneſt "to be heard, to the end he might not ly under "the diſpleaſure, of either, or both houſes. He ſaid, "it is a bold word, but it is a truth," this houſe had not now been ſitting here, but for me. He added, "that he was formerly purſued by this "houſe, in two points; for being for the French "intereſt, and for Popery: that he had then juſti-"fied himſelf, if he might have been heard, hoped "he had ſince, and would by all the actions of his "life. That one Firebraſs, by the means of mr. "Bates, was introduced to him: that he had long "known mr. Bates, and if he was not much de-"ceived in him, he could not believe that gentle-"man would have tranſacted ſuch a matter, if put "upon it: that the evidence was but hear-ſay, and "he hop'd they would not condemn on hear-ſay: "that there was a treaty-part, as well as a mony-"part: that as to the mony-part, much of it was "falſe, and what was true he made no ſecret; "that he could, and did ſay, upon his faith and "honor, that neither directly nor indirectly, he "never touch'd one penny of the mony. That he "obſerved, a great deal of pains had been taken, "to hook in this matter by a ſide-wind; that this "Firebraſs thought his merit would deſerve 10,000l. "and 30,000 l. and that this 5500 guineas was no "part of the 40,000 l. That the witneſſes were call'd "in by the committee; but that Firebraſs, after "his firſt hearing, deſired of himſelf to be called "in again, contrary to all rules; which ſhewed "him, at leaſt, a very willing witneſs. That he "had a thread, which he hoped to ſpin finer, and "make it appear, that this was a deſign laid againſt "him long before the naming this committee. "That warning was given him, ſome time ſince." That this matter would be improved againſt him, and that Firebraſs had been told, he ſhould be excuſed, if he would charge the duke. His grace, to conclude, ſaid; "he ask'd no favor, but their "impartial juſtice; and that no ſevere ſenſe might "be put upon what would bear a candid one: that, "if it might be, the houſe would re-conſider what "was done; or, at leaſt, preſerve him from cruel-"ty, and not let him ly on the rack, and be blaſted, "till a parliament ſhould ſit again; and that, if "they would not re-conſider, that then he might "have ſpeedy juſtice; for he had rather want coun-"ſel, want time, or want any thing, than ly under "their, or the nation's diſpleaſure."

The duke of Leeds impeach'd.

Notwithſtanding this ſpeech, the duke was no ſooner withdrawn, than mr. Comptroller, accompanied by ſeveral members, carried up the impeachment againſt him to the houſe of lords; and the committee, which was joined with that of the lords, was ordered to withdraw immediately, and form the articles. The houſe of commons then took the duke's ſpeech into conſideration, and one of the members ſtood up, and ſaid; "the point was now, "whether the houſe would arraign the committee "of both houſes, or go on with their impeach-"ment? that the duke had made no excuſe as to "the facts; that his argument of a contrivance was, "that the 5000 guineas charged on him was no "part of the 40,000 l. Firebraſs was to account "for: that this was rather an aggravation of the "crime; for ſir Thomas Cooke had a double ac-"count, one with, and another without the 5000 "guineas; which was an indication, if there was "a contrivance, it was not by the committee, but "with ſir Thomas Cooke, to ſtifle the inquiry, "and conceal the corruption: that the ſpeedy "juſtice of the houſe was to be wiſh'd and deſir'd; "and that if there was ſuch a contrivance, "ſuch a thread as was mention'd by the noble "lord, the houſe where he was impeach'd would, "undoubtedly, clear him." Another member, among other things, obſerved; "that the duke's "friend, mr. Bates contradicting himſelf, was more "than the evidence of Firebraſs. That mr. Robart "was a ſervant of his grace's, and was fled; that "mr. Bates ſaid he kept the mony in his houſe; "that ſome times he had ſpent it, and ſome times "it was in his cloſet: that he owned the mony was "not in his houſe on Sunday, but that monſ. Robart "brought it to him, on Tueſday morning, tho' he "would never declare from whom he brought it.

Debates about the duke's ſpeech.

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Bill for impriſonment of Cook and others.

Sir Thomas Cooke's diſcoveries being, in the mean time, voted, by both houſes, unſatisfactory, they paſſed "a bill for impriſoning ſir Thomas "Cooke, ſir Baſil Firebraſs, Charles Bates, eſq; "and James Craggs, eſq; and for reſtraining them "from alienating their eſtates."

Articles againſt the duke.

The 29th of April, the articles of impeachment againſt the duke of Leeds, being read and agreed to, in the houſe of commons, were ſent up to the lords, containing in ſubſtance; "that he had con-"tracted with the Eaſt-India-company, for 5500 "guineas, to procure them a charter of confirma-"tion, and a charter of regulation; which ſum "he had actually received, either by himſelf, or by "his agents and ſervants, with his privity and "conſent."

His vindication.

The articles being read, the duke again indea-vor'd to vindicate himſelf, repeating what he had before ſaid, and adding: "that this ſtorm, which "was now fallen upon him, had been long gather-"ing, and was now promoting by a faction, a "party who had only a pique againſt him, and that "the King's buſineſs had been delayed on purpoſe: "that he had an original letter, which gave him "an account of this, ſome time before it broke out, "and it appear'd only levell'd againſt him, becauſe "none elſe were proſecuted; that there appeared a "joy they could catch at this, for then they ſtopp'd; "and that ſir Baſil Firebraſs was treated with to "diſcover only this part, and then he ſhould be "excuſed from any farther diſcovery." He con-"cluded, "by praying a copy of the articles of "impeachment, and the report of the committee of "both houſes;" both which were immediately order'd him.

The duke complains of partiality.

The duke having, the very next day, given in his anſwer to theſe articles, a copy thereof was ſent to the commons, and the lords deſired "that "ſince the ſeſſion was probably drawing towards "a concluſion, they would proceed in the impeach-"ment againſt the duke:" and, the 2d of May, the duke complained to the lords of the delay of the houſe of commons, in not replying to his anſwer: he alledg'd, "that the impeachment was "only to load him with diſgrace, and that the com-"mons never intended to try him: that the party "uſed great partiality towards him, and did not "intend to inquire after others; and that they "ſhew'd their partiality and ſpleen, in their amend-"ment to the bill for impriſoning ſir Thomas Cooke, "&c. whereby they admited ſir Baſil Firebraſs "to bail, becauſe he was a witneſs againſt him."

Reſolution of the commons.

The ſame day, the commons reſolved; "that "the offer of any mony, or other advantage, to "any

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" any member of parliament, for the promoting " of any matter whatſoever, depending, or to be " tranſacted in parliament, was a high crime and " miſdemeanor, and tended to the ſubverſion of the " Engliſh conſtitution."

Mr. Robart abſconds.

Mr. Comptroler then reported, from the committee of the houſe of commons, appointed to manage the impeachment againſt the duke, that monſ. Robart, the duke's ſervant, who was a material evidence for making good the articles, had been ſummon'd to attend the committee, but could not be found; and it not being yet known where he was, they were of opinion not to proceed any farther in the matter to them referr'd, till they had the farther direction of the houſe. This reſolution was agreed unto by the houſe, and an order made, that monſ. Robart ſhould attend the houſe forthwith, and that he be ſummon'd by the ſerjeant at arms.

Farther proceedings concerning the duke of Leeds

The 3d of May, a motion being made, in the houſe of lords, to read the bill for granting to the King a duty upon glaſs, &c. The duke of Leeds told their lordſhips; " it grieved him, that he " who was as much as any man, for the diſpatch of " the mony-bills, and never oppoſed any, ſhould " now do it; but he hoped the lords would conſider his caſe, not only as his, but as it might " be any of their own; for it was in the power of " a tinker, to accuſe, at the end of the ſeſſion, and " one might ly under it, without remedy: and " ſince the commons, by miſmanagement, had delay'd this mony-bill for ſix weeks, it would not " be of mighty ill conſequence, if it ſhould ly a " day or two longer; and his grace preſſed very " earneſtly, that if the houſe of commons did not " reply, the impeachment might be diſcharged: " for, if it were not, he might ly under the reproach thereof all his life: adding, he believed " the commons would do nothing in it; for tho' " they had appointed a committee to meet, yet they " met but once, and that for form." The ſame day the commons deſired a conference with the lords, in which their manager deliver'd a paper, importing; " that the commons would make good " their charge againſt the duke of Leeds, and were " deſirous that juſtice be done without any manner " of delay: but that in the preparation of the " evidence againſt the duke, their committee met " with an obſtruction: that monſ. Robart, who " appear'd, by the depoſitions before the committee of both houſes, to be a material witneſs, " was withdrawn ſince the impeachment was carried " up; which had been the reaſon the commons had " not yet acquainted their lordſhips, when they " could be ready to make good the ſaid impeachment." This paper being read in the houſe of peers, it was unanimouſly agreed, " to addreſs the " King, that he would be pleas'd to iſſue a proclamation for ſtopping the ports, and ſeizing monſ. " Robart (1)."

Monſ. Robart's flight having now given the duke a fair opportunity of triumphing over his accuſers, he did not ſtick to charge the houſe of commons, with doing a thing unprecedented, " to charge a " man with crimes, before they had all the evidence " to make it good; that it was ſtrange they ſhould " ſay they wanted a material witneſs, and lay it upon him to produce this witneſs: as if a perſon were more oblig'd to produce evidence to accuſe himſelf, than to anſwer ſuch queſtions by which he accuſes himſelf." his grace then acquainted their lordſhips; " that in truth, he had ſent monſ. Robart " to ſee his daughter Leiceſter, and order'd him to " call at Minns, to ſee his daughter Plimouth, where " the meſſenger of the houſe of commons might " have known he was gone, if he had ask'd. That " his grace ſent a meſſenger on purpoſe to Robart; " that Robart return'd about two o'clock on Sunday " morning; but being inform'd, that his lord was " impeached, and mr. Bates in priſon, he was thereupon frighted, and went towards Harwich, deſigning for his own country, Switzerland, thro' " Holland: that his grace knew, by the temper of " the man, and by a particular knowledge he had " of him, and of the thing, that he would not be " ſeen here again in haſte; ſo that, my lords (continued his grace) if this man be inſiſted upon, as " a material evidence, and that my trial is to be " delayed, 'till this perſon is forth coming, when " am I likely to be tried? I humbly move your " lordſhips, that you will come to ſome reſolution, " if this matter be not immediately proceeded upon, " ſo that I may be tried before the ending of this " ſeſſion, that the impeachment ſhall fall." Some lords, indeed, cried, hereupon, " well mov'd;" however, the houſe had no regard to it, but proceeded to read and paſs " the bill for the duty upon " glaſs-wares, ſtone and earthen bottles; &c. (2).

I have choſen to give an account of this remarkable affair, in one connection, tho' I have been thereby obliged to poſtpone ſeveral other proceedings, in parliament, which I ſhall now reſume.

Bad ſtate of the coin inquired into.

Next to theſe grievances, which ſo much required the application of parliament for their redreſs, and took up ſo great a part of their time, the bad ſtate of the coin was a heavy burden upon the nation, and call'd aloud for their help. The current ſilver coin of this nation had, for many years, been ſo clipp'd, debas'd and adulterated, that five pound in ſilver ſpecies, was ſcarce worth forty ſhillings according to the ſtandard; and ſcarce one piece in four but what was either iron, braſs or copper waſh'd over or plated (3). In ſhort, it was come to ſuch a paſs, that the remedy could be no longer delay'd, without the apparent and inevitable ruin of the nation. The houſe of commons, therefore, on the 8th of January, appointed a committee to receive propoſals to prevent clipping of the coin of this kingdom, for the future, and the exportation of ſilver. This committee having met ſeveral times, mr. Scobel reported their opinion: viz.

1. " That the beſt way to prevent clipping the " ſilver coin, was to new-coin the ſame into mill'd-" mony.

2. " That 1,000,000 l. was a ſufficient ſum to " to make good the deficiency of the preſent clipp'd " coin of this kingdom.

3. " That the mony, hereafter to be coined; " ſhould be of the preſent weight and fineneſs.

4. " That the crown-piece ſhould go for five " ſhillings and ſix-pence, and the half crown for two " ſhillings and nine pence.

(1) The duke of Leeds made no oppoſition to this addreſs, and the proclamation was publiſh'd accordingly, but it was not 'till nine days afterwards, when the duke had long before declar'd to the houſe of lords, he would not be ſeen here again in haſte. Hiſtory of King William III. vol. 3. p. 46.

(2) The above inſulting ſpeech, as I think it may, not improperly, be called, ſhews the duke thought himſelf now above the reach of the commons; and I have been the more particular in my relation of the whole matter, as I think it an inſtance of one of the moſt artful evaſions of an impeachment we ſhall meet with, eſpecially, where circumſtances were ſo glaring, and the duke did not ſeem to have a majority on his ſide, in the houſe of peers, no more than in the commons. The paſſing theſe matters over ſlightly, has given occaſion to a modern hiſtorian to accuſe biſhop Burnet of partiality.

(3) It was generally thought, that this miſchief had, of late, been induſtriouſly promoted, and ſecretly carried on by the enemies of the government, the dangerous conſequences of which were at firſt either not heeded, or wilfully neglected: and, indeed, the nation ſuffered unſpeakably by this evil, as well in carrying on the war as in trade.

5. " That

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5. " That all mony to be coined, under the de-
" nomination of the half crown, ſhould have a
" remedy of ſix pence in the ounce.

6. " That for as much of the preſent coin as any
" perſon brought into the Mint, he ſhould have
" weight for weight, and the overplus by a bill or
" ticket, at per cent, on a fund to be appro-
" priated for that purpoſe.

7. " That the preſent laws againſt clipping be
" inforced by ſome additions.

8. " That all perſons whoſe profeſſions require
" ſuch like tools or engines, as may be made uſe of
" for coining or clipping, be obliged to regiſter
" their names and places of abode; and that it
" ſhould be penal on ſuch as ſhould neglect to do
" the ſame.

9. " That it be penal on all ſuch perſons on
" whom clippings are found.

10. " That it be penal on all ſuch perſons as give
" more for any ſilver coin, than it ought to go for
" by law.

11. " That no preſſes, ſuch as are uſed for coin-
" ing, be in any other place, than his Majeſty's
" Mint.

12. " That it be penal in all ſuch perſons, as
" ſhould import any clipp'd or counterfeit mony.

13. " That it be penal in any perſon to export
" Engliſh bullion, and the proof to ly upon the
" exporter.

14. " That it be penal in any perſon, to counter-
" feit any foreign mark upon bullion."

Bill to prevent cliping and coining.

This report lay ſome time neglected in the houſe of commons, till the lords having paſs'd " an act " to prevent the counterfeiting and clipping the cur-" rent coin of the nation; " and ſent it down to the commons for their concurrence, they added ſeveral of theſe articles to it, by way of amendments, to which the lords agreed, and ſo the act received the royal ſanction.

Debates about the fleet.

I have already given the reader an account of the honor and advantages which accrued to the nation, by ſending the fleet to the Streights; however there were not wanting ſome members of the houſe of lords, who indeavored to ſhew the danger and inconvenience of it; but the major part of that auguſt aſſembly entertain'd far different ſentiments, as appeared by their addreſs of thanks, to his Majeſty, for ſo ordering it.

Addreſs of the commons about coals.

The price of coals being about this time, very exorbitant (1), which reduced the poorer ſort of people to a ſtarving condition, the commons unanimouſly voted, on the 6th of April, that an addreſs be preſented to the King, to deſire he would pleaſe to iſſue his royal proclamation, that the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London ſhould forthwith put in execution the laws for regulating the price and meaſures of coals, and that his Majeſty would order convoys for the coal-ſhips. At the ſame time, they ordered a bill to be brought in to inforce and make more effectual the ſaid laws relating to coals (2).

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Addreſs of the commons concerning the allies.

The 18th, the commons took into conſideration the great expenſe the nation was at to carry on the war, and to ſupport the grand confederacy; on which occaſion, they reſolved, that an addreſs be preſented to the King, " that his Majeſty would be " pleas'd, in his great wiſdom, to take care, for the " future, that this kingdom be put upon an equal " foot and proportion with the allies, in bearing " the charge of the preſent war. " An addreſs, to that purpoſe, having been preſented accordingly, his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer. " That in this, " as in every thing elſe, he ſhould always indeavor " to have a due regard to the intereſt and honor of " this nation.

The King's anſwer.

The 3d of May, the houſe of commons having read the report from the committee of both houſes, appointed to inquire into bribery, &c. proceeded to impeach ſome other perſons, and in particular ſir John Trevor: but they were interrupted by the black-rod, and commanded to attend the King in the houſe of peers: where his Majeſty gave the royal aſſent to " an act for a duty on glaſs, &c; Acts paſs'd. " an act to prevent counterfeiting and clipping the " coin of this kingdom; an act for impriſoning ſir " Thomas Cooke, ſir Baſil Firebraſs, Bates, Craggs, " and others; an act for reverſing the attainder of " Jacob Leiſler and others; and an act for the " King's gracious and free pardon, but with the " exception, among others, of all perſons who had " been, or ſhould be impeach'd in parliament, " during the preſent ſeſſion.

After this, his Majeſty told both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" That he was come to give them thanks, for " the ſupplies provided for carrying on the war, " and, at the ſame time, to conclude this ſeſſion, " which could not be continued longer, without " manifeſt prejudice to the ends for which thoſe " ſupplies were given, the ſeaſon of the year making " it ſo neceſſary for him to be abroad, that it were " to be wiſh'd the buſineſs at home would have " allowed him to have been there ſooner. That " he would take care to place the adminiſtration of " affairs, during his abſenſe, in ſuch perſons, on " whoſe care and fidelity he could intirely depend; " and that he doubted not but every one of the " lords, and the gentlemen of the houſe of com-" mons, in their ſeveral ſtations, would be aſſiſting " to them; which was what he required of them, " and that they ſhould be more than ordinarily " vigilant, in preſerving the public peace."

The parliament prorogued.

Then the lord-keeper, by his Majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament to the 18th of June (3).

(1) This dearth was occaſioned by the length and rigor of the winter-ſeaſon, by the ſcarcity of ſeamen, on account of the fleet being in the Streights, and by a want of convoys for the coal-ſhips, to ſecure them from the French privateers, which took the advantage of the fleet being in the Mediterranean, and a neglect of keeping cruiſers conſtantly on our coaſts, to infeſt the narrow ſeas.

(2) His Majeſty's proclamation was, accordingly, iſſued out three days after; but as for the bill it lay neglected, after it had been read a ſecond time, and ſo was loſt.

(3) The parliament was, this ſeſſions, ſo taken up with the affairs of bribery, that a greater number than ordinary of bills lay neglected, or unfiniſh'd.

1. " A bill touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament; " which was begun in the houſe of commons, and there rejected after the third reading. 2. " A bill for regulating trials, in caſes of high-treaſon; " which, having paſſed the lower houſe, was amended by the lords, and occaſion'd ſeveral farther conferences and debates, between both houſes. 3. " A bill for " regiſtering memorials of deeds, conveyances and wills; " which was obſtructed by the lawyers in the houſe of commons, as tending to abridge law-ſuits, and, therefore leſſening their income. 4. " A bill for the incouragement of privateers. 5. A bill " for the incouragement of ſeamen. 6. A bill to diſable perſons from voting in elections of members to ſerve in parliament, " who ſhould refuſe to take the oaths to the government; " which never came to a ſecond reading. 7. " A bill for the better " diſcovering of Bankrupts eſtates; " which was only read twice. 8. " A bill to veſt the forfeited eſtates in Ireland in his " Majeſty; " wherein as little progreſs was made. 9. " A bill to regulate printing preſſes. 10. A bill requiring certain per-" ſons to take the oaths to his Majeſty; " which having paſs'd the houſe of peers, and been ſent down to the commons, was by them rejected, after the ſecond reading. 11. " A bill for naturalizing foreign ſeamen; " which was likewiſe ſent down by the lords, but refuſed by the commons. 12. " A bill to aſcertain the aſſize of bread. 13. A bill to oblige James Craggs and Richard " Harnage to diſcover how ſome of the mony for cloathing the army had been diſpoſed of; and 14. a bill for puniſhing Tracy " Pauncefort, and his brother Edward Pauncefort, for corrupt practices; " which having been read three times by the commons, was ordered to lie upon the table.

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Lords juſtices appointed.

His Majeſty declared the ſame day in council, that he had appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſir John Sommers, lord-keeper of the great ſeal; the earl of Pembroke, lord-privy-ſeal; the duke of Devonſhire, lord ſteward of his Majeſty's houſhould; the duke of Shrewſbury, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate; the earl of Dorſet, lord chamberlain of his houſhold; and the lord Godolphin, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; to be lords-juſtices, for the adminiſtration of the government, during his Majeſty's abſenſe.

Promotions.

About this time, his Majeſty, likewiſe, made the following promotions; viz. ſir William Trumbal was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of ſir John Trenchard, deceas'd; Henry, lord Capel, was conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland; William de Naſſau, lord of Zuleſtein, was created baron of Enfield, viſcount Tunbridge, and earl of Rochford, and Ford lord Grey of Werk, was created viſcount Glendale, and earl of Tankerville.

The King goes to Holland.

The 12th of May, the King imbarked at Graveſend on board the William and Mary-yacht, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earls of Eſſex and Portland, and ſeveral others of quality. The next morning, they joined their convoy, under the command of ſir George Rooke, and on the 14th his Majeſty landed at Oranje-Polder, from whence he arrived, the ſame evening, at the Hague, where he was received with great acclamations of joy: and here I ſhall again leave his Majeſty for a while; and ſay a word or two of the affairs of Scotland.

Affairs of Scotland.

His Majeſty having thought fit to call a parliament in that kingdom, they met, according to their ſummons, on the 9th of May. The marquis of Tweedale being appointed his Majeſty's high commiſſioner, the ſeſſion was opened by reading his commiſſion. Then his Majeſty's letter to the lords-temporal, and commiſſioners of the ſhires and burghs, aſſembled in parliament, was read alſo; which letter was backed by the high commiſſioner's ſpeech; and after that the earl of Anandale, lord preſident of the parliament, made likewiſe a ſpeech. As I propoſe to be but brief in my relation of the affairs of Scotland and Ireland, I ſhall reduce the propoſitions recommended, by the miniſtry, to the parliament of Scotland, to three general heads.

1. "Supplies for the inſuing year.

2. "Moderation in eccleſiaſtical affairs; his Ma-
"jeſty, at the ſame time, giving them freſh aſ-
"ſurances of his reſolutions to maintain Preſ-
"bytery.

3. "The advancement of trade, and particularly
"their eſtabliſhing plantations in Africa, America,
"and the Eaſt-Indies.

As to the firſt, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "to
"grant 1,440,000 pounds Scots, or 140,000 l.
"ſterling, for the maintenance of the land-forces,
"and for the providing and maintaining cruiſers
"and convoys, for the defenſe of their coaſts and
"trade." They alſo paſſed "an act in rela-
"tion to their kirk, in which, however, nothing
"was provided in favor of epiſcopacy, or that
"looked like a toleration of the members of that
"church." But the act which made the moſt noiſe in England, was that "for ſettling a trade and
"colonies in the Weſtern plantations (1)."

This parliament, likewiſe, made ſeveral other laws: viz. "An act againſt Popiſh parents making
"deeds or depoſitions, in prejudice of their heirs,
"who turn Proteſtants; an act in favor of the
"linnen-manufactory; an act to obviate the
"frauds of apparent heirs; an act for a manufac-
"tory of paper; an act for ſettling the poſt-
"ſtages within the kingdom of Scotland; an act
"for the ſale of bankrupts eſtates, for the uſe of
"their creditors; an act for the regulation of
"the mint; an act againſt intruders into churches
"without a legal call and admiſſion; an act
"againſt blaſphemy, and another againſt pro-
"phaneneſs; an act againſt irregular baptiſm and
"marriages; an act to raiſe 1000 men yearly,
"to recruit the Scotiſh regiments abroad; an
"act for burying in Scotiſh linnen; and laſtly, an
"act for erecting a public bank in this kingdom.

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The moſt remarkable tranſaction of this parliament was, however, their ſtrict inquiry into the ſlaughter of the Glencoe-men; of which, as it made a great noiſe, in thoſe times, I ſhall give a brief account. "In January 1694, the King ſent inſtru-
"ctions to the commander of his forces in Scotland,
"touching the Highland-rebels, who did not in
"due time accept of the benefit of his Majeſty's
"indemnity; and which contained a warrant of
"mercy to all, without exception, who ſhould
"offer to take the oath of allegiance, and come in
"upon mercy; tho' the time prefixed by the pro-
"clamation of indemnity was paſſed; notwith-
"ſtanding which, contrary to his Majeſty's inten-
"tions, thirty-eight of the inhabitants of Glencoe,
"a town in the North of Scotland, after they had
"laid down their arms, were inhumanly butcher'd
"in their beds, their houſes plundered, and their
"cattle carried away."

This was in ſhort the caſe, and this piece of barbarity having given the King's enemies a handle for reflecting on his government; his Majeſty had given commiſſion to ſeveral perſons, to make inquiry into this affair, which commiſſion being produced and read, in parliament, was there approved of. Theſe commiſſioners having ſpent ſome weeks in the examination of that affair, and having, on the 10th of June, laid ſeveral papers before the parliament, as alſo, on the 24th of the ſame month, made a farther report, to which was annexed the depoſitions of witneſſes, the King's inſtructions, and ſeveral letters from the maſter of Stairs, ſecretary of ſtate; it was, on the 26th, unanimouſly voted; "that his Majeſty's inſtructions to ſir
"Thomas Levingſtone and colonel Hill, contain-
"ed no warrant for the execution of the Glencoe-
"men; that the ſaid execution was a murder;
"that the maſter of Stairs's letters did exceed the
"King's inſtructions; and, on the 28th, that ſir
"Thomas Levingſtone had reaſon to give the or-
"ders he had given." The 2d of July, colonel Hill and lieutenant-colonel Hamilton were called before the parliament, and the firſt appearing was examined and cleared; but the latter, not appearing, was ordered to be apprehended, and, on the 8th, was voted "guilty of the murder of the Glencoe-men." The houſe then proceeded againſt the other perſons who were actors therein, and agreed upon an addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would ſend them home to be "proſecuted, or not, as his Majeſty
"ſhould think fit, and that he would take into his
"Princely conſideration the caſe of the Glencoe-
"men."

The 2d of July, the houſe paſſed ſentenſe againſt the earls of Middleton and Melfort, and ſir Adam Blair for high-treaſon, to forfeit their lives and eſtates, and ordered all others, who adhered to his Majeſty's enemies, and were then in France, to be

(1) It was propoſed to carry on a trade from thence to the Eaſt-Indies, by the aſſiſtance of ſome wealthy merchants, and interlopers in London, which alarmed the Eaſt-India-Company, and was afterwards the occaſion of a great miſunderſtanding between the two nations.

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prosecuted before the lords of the justiciary. The 15th, the earl of Broadalbine, being brought to the bar of the house, likewise on informations of high-treason, his lordship begged time to make his defense, which was granted him 'till the 25th. But all public affairs being concluded by the 17th, it was agreed, that the process of treason against him, should be continued 'till the next session of parliament, which was thereupon adjourned till the 7th of November next insuing. Let us now take a cursory view of the affairs of Ireland.

Affairs of Ireland.

The 27th of August, the parliament of Ireland was opened at Dublin, and the lord Capel, being attended with the usually ceremonies to the house, made a speech to the lords and commons; "In "which he first put them in mind of the great obli-"gations they owed to his Majesty, who had ap-"peared himself in their cause, fought their battles, "and, at the hazard of his own person, restored "them to their religion and estates, not doubting, "but they would make a suitable return of loyalty "and affection: he then recommended, to the house "of commons, an early care for the necessary "supplies; next, that they would find some method "for the rebuilding and repairing of churches in "the several parts of their country; and last, men-"tioned some necessary bills.

Both houses returned thanks, in their addresses to his excellency for his speech, and voted; "that "they would, to the utmost of their power, stand "by and assist his Majesty and his government, "against all his enemies, foreign and domestic:" after which they proceeded with great unanimity and dispatch, to the consideration of the matters before them. They granted the King a supply of 163,325 l. to be raised by a poll-tax, an additional excise, and certain duties on merchandizes. They also passed some acts for preventing the growth of Popery, and the disarming of Papists; which done, both houses adjourned themselves for some time.

Having thus given a brief account of the proceedings of the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland, I come now to our maritime affairs of the year 1695.

Maritime affairs.

We left admiral Russel, with the fleet under his command, in the bay of Cadiz, where, according to his orders, he was to pass the winter. The latter end of December, of the foregoing year, several ships arrived there from England, which brought the admiral a commission appointing him chief commander and captain-general of their Majesties navy, (the Queen being then living) and ships to be imployed in the Narrow-seas, and in the Mediterranean; and, together with naval stores, several officers and artificers, for refiting the fleet. Soon after, captain James Killigrew was detached from the fleet, with a small squadron, consisting of the Plymouth, Falmouth, Carlisle, Newcastle, Adventure, and Southampton, to cruise. Between cape Bona, on the coast of Barbary, and the island of Pantalarea, he met, the 18th of January, with two French men of war, the Content of seventy, and the Trident of sixty guns, with whom he ingaged and lost his life in the fight: but the ships were both taken and brought to the fleet (1).

Two French men of war taken.

Dilatoriness of the Spaniards.

The usual dilatoriness of the Spaniards having occasioned the fleet to remain in the bay of Cadiz till the begining of May, nothing happened worthy our notice during that time. Some land-forces, under the command of brigadier-general Stewart, arriving, about this time, out of England, the fleet thereupon sailed, and cruisers were sent on several stations for intelligence. The 18th, they arrived at Barcelona, having been first at Allicant, where they made no stay. They sailed again the 20th, and touching at several ports, cruised about in those seas, 'till the middle of July, without having an opportunity of doing any service, but strengthening and dispatching the Turkey-convoy.

The 19th of that month, the fleet returned to Barcelona, where the admiral ordered a survey of the condition of the ships to be made. The Spaniards, continuing to be dilatory, in all their proceedings, the admiral thought himself obliged to represent the whole matter to the court of Spain, and to let them know, how little they had complied with their promises to him at Cadiz, and how ill he thought the King his master was requited for the charges he had been at, and his readiness to serve Spain; declaring, that unless something was immediately undertaken, he would depart, and leave Spain to her own conduct and councils.

The admiral complains of it.

The viceroy of Catalonia, hereupon determined to march to Palamos, a sea-port belonging to Spain, then in the hands of France, and the admiral resolved to assist him in the siege of that place. The manner of it being concerted with brigadier-general Stewart, all the long-boats in the fleet were got ready, with a lieutenant and two gunner's mates to each, to attend sir Martin Beckman, upon the first signal that should be made, for bom-barding the place.

The siege of Palamos resolved on.

The 9th of August, the English and Dutch troops, to the number of about four thousand, the former commanded by brigadier-general Stewart, and the latter by count Nassau, were landed, without opposition, and incamped near the town; but were not furnished with the tents, and other necessaries, the Spaniards had promised. Notwithstanding which, the town and castle were bombarded, two or three days after, and with so much success, tho' the sea run high, that the better part of both was beaten down, and the remainder set on fire, in several places. But with this ended the attempt; for a vessel the admiral had sent to the coast of Provence, returning, brought two of the inhabitants of Toulon, who positively affirmed, that the French inhabitants had sixty men of war ready to put to sea, upon which the admiral thought proper to reimbark his troops, to go in search of the enemy, and advised the Spaniards to raise the siege.

English and Dutch forces landed.

The Town and castle bombarded:

But the siege raised.

The troops being re-imbarked, the fleet proceeded to the coast of Provence, where they met with such tempestuous weather, as rendered a continuance there very hazardous; upon which the admiral retired down the Streights to Cadiz, where arriving the latter end of September, he appointed sir David Mitchel, then rear-admiral of the Red, to take upon him the command of part of the fleet, and with the rest sailed for England, where he arrived the begining of November. Sir George Rooke arrived afterwards in those seas with a squadron from England, and taking the remaining part of the fleet, with sir David Mitchel, under his command, sailed for Cadiz, where he arrived the 16th of October, and lay 'till the month of March, of the insuing year, without doing any

The fleet sails to the coast of Provence.

Part of it returns to England.

Sir George Rooke arrives at Cadiz.

(1) I have seen a long account of this ingagement, written in French, by the count de Chalard, commander of the Content, by which (if we may give credit to it) it appears that the French behaved bravely (and they do our ships the justice of having done the same) and did not surrender till they were ready to sink, especially the Content, which fought that whole afternoon, and the whole next day, till four in the afternoon. By this account, it likewise appears, that our squadron put into Messina, before it returned to the fleet. The count de Chalard says, the Content, was but of four and fifty guns, and three hundred and eighty men, and the Trident of two and forty guns, and three hundred men.

service

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service, and then ſailed for England, where he arrived the latter end of April (1).

I come now nearer home, to give an account of the attempts made by a ſquadron of the royal navy, under the command of the lord Berkley, upon ſeveral of the French King's ports.

The lord Berkley bombards St. Malo.

The firſt of theſe attempts was on St. Malo, before which place, his lordſhip arrived, with the ſquadron under his command, on the fourth of July, in the morning, and anchored in twenty fathom water, the Quince-rock bearing S. E. by E. near five miles diſtant, cape Frehelle, W. S. W. three leagues and a half, and Cancale-point, E. by S. three leagues. About three in the afternoon, the bomb and ſmaller veſſels, ſtanding cloſe in, five of the former played on the Quince-rock (on which was a wooden fort, called La Conchee, that covered the place) till near eight, but with little ſucceſs.

The next morning, at four, the ſquadron ſtood in, and the frigats and bomb-veſſels were ordered as near the town as poſſible, upon which the gallies and guard-boats retreated. At half an hour paſt five, the ſquadron anchored in eighteen fathom water, the Quince-rock bearing S. by E. diſtant about a league, and at eight, the Charles fire-ſhips, commanded by captain Durley, and one of the Dutch, were ordered to run in againſt the rock. They placed themſelves to the windward of it, and ſo much annoyed the enemy, that they forebore fireing, their cannon, as it was believed, being moſtly diſmounted, and immediately, upon blowing up of thoſe ſhips, the fort took fire, and burnt two hours very violently. About nine, the ſquadron with the bomb-veſſels got in nearer; the former battered the town, and the latter played with ſuch ſucceſs, that about ten, the fire took in ſeveral parts of the Eaſt-end of the town, and at four in the afternoon, a great fire broke out, in the Weſt part of the town, which burnt very furiouſly 'till about ſeven, by which time nine hundred bombs and carcaſſes had been thrown in; tho' the French fired very furiouſly, from the Quince-rock, the Great and Little Bee, Fort-Royal, and Point de Ambour. Between ſeven and eight, the bomb-veſſels, having ſpent the ammunition they carried in with them, were called off, and one, called the Terrible, which had received much damage, ſunk, that ſhe might not fall into the enemy's hands.

This ſervice was performed by ſix Engliſh and four Dutch men of war, nine galliots, fourteen flat-bottom-boats, and two brigantines, which lying in the midſt of nine or ten batteries of the French, received the enemy's ſhot, and returned them as good as they gave: and the lord Berkley himſelf was the whole time in the hoteſt of the fire, incouraging the men, and giving the neceſſary orders.

The next place they reſolved to proceed to was Granville, which they deſtroyed without the loſs of a man. The lord Berkley being ſailed, with the fleet, for Jerſey, the care of this attempt was commited to colonel Richards, with eight bomb-veſſels and eight frigats, who came before it the 8th about nine in the morning, with five Engliſh and three Dutch bomb-veſſels, and ſeveral frigats, under the command of captain Bembow, who within an hour, ſet it all on fire, and after having continued the bombardment, 'till ſix in the evening, left it in flames. A feint was then made of going to Havre-de-Grace; but in the evening the ſquadron bore away to the fleet which was now at anchor in Guernſey-road; from whence they ſailed to Portſmouth, to refit the bomb-veſſels, and prepare for attacking Dunkirk.

Granville deſtroy'd.

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The attack of Dunkirk reſolved upon.

The ſquadron being come to the Downs, his lordſhip received orders there, to take four hundred ſoldiers on board; and mr. Meeſters coming ſoon after, with his pilots, the manner how Dunkirk was to be attacked, was determined, in a council of war.

The ſquadron being arrived and joined, on the coaſt; after ſome difficulties, the 1ſt of Auguſt, early in the morning, the bomb-veſſels got under ſail, and ſtood in to bombard the wooden forts, and the Riſ-bank. About nine they began to play very briſkly, being protected by the frigats, againſt the enemy's ſmall-craft, which was very numerous, and lay partly under the cannon of the Riſ-bank. About one, the frigats, brigantines, well-boats, &c. with the fire-ſhips, and machines, weighed and went pretty near in, plying to and fro within ſhot of the enemy's forts and gallies; and about two, four ſmoak-ſhips were ſent in, but without any ſucceſs (2). The bomb-veſſels fired 'till five, at which time, they, with the brigantines, &c. were ordered off, having only ſunk three of the enemy's half gallies, and done very little damage; the enemy having made ſuch preparations, as rendered the attempt altogether impracticable.

The attack begun.

But with little ſucceſs.

A council of war having now determined to bombard Calais, the bombardment was begun, the ſeventeenth, in the morning, with ſuch ſucceſs, that it was on fire, in ſeveral places, by one; and it was continued till five, in the evening, during which time, the Engliſh throwed in about ſix hundred ſhells: but (ſays biſhop Burnet) the French did not ſuffer ſo much by theſe bombardments, as was expected. The country, indeed, was much alarmed by it; they had many troops diſperſed all along their coaſt; ſo that it put their affairs in great diſorder, and we were every where maſters of the ſea. F. Daniel, however, who makes light of theſe bombardments, ſays the damage ſuſtained by all the towns they bombarded, did not amount to one thouſandth part of the expenſe, they were at. I have ſeen ſeveral other, as well French as Dutch accounts of theſe bombardments, the former of which agree in leſſening their damages, tho' with more modeſty than father Daniel, and the latter agree intirely with ours.

Calais bombarded.

A ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies.

We had this year likewiſe, a ſquadron of men of war in the Weſt-Indies, under the command of captain Robert Wilmot, and a body of land-forces, under the command of captain Luke Lillinſton: but as this expedition was begun and ended like many others in thoſe parts, with ſquables and quarrels between the chief officers, and eſpecially between the ſea and land-officers, ever jealous of each others power and profit; and as this expedition, tho' it brought conſiderable loſs upon the enemy, was not, otherwiſe, of any great advantage to the nation, and was attended with very little action; and, beſide, as the accounts we have of it vary very much, even in the moſt eſſential parts; I ſhall not detain the reader with ſuch uncertain rela-

(1) Upon the whole of this expedition, biſhop Burnet however ſays, our fleet was, all the ſummer, maſter of the Mediterranean; the French were put under great diſorder, and ſeemed to apprehend a deſcent; for Ruſſel came before Marſeilles and Toulon oftner than once. He himſelf indeed told me (ſays the biſhop) he believed nothing could be done there; only the honor of commanding the ſea, and of ſhuting the French within their ports, gave a great reputation to our affairs.

(2) The deſign of theſe ſmoak-ſhips, as they were called, was, that being burnt againſt the forts, they might blind the people who were in them; but one of them run a-ground, and the others were ſet on fire, long before they came to the forts, and the ſmoak was ſo inconſiderable, that had they been carried nearer, they would have had very little effect. This afterwards occaſioned ſome examinations before the council, upon complaints exhibited againſt mr. Meeſters, the inventer of them, by the lord Berkley and by mr. Meeſters, againſt the conduct of the ſea-officers.

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Will' III. An' 1695.

Campain in Flanders.

tions (1) but proceed and give an account of the affairs of the continent.

The reader has already ſeen, in the foregoing ſheets, the advantage King William obtained over France, by his early poſſeſſing himſelf of the camp of Park in 1693. That he thereby intirely diſſipated the golden dreams of that court, defeated their deſigns upon Brabant, and obliged the French King to a ſpeedy return to Verſailles: and tho' they obtained the victory of Landen, the ſame year, yet it coſt them ſo dear, that they loſt, in 1694, that ſuperiority over the allies, which they had in the preceding years. The laſt campain, as we have already ſeen, was wholly ſpent by the two armies, in obſerving one another, like enemies, whoſe forces being almoſt equal, indeavor to overmatch the oppoſite party by the advantage of the ground: It ended, however, to the honor of the confederates, by the retaking of Huy. King William being now ſenſible, that the power of France was in the decreaſe, and that, on the contrary, the allies gained ſtrength daily, reſolved to form ſome conſiderable enterprize, the following year, either in Flanders, or on the Maeſe, as opportunity ſhould beſt offer. In order to this, before he returned to England, he gave directions for the forming of large magazines, in ſeveral places, and ordered two armies to be early in the field, to keep the French in awe, on both ſides, and draw their whole ſtrength on that ſide, for which their apprehenſions ſhould be greateſt, and afterwards fall on the other, with more probability of ſucceſs. A ſiege in Flanders ſeemed to be attended with leſs difficulty than on the Maeſe, where the only place that could be attempted was Namur, and as that undertaking was looked upon as impoſſible, the French themſelves turned their greateſt precautions towards Flanders, where they drew a new line from the Lys to the Scheld, before the allies could draw a body of troops together to oppoſe them; by which, and all their other motions, it was plain, they only deſigned, this ſummer, to act on the defenſive.

The allies, who were however ſuperior to them, by near 20,000 men, formed, in the mean time, two great armies in Flanders and Brabant; one conſiſting of ſeventy battalions of foot, and eighty-two ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, which were to be commanded by the King in perſon, and under him by the old Prince of Vandemont; the other of thirty-ſix battalions of foot, and 130 ſquadrons of horſe, to be commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and under him by the duke of Holſtein-Ploen. Beſide theſe, there was another little army, called the body of the Maeſe, conſiſting of twenty-five battalions, and thirty-two ſquadrons, commanded by the baron de Heyden and count de Berlo; who were to be joined by ſome more horſe, that were coming along the Rhine.

On the other hand, the marſhal de Villeroy, who commanded the French forces in chief (the duke of Luxemburg dying, the begining of this year) had drawn his army together, between Condé, Tournay and Aeth: the marſhal de Bouflers and count Guiſcard lay incamped with a body of about 12,000 horſe and foot, about the Sambre; and monſ. Montal, with another ſmall body, lay between Ipres, and the fort la Knocque, to obſerve major-general Ellemburg. Will' III. An' 1695.

This was the ſtate of the armies, on both ſides, when King William left Loo, and came to Breda, in his way to Ghent, where his Majeſty arrived, the 5th of June, N. S. and was received by the elector of Bavaria and the Prince of Holſtein-Ploen. To follow the armies, and the ſeveral bodies of them, on each ſide, in their various marches and counter-marches, to amuſe one another, before they came to action, would but be tedious to the reader, and carry me too great a length: I ſhall, therefore only in general obſerve, that King William's real deſign, which was, however, a ſecret to every one elſe, being to undertake the ſiege of Namur, he amuſed the French, firſt by a feint of attacking their lines, and then by the motion of his troops, in ſuch manner, that they apprehended his intention was upon Charleroy; 'till every thing being ripe to open this deſign, he communicated it, together with the whole plan of the ſiege, to the elector of Bavaria, by whom it was highly approved.

Siege of Namur.

Purſuant to this plan, the city and caſtle of Namur were inveſted the 3d of July, N. S. the King being come to the caſtle of Faliſe, the day before. However, notwithſtanding all poſſible diligence had been uſed to prevent it, the difficulty of the ground, and the vaſt extent of the circumvalation, gave the marſhal de Bouflers, who had likewiſe uſed an incredible diligence, an opportunity to throw himſelf into the place, with ſeveral regiments of dragoons, a great many volunteers, and monſ. Megrigny, at the head of ſeveral ingineers, miners and gunners; ſo that, with this re-inforcement, the gariſon conſiſted of near 15,000 men, and moſt of them the beſt troops of France. Both the city and caſtle being intirely inveſted, his Majeſty diſpoſed the troops into their reſpective quarters (2): and all other neceſſary preparations being made, it was reſolved, the 10th, at a council of all the general officers, held in the preſenſe of the King, in the baron de Heyden's quarters; that the attack upon the town ought to be made againſt St. Nicholas's gate: and to this end, that the trenches ſhould be opened on the hill de Bouge and below along the hermitage, as alſo on the Condroz-ſide, between the hills St. Barbe and the river, and that to favor the opening of the trenches, the baron de Heyden ſhould raiſe a bat-

(1) The accounts we have of this expedition are; 1. A relation by mr. ſecretary Burchet, in his hiſtory of maritime tranſactions, printed in 1720; being a repetition with very little alteration, of what he publiſhed, ſeveral years before, in his memoirs of the navy. 2. A relation by colonel Lillingſton, in anſwer, and very contradictory to the former, in which he treats mr. Burchet very ſeverely, and accuſes him of great partialities. 3. A rejoinder by mr. Burchet, in anſwer to colonel Lillingſton, containing ſeveral letters and vouchers, to defend his firſt relation, and overthrow that of the colonel's. 4. The two former of theſe the reader will find in Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 700, and ſequel; the firſt at length, in the text, the latter abridged in the notes, that they may be both ſeen in one view: but the author not having then ſeen mr. Burchet's rejoinder, it was omited, tho' not deſignedly, as has been imputed to him, of which he may probably, very ſoon, have an opportunity of convincing, as well mr. Burchet, as the public. In the mean time, the reader, who is deſirous of being informed in the circumſtances of this expedition, may have recourſe to the pieces above-mentioned.

(2) The Sambre and the Maeſe naturally divided the army into three general quarters, which were ſubdivided into ſeveral others. The King's quarters reached from the Sambre to the Maeſe towards Brabant, and here incamped twenty-three battalions, and 120 ſquadrons, under the command of the duke of Holſtein-Ploen, with ſeveral other general officers under him. His electoral highneſs was poſted between the Sambre and the Maeſe, with twenty-four battalions, twenty-ſquadrons, the Spaniſh and Bavarian generals, general Cohorn, and a major-general of Brandenburg: and in the Condroz, along the Maeſe, both above and below the town, were incamped, the baron de Heyden, with the other Brandenburg-generals, and count de Berlo, general of the cavalry of Liege, having ten battalions, and ſixty ſquadrons under them. For the communication of theſe quarters three bridges were immediately laid, one on the Sambre, and two on the Maeſe, one of which latter was above, and the other below Namur. Hiſt. of King William III, vol. 3. p. 67.

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tery of ten pieces of cannon, to batter in reverſe the covered way and detached baſtion before St. Nicholas's-gate, which faced the attack. The heavy cannon being come up, the trenches were opened accordingly the next day, without any great oppoſition by the enemy, and the 12th the batteries begun to play.

The extraordinary ſtrength of this place (1), which was beſide provided with all neceſſaries, for many months, with a good ſtore of ammunition, 100 pieces of cannon, twelve mortars, and 10,000 ſpare muſkets (2), together with ſo numerous a gariſon, reſolutely bent to diſpute every foot of ground, made the French and their friends in England, look upon this enterprize, as an unparallel'd temerity; and doubted not but Namur would be the rock, on which the grand confederacy ſhould ſplit: but all theſe great, and in appearance invincible obſtacles, were not able to ſhake King William's reſolution; on the contrary, they only ſerved to keep his fortitude, prudence and vigilance upon the bent, and to make him concert effectual meaſures to ſurmount all difficulties, which he did, to his immortal glory, the aſtoniſhment of his enemies, and the admiration of all Europe.

The town of Namur ſurrenders.

Not to detain the reader with a journal of the tranſactions of this ſiege, I ſhall only in general obſerve, that the attacks againſt the town were regularly carried on with great application, and various ſucceſs, the enemy, as I obſerved above, vigorouſly diſputing every inch of ground, 'till the 2d of Auguſt, when the cannon having, by that time, widened the breach, and all things being ready for a general aſſault, count Guiſcard, the governor, demanded to capitulate for the town. This being readily granted, the articles were agreed upon, and ſigned, on the fourth of Auguſt, by the elector of Bavaria, for the allies, and by count Guiſcard for the beſieged. The iron-gate was delivered, the ſame day to the beſiegers, and on the 6th the French evacuated the town, and retired into the caſtle.

Prince Vaudemont's retreat.

During this ſiege, the marſhal de Villeroy attempted to cut off Prince Vaudemont, who commanded a ſeparate army of the allies, for the ſecurity of the open towns in the Netherlands, and miſſed very narrowly the ſurprizing him in his camp at Arſele; but the Prince made the fineſt retreat that ever was performed, in the very face of the enemy, and with a very inconſiderable loſs, ſome accounts even ſay without the loſs of a man (3).

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Dixmuyde and Deynſe ſurrender'd to the French.

The marſhal de Villeroy, having failed in his deſign upon Prince Vaudemont, as alſo in an attempt he made to ſurprize Niewport, marched towards Dixmuyde, and ordered monſ. Montal to lay ſiege to it. The town was indeed but weak: however, conſidering the ſtrength of the gariſon, it might have held out a fortnight, or at leaſt have ſurrendered upon good terms: but major-general Ellemberg, the governor, being a ſoldier of fortune, who had merited his preferment meerly by his blunt courage in open field, was ſoon diſpirited, and knew not how to behave, when he ſaw himſelf cooped up in a place ſurrounded by a royal army: ſo that after a ſlight reſiſtance, of thirty-ſix hours only, he ſurrendered himſelf, and his whole gariſon, priſoners of war. Deynſe followed the example of Dixmuyde, and ſurrendered to the French at diſcretion, without firing a gun, tho' colonel O'Farrel, the governor, was thought more excuſable than Ellemburg, becauſe Deynſe was ſo far leſs defenſible. Among the gariſons of theſe two places, which conſiſted of near 7000 men, were two regiments of Engliſh (4).

Bruſſels bombarded.

The next ſtratagem the marſhal de Villeroy made uſe of, to draw off the allies from the ſiege of Namur, was the bombarding of Bruſſels, which was executed with ſo much fury, from twenty-five mortar-pieces, eighteen pieces of cannon firing, at the ſame time, with red-hot-bullets, that within the ſpace of forty-eight hours, above 2000 houſes, in the heart of the town, were reduced to aſhes, the town-houſe, the great church, and ſeveral other public edifices, demoliſhed, and an incredible conſternation ſpread thro' the whole place (5).

(1) The town of Namur, when the French took it, was quite over-looked by a ſteep hill, from the Porte Defer, to the Porte St. Nicholas; ſo that the French having the liberty to bring down their batteries, at firſt to the deſcent of that hill, and to open their trenches at the foot of it, near the Maeſe, they made themſelves maſters of it in five or ſix days: but now, to add a very conſiderable ſtrength, to this weak part of the town, the French had made a detached baſtion, on the aſcent of the hill, before St. Nicholas's gate, all of ſtone-work, with a caſemate upon it bomb-proof, the counterſcarp of frize-ſtone, as alſo the covered-way, which pointed juſt upon the top of the hill; ſo that no cannon from the plain could bear upon this work; and the allies were neceſſitated, to batter it in reverſe, from the other ſide of the Maeſe. This however, was not all; for upon the right, towards the iron-gate, the beſieged had made three detached baſtions, of the ſame work, juſt upon the brow of the hill, and at the foot of the ſame, before the gate, and between the hill and the book of Werderen, they had a fourth, which hindered the avenues, between the hills, to this gate. The plain upon theſe hills was fortified with a double covered way, both palliſſaded, to defend theſe detached baſtions, towards the village of Bouge: and when the allies began to inveſt the place, the French were working at a third, nearer to the brow of the hill, juſt before theſe works; ſo that the town, which before was but weak, was now, by the new fortifications, rendered ſo ſtrong, that it held longer than the caſtle. Hiſt. of King William III, vol. 3. p. 68.

(2) According to the continuator of Rapin, in French, there were in the place, 120 pieces of cannon, eight mortars, 1200 grenadoes, 130,000 pound of powder, ball and bombs in proportion, 1600 ſpare muſkets, a large quantity of other arms, 100,000 crowns in ready mony, and proviſions for ſix months, B. 25, p. 231.

(3) This retreat, which, conſidered in all its circumſtances is ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory, gave ſuch ſatisfaction to King William, that in his letter to Prince Vaudemont, he "owned himſelf obliged to his Highneſs, adding, that he had given "greater marks of a general conſummate in the art of war, than if he had won a battle." And what made this retreat the more extraordinary was, that the enemy's army conſiſted of 80,000 men, and that of Prince Vandemont, not above 30,000.

(4) What added to this misfortune was, that the French detained theſe gariſons priſoners, refuſing to ranſom or exchange them, according to Cartel, ſo that many of them, by the hardſhips they ſuffered, were forced into the French ſervice, or ſent quite croſs France into Catalonia, and other remote parts.

The ſurrender of Dixmuyde was the more extraordinary as the governor had, in the place, a gariſon of 4046 ſoldiers, 254 officers, 1000 or 1100 horſes, 150,000 l. of powder, ſeveral pontons, and a large quantity of meal and biſcuit. Cont. of Rapin, in French. Book 25, p. 234.

(5) The continuator of Rapin, in French, makes the damage done to Bruſſels amount to 3820 houſes and 11 churches burnt to the ground, ſeven churches near deſtroyed, ſeveral palaces and public edifices reduced to aſhes, amongſt which was the town-houſe, with all the records, books, edicts, and privileges of Brabant, and that this damage was computed to be, in all, twenty-three million (of livres I preſume he means) B. 25. p. 236.

The electreſs of Bavaria, who was, at that time, in Bruſſels, was removed to a diſtant part of the town, out of the reach of the bombs; notwithſtanding which, the fright, which was heighten'd, by the continual roaring of the cannon and mortars, had ſuch an effect upon her, that ſhe miſcarried. Her mother, the Queen of Poland, reproach'd France for this barbarity: but was anſwer'd it was by way of reprizals, for the Engliſh bombarding St. Malo, and other places on their coaſts; To which ſhe replied, if that were the caſe, they ought to have ſought their revenge by bombarding London, and not an inland capital, as Bruſſels, which was contrary to the Cartel; and beſide, they themſelves were the aggreſſors in bombarding, having exerciſed that cruelty on ſeveral places even in time of peace.

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All theſe attempts of the marſhal de Villeroy had not, however, the effect aimed at; the ſiege of the caſtle of Namur, one of the moſt remarkable in hiſtory, was carried on with great vigor, and many gallant actions were performed as well by the beſieged, as the beſiegers; but they being too numerous to be all related in this place, I ſhall only obſerve, that, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, the capitulation for the caſtle (the town having ſurrendered, as I ſaid above, the 4th) was ſigned, and part of the outworks given up immediately, three days being allowed for the total evacuation of it. What redounded moſt to the honor of the confederate arms in the taking of this almoſt impregnable place, was, that it was defended by one marſhal of France (the marſhal de Boufflers, the firſt whoever ſigned a capitulation) and in the ſight of another, (the marſhal de Villeroy) who was advanced to its relief, with a hundred thouſand men, but was only a ſpectator of the bravery of the former; and of the conſummate prudence of the King of Great Britain, under whoſe conduct and direction all was happily atchieved: and it was allowed, at all hands, that no ſiege was ever carried on with greater regularity.

The caſtle of Namur ſurrenders.

The marſhal de Boufflers arreſted:

When the gariſon of the caſtle of Namur march'd out, King William, who ſate incognito in the Prince of Heſſe's coach, cauſed the marſhal de Boufflers to be arreſted, by way of reprizals, for the gariſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, which were detain'd, and ill-uſed by the French, contrary to the Cartel. He was conducted to Maeſtricht, where he was treated with all the civility and reſpect due to his quality: but his confinement was not long; for upon the return of the captain of his guards, whom he ſent to give the King notice of what had happen'd, and the marſhal's ingaging his word, that the gariſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe ſhould be ſent back, as ſoon as he himſelf ſhould be ſet at liberty, his Majeſty gave orders for his releaſment.

But releas'd again.

The gariſon of Namur, which, at firſt, conſiſted of near 15,000 men, was, during the ſiege, reduced to 5538 men. So that the beſieged loſt near as many men as the beſiegers.

The important conqueſt of Namur (1) being thus made, and the ſeaſon being too far advanced to attempt any thing farther of conſequence, King William left the command of the army to the elector of Bavaria, and retired to Loo, his uſual receſs after the fatigues of a campain; while both armies continued in the field, without any farther action, till the 25th of September, when they began to ſeparate; and thus ended the campain in Flanders.

Major-general Ellemberg beheaded.

I muſt not, however, quit the Netherlands, without taking notice, that major-general Ellemberg, who ſo ſhamefully gave up Dixmuyde, coming, about the begining of October, to Ghent, he, with the other chief officers of the gariſons both of that place and Deynſe, were there ſecured, and a court-martial was appointed for their trial. By ſentenſe of this court, which was afterwards tranſmited to his Majeſty, and by him confirmed, major-general Ellemberg was condemned to be beheaded; brigadier O Farrell to be caſhier'd with infamy, and impriſon'd during the King's pleaſure; three other colonels to be likewiſe broke, and ſome ſuſpended. Accordingly Ellemberg had his head ſtruck off at Ghent, the 30th of November, and, tho' the court-marſhal judg'd his crime to be cowardice, and not treachery, he look'd death in the face with great reſolution.

Will' III. An' 1695.

The campain on the Rhine.

On the Rhine the campain was ſo inconſiderable, that it is ſcarce worth our notice: the French were, at the begining of it, ſuperior to the Prince of Baden, and ſo long they indeavor'd to draw him to an unequal battle: but his Highneſs, being, at length, re-inforced, quited his retrenchments, and then, in his turn, did what he could to bring the French to an ingagement, but with as little ſucceſs; and ſo the campain ended, without any thing material being done on either ſide.

In Catalonia.

In Catalonia, the Spaniards had almoſt always been on the loſing ſide: but now they ſeem'd to ride triumphant at leaſt for a time. For four ſquadrons of Miquelets receiving intelligence, that a detachment of the enemy were upon the march from Bagnoles to Gironne, they incounter'd them by the way, and gave them a total defeat. Fluſh'd with this ſucceſs, upon information that monſ. St. Sylveſtre was marching with eight thouſand men, and between three and four hundred mules, laden with all ſorts of proviſions for Caſtle-Folet, they join'd themſelves to a body of Spaniards, and attack'd the French with ſo much vigor, that they kill'd about 2000 of them on the ſpot, and took near 500 priſoners, and almoſt all the mules. Soon after this, the Catalans and Miquelets routed another body of French, of about 2000 men, who were on their march, to join the 3000 which were before defeated: but here we may put a ſtop to their ſucceſs; for tho' they afterwards block'd up Caſtle-Folet more cloſely, with a deſign to ſtarve it, they could not hinder the duke of Vendome, from puting relief into the place, and they were forc'd to retire from before it with loſs. How little ſucceſs they had before Palamos, the reader has already ſeen: tho' had not admiral Ruſſel thought it neceſſary to re-imbark his troops, and bear away with the fleet, as he did, it was generally believed the place could not have held out above a day or two longer (2).

And in Italy.

In Italy, the French were, likewiſe, the ſufferers, by the loſs of the important place of Caſal. This fortreſs had been long block'd up by the confederate forces, to little purpoſe: but, at length, it was reſolved to beſiege it in form. The trenches before the citadel were accordingly open'd, the latter end of June, as they were, ſoon after, before the town. By the 5th of July, the confederates began to play, with their bombs, upon the citadel and outworks, and the 8th they carried the palliſadoes, the counterſcarp, and the half-moon, by ſtorm. Upon which, the next day, the beſieged, finding the beſiegers ready to ſtorm the cover'd way, thought fit to beat a parly, and ſurrender the place, after about thirteen-days of open trenches: and this was all that happen'd, worthy our notice, in theſe parts (3).

(1) The conqueſt of Namur was certainly very conſiderable; yet there were not wanting thoſe, who, to rob King William of part of the glory of it, pretend it coſt too dear: for (ſay they) not only ten or twelve thouſand men were loſt before the place, but this ſiege was the occaſion of the loſs of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, with their intire gariſons, and to this they add the bombardment of Bruſſels, the fineſt town in the Netherlands, which was deſtroyed, with all its rich moveables and effects, while the allies lay before Namur. Salmon's modern hiſtory, vol. 24. p. 184.

(2) The occaſion of the admiral's ſudden departure was, intelligence brought him, that monſ. Tourville, with the French fleet, was ready to ſail, from Toulon, for the ocean: but it afterwards appear'd to be only a ſtratagem of the French, by whom this report was induſtriouſly raiſed, to ingage the admiral to abandon the ſiege; and, in this, they ſucceeded.

(3) The confederates would not have ſo eaſily made themſelves maſters of this place, had not the marſhal de Catinat been oblig'd to ſend the greateſt part of his forces to ſecure the coaſt of Provence, againſt any invaſion from the Engliſh fleet, which at this time alarmed the ſouthern parts of France.

King

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King William returns to England.

King William, whom we left at Loo, arrived, from thence, at the Hague, the 7th of October, N. S. where having ſettled, with the States-general, the plan of the war, for the next year, he imbark'd, on the ninth, O. S. on board the William and Mary-yacht, and the next day landed ſafely at Margate, having been attended in his paſſage, by a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch men of war, commanded by ſir Cloudeſly Shovel. His Majeſty lay that night at Canterbury, and, on the 11th, came thro' London and Weſtminſter, to Kenſington.

The parliament diſſolved, and another called.

The firſt thing the King did, after his arrival, was to call a council, in which he propoſed diſſolving the preſent parliament, and, it being reſolved upon, after ſome debate, a proclamation was ordered for that purpoſe, and for the ſpeedy calling of another, to be holden at Weſtminſter, the 22d of November next inſuing (1).

The King goes on a progreſs to the north.

It having been repreſented to the King, that it might very much conduce to his intereſt, in the inſuing elections, to ſhew himſelf to the people, and to converſe more familiarly with the nobility and gentry, than he uſed to do, his Majeſty thought fit to take a progreſs northward: but the better to cover his deſign, he went firſt of all to New-market, where he ſeem'd to be invited by the uſual diverſions of the place, at this time of the year. He was there met and complimented by the vice-chancelor and heads of the univerſity of Cambridge. From thence his Majeſty made a tour thro' Northamptonſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Warwickſhire, and ſeveral other countries, viſiting the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction, till he came back again to Oxford, where, on the 10th of November, he was received by the duke of Ormond, their chancellor, dr. Adams, their vice-chancelor, and the reſt of the univerſity, in their academical habits: His Majeſty was conducted to the Theatre, where an elegant entertainment was provided; he could not, however, be prevailed upon to eat a morſel; but immediately took coach and went to Windſor (2).

The parliament meets.

The parliament being met, on the 22d of November, according to his Majeſty's writs of ſummons, the King being ſeated on the throne, and the commons ſent for up, the lord-keeper ſignified his Majeſty's pleaſure to them, that they ſhould forthwith proceed to the choice of a ſpeaker. The commons, thereupon, return'd to their houſe, and unanimouſly made choice of Paul Foley, eſq; who being, the next day, preſented to the King, and approved by him, his Majeſty then made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he told them:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That it was with great ſatisfaction he met "them, being aſſured of a good diſpoſition of his "parliament, when he had ſuch proofs of the af- "fection of his people, by their behavior during "his abſenſe, and at his return.

"That he was ingaged in the preſent war by the "advice of his firſt parliament, who thought it "neceſſary for the defenſe of the Proteſtant reli- "gion, and for the preſervation of the liberties of "Europe. That the laſt parliament, with great "chearfulneſs, aſſiſted him to carry it on. That "he could not doubt but that their concern for the "common ſafety would oblige them to be unani- "mouſly zealous, for the proſecution of it; and Will' III. An' 1695.
"he was glad that the advantages, they had had, "this year, gave them a reaſonable ground of hop- "ing for farther ſucceſs hereafter. That, upon "this occaſion, he could not but take notice of the "courage and bravery the Engliſh troops had ſhewn, "this laſt ſummer, which, he might ſay, had an- "ſwered their higheſt character in any age; and "that it would not be denied, that without the con- "currence of the valor and power of England, it "were impoſſible to put a ſtop to the ambition "and greatneſs of France."

Then addreſſing himſelf to the commons, he told them: "That he thought it a great misfortune, "that from the begining of his reign, he had "been forced to ask ſo many, and ſuch large "aids of his people; and yet, he was confident, "they would agree with him in opinion, that there "would be, at leaſt, as great ſupplies requiſite, for "carrying on the war, by ſea and land, this year, "as was granted in the laſt ſeſſion; the rather, be- "cauſe the enemy augmented their troops, and "that the neceſſity of augmenting the ſhiping did "plainly appear. That the funds, which had been "given, proved very deficient. That the con- "dition of the civil liſt was ſuch, that it would not "be poſſible for him to ſubſiſt, unleſs that matter "was taken into their care. That compaſſion ob- "liged him to mention the miſerable circumſtances "of the French Proteſtants, who ſuffered for their "religion, and, therefore, he earneſtly recommend- "ed to them, to provide a ſupply ſuitable to their "occaſions.

"That he muſt, likewiſe, take notice of a "great difficulty they lay under, at this time, by "reaſon of the ill ſtate of the coin, the redreſs of "which might, perhaps, prove a farther charge to "the nation; but that this was a matter of ſo "general concern, and of ſo very great impor- "tance; that he had thought fit to leave it in- "tirely to the conſideration of his parliament.

"That he did recommend to the laſt parliament, "the forming ſome good bills, for the incourage- "ment and increaſe of ſeamen: That, he hop'd, "they would not let this ſeſſion paſs, without doing "ſomething in it, and that they would conſider of "ſuch laws as might be proper for the advancement "of trade, and would have a particular regard to "that of the Eaſt-Indies, leſt it ſhould be loſt "to the nation: and that, while the war made it ne- "ceſſary, to have an army abroad, he could wiſh "ſome way might be thought of to raiſe neceſſary "recruits, without giving occaſion of complaint.

"That his deſign to meet his people in a new "parliament, had made the opening of this ſeſſion "very late; which he hoped, they would have ſuch "regard to, as to make all poſſible diſpatch of the "great buſineſs before them, and would call to "mind, that by the long continuance of the laſt "ſeſſion, the allies did not only loſe advantages, "which they might have had at the begining of the "campain, but gave the enemy ſuch an opportunity, "as might have proved very fatal to them: and that "he was the more concerned to preſs this, becauſe "of the great preparations the French made, to "be early in the field, the next year.

(1) The chief reaſon which induced his Majeſty to diſſolve this parliament, was, probably, the proſecution of the duke of Leeds, which, in the whole courſe of it, had made him uneaſy, being thought, by many to have more ſpleen than juſtice in it: Now as, on the one hand, his Majeſty could never have ſacrificed a miniſter, to whom he not only owed his match with the late Queen, but who had, likewiſe, been ſo greatly inſtrumental in bringing about the revolution; ſo, on the other hand, there was no ſafer way to put a ſtop to an impeachment, which was ſtill depending, than the calling a new parliament.

(2) The duke of Ormond having communicated to his Majeſty a letter directed to his grace, by a nameleſs perſon, and dropped in the ſtreet, the day before, wherein information was given of a pretended deſign to poiſon the King at this entertainment, his Majeſty, without reflecting on the groundleſſneſs of the report, which was, undoubtedly raiſed by ſome enemy to him, or the univerſity, took this haſty reſolution: but as it was not thought proper, to expoſe his Majeſty's ſuſpicion, he declared, "that this was a viſit of kindneſs, not of curioſity, he having ſeen the univerſity before; and, therefore, did not propoſe to "make any ſtay at this time.

In

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In the close of this speech his Majesty told the lords, "that he had had such experience of their "good affections;" and to the commons; "that he "had such an intire satisfaction in the choice which "his people had made of them, that he promis'd "himself a happy conclusion of this session, unless "they suffered themselves to be misled into heats "and divisions, which being the only hope, the "common enemy now had left, he made no doubt, "but they would intirely disappoint them, by their "prudence and love to their country.

Addresses of both houses.

Both lords and commons address'd his Majesty, with great zeal and unanimity, and to the same effect, "congratulating him on his success, this "campain, and on his safe return, and assuring "him, that they would support his government, "and stand by him, in the prosecution of the war, "in which he was ingaged for the safety of Eng-"land, and the liberties of Europe." To the com-

His Majesty's answer.

mons address, his Majesty was pleas'd to answer: "that he thank'd them heartily for the marks they "gave him of their affection: adding; that his and "their interest were inseparable, and that there "was nothing he wish'd so much, as the hap-"piness of this country, where God had placed "him."

The first and main thing the parliament had to do, and which they undertook with great alacrity, was to find out ways and means to provide for the expense of the war, and to carry it on with vigor: however, to shew, at the same time, their zeal to the people who chose them, by securing their lives and estates, the commons, previous to all public business, on the 26th of November, brought again

Bill for regulating trials, &c.

into the house the so much desir'd "bill for regu-"lating trials, in cases of high treason and mispri-"son of treason," which had been several times lost, in former sessions of parliaments. It was read three times, pass'd, and sent up to the lords, for their concurrence, on the 8th of December. The lords added to it the clause they had always insisted on, viz. "that upon the trial of any peer or peeress, "for treason, or misprison of treason, all the peers "who have a right to sit and vote in parliament "shall be duly summoned twenty days at least before "such trial, and vote at the same, having first "taken the oaths appointed by the act of parlia-"ment made, in the first year of William and "Mary, and subscribed and repeated the declara-"tion, mention'd in the act made, 30 of Charles II," which clause was agreed to by the commons, the 17th of January (1).

A supply voted.

The second of December, the house of commons voted a supply for carrying on the war; the 6th they began to proportion it, and allotted 2,500,000 l. for the navy, and 16,972 l. for the officers of the two marine regiments. The 14th they voted 2,007,832 l. for the pay of 87,440 men, including commission and non-commission officers, making up the horse, dragoons and foot, which, according to the list of the land-forces deliver'd into the house, they had voted necessary, for the service of the year 1696. And lastly 500,000 l. for the office of ordnance, the pay of the general officers, transports, hospitals, contingencies, and other extraordinary charge of the war; in all 5,024,853 l.

Ways and means.

Having again granted this vast supply, the next thing was to find out means to raise it, which could not but be very difficult, as so many funds were already so largely anticipated. And tho' the landed interest had all along born so great a share of the public charge, the commons did not aim at sparing themselves, but again laid 4 s. in the pound upon land, as likewise upon all personal estates, and upon all offices and imployments of profit, other than military offices in the army, navy and ordnance. This tax, however, falling very short of answering the supplies they had voted, the house resolved, first to inlarge the times for persons to come in and purchase certain annuities, mention'd in a former act. Second, to continue the duties formerly charged on low wines, and spirits of the first extraction. Third, to continue the duties upon all wines, vinegar, and tobacco, from the 24th of June 1698, to the 29th of September 1701. Fourth, To continue the duties upon all East-India goods and manufactures, and upon all wrought silks, and several other goods, from the 10th of November, 1697, to the 29th of September, 1701. Fifth, to settle a fund, by continuing the duties upon salt, for the payment of interest, not exceeding seven pound per cent, redeemable by parliament: and, Sixth, that the duties of twenty-five l. per ton, be laid upon all French wine, thirty l. per ton upon all French brandy; fifteen l. per ton, upon all French vinegar, and twenty-five pound per cent. ad valorem, upon all other goods of the growth, product or manufacture of France, imported after the 12th day of March 1697, for the term of twenty-one years, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament, over and above the duties already charg'd thereupon, without any deduction, and after that rate, for any greater or lesser quantity. And several bills were prepared and brought in pursuant to these resolutions.

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Debates about re-coining the mony.

The next important matter, which required the consideration of parliament, was their coining of the silver-mony of this kingdom; which, as it was one of the most remarkable events of this reign, I shall be particular in my relation of. The lords having consider'd that part of the King's speech, which related to the ill state of the coin, and having drawn up an address, to which, in a conference, they desir'd the concurrence of the lower house, the latter in a committee of the whole house, enter'd upon that grand affair: and the first question was, whether it was necessary or expedient, to re-coin the silver-mony? the affirmative was held by the court-party; but it met with a strong opposition: for which the following reasons were alledged:

Reasons against it.

"That this was no fit conjuncture for it; that "the nation was ingaged in a doubtful and burden-"som war: by which the kingdom had already "greatly suffer'd, and of which it grew every day "more sensible: that, therefore, the people, on "whose good affection, the government so much "depended, should not be provoked by new griev-"ances, greater than any they had yet felt, as "those would certainly be, that must arise from the "calling in the silver-coin: that if this was done, "however things might be managed, and accom-"modated at home, it were impossible to maintain, "either the commerce or the war abroad: for nei-"ther the merchant could be paid his bills of ex-"change, nor the soldier receive the subsistence. "That this was to lay the axe to the root, and "to dig up the foundations of the government. "That if this design was prosecuted, trade must "stand still, for want of mutual payments, whence "such disorder and confusion would certainly fol-

(1) A remarkable turn of wit is related, on this occasion, of the young lord Shaftsbury; who perceiving, while the bill was yet depending in the house of commons, that some opposition was made to it, rose up, in order to speak for it, and having begun his speech, he industriously feign'd to be surpriz'd, that, for a while he could not go on: but having recover'd himself, he took occasion from his very surprise, to inforce the necessity of allowing counsel to prisoners, who were to appear before their judges, since he, who not only was unaccused and innocent, but one of their members, was so dash'd, when he was to speak before that august assembly. History of King William III. vol. 3. p. 117.

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" low, as would diſcourage and diſhearten the peo-
" ple, in the higheſt meaſure, if not drive them to
" a perfect deſpair, as deſpair would to the moſt
" terrible extremities: that, therefore, the re-coin-
" ing the mony at this time was by no means to be
" attempted, without hazarding all."

Reaſons for it.

Thoſe of the contrary opinion, at the head of whom was mr. Charles Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, alledged: " that the miſchief would be
" fatal, if a preſent remedy was not found out and
" applied: that by reaſon of the ill ſtate of the coin,
" the exchange abroad was infinitely to the nation's
" prejudice: that the ſupplies, which were raiſed
" to maintain the army, would never attain their
" end, being ſo much diminiſh'd and devour'd by
" the unequal change, and exorbitant premiums,
" before they reach'd the camp: that this was the
" unhappy cauſe, that guineas were advanced to thir-
" ty ſhillings, and forein gold in proportion: that,
" therefore, to the nation's great loſs, not only the
" Dutch, but, indeed, all Europe, ſent that com-
" modity to this market; and would continue ſo to
" do, till the nation ſhould be impoveriſh'd and
" undone, by too much gold: that we muſt ex-
" change for their gold our goods or our ſilver, 'till,
" at laſt, we ſhould have only guineas to trade
" withal; which no body could think our neigh-
" bors would be ſo kind to receive back at the
" value they were at here: that, therefore, this
" diſeaſe would, every day, take deeper root, in-
" fect the very vitals of the nation, and, if not
" remedied, would ſoon become incurable: that
" our enemies muſt be mightily intimidated by ſo
" great an action, and would ſooner be induced to
" agree to honorable terms of peace, in caſe they
" ſaw us able to ſurmount this difficulty, by the
" retrieving the ill ſtate of the coin, on which their
" hopes of the nation's ſpeedy ruin ſo much de-
" pended; and that it would juſtly create an
" eſteem abroad, of the greatneſs and wiſdom of
" the parliament of England, which was able to
" conquer ſuch an obſtinate and almoſt inſuperable
" evil, in ſuch a juncture of affairs."

Reſolution to re-coin the mony.

It was at length, reſolved, after a long debate, and mature conſideration of the circumſtances, to call in and re-coin the ſilver mony. This done, the

Debate about the ſtandard.

next queſtion was; whether the ſeveral denominations of the new mony ſhould have the ſame weight and fineneſs as the old; or whether the eſtabliſh'd ſtandard ſhould be rais'd? this queſtion again produced long debates: thoſe who were for raiſing the

Reaſons for raiſing it.

ſtandard alledged; " that the price of an ounce of
" ſilver-bullion was advanced to ſix ſhillings and
" three pence, and, therefore, the ſtandard ought
" to be raiſed to an equality. That the raiſing the
" ſtandard, would prevent the exportation of the
" coin, which, of late, had been much practiſed,
" to the great prejudice of the kingdom. That it
" would prevent its being melted down, and that,
" thereby, people would be much incouraged to
" bring in their plate and bullion into the mint."

Theſe arguments were contradicted by the court-party, who urged;

Reaſons againſt it.

" That the worth of mony was relative, and to
" be rated by the meaſure of ſuch goods, labor,
" advice, ſkill, or other aſſiſtances, as could be
" purchaſed from another by our parting with it.
" That the value of mony, among people who
" lived under different municipal laws, was in-
" trinſick, and conſiſted in its weight and fine-
" neſs: that common conſent had given it this
" value, for the common conveniency of ſupplying
" one another's wants. That the weight and fine-
" neſs was the only worth, which other nations re-
" garded in our coin, as we in theirs; all mony
" being, between ſubjects of different governments,
" of no greater value, excepting the workmanſhip,
" than ſo many pieces of uncoin'd bullion: that,
" therefore, ſhould our ſtandard be alter'd, we
" ſhould ſtill be upon the ſame foot with our neigh-
" bors, for if we were to pay them for their goods,
" or exchange our mony with theirs, whatever de-
" nomination we gave our mony, they would, in
" their exchange, ever reduce it to an equality
" with theirs, and proportion the quantity and
" goodneſs of their commodities, to the weight and
" fineneſs of the mony they were to receive for
" them; ſo that, in reſpect of our forein com-
" merce, there was no reaſon to alter our ſtandard.
" If the ſtandard was raiſed, at home, they ſaid,
" great confuſion would attend it, the landlord
" would be defrauded of a great part of his rents,
" and the creditor of his debts: that the ſeaman
" and the ſoldier would be wrong'd in their pay,
" and many the like injuries and inconveniencies
" would happen. That it was no anſwer to ſay,
" they might buy as much goods and conveniences
" of life with this coin, raiſed above its ſtandard,
" as they could before: becauſe, by degrees, the
" ſeller would infallibly raiſe the price of his goods,
" in proportion to the new-raiſed ſtandard, and
" that, of this, there was an inſtance before them;
" all commodities being greatly raiſed in their
" price, while guineas were paid for thirty ſhil-
" lings. That, whereas it was alledged, that the
" price of bullion was riſen to ſix ſhillings and
" three pence, and, therefore, the ſtandard of the
" ſilver coin ought to be raiſed likewiſe: It was re-
" plied, that it was a thing impoſſible for the price
" of ſilver to riſe and fall in reſpect of itſelf: that it
" was an unchangeable truth, than which no mathe-
" matical demonſtration could be clearer, that an
" ounce of ſilver would ever be worth another ounce
" of the ſame fineneſs, and no more: allowing
" ſome inconſiderable diſparity upon the account
" of the coin, if one ounce be in mony, and the
" other in bullion: that it was true, indeed, the
" people commonly gave ſix ſhillings and three
" pence for an ounce of bullion, but that they
" only gave clipp'd pieces, that had no more than
" the ſound of ſhillings and pence; but were by
" no means the things themſelves; that is, they
" were not the ſtandard-ſhillings of due weight and
" fineneſs, and were no more ſo, in the juſt ſenſe
" the word, than an ell is an ell, when the third
" part of it is cut off: that the caſe was ſo plain,
" that when they demanded of thoſe, who affirmed
" an ounce of bullion was worth ſix ſhillings and
" three pence, whether they meant ſix mill'd ſhil-
" lings and three pence, they knew not what to
" reply: for this alteration of the value of bullion
" was meerly in relation to diminiſh'd mony: and,
" to make it yet more evident, they urg'd, it was
" then matter of fact, that with five ſhillings and
" two pence, of new mill'd mony, they could buy
" as much bullion as they pleas'd; while thoſe who
" bought it with clipp'd pieces, paid ſix ſhillings
" and three pence. That whereas it was urg'd,
" that the raiſing the ſtandard would prevent the
" exportation of our mony; it was anſwer'd, that
" there was no other way poſſible to keep our mony
" at home, than by out-trading our neighbours,
" that is, by ſending them more commodities, or
" of greater value, than thoſe we received from
" them: for if, upon the ballance, we were found
" in their debt, there was no way left, but to pay
" it in coin or bullion; and that, therefore, what-
" ever denomination we gave our coin, we muſt
" be neceſſitated to ſend it abroad, if the commodi-
" ties we exported could not pay our debts; and
" that all the other arguments, for raiſing the ſtan-
" dard, would ſink to the ground, in caſe theſe two,
" on which the reſt were built, had no reaſonable
" foundation.

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Resolutions thereupon.

These debates being at an end, the commons resolved, on the 10th of December, "to recoin the "clipped mony, according to the established standard of the mint, both as to weight and fineness;" and to make it more easy to the people, they voted "a recompense for the deficiency of "the clipped mony; and that the loss of such clipped mony should be born by the public; and a "fund of 1,200,000 l. settled for that purpose."

The commons were not, in the mean time, insensible of the inconveniencies that must necessarily attend the calling in and re-coining the clipped mony, the chief of which would be a cessation of payments, and as a consequence thereof, an interruption of commerce. It was evident, England could not subsist, unless some expedient was found out to support its trade, 'till the new mony returned from the Mint, since gold alone could not do it. They therefore, agreed, "to call in the mony by degrees, that "while some denominations of coin were suppressed others might be current:" Hoping, that before the last old mony should come in to be re-coined, so much of the new might circulate from the Mint, as might sufficiently answer the necessities of the nation.

They thereupon resolved; first, "that a day be "appointed, after which no clipped crowns or "half-crowns be taken, as also any mony clipped "within the ring, be allowed in payment, or to "pass, except only to the collectors of his Majesty's revenues and taxes, and upon loans and "payments into the exchequer: secondly, that a "day be appointed after which no clipped mony "should pass in any payment whatsoever: thirdly, "that a day be appointed, for all persons to bring "in their clipped mony, to be re-coined into milled "mony; after which no recompense should be made "for the same." The 11th of December, an address was ordered to be prepared to desire his Majesty to regulate the currency of clipped mony, (1) according to the foregoing resolutions, and the same being presented accordingly, his Majesty, on the 19th, caused his royal proclamation to be issued for that end.

While these things were transacting, the commons, considering that the maintenance of an army abroad occasioned the exportation of the coin, which could be no ways prevented but by supplying the army with necessaries out of this kingdom, on the 13th of December, ordered an address to be presented to his Majesty: "that he would please to "procure, that all commodities and provisions, "that should be transported from England, for "the use of the forces in his Majesty's pay abroad, "might be exempted from any duty or excise, "throughout the Spanish and united Netherlands:" To which the King answered: "that what the "commons desired, had been done, in a good "measure, for several years, and that he would see "what could be farther done in it."

The 17th of December, the chancellor of the exchequer presented to the house, a bill, which he had prepared, "for regulating the coinage of the "silver mony" which having been considered by the commons, they ordered, the 23d, a clause of loan to be inserted into it, in favor of such as would advance mony on credit of the exchequer, in general, transferable to such funds, as should be settled by parliament, towards making good the deficiencies of the clipped mony; and likewise ordered the committee to take care, that all persons who should bring in clipped mony (above what was for taxes) should have a recompense for the same: the bill being amended accordingly, passed the 27th, and was sent up to the lords for their concurrence.

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For supplying the deficiency of the clipped mony, the commons resolved, the last day of the year, to raise 1,200,000 l. by a duty upon all dwelling houses except cottages (2); which duty was to be paid by the inhabitants of the said houses, and to be continued for seven years, and no longer.

A public fast.

Before I enter on the transactions of the year 1696, I must mention, that at the begining of this session, the commons addressed his Majesty to appoint a fast, for the success of the parliament, and accordingly, the 11th of December was appointed, for London, and the 18th, for the rest of the kingdom.

Written protections declared void.

Great complaints being likewise made to the house, of the abuse of written protections given by the members, such protections were called in, and made void in law: It was, however, at the same time, declared, that their menial servants should injoy the same privileges as before; but no person should be taken into custody, upon complaint of a breach of privilege, 'till the matter should be examined, which order was not to extend to any breach of privilege upon the person of a member.

An' 1696. Inconveniencies occasion'd by calling in the clipped mony.

But to return to the case of the clipped mony: the terms appointed by the King's proclamation, to put a stop to the currency of it, were so short, that notwithstanding all the precaution which had been used, an immediate stop was thereby put to trade (3). The inconveniencies which occasioned this stop being represented to the house of commons, and the danger that attended them too evident to be over-looked, the house considered, in a grand committee, the state of the nation, and how to prevent the stop of commerce during the re-coining of the clipped monies. After several debates on this matter, they resolved, on the 9th of January, first, "that "the recompense for supplying the clipped mony "should extend to all clipped mony, which was silver, altho' of a coarser allay than the standard. "Secondly, that the collectors and receivers of his "Majesty's aids and revenues be injoined to receive "all such mony. Thirdly, that a reward of 5 l. "per cent. be given to all such persons as should "bring in, either milled, or broad unclipped "mony, to be applied in exchange of the clipped "mony, throughout the kingdom. Fourthly,

Resolutions of the commons thereupon.

(1) The lords had before addressed the King to the same effect.

(2) This tax was of two shillings yearly upon each house, four shillings yearly upon every house having ten windows, and eight shillings yearly, upon such houses as have twenty windows, over and above the said two shillings.

(3) This stop was partly occasioned by the backwardness of the people to receive any old mony,' tho' allowed at present to pass, upon an apprehension, that at last, it would be left upon their hands; partly, from the slowness of re-coining, in respect of the wants of the public, tho' otherwise dispatched, with all the expedition possible in so great an affair; and partly by reason of the unequal intrinsic value, between the new-milled mony, and those pieces or denominations of the old, which were allowed to be current: for while the hammered mony, and pieces not clipped within the rim, were permited to pass, for the present necessity of trade, no body was willing to make payments in new mony, which so much exceeded the old in its intrinsic value. And therefore, the new silver mony, as fast as it issued from the mints and exchequer, was stopped, in a great measure, in the hands of the first receiver: for none were disposed to make payments, in the new silver coin, at the old standard, when they could do it in the clipped pieces, so much below it: and those who had no payment to make kept their new mony in their chests, as medals and rarities; and there is a great deal of reason to believe, that at first, large sums of the new mony, by the help of the crucible, went in ingots abroad to purchase gold, which at this time, was a very profitable commodity in England.

"that

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"that a reward alſo of 3 d. per ounce be given to "all perſons who ſhould bring in wrought plate to "the Mint to be re-coined. Fifthly; that for the "ſooner bringing in the clipped mony to be re-"coined, any perſons might pay in their whole next "years tax of 4 s. in the pound, in the ſaid clipped "mony, at one convenient time, appointed for "that purpoſe: Laſtly, that commiſſioners be ap-"pointed in every county, to pay and diſtribute "the milled and broad unclipped mony and the "new-coined mony, and to receive the clipped "mony." A committee was appointed at the ſame time, to prepare and bring in a bill upon the ſaid reſolutions.

A bill upon theſe reſolutions.

A bill was accordingly preſented, and, after a ſecond reading, on the 21ſt of January, commited to a committee of the whole houſe. The queſtion was put the ſame day, that it be an inſtruction to the ſaid committee, to conſider the price of guineas, which paſſed in the negative. The ſiting of this committee was interrupted for ſome time; however, on the 4th of February it was reſolved: "that a farther incouragement be given "for bringing in plate to be coined, and broad "mony in order to be exchanged for clipped mo-"ny; and that a clauſe be inſerted in the ſaid bill "to prevent the melting down, and exportation of "coin, or any bullion." Two days after the ſaid "committee was impowered to receive another clauſe, "to prohibit the uſe of plate in public "houſes (1).

The houſe of peers having, on the 6th of January, made ſeveral amendments to the "bill for re-"gulating the coinage of the ſilver mony of this "kingdom," moſt of which were, on the 13th, after ſeveral debates and conferences, diſagreed to by the commons, mr. chancellor of the exchequer, according to order, preſented, the 16th, another bill to the houſe, "for remedying the ill ſtate of the coin of "this kingdom," which was received, and after ſome amendments had been made to it, by a committee of the whole houſe, ordered to be ingroſſed, and then ſent up to the lords, for their concurrence.

Acts paſſed.

The 21ſt, his Majeſty gave the royal aſſent to this act, and at the ſame time, to "an act for inlarging "the times to come in, and purchaſe certain an-"nuities, &c; an act for regulating trials, in caſes "of treaſon and miſpriſion of treaſon; an act for "preventing charge and expenſe in elections of "members to ſerve in parliament;" and to ſeveral private bills: the 13th of February, the King came again to the parliament houſe, and gave the royal ſanction to "an act for granting to his Majeſty an "aid of 4 s. in the pound; an act to prevent falſe "and double returns of members to ſerve in par-"liament; an act for the more eaſy recovering of "ſmall tithes," and to ſeven private acts.

Debates about lowering the price of guineas.

The next debate of moment, which may properly follow the former concerning the re-coining of the ſilver mony, as being relative thereunto, was concerning the exhorbitant price of guineas. This debate was occaſioned by a petition preſented, the 8th of February, to the commons, by diverſe merchants and others; in which they prayed, that the difficulties they labored under, and loſſes which they ſuſtained, in their trade and payments, occaſioned by the riſe of guineas, might be taken into conſideration. The houſe begun, by ordering a bill to be brought in, "for taking off the obligation and "incouragement of coining guineas, for a certain "time;" and then they proceeded to the lowering of the value: which was not however done without ſome oppoſition.

The reaſons againſt lowering the price of guineas were; "that the people were eaſy and pleas'd "with their being at this price; that abundance of "people, in whoſe hands they ſhould, at laſt, be "found, would be looſers, which would occaſion "great diſturbance and clamor in the kingdom; "that it ought, therefore, to be conſidered, how far "it was fit to incenſe the common people in this "juncture of affairs, who had already ſuffered ſo "much by the war." The oppoſite party, who were for reducing the price of guineas, objected; "that there was as great reaſon to bring down the "price of guineas, as there was to re-coin the ſilver "mony, at the old ſtandard; (here they reckoned "up the miſchiefs mentioned above on that head;) "that however the parliament were obliged to "manage, by the neceſſity of affairs, and to ſuffer, "for a time, the guineas to paſs at that exceſſive "rate, that there might be in ſome meaſure a "currency of mony, while the Mints were imploy-"ed in re-coining the ſilver; yet now they were "obliged to ſink the price nearer the old ſtandard, "that the ſilver mony might not be hoarded up, "as faſt as iſſued from the Mint? and that what-"ever loſſes and inconveniencies the people might "ſuffer, by the reducing of guineas, yet the miſ-"chiefs which aroſe, and would daily increaſe, "from not doing it, did infinitely over-balance "thoſe on the other ſide."

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Reaſons againſt it.

Reaſons for it.

The value of guineas ſunk.

Theſe reaſons, at length, prevailing, the commons reſolved to lower the price of guineas, and that they might do it with the leſs grievance to the people, they at firſt, on the 15th of February, reduced them from thirty to twenty-eight ſhillings, afterwards from twenty-eight ſhillings to twenty-ſix ſhillings, till at laſt, a clauſe was inſerted in the "bill "for incouraging the bringing of plate to the "the Mint," whereby they were ſettled at twenty-two ſhillings, from which they naturally fell to their former price of twenty-one ſhillings ſix-pence. And thus this great undertaking, which tho' highly difficult was abſolutely neceſſary, came to a happy end, to the immortal honor of this parliament in general, and in particular of mr. Charles Montague, (afterwards lord Halliſax) to whoſe ſhare the management of this arduous and important affair chiefly fell.

Affair of the Scotiſh Eaſt-India-company.

I come now to an affair, which, together with another I ſhall mention afterwards, gave the King no ſmall uneaſineſs: the Scots, purſuant to the act of parliament they had obtained, for erecting a company to trade to Africa and the Eaſt-Indies, of which I made ſome mention above, having procured a great many ſubſcribers, as well Engliſh Interlopers and Hamburghers, as Scots; the Engliſh Eaſt-India-company preſented a petition to the houſe of peers, ſeting forth; "that this Scotiſh "company would not only be greatly prejudicial to "the Engliſh Eaſt-India-company, but to the na-"tion in general." The houſe of lords, hereupon, formed an addreſs to the King, to which the commons gave their concurrence, wherein they repreſented to his Majeſty: that having "taken into "their conſideration the ſtate of the trade of this "kingdom, they found, that beſide many other "diſadvantages and difficulties it now lay un-"der, an act of parliament which had lately re-"ceived his Majeſty's royal aſſent in his king-"dom of Scotland, for erecting a company trad-"ing to Africa, and the Indies, was likely to "bring many prejudices and miſchiefs to all his "Majeſty's ſubjects, that were concerned in the "wealth and trade of this nation; that the ſaid "act did provide," that all ſhips, merchandize,

(1) This afterwards proved one of the beſt expedients to ſupply the Mint with bullion, there being at this time, ſcarce any public houſe in England, that had not ſeveral ſilver tankards, and other utenſils of the ſame metal, which the owners choſe rather to ſend to the Mints and turn into ready mony, than to keep ſo much uſeleſs and dead ſilver at home.

and

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and other effects whatſoever, belonging to that company, ſhould be free from all manner of reſtraints or prohibitions, and of all cuſtoms, taxes, ſeſſes, ſupplies, or other duties impoſed, or to be impoſed by act of parliament, or otherwiſe, for the ſpace of twenty-one years: and farther, that the ſaid company, whoſe members, officers, ſervants, or others belonging thereto, ſhould be free, both in their perſons, eſtates and goods imployed in the ſaid ſtock and trade, from all manner of taxes, ſeſſes, ſupplies, exciſes, quartering of ſoldiers, tranſient or local, levying of ſoldiers, or other impoſitions whatſoever, during the ſpace of twenty-one years. "That "by reaſon of the great advantages granted to the "Scotiſh Eaſt-India-company, and the duties and "difficulties which lay upon that trade, in Eng- "land, a great part of the ſtock and ſhiping of "this nation would be carried thither; and by "this means Scotland might be made a free port "for all Eaſt-India-commodities; and conſequent- "ly thoſe ſeveral places in Europe, which were "ſupplied from England, would be furniſhed from "Scotland, much cheaper than could be done by "the Engliſh, and therefore, this nation loſe the "benefit of ſupplying foreign parts with thoſe "commodities, which had always been a great ar- "ticle in the ballance of their forein trade. More- "over, that the ſaid commodities would unavoid- "ably be brought by the Scots into England "by ſtealth, both by ſea and land, to the vaſt "prejudice of the Engliſh trade and navigation, "and to the great detriment of his Majeſty, in "his cuſtoms: and that when the Scotiſh nation "ſhould have ſettled themſelves in plantations in "America, the Engliſh commerce in tobacco, "ſugar, cotton, wool, ſkins, maſts, &c. would "be utterly loſt, becauſe the privileges of that "nation, granted them by this act, were ſuch, that "that kingdom muſt be the magazine for all com- "modities, and the Engliſh plantations, and the "traffic there, loſt to this nation, and the expor- "tation of their own manufactures yearly decreaſed: "that beſide theſe, and many other obſtructions, "that this act would unavoidably bring to the gene- "ral trade of this nation, another clauſe in the ſaid "act, whereby" his Majeſty promiſed to interpoſe his authority to have reſtitution, reparation and ſatisfaction made, for any damage that might be done to any of the ſhips, goods, merchandizes, perſons or other effects whatſoever, belonging to the ſaid company, and that upon the public charge; "did "ſeem to ingage his Majeſty to imploy the ſhiping "and ſtrength at ſea of this nation, to ſupport "this new company, to the great detriment even of "this kingdom."

To this addreſs, the King anſwered: "that he "had been ill-ſerved in Scotland, but he hoped "ſome remedies might be found to prevent the in- "conveniences which might ariſe from this "act."

The 26th of January, the commons, after having read the report of a committee appointed to examine by what methods the ſaid act was procured, together with ſeveral other papers relating to this affair, came to a reſolution, that "the directors "of the company of Scotland, trading to Africa, "and the Indies, adminiſtring and taking here, "in this kingdom, an oath de fideli, and under "color of a Scotiſh act of parliament, ſtyling "themſelves a company, and acting as ſuch, and "raiſing mony in this kingdom, for carrying on the "ſaid trade, were guilty of a high crime and "miſdemeanor; and that the lord Belhaven, "William Patterſon, the projector (1), and the "reſt of the directors, who were reſident in Eng- "land, ſhould be impeached.

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The commons having conſidered ſeveral times, in a grand committee, the ſtate of the nation, in relation to trade, reſolved, firſt, "that a coun- "cil of trade be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, "with powers for the more effectual preſervation "of the trade of this kingdom; ſecondly, that "the commiſſioners conſtituting the ſaid council "be nominated by parliament; thirdly, that "none of the commiſſioners be of this houſe; "fourthly, that the ſaid commiſſioners ſhould take "an oath, acknowledging that King William was "rightful and lawful heir of this realm, and that the "late King James had no right or title thereunto, &c. Theſe, with ten other reſolutions relating to the ſaid council, being reported to the houſe, the two firſt, with ſome more of them, were approved; but ſeveral others, and eſpecially the fourth, which occaſioned a warm debate, were rejected by the houſe: whereupon a bill was ordered to be brought in, upon the reſolutions agreed to (2).

A council of trade voted.

The other affair I mentioned, which gave great uneaſineſs to the King, was a grant his Majeſty had made to the earl of Portland, and to his heirs for ever, of the manors of Denbigh, Bromfield and Yale, in the county of Denbigh, being part of the demeſnes of the Prince of Wales. The gentlemen of Wales ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this grant, and the warrant coming to the lords of the treaſury, they were, at one or two days notice only, heard againſt it, before their lordſhips: they repreſented; "that the Welſh were never ſubject to any but to "God and the King; that thoſe lordſhips were "unalienable; that they belonged to the Prince of "Wales when there was one, and the rents now "ſupported the government there, the ſalaries of "the judges, and other officers of the crown, "being paid out of them: they ſaid, the grant was "too great for any forein ſubject to have; and "the people of the country were too great to be "ſubject to a foreiner: that if ſuch grants were "frequently made, there would be nothing left "for the King or his ſucceſſors to ſubſiſt on: they "could not conceive how the glory and grandeur "of England could be upheld by a poor landleſs "crown, and a miſerable neceſſitous people: that "they were not Engliſh, but forein politicians, "that adviſed the King to theſe grants: that the "Kings of England always reigned beſt when they "had the affections of their Engliſh ſubjects; of "which they were ſecure, when the people were "ſenſible the King was intirely in their intereſt, "and loved the Engliſh ſoil, as well as the people's "mony:" To which mr. Price, then a member of the houſe of commons, but afterwards a very famous judge, towards the concluſion of a long ſpeech he made, added: "let it be conſidered (ſaid he) "can it be for his Majeſty's intereſt or honor "(when the people hear this and underſtand it)

A grant to the earl of Portland reſented.

(1) The other directors were David Nairne, James Smith, James Cheiſly, William Shepherd, Robert Blackwood, James Balfour, James Fowlis, Thomas Coutts, Abraham Wilmer, Daniel van Mildert, Robert Williamſon, Anthony Merry, Paul Dominicque, Robert Douglas, Thomas Skinner, Hugh Fraſier, James Bateman, Walter Stewart, and Joſeph Cohen d' Azevedo. Hiſt. of King William III, Vol. 3. p. 131.

(2) The Scots, notwithſtanding all this oppoſition, proceeded in their project of making ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, and actually ſettled a colony on the Iſthmus of Darien or Panama in America; from whence it was thought they propoſed to trade both with the Eaſt-Indies and Europe, if they had not been expelled from thence by the Spaniards, who never ſuffer any European nations to carry on a trade, thro' the Pacific ocean, or South-ſea, to the Eaſt-Indies.

"that

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" that he daily gives away the revenues, and " more, the perpetuity of his crown-revenue to his " forein ſubjects? Good Kings, after a long and " chargeable war, were accuſtomed to tell their " people, that they ſorrowed for the hardſhips the " nation underwent by long war and heavy taxes, " and that now they would live on their own: but " it is to be feared, if grants are made ſo large " and ſo frequent, there will be nothing for the " King or his ſucceſſors, to call his own to live " upon." Having all done ſpeaking, the lord Godolphin ſaid; " they had offered many " weighty reaſons, which they (the lords of the " treaſury) ſhould repreſent to his Majeſty."

From the treaſury, the gentlemen of Wales attended the grant to the privy-ſeal, where their reaſons and complaints againſt it were heard and received with all candor and goodneſs: yet, notwithſtanding all this, the ſaid grant being only ſuperſeded, but not recalled, ſir Thomas Groſvenor, ſir Richard Middleton, ſir John Conway, ſir Robert Cotton, ſir William Williams, ſir Roger Puleſton, Edward Vaughan, Edward Brereton, and Robert Price, eſqs; addreſſed themſelves, by petition, to the commons. Upon this occaſion mr. Price again made a long and very memorable ſpeech, in which having obſerved, " that this petition, tho' " ſubſcribed by a few hands, yet had the appro- " bation of thouſands, who were not influenced " by their own intereſt, but acted for the honor of " the crown, and the welfare of the Britiſh nation;" he added, to what he had before offered to the lords of the treaſury and the lord privy-ſeal, among many others, the following weighty arguments: " We are in a confederacy in war, and ſome of " thoſe confederates our enemies in trade, tho' " planted among us, ſome of them are in the " King's council; ſome in the army; and the " common traders have poſſeſſed themſelves of the " outſkirts of this great city: we find ſome or " other of them naturalized, and others made " denizens; every parliament, we find, indeavors " for a general naturalization, and that warmly " ſollicited from court. We ſee our coin all gone, " and our confederates openly coining baſe mony, " of Dutch allay for us: we ſee moſt places of " power and profit given to foreigners: we ſee " our confederates in conjunction with the Scots, " indeavoring to ruin our Engliſh trade: we ſee " the revenues of the crown daily given away to " one or other, who make ſale of them, and tranſ- " mit their eſtates elſewhere: we do not find any of " them buy lands or eſtates among us; but what " they can get from us, they ſecure in their " own country; how can we hope for happy days " in England, when this great lord, and other " foreigners (tho' naturalized) are in the Engliſh, " and alſo in the Dutch councils? if theſe ſtrangers " (tho' confederates) ſhould be in different intereſts, " (as they evidently are, in point of trade) to " which intereſt is it to be ſuppoſed, theſe great " forein counſellors and favorites would adhere? " So that I foreſee, when we are reduced to ex- " treme poverty (as we are now very near it) we " are to be ſupplanted by our neighbors, and be- " come a colony to the Dutch. We ought to con- " ſider we are Engliſhmen, and like good pa- " triots, ſtand by our country, and not ſuffer it " to become tributary to ſtrangers: we have " rejoiced, that we have beat out of this country " Popery and Slavery, and do now, with as great " joy, entertain Socinianiſm and Poverty; and yet " we ſee our properties daily given away, and our " liberties muſt follow. The remedies (added " he to conclude) that our fore-fathers took to cure " ſuch like ills, are well known. I deſire more " redreſs than puniſhment; therefore I ſhall nei- " ther move for an impeachment againſt this noble " lord, nor the baniſhment of him; but ſhall beg " he may have no power over us, nor we any de- " pendence on him; and ſo conclude with this mo- " tion; that an addreſs be made to his Majeſty, " to ſtop the grant that is paſſing to the earl " of Portland, of the lordſhips of Denbigh, " Bromfield and Yale, and other lands in the prin- " cipality of Wales, and that the ſame be not " granted but by conſent of parliament."

Part of mr. Price's remarkable ſpeech.

This bold ſpeech had ſo great weight with the houſe, that mr. Price's motion was carried by unanimous conſent: and an addreſs being prepared, purſuant thereunto, and preſented to the King, on the 22d of January, by the whole houſe, his Majeſty expreſſed himſelf to this effect:

An addreſs againſt it.

" I have a kindneſs for my lord Portland, which " he has deſerved of me by long and faithful ſer- " vices: but I ſhould not have given him theſe " lands, if I had imagined the houſe of commons " could have been concerned: I will, therefore, re- " call the grant, and find ſome other way of ſhew- " ing my favor to him.

The King's anſwer.

The attention not only of the court and parliament, but of the whole nation, began now to be taken off from all other affairs, by a diſcovery that was made, as well of an invaſion and inſurrection, with which the kingdom was threatned, as with an aſſaſſination intended againſt his Majeſty's royal perſon. The French King began to be heartily tired of the war, having in a manner ruined and depopulated his whole country, and the laſt campain in Flanders having, as it were, blaſted all his hopes in the field, he determined, before he gave up the cards, to make one grand effort to reſtore his ally, King James. In order to this, new levies were made in France, during the winter, and a great number of forces were ordered to file off towards Dunkirk and Calais. Towards the begining of February, it began to be a public diſcourſe in France, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was now fully reſolved to re-eſtabliſh King James, and had concerted matters ſo well, that nothing but the wind and waves could prevent it (1). The 18th of February, O. S. King James went in a poſt-chaiſe to Calais, in order to imbark for England, being attended by the marſhal de Boufflers, and the duke of Berwick, with ſir George Barclay; and ſome reformed officers were ſent before to England, to prepare King James's friends to join him there, at his landing. The French King, beſide the other expences of this expedition, made a preſent of 100,000 louis d'or, to King James, with a promiſe of ſix millions of livres more, as occaſion ſhould require, and the abdicated Monarch borrowed 150,000 livres on his jewels. In order to facilitate this enterprize, ſome of the moſt deſperate of the conſpirators (ſome ſay with, others will have it without, the knowledge of King James, or indeed, any conſiderable men of their party) (2) had reſolved to attack King William's guards, as he came

A plot to invade England and aſſaſſinate the King.

(1) They were ſo confident, in France, of the ſucceſs of this enterprize, that the duke of Orleans urged it as an argument to the duke of Savoy, to make his ſeparate peace, before the total overthrow of the confederates, which of neceſſity would attend the reſtoration of the abdicated Monarch. Hiſt. of King William III, Vol. 3. p. 145.

The preparations which were made in France, for this invaſion, were very extraordinary. The troops appointed for it, conſiſted of eighteen regiments of foot, three of horſe, and two of dragoons, all veteran troops, amounting together to 16,000 men, to be commanded by the marquis d'Harcourt. Between 4 and 500 tranſports were ready at Calais and Dunkirk, and they were to be convoyed by fifty-one men of war. They had orders to land at Dover or Rye; where the Jacobites had promiſed to receive them. Cont. of Rapin in French. Book 25. p. 249.

(2) Thoſe who are for exculpating King James, and the moſt conſiderable of the conſpirators, from having any knowledge of the intended aſſaſſination, pretend, it appears, by the trials, that it was known to very few of them; and that all

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from hunting; and either to take him priſoner, and hurry him away to France (as thoſe who judge moſt favorably of the deſign pretend) or to kill him on the ſpot (as is moſt probable) whence this conſpiracy had the name of the Aſſaſſination-plot.

The news of King James's arrival at Calais was no ſooner ſpread thro' the Netherlands, than the Prince of Wirtemberg, the elector of Bavaria, and Prince Vaudemont, immediately diſpatched expreſſes of it to King William, and the former acquainted his Majeſty, that he had ſtoped all the ſhips, in the harbor and canal of Oſtend, as well as in that of Bruges, in order to tranſport the forces under his command, for his Majeſty's ſervice: and that, in caſe he did not quickly hear from his Majeſty, he would run the hazard of bringing them over, which accordingly he did: nor were the States of Holland backward, in making the like preparations, at Sas van Ghent.(1)

The aſſaſſination being, however, agreed on, at leaſt by ſome of the conſpirators, ſeveral conſultations were held, to fix upon the manner of, and place for effecting it (2): and at length, they fixed upon a place between Turnham-green and Brentford, in a Mooriſh bottom, where there is a bridge, and diverſe roads that croſs one another. On the North ſide there is a road, which goes round Brentford, and on the South, a lane, leading to the river; ſo that paſſengers can come thither ſeveral ways. After having paſſed the bridge, the road grows narrow, with a foot-path on one ſide, and a high thick hedge on the other (3). Here it was the horrid parricide was to be commited; and for the manner of it, the conſpirators agreed to divide themſelves into three parties: one commanded, by Rockwood, was to attack the guards in front, and another, under Porter, in the rear, while a third, commanded by ſir George Barclay, was to ride directly up to the coach and aſſaſſinate his Majeſty.

They propoſed afterwards to ride in a body to Hammerſmith, and there ſeparating to take ſeveral ways for London. The firſt day fixed for perpetrating this helliſh deſign, was the 15th of February; but the King having put off the deſign of hunting that day, it was prevented: whereupon ſome of the moſt timerous of the conſpirators, fearing a diſcovery, declined the action, and withdrew: but others, concluding the deſign was not diſcovered, becauſe no body was taken up, had another meeting, wherein they reſolved it ſhould be done the next inſuing Saturday: but being diſappointed in their hopes, and there being a muttering among the people, that a plot was diſcovered, they all diſperſed, and every one was thoughtful how to ſecure himſelf by flight.

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The firſt who gave his Majeſty a circumſtantial account of this horrid conſpiracy, was probably mr. Pendergraſs: he had been ſent for out of the country to London, and was, 'till then, wholly ignorant of the deſign: but being ſtruck with horror at the propoſal, it was thought he immediately took the reſolution to ſave the King's life; tho' the better to manage his intended diſcovery, he ſeem'd willing to be one of the party (4). The 14th of February, at night, this gentleman, went to the earl of Portland, and being admited to a private interview with his lordſhip, he, tho' a ſtranger, without farther ceremony, deſired "he would perſuade "the King, to ſtay in his palace the next morning, "for that, if he went abroad to hunt he would "be murder'd." He was introduced to his Majeſty, the ſame night, tho' late, and diſcover'd the whole plot. His deportment ſhewing him to be a man of honor, a great ſtreſs was laid upon his information, and, thereupon, the King is ſuppoſed to have put off his deſign of hunting.

The next day, one de la Rue, a Frenchman, and one of the conſpirators, who knew nothing of any diſcovery made before, confirm'd all Pendergraſs had ſaid: but tho' they had ſeparately given the ſame account of the whole conſpiracy, they would not, at firſt, be prevail'd upon to name the conſpirators; till the 21ſt of February, the King having examined them both ſeparately in his cloſet, he found arguments of ſufficient weight to remove all their ſcruples,

all the criminals, at their execution, denied King James's having given any commiſſion or orders for killing King William: tho' in this, there ſeems to be a mental reſervation: for they allow of a commiſſion which ſome of them ſaid they had ſeen, being only in general, "to make war upon the Prince of Orange;" or as other relations expreſs it, "to attack and ſeize "the Prince of Orange in his winter quarters, to which ſome add, in the midſt of his guards." The continuator of Rapin, however, leaves it undetermined, whether this commiſſion, which was produced by ſir George Barclay, was real or fictitious

(1) Notwithſtanding the expedition made by the expreſſes ſent the King from the Netherlands, it is generally believed, that his Majeſty had before certain intimation not only of the intended invaſion, but likewiſe of the conſpiracy againſt his perſon. It has been ſaid, that every ſtep the conſpirators took was, from time to time, diſcovered to the earl of Portland, by one Richard Fiſher, who had his knowledge of it from Harriſon the prieſt, as being thought to be one of their party; and that one Grimes had likewiſe diſcovered ſomething of it to the ſame lord, having got ſome dark hints of it from another of the party: but as they both refuſed to name the conſpirators, no great credit was given to their information: the continuator of Rapin in French pretends Fiſher and Grimes made their diſcoveries, the 10th of February, but four days before it was made by Pendergraſs: and as Fiſher was not made an evidence, nor indeed was ever heard of afterwards, many are apt to think, that the government had little or no intelligence of theſe matrers, 'till two or three of the conſpirators, being jealous of one another, gave the court an account of them.

(2) Some propoſed to kill his Majeſty at Kenſington, by attacking his guards, and entering his palace in the dead of the night; but this was found wholly impracticable. Others were for murdering him as he came on Sunday, to St. James's chappel; for which purpoſe forty men, well armed, were to attack his guards, then conſiſting of twenty-five men only, while ſix men on foot, ſhould ſhut Hide-park-gate, and the reſt aſſaſſinate his Majeſty. It was alſo propoſed to kill the coach-horſes, as they were entering into the park, that the paſſage being ſtoped, the guards might not be able to come 'till the aſſaſſines had done their work. Another propoſal was to murder the King, as he returned from hunting, in a narrow lane, by a wood-ſide, near Richmond, leading to the Thames, on the other ſide of the water, about 150 paces long, in which there is a gate, that when ſhut, hinders coaches and horſes from coming that way: but this being diſapproved of by ſir George Barclay, was, as well as the former, laid aſide.

(3) They could indeed hardly have found a more proper place, for the King being accuſtomed to enter the ferry-boat, in his coach, and as ſoon as he landed on this ſide the water, to let the coach drive on without expecting the reſt of the guards, who could not croſs the Thames, 'till the boat returned to the Surry-ſide, to bring them over, he generally paſſed thro' this lane, with only five or ſix of his guards.

(4) This is the favorable account given of Pendergraſs by our hiſtorians; but the continuator of Rapin in French, who calls him an Iriſhman, a Soldier, a Roman-Catholic, and a virulent Jacobite, gives a very different account of the motives which induced him to make this diſcovery: "having (ſays he) neglected to meet the conſpirators, at a place and time fix'd "for a rendezvous, they ſuſpected he had a deſign to betray them, and, therefore, reſolving to ſend him out of the world firſt, "gave the commiſſion to Porter. Pendergraſs, meeting with Porter, gave ſo good an account of the cauſe of his abſence, as "not only ſatisfied him, but ingaged him to divulge the ſecret, and acquaint him with the cruel orders he had received, "which he was glad he had now an excuſe not to obey. Pendergraſs, having eſcap'd this danger, and being apprehenſive the "reſt of the confederates might not be ſo eaſily convinced of his integrity, he immediately reſolved, for his own preſervation, "to diſcover the whole deſign. The ſame author accounts, in the like manner, for Porter's leaving the conſpirators, fearing "they might revenge on him the mercy he had ſhewn to Pendergraſs." B. xxv. p. 253, 254.

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and, upon a promiſe that they ſhould not be made uſe of as evidences, they conſented to tell the names of the aſſaſſins.

Mr. Porter, who had drawn Pendergraſs into the plot, coming in likewiſe and accuſing him, among others, as a conſpirator, he thereby thought himſelf diſcharged from all obligation, and, together with de la Rue and Porter, conſented to be evidences.

Proclamation to apprehend the conſpirators.

His Majeſty, being now perfectly inform'd of all circumſtances, cauſed his proclamation to be iſſued, the 23d of February, for apprehending the conſpirators (1), with a promiſe of 1000l. reward, for every offender that ſhould be taken and brought to juſtice. This proclamation was no ſooner publiſh'd, than mr. George Harris, who, with others, had been ſent out of France, to obey the orders of ſir George Barclay, and was actually ingag'd in the aſſaſſination, reſign'd himſelf to ſir William Trumball, and diſcovered all he knew, ſo that the King's evidences of the plot daily increaſed.

Acts paſs'd.

The 24th of February, the King came to the houſe of lords, and having ſent for the commons, his Majeſty gave the royal aſſent to "an act for "taking, examining, and ſtating the public ac- "counts. To an act for repairing the highways, "between London and Harwich;" and to two private acts: after which he made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech about the plot.

"I am come hither, this day, upon an extraor- "dinary occaſion, which might have proved fatal, "had it not been diſappointed, by a ſingular mercy "and goodneſs of GOD; and may now, by the con- "tinuance of the ſame providence, and our own "prudent indeavors, be ſo improved, as to become "a ſufficient warning to us, to provide for our "ſecurity, againſt the pernicious practices and at- "tempts of our enemies. I have received ſeveral "concuring informations of a deſign to aſſaſſinate "me, and that our enemies, at the ſame time, are "very forward in their preparations for a ſudden "invaſion of this kingdom; and have, therefore "thought it neceſſary to loſe no time, in acquaint- "ing my parliament with theſe things, in which "the ſafety of the kingdom, and the public wel- "fare, are ſo nearly concerned, that I aſſure myſelf "nothing will be omited, on your part, which "may be thought proper for our preſent or future "ſecurity. I have not been wanting to give the "neceſſary orders for the fleet; and I hope we "have ſuch a ſtrength of ſhips, and in ſuch a readi- "neſs, as will be ſufficient to diſappoint the inten- "tions of our enemies. I have alſo diſpatch'd "orders for bringing home ſuch a number of our "troops, as may ſecure us from any attempt. Some "of the conſpirators againſt my perſon, are already "in cuſtody, and care is taken to apprehend ſo "many of the reſt, as are diſcovered: and ſuch "orders are given, as the preſent exigency of affairs "does abſolutely require, at this time, for the pub- "lic ſafety."

My lords and gentlemen,

"Having now acquainted you with the danger "which has threatned us, I cannot doubt of your "readineſs and zeal, to do every thing which you "ſhall judge proper for our common ſafety: and "I perſuade myſelf, we muſt be all ſenſible, how "neceſſary it is, in our preſent circumſtances, that "all poſſible diſpatch ſhould be given to the buſi- "neſs before you (2).

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Both houſes attended his Majeſty, the ſame day, at Kenſington, with an addreſs; in which "they "congratulated his preſervation, and declared their "abhorrence of the barbarous deſign; beſeeching "him to take a more than ordinary care of his "perſon:" they likewiſe laid hold of this occaſion to aſſure him; "that they would ſupport and aſſiſt "his perſon and government againſt the late King "James, and all his enemies; and, in caſe his "Majeſty came to a violent death, they would "revenge it; deſiring he would ſeize and ſecure "ſuch perſons, with their horſes and arms, as he "ſhould think fit."

Addreſs of both houſes.

In anſwer to this addreſs, his Majeſty "thank'd "them heartily for it; aſſured them, that on his "part, he would do all that was within his "power, and readily venture his life, for the pre- "ſervation of this kingdom, to which he had ſo many "obligations, and recommended himſelf to the "continuance of their loyalty and good affection."

The King's anſwer.

The commons, to ſhew the King they were in earneſt, order'd, the ſame day, a bill to be brought in, "to impower his Majeſty to ſecure and detain "all ſuch perſons, as his Majeſty ſhould ſuſpect "were conſpiring againſt his perſon and govern- "ment;" as alſo, "a bill, that whenever it ſhould "pleaſe GOD to afflict theſe realms with the death "of his preſent Majeſty, the parliament then in "being ſhould not be diſſolved thereby, but ſhould "continue untill the next heir to the crown in ſuc- "ceſſion, according to the late act of parliament, "ſhould diſſolve the ſame, and if there ſhould be "no parliament then in being, that the laſt preceed- "ing parliament ſhould immediately convene and "ſit (3)." They, likewiſe voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, to deſire him to iſſue his royal proclamation, "to baniſh all Papiſts from the cities of Lon- "don and Weſtminſter, and ten miles from the "ſame, and that he would give inſtructions to the "judges, going the circuits, to put the laws in exe- "cution againſt Papiſts and Non-jurors.

The commons ſpent the next three days, in ſigning the following aſſociation:

An aſſociation ſign'd by the commons.

"Whereas there has been a horrid and deteſtable "conſpiracy, formed and carried on by Papiſts, "and other wicked and traiterous perſons, for aſſaſſi- "nating his Majeſty's royal perſon, in order to in- "courage an invaſion from France, to ſubvert our "religion, laws and liberties; we, whoſe names "are hereunto ſubſcribed, do heartily, ſincerely "and ſolemnly proteſs, teſtify and declare, that his "preſent Majeſty King William is rightful and "lawful King of theſe realms. And we do mutually "promiſe and ingage, to ſtand by and aſſiſt each "other, to the utmoſt of our power, in the ſup- "port and defenſe of his Majeſty's moſt ſacred per- "ſon and government againſt the late King James, "and all his adherents. And in caſe his Majeſty come "to any violent and untimely death (which God for-

(1) The perſons nam'd in this proclamation were the duke of Berwick, ſir George Barclay, major Lowick, George Porter, captain Stow, captain Walbank, James Courtney, lieutenant Sherburn, Brice Blaire, Dinant, Chambers, Boice, George Higgens, and his two brothers, ſons of ſir Thomas Higgens, Davis, Cardell, Goodman, Cramburn, Keyes, Pendergraſs, Byerley, Trevor, ſir George Maxwell, Durance, a Flemming, Chriſtopher Knightley, lieutenant King, Holmes, ſir William Perkins and Rockwood. Charnock, and thirteen more had been taken up the day before.

(2) It being a thing very common to ridicule plots, and render the diſcovery of them fictitious, ſir William Trumball, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and a member of the houſe of commons, made a ſpeech in that houſe, to ſecond his Majeſty's ſpeech, to urge the credibility of the witneſſes, and the improbability of their conſpiring together to abuſe the belief of the nation.

(3) This bill was of double uſe; for as, thereby, the parliament wiſely provided againſt that confuſion and diſorder that might happen by the ceſſation of parliament, and all commiſſions, on his Majeſty's deceaſe; ſo nothing could have been imagined more effectual for the ſecurity of the King's life, againſt the malice and violence of his enemies: ſeing by this means all hopes of eſcape and impunity were cut off, in caſe they ſhould ſucceed in their barbarous attempts.

"bid)

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" bid) we do, hereby, farther freely and unanimouſly oblige ourſelves, to unite, aſſociate and " ſtand by each other, in revenging the ſame upon " his enemies, and their adherents; and in ſupporting and defending the ſucceſſion of the crown, " according to an act made in the firſt year of the " reign of King William and Queen Mary, intitled, an act declaring the rights and liberties " of the ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the " crown (1).

The aſſociation preſented to the King.

The 3d of April, this aſſociation was preſented to the King, by the commons in a body, with this requeſt: " that his Majeſty would order both that, " and all other aſſociations, by the commons of " England, to be lodg'd among the records in the " Tower, there to remain as a perpetual memorial " of their loyalty and affection to his Majeſty:" Upon which, his Majeſty told them, " that he " took this as a moſt convincing and acceptable " evidence of their affection: and as they had freely aſſociated themſelves, for his and their common " ſafety, he did heartily enter into the ſame aſſo " ciation, and would be always ready with them, " and the reſt of his good ſubjects, to venture his " life againſt all, who ſhould indeavor to ſubvert " the religion, laws and liberties of England". His Majeſty, at the ſame time, promiſed, that this and all other aſſociations ſhould be lodged among the records of the Tower.

The King's declaration thereupon.

The aſſociation voted legal.

The 4th, the commons voted, " that whoever " ſhould, by word or writing, affirm, that the aſ- " ſociation enter'd into by any member of this " houſe, or any other perſon, was illegal, ſuch " perſon ſhould be deem'd a promoter of the " deſigns of the late King James, and an enemy " to the laws and liberties of this kingdom". The lords likewiſe preſented an aſſociation, ſoon after, and the laudable example of parliament was followed by the corporations, not of England only, but of Scotland and Ireland alſo.

Preparations to oppoſe the attempts of France.

While all theſe things were doing in parliament, the King was no leſs aſſiduous in puting the nation in a poſture of defenſe, in caſe the enemy had perſiſted in their project of an invaſion: the forces which were in England, were ordered to be in a readineſs to march; a train of artillery was forthwith provided to attend them, and the duke of Wirtemberg arrived, with about twenty battalions of foot, from the confederate army. Admiral Ruſſel repaired, in the mean time, to Deal, to take upon him the command of the fleet, which, by a particular providence, had been detain'd many weeks in the Downs, by contrary winds. This fleet was ſoon re-inforced by ſeveral men of war from the river, and by twelve Dutch ſhips from Spithead, which increas'd the number in five or ſix days, to near ſixty men of war. With this fleet the admiral ſet ſail, towards the latter end of February, and ſtood over directly for the coaſts of Calais and Dunkirk: but as I ſhall ſpeak more particularly of the proceedings of this fleet below, I ſhall only obſerve here; that when King James came to Calais, in order to imbark for England, he found his deſign fruſtrated, and, thereupon, returned to St. Germains.

King James returns to St. Germains.

Habeas-corpus act ſuſpended.

The 7th of March, the King came to the parliament-houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to " an act " impowering his Majeſty to apprehend and detain " ſuch perſons as were conſpiring againſt his government;" with three other acts.

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Trials of Charnock, King and Keyes.

The 11th, mr. Charnock (2), lieutenant Richard King, and Thomas Keyes, three of the conſpirators, were brought to their trials at the Old-baily. The indictment ſet forth, " that the priſoners, having " a traiterous deſign to murder the King, and bring " this kingdom under the ſubjection of France, " did, on the 10th of February laſt, and at diverſe " other times, before and ſince, conſult and agree, " with diverſe other perſons, to aſſaſſinate his Ma- " jeſty; and, in order to effect it, provided forty " horſemen, of whom they were to be part, to ly " in ambuſh, and ſet upon the King, in his coach, " and upon the guards that were to attend him, " and deſtroy him, and that they bought horſes " and arms for that purpoſe."

Captain Porter's evidence.

Captain Porter, who had been one of their accomplices, being produced as an evidence, depos'd, " that he lodged with mr. Charnock, in Norfolk- " ſtreet; and that ſir William Perkins came thither " laſt January, and told them ſome friends were come " from France: that, afterwards, mr. Charnock, " the priſoner, acquainted the deponent, that ſir " George Barclay, and thoſe who were come from " France, had brought a commiſſion to levy war " upon King William; and ask'd him, how many " he could bring to join them, if the King landed? " that he was at ſeveral conſultations with ſir George " Barclay, mr. Holmes, mr. Charnock, and other " conſpirators, to conſider of time and place to " aſſaſſinate his Majeſty: that ſir George Barclay " ſaid, he had mony enough to buy about forty " horſes, and Charnock ſaid, he would bring ſix " or ſeven men out of the country: that ſir William " Perkins promiſed to lend five horſes; and the de- " ponent promiſed to find ſeven men and horſes; " and that it was at length agreed to attack the " King, on the 15th of February, as he came from " hunting at Richmond, between Brentford and " Turnham-green: that they were to be divided " into three parties, and that ſir George Barclay " was to have four out of each party, to ſhoot into " the King's, coach, and kill the King, and thoſe " that were with him, and when the matter was " over, they were to return to town, and ly con- " cealed, 'till there ſhould come a ſufficient number " from abroad to their aſſiſtance: for King James " would be near the French ſhoar, with his army, " and there would be four or five thouſand French " ſent to Scotland to make a diverſion there: that " being diſappointed, by the King's not going " abroad, on Saturday the 15th of February, they " met, on Friday, the 21ſt, at the Sun-tavern in the " Strand; where ſome ſuggeſting the deſign was diſ- " cover'd, the deponent anſwer'd, if it was, they " ſhould have been taken up: and it was, thereupon " reſolved to attempt the execution of their deſign " the next day, for which all things were prepared: " but news being again brought, that the King did " not go abroad that day neither, they concluded " they were diſcovered, and thereupon diſperſed."

The next evidence who was produced, was monſ. de la Rue, likewiſe one of the conſpirators: who depoſed; " that there had been a deſign

(1) Some members having abſented themſelves, on pretenſe of ill-health or buſineſs, it was order'd, on the 27th of February, " that ſuch members, as had not already ſign'd it, ſhould do it in ſixteen days, or declare their refuſal, notwithſtanding their " leave to be abſent." This not having all the effect that was expected, the ſpeaker was order'd to write to thoſe who were in the country, and had not ſign'd the aſſociation, or that had not declared their refuſal ſo to do, to know what they would do, and return their anſwer by the firſt opportunity; and, at the ſame time, the clerk of the houſe was order'd to attend ſuch members as were ill, in town, with the ſaid aſſociation, in order to their ſigning the ſame, or receiving their anſwer or refuſal. Theſe meaſures at length ſo prevail'd over the obſtinacy of the abſent members, that they either ſubſcrib'd, or promiſed to do it on their firſt coming to town.

(2) This unhappy perſon, who now went by the title of captain, and was next in the intended aſſaſſination to ſir George Barclay, was a gentleman of parts, and the ſame King James had preferred to the vice-preſidentſhip of Magdalen college.

" to

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to ſeize his Majeſty's perſon ſome years: that colonel Parker had propoſed it to him, five or ſix years before, at St. Germains; and that the colonel afterwards came to England, in order to effect it: that laſt year, there were ſeveral conſultations about it, between ſir William Perkins, captain Porter, mr. Charnock, and others, and that Charnock told him, they had ſent to King James for a commiſſion to execute the matter, and to authorize them to carry the King into France, if they could take him; and if they could not, they agreed to excuſe themſelves, by pretending he was killed by a random-ſhot: he underſtood the commiſſion was delayed a long time, and then they reſolved to execute the deſign, without a commiſſion; and he was told all things were ready, only they wanted a ſhip to carry him off: that the deponent promiſed to go with them, and they propoſed to get a ſhip at Deal: but King William going to Flanders, they had not time to compleat the affair then, and ſo the deſign was put off to the laſt winter. That in the month of November or December laſt, King, the priſoner, told the deponent, a major-general would come over from France: and the latter end of January, or the begining of February, they told him a major-general was come over from France, and a great many people beſide, and ſomething would be ſpeedily put in execution for the King's ſervice: that King likewiſe told him, there was the rareſt place for the execution of their deſign, that was poſſible, within a quarter of a mile of Richmond: that he ſaw King at Charnock's lodgings, on Saturday the 15th of February, when King ſaid, the Prince of Orange did not go out that day, adding that ſir George Barclay had brought over ſixteen of the guards and two officers, a brigadier, and a ſub-brigadier, who were ſubſiſted at the rate of four ſhillings a day, as the guards were here: King alſo told him, that Charnock and Porter had ſeveral conferences, how to murder or aſſaſſinate his Majeſty; for ſir George Barclay ſaid, he was not ſure of horſes enough to carry him off; and therefore they reſolved to aſſaſſinate him, in the lane between Brentford and Turnham-green: that ſir George Barclay was to command eight perſons, to attack the King, and thoſe who were in the coach with him, mr. Charnock was to attack the guards in the rear, and Rockwood with a party that came from France, and captain Porter, were to attack the guards on each flank."

Captain Pendergraſs's evidence.

Captain Pendergraſs depoſed, "that about the 11th of February laſt, Porter ſent for him to town, and told him, there was a deſign to take away the King's life; and that ſir George Barclay, and other officers, were come on purpoſe, from France, to execute it:" the reſt of his evidence agreed with that of Porter's and de la Rue.

Bertram's evidence.

Bertram, another conſpirator, depoſed, "that, on the 22d of February, he met mr. Charnock at Lincoln's-inn back-gate, who told him warrants were out againſt them; and they had as good go to Kenſington, do the work at once, and take him off, and then they ſhould be quiet, and have the King peaceably here.

Charnock's defenſe.

Mr. Charnock, who made a long but frivolous defenſe, tho' he ſpoke with great preſenſe of mind, readineſs of ſpeech, and ſeemingly great knowledge of the laws, obſerved, "that captain Porter acknowleged he had never ſeen the commiſſion he mentioned from King James, neither could he name the perſons they were to command; which was ſtrange, if the deſign was ſo near being put in execution, as he depoſed; nor was there any proof, that he had ſo much as a horſe provided for the deſign: that as Porter owned he himſelf had contrived and promoted the aſſaſſination, little regard was to be had to his evidence; he became a witneſs to ſave his own life: that the conſultation mentioned by the witneſſes, to carry King William to France alive, was extreamly ridiculous, the thing being impoſſible: that he might ſay, there was a noiſe that King James would come, for it was in the Gazets; but it was not true, that he ſaid there was ſomething to be done firſt, they muſt take off the Spark. That the evidence produced againſt him was frivolous and weak; and if it were all true, it was only diſcourſe, there was no plain and manifeſt proofs of any overt-act, but only preſumptions: that it was ſaid there were forty men to do this fact upon the King, in his coach, amidſt his guards: could it be ſuppoſed that any man in his ſenſes would do ſuch an act, without reſpect to his ſecurity? The guards were at leaſt treble the number, and better appointed; and they muſt be mad to attack them under ſuch diſadvantages, eſpecially when they had no aſylum, no caſtle or fort to retire to, nor any to back or aſſiſt them." The other two had little to ſay for themſelves, Keys eſpecially, who had formerly been a trumpeter, and lately captain Porter's ſervant; ſo that upon a full hearing of the evidence, of which I have given but a brief abſtract (refering for the reſt to the ſtate-trials) they were all three found guilty of high-treaſon, and according to ſentence were executed at Tyburn, on the eighteenth of March.

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They are condemn'd and executed.

At the place of execution, they delivered each a paper to the ſheriff, in which they confeſſed the crime they were accuſed of; but indeavored to palliate it; and, at the ſame time, to juſtify King James, the Jacobites, and the Roman Catholics, Charnock, in particular owned, "that to facilitate King James's invaſion upon England, himſelf, and ſome others, did agree to attack the Prince of Orange and his guards; that as for any order or commiſſion of King James's, for aſſaſſinating the Prince of Orange, he neither ſaw nor heard of any; but had had frequent aſſurances of his Majeſty's having rejected ſuch propoſals when they had been offered; that he did hear, there was a commiſſion arrived for levying of war; which was natural to believe, if the King, was in ſuch readineſs for coming over, as was reported; but that he never ſaw it: and as to what regarded the body of the Roman Catholics, he muſt do them the juſtice, that they had no manner of knowlege of this deſign, nor did he believe it was communicated to any other party of ſuch as were reputed the King's friends, but carried on meerly by a ſmall number, without the advice, conſent or privity of any parties whatſoever.

Their confeſſions.

The 18th of March a proclamation was iſſued, offering a reward of 500 l. for apprehending the lord Montgomery and ſir John Fenwick, who were ſuſpected to be accomplices in the plot.

The 23d, ſir John Friend was brought to his trial, and charged with ſo much of the conſpiracy as related to the intended inſurrection and invaſion. Captain Porter who was the firſt evidence produced againſt him depoſed, "that ſir John was at a conſultation with the lord Ayleſbury, the lord Montgomery, ſir William Perkins, ſir John Fenwick, mr. Cooke, captain Charnock, and himſelf, at the King's-head in Leadenhall-ſtreet, in May or June, of the preceeding year 1695; and at another conſultation with them, about the ſame time, at mrs. Montjoy's, in St. James's ſtreet, at both which it was agreed to ſend mr. Charnock to France, to King James, to deſire him to borrow of the French King 10,000 men,

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" men, and they all agreed, when the King landed, " to meet him with a body of 2000 horſe, of " which every man was to furniſh his quota : and " that Charnock, on his return from France, told " them the French King could not ſpare ſo many " men that year.

Captain Blair's evidence.

Captain Brice Blair gave evidence ; " that about " two years before, ſir John Friend ſhewed him a " commiſſion from King James, to be colonel of " horſe, and that he alſo ſaw ſeveral letters, in " the priſoner's lodgings, from the lord Melford, " and ſecretary Caroll : that the deponent was to " have been his lieutenant-colonel and actually pro- " cured ſeveral officers and men, whoſe names he " enumerated, to ſerve under him: and that he " received ſeveral ſums from the priſoner to be " ſpent on the men that belonged to the regiment : " that the priſoner alſo told him, he had advan- " ced 100 l. toward colonel Perkins's eſcape out " of the Tower ; and King James ordered one " Pigot to repay the priſoner that mony, 50 l. " whereof the deponent received of Pigot, by the " priſoner's orders."

Sir John Friend's defenſe.

The chief matter ſir John Friend argued in his defenſe was, in effect, the ſame with what the lord Ruſſel had argued, in a former reign ; viz. " that " conſulting to levy war, could not be an overt- " act of compaſſing the King's death ; and that " conſulting to levy war was not high-treaſon, " unleſs a war was actually levied." Some thought ſir John Friend's caſe hard, becauſe there was but one witneſs to the conſultation and one to the levying war: but to this it was anſwered, that tho' there were not two witneſſes to the ſame fact, yet as each fact had a tendency to promote the ſame ſpe- cies of treaſon, viz. " the deſtruction of the Prince," they were juſtly to be deemed two witneſſes, with- in the meaning of the ſtatute ; and ſir John Friend was accordingly convicted.

He is convicted.

Sir William Perkins's trial.

The next day, ſir William Perkins, who was accuſed, as well of the intended aſſaſſination, as the inſurrection, was brought to his trial (1).

Porter's evidence.

Porter, who was the firſt evidence, ſwore ; " he " was acquainted with the deſign of attacking the " King and his guards, and promiſed to furniſh " men and horſes for that purpoſe ; but declared " he would not ingage in it in perſon. " As to the intended invaſion and inſurrection, " he " gave the ſame evidence againſt ſir William, as " he had againſt Charnock ; and ſome other wit- " neſſes proved, the priſoner had provided horſes " and arms."

Other evidences.

His defenſe.

Sir William's chief defenſe was ; " that there " was but one witneſs to one overt-act :" but to this he met with the ſame anſwer as Friend had done, viz. " that one witneſs to one overt-act, and ano- " ther witneſs to another overt-act, of the ſame ſpe- " cies of treaſon, was ſufficient."

Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend condemned.

Sir William Perkins being therefore convicted, ſir John Friend was again brought to the bar, where they both received ſentenſe, as in caſes of high-treaſon.

Their examination before a committee of the houſe of commons.

The firſt of April, which was the day it was thought ſir John Friend and ſir William Perkins would have ſuffered, and great numbers of people flocked together between Newgate and Tyburn, to be ſpectators of their exit, the commons thought fit to appoint ſuch members of their houſe as were privy-counſellors, to go to Newgate to examine ſir William Perkins and ſir John Friend in relation to the plot : which being done, it was reported, the next day, that having been examined ſeverally : " the firſt owned his being privy to the intended " aſſaſſination, and in company when it was diſ- " courſed of at two or three meetings ; and thought " himſelf guilty of a fault that he did approve of it : " that he had received hints, ſeveral times, of " King James's deſign of coming over, and par- " ticularly now, and was reſolved to ſerve him " whenever he came over, with himſelf and friends, " thinking that he had wrong done him, and that, it " was his duty to help him whenever he could. That " he conſulted not with any, but thoſe with whom " he could ingage, and he had an influence " upon. That he gueſſed he could have been " able to have brought in to the number of a " troop, but that he would never redeem his " own blood, at the expenſe of thoſe he had drawn " in. That ſince Chriſtmas he did ſee a commiſſion, " which he underſtood to be King James's, direct- " ed to his loving ſubjects, to levy war againſt the " Prince of Orange, and all his adherents: that " he believed it was ſigned by King James, that " it had a ſeal to it, and that he ſaw it in the hands " of a friend, whom he deſired not to name, but " believed he was not in England.

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That ſir John Friend, on his examination, " diſowned knowing any thing of the intended aſ- " ſaſſination, but expreſſed his abhorrence of it. " He confeſſed he was at the two meetings men- " tioned in his trial, and that the perſons named to " be preſent were there likewiſe : and that " Charnock was ſent to France from one of thoſe " meetings, to acquaint King James, that if he " could come over with 8000 foot, and 2000 horſe, " 3 or 4000 horſe would be ready to join him here : " of which he did ingage to furniſh about 2000." This report being made, it was ordered to be en- tered upon the journal, and printed with the votes of the houſe.

Their execution,

The 3d of April, ſir John Friend and ſir Wil- liam Perkins were executed at Tyburn, purſuant to their ſentenſe; where they likewiſe delivered their confeſſions in writing to the ſheriffs.

And confeſſion.

Sir John Friend, tho' he abſolutely denied having any knowledge of the intended aſſaſſination, and would have evaded that of the invaſion, yet ſeemed to own himſelf guilty, in indeavoring to juſtify himſelf, by ſaying, " that the cauſe he ſuffered for " he did firmly believe to be the cauſe of God, " and true religion, and agreeable to the laws of " the land, which he had ever heard, to require a " firm duty and allegiance : that as no forein, ſo " neither any domeſtic power can alienate our alle- " giance : for it was altogether new and unintelli- " gible to him, that the King's ſubjects can depoſe " and dethrone him, on any account, or conſtitute " any that have not an immediate right to his place ; " and that as they ought not to do this, ſo when " it was done, to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his " right, was juſtifiable and their duty. He pro- " feſſed himſelf a member of the church of Eng- " land, which he heartily beſought God Al- " mighty to bleſs and preſerve ; to deliver this " ſinful nation from the guilt of rebellion, blood " and perjury ; to comfort the diſtreſſed King, " reſtore him to his right, and his miſled ſubjects " to their allegiance, and to bleſs his royal conſort,

(1) It is remarkable that theſe two trials were on the two days before the "act for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon" became of force. Sir William inſiſted, as Charnock had done before him, that he might have counſel : but he was told, that the act which allowed the priſoner counſel, did not commence 'till the next day : to this, ſir William replied, " that the " preamble to this law declared, it was juſt and reaſonable the priſoner ſhould have counſel, and the other privileges mentioned " in the act, towards making his defenſe, and what would be juſt and reaſonable to morrow was ſo to day : he, therefore, " preſſed that his trial might be put off 'till the next day, as well for this reaſon, as becauſe ſome of his witneſſes were want- " ing : " but his motion was rejected.

" and

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" and his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, that " he might grow in ſtature, and in favor with " GOD and man."

Sir William Perkins confeſſed; " that he was " privy to a deſign upon the Prince of Orange, but " was not to act in it; and he was fully ſatisfied, " that very few or none knew of it, but thoſe who " undertook it: that he had ſeen a commiſſion " from King James, to levy war againſt the " Prince of Orange, but as for any commiſſion " particularly levelled againſt his perſon, he had " neither ſeen or heard of any ſuch: that he thought " it for his honor to ſay, that he was intirely in the " intereſt of King James, being always firmly per- " ſuaded of the juſtice of his cauſe, and looked " upon it as his duty, both as a ſubject and " an Engliſhman, to aſſiſt him in the recovery of " his throne, which he believed his Majeſty to be " deprived of, contrary to all right and juſtice; " in which opinion he took the laws and conſtitu- " tion of his country to be his guide; and laſtly, " that he died in the communion of the church of " England, in which he was educated.

The male-factors abſolved by nonjuring clergymen.

Mr. Collier, mr. Cooke, and mr. Snat, three nonjuring clergy-men, having aſſiſted the male-factors in their laſt hours, were obſerved, at the place of execution, to pronounce to them the abſolution of the church, as it ſtands in the viſitation of the ſick, and accompanied this ceremony with a ſolemn impoſition of hands. The government was highly offended at this, and two of them, mr. Cooke and mr. Snat, were commited to Newgate. There was likewiſe an indictment prefered againſt them in the court of King's-bench, but not being proceeded upon, no manner of puniſhment was inflicted on them (1).

The 21ſt of April, brigadier Rockwood, major Lowick, and mr. Cramburn, three other conſpirators, were brought to their trials, (2) and the evidence againſt them being very plain and poſitive, they were all three found guilty, and receiving ſentenſe accordingly, they were executed the 29th (3). Cramburn died a Proteſtant, read a paper, and ſpoke long to the ſpectators: among other things, he ſaid he died for his loyalty, and that what he would have done was no more than his duty: Rockwood and Lowick died Roman Catholics, and delivered each a paper to the ſheriff, in which they partly owned their crime, but juſtified King James, as to the pretended commiſſion for murdering the Prince of Orange.

Mr. Cook and Mr. Knightly condemned but repriev'd.

The laſt who were tried this year, were mr. Cooke and mr. Knightly; but tho' they likewiſe received ſentenſe, the firſt upon his being convicted, and the other upon his own confeſſion; yet by his Majeſty's clemency, mr. Cooke was only baniſhed England, and mr. Knightly obtained his Majeſty's moſt gracious pardon.

Ways and means.

Having thus given an account of the proceedings againſt the conſpirators, I return to the affairs of parliament. The funds the commons had 'till now ſettled not being ſufficient to anſwer one half of the ſum they had granted, great difficulties aroſe how to raiſe the reſt. After many debates and conſultations, the houſe at laſt gave into a project (4), which at firſt ſeem'd calculated only to advance the landed men's intereſt, in oppoſition to the growing power of monied men and uſurers, but which, in the end, had very near ruined the public credit. Purſuant to this project, the commons reſolved, the 6th of March, firſt, " That a fund redeemable by par- " liament be ſettled in a national land-bank, to be " raiſed by new ſubſcriptions. Second, that no per- " ſon be concerned in the bank of England, and in " the national bank, at the ſame time. Third, " That the duties upon coals and culm, and upon ton- " nage of ſhips (which had been found grievous to " the people) be taken off, from the 17th of June " 1696. Fourth, That for the making up the ſum " of 1,724,000 l. already voted by the houſe, " and the monies to be made good for the duties up- " on coals and culm, and upon tonage of ſhips, " reſolved to be taken off; and for diſcharging what " the duties upon ſalt were to anſwer, from the " 17th of May 1696, the ſum of 2,564,000 l. be " raiſed upon the ſaid perpetual fund, redeemable " by parliament:" at the ſame time, they ordered a bill to be brought in purſuant to the ſaid reſolutions.

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Civil liſt and French Proteſtants conſidered.

The King having, in his ſpeech, at the opening of this ſeſſion, recommended the civil liſt, and the diſtreſs'd French Proteſtants, the commons took that matter into conſideration, the 12th of March, and the committee of the whole houſe having ſat ſeveral times on that affair, it was, at length, reſolved, on the 17th of that month, " that the ſum of 500,000 l. " be granted for defraying the expences of the firſt, " and 15,000 l. for the relief of the latter," which ſums they reſolv'd on the 18th, " to raiſe by a " duty upon all low wines, and ſpirits of the firſt " extraction, and alſo upon all mix'd liquors, com- " monly call'd ſweets, for the ſpace of five years, " from the 25th of March 1696." And the committee who were to prepare this bill was inſtructed to receive a " clauſe, for preſerving the revenue to " her royal highneſs the Princeſs Ann of Den- " mark."

National land-bank bill.

The bill for eſtabliſhing a national land-bank, &c. having been read a ſecond time, the committee of the whole houſe, to whom it was commited, were inſtructed, on the 17th of March, to reſtrain the bank not to lend mony, but " upon land-ſecurity, " or to the government into the exchequer; and to " receive a clauſe, that if the mony did not come " in, by a certain time, his Majeſty be inabled to " borrow the ſame." The next day, the bank of England preſented a petition againſt this bill, and were, afterwards, by order of the houſe, heard by their council, but without ſucceſs. The houſe, thereupon, proceeded on the bill, and reſolved, the 9th of April; " that towards the ſupply to be granted " to his Majeſty for making up the fund of intereſt " of 2,564,000 l. the capital ſtock of the intended " national-bank, certain duties upon glaſs-wares, " ſtone and earthen bottles, granted before to the " King, for a term of years, be granted to his " Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors: ſecondly, that " a duty be laid upon tobacco-pipes; and, thirdly,

(1) The archbiſhops and biſhops, who happened to be then in London, to the number of fourteen, publiſhed a declaration, in which they cenſured the performance of this office of the church, without a previous confeſſion made, and abhorrence expreſſed by the priſoners of the heinous crime for which they died, " as extremely inſolent, and without precedent in the manner, and " altogether irregular in the thing: being a manifeſt tranſgreſſion of the churches order, and prophane abuſe of the authority " of Chriſt, ſince they muſt either look upon the perſons abſolved as impenitents or martyrs.

(2) Theſe were the firſt, who had the benefit of the ſtatute, made this very ſeſſion, to regulate trials in caſes of high treaſon, but neither the copy of the indictment which was given them, nor the advantage of being defended by ſir Bartholomew Shore and two other eminent lawyers, did avail them any thing, ſo ſtrong and evident were the proofs againſt them.

(3) Several noblemen interceded for the life of Lowick, and Cramburn petitioned to be tranſported, but both to no purpoſe.

(4) The author of this project was the famous manmid-wife dr. Chamberlain; but for all his ſkill in midwifery, it proved an abortion, no body ſubſcribing to it.

" that

" that a farther duty be laid upon ſtone and earthen-
" ware." Which reſolutions were ordered to be inſerted in the bill.

Bill for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon and government.

The ſecond of April, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that a bill be brought in " for the better ſecurity " of his Majeſty's perſon and government," containing the following heads: firſt, " that ſuch as " ſhould refuſe to take the oaths to his Majeſty " ſhould be ſubject to the forfeitures and penalties " of Popiſh recuſants convict. Second, To inflict " a penalty on ſuch as ſhould, by writing or other-
" wiſe, declare, that King William was not lawful " and rightful King of theſe realms: or that the " late King James, or the pretended Prince of " Wales, or any other perſon, than according to " the act of ſettlement of the crown, had any right " to the crown of theſe realms. Third, To ra-
" tify and confirm the aſſociation enter'd into by all " his Majeſty's good ſubjects, for the preſervation " of his Majeſty's perſon and government. Fourth, " That no perſon ſhould be capable of any office of " profit or truſt, civil or military, that ſhould not " ſign the aſſociation. And, Fifth, That the ſame " penalties be inflicted on ſuch as come out of France, " as upon thoſe who go thither.

Acts paſs'd.

The 10th, the King came to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent; Firſt, to " an act for the " continuing, meeting, and ſettling of a parlia-
" ment, in caſe of the death or demiſe of his Ma-
" jeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors. Second, an act for " granting to the King ſeveral rates and duties " upon houſes, for making good the deficiency of " clipp'd mony. Third, an act for granting to his " Majeſty an additional duty upon all French goods. " Fourth, an act for continuing four former acts for " preventing theft and rapine, upon the northern " borders of England. Fifth, an act for the raiſing " the militia, for the year 1696. Sixth, an act for re-
" gulating the elections of members to ſerve in par-
" liament, and for the preventing irregular proceed-
" ings of ſheriffs and others officers, in the electing " and returning ſuch members. Seventh, an act for " continuing ſeveral former acts, for puniſhing offi-
" cers and ſoldiers, who ſhould mutiny or deſert, &c. " Eighth, an act for the increaſe and incouragement " of ſeamen. Ninth, an act for preventing frauds, " and regulating abuſes in the plantation-trade. " Tenth, an act to incourage the bringing plate in-
" to the Mint to be coined, and for the farther re-
" medying the ill ſtate of the coin. Eleventh, an act " requiring the practitioners of the law to take the " oath, and ſubſcribe the declaration therein men-
" tion'd. Twelfth, an act for the repairing of the " high-ways, between Wymondham; and Attle-
" borough, in the county of Norfolk," and to ſeveral private acts (1).

More acts paſs'd.

The 27th of the ſame month, the King came again to the houſe of lords, and paſs'd ſuch other bills as lay ready for the royal aſſent: viz. Firſt, " an act for laying ſeveral duties upon low wines, or " ſpirits of the firſt extraction, &c. Second, an " act for continuing certain duties on ſalt, glaſs-
" wares, ſtone and earthen-bottles; for granting " ſeveral duties on tobacco-pipes, and other earthen-
" ware; for eſtabliſhing a national land-bank, and " for taking off the duties upon tonage of ſhips, " and upon coals. Third, an act for reſtraining " marriages, without licenſe or banes. Fourth, " an act for the better ſecurity of the King's perſon " and government. Fifth, an act for the more ef-
" fectual preventing the exportation of wool, and " for incouraging the importation thereof from Ire-
" land. Sixth, an act for incouraging the linnen " manufacture of Ireland. Seventh, an act for " continuing ſeveral acts of parliament therein " mentioned. Eighth, an act for taking away the " cuſtom of Wales, which hinders perſons from " diſpoſing their perſonal eſtates by their wills. " Ninth, an act for the eaſe of jurors, and better re-
" gulating juries. Tenth, an act for the better amen-
" ding and repairing the high-ways, &c. Eleventh, " an act for the incouragement of charitable gifts " and diſpoſitions. Twelfth, an act for the in-
" couragement of the Greenland-trade. Thirteenth, " an act that the ſolemn affirmation and declara-
" tion of the people call'd Quakers, ſhould be ac-
" cepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form:" and to one private act.

This done, his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he told them:

The King's ſpeech to the parliament.

" That they had ſhewn ſo great concern for his " perſon, and zeal for his government, and had " done ſo much for the preſervation of the one, and " for the ſtrengthening of the other, by the good " laws that had been made, and by the ſupplies they " had provided, for the ſeveral occaſions of this " year, that the late deſigns of their enemies were " (by the bleſſing of God) like to have no other " effect, than to let them ſee how firmly his Majeſty " and his parliament were united, and to give him " this occaſion to acknowledge their kindneſs, and " to aſſure them of all the returns which a Prince " could make to his people. And the neceſſity of " affairs requiring his abſenſe out of the kingdom, " for ſome time, he earneſtly recommended to " them, to be aſſiſting to thoſe whom he ſhould " leave to adminiſter the government, and that " they would be careful in preſerving the public " peace."

The parliament prorogued.

The lord-keeper, by his Majeſty's command, then prorogued the parliament to the 16th day of June next inſuing (2).

Growth of Socinianiſm.

The act of toleration leaving every one at liberty to broach what doctrine they pleas'd, hereſies of all ſorts began to multiply like Hydra's heads; but Socinianiſm ſeem'd to be the favorite hereſy propagated at this time. To check the inſolence of this ſect, the learned dr. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's, undertook to vindicate the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity: but while the doctor indeavor'd to prove three diſtinct perſons, he carried matters ſo far as to advance a doctrine which ſeem'd to border upon Tritheiſm, and aſſerted, that there were in the the godhead, three minds, three beings, and three intelligences. This heterodox aſſertion giving the Unitarians an opportunity to triumph, dr. South, prebend of Weſtminſter, confuted dr. Sherlock's new way of vindicating the Trinity. Dr. Sherlock, by way of recrimination, attempted to prove, that his antagoniſt's doctrine ſavored of Sabellianiſm. The controverſy grew warm, and theſe two eminent divines treated one another ſometimes too angrily, and ſometimes too ludicrouſly for ſo ſacreda myſtery. On this occaſion, a member of the Univerſity of

(1) There was another " bill, for farther regulation of elections of members to ſerve in parliament, " which had paſs'd both houſes, but was now refuſed the royal aſſent: it was, therefore, moved, the 14th of April, in the houſe of commons, and the queſtion put, " that whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty not to give the royal aſſent to that bill, was an enemy to the King and king-
" dom:" but it paſs'd in the negative, by a majority of two hundred and nineteen, againſt ſeventy votes.

(2) The bills which on ſeveral accounts were loſt this ſeſſions were, 1ſt, a bill for regulating printing and printing-preſſes. 2d, A bill for reverſing a judgment giving againſt ſir William Williams, the 2d of James II, by which he was find 5000 l. for having printed the laſt days votes of the houſe of commons, and for aſſerting the rights and freedoms of parliament. 3d, A bill for ſettling and regulating the Eaſt-India-trade. 4th, Another to regulate the trade of Africa. 5th, A bill to confirm the earl of Torrington's grants. 6th, Two bills to veſt in the crown, all forfeited eſtates in England and Ireland, and to vacate all grants made thereof. 7th, A bill to prevent ſtock-jobbing; and 8th, a bill for preventing Papiſts from diſinheriting their Proteſtant heirs.

Oxford,

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Oxford taking upon him, in a ſermon preach'd before that learned body, to advance, "that there were "three infinite diſtinct minds and ſubſtances in "the Trinity; and that the three perſons in the "Trinity were three diſtinct minds or ſpirits, and "three individual ſubſtances;" the Univerſity thought fit to cenſure theſe words as "falſe, im-"pious and heretical, diſagreeing and contrary to "the doctrine of the church of England." This ſolemn decree not being, however, ſufficient to compoſe the jarring parties, and the Socinians taking advantage of theſe diviſions, the King interpoſed his royal authority, and, as head of the Anglican church, ſent certain directions to the archbiſhops and biſhops, with charge to ſee them obſerved within their ſeveral dioceſes. Which ſufficiently vindicated his Majeſty from the aſperſions caſt upon him by his enemies, that he was a favorer o f Socinianiſm.

Lords juſtices appointed.

The firſt of May, his Majeſty declared in council, that he had appointed the ſame perſons to adminiſter the government during his abſenſe, who had ſo honorably diſcharged that truſt, the year before.

Preferments.

The ſame day (1), ſir John Lowther baronet, was created baron Lowther, and viſcount Lonſdale; and ſir John Thompſon, baronet, was created baron Haverſham. His Majeſty conſtituted, at the ſame time, ſir Thomas Littleton, one of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury; Chriſtopher Muſgrave, clerk of the ordinance, and James Lowther, eſq; clerk of the delivery of the ordnance of this kingdom: he likewiſe, confer'd the honor of knighthood on Theodore Janſſen, an eminent merchant in the city of London, yet living, for the zeal he had, on all occaſions, expreſs'd, for his Majeſty's government; particularly in the buſineſs of the bank of England. Not long after this, the lord keeper of the great ſeal of England, or lord chancellor; the preſident of the privy council; the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, or lord treaſurer, the firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; or lord admiral; the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and the chancellor of the exchequer, for the time being, together with the earls of Bridgewater and Tankerville, ſir Philip Meadhouſe, William Blaithwait, John Pollexfen, John Lock, Abraham Hill, and John Methwen, eſqs; were declared his Majeſty's commiſſioners for incouraging, improving, and protecting the trade, plantations, manufactures, and fiſhery of this kingdom.

The King goes to Holland.

The 2d of May, the King went from Kenſington to Margate, and the next day, imbark'd for Holland; but the wind proving contrary, in the evening, with the appearance of a ſtorm, his Majeſty came on ſhoar again: two days after, both wind and weather proving fair again, he went on board the Elizabeth, vice-admiral Aylmer commander, and landing ſafely, the ſeventh, at Oranjapolder, arrived about midnight at the Hague: here I ſhall leave his Majeſty to give a brief account of the martime affairs of this year.

Maritime affairs.

What preparations the French had made, at the begining of this year, to imbark an army at Calais, Dunkirk, and other ports thereabouts, in order to make a deſcent in England; and that, thereupon, the King had order'd admiral Ruſſel, with the fleet that then lay in the Downs, and the other ſhips which afterwards join'd them, to ſail for the coaſts of France, to prevent the deſigns of the enemy, the reader has already ſeen above. To this end, admiral Ruſſel repair'd, the 24th of February, to the Downs, and, on the 28th, came to an anchor off of Grovelin, with part of the fleet, and the lord Berkley, with a ſquadron, lay between him and Dunkirk.

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Admiral Ruſſel ſails to the coaſt of France.

As he ſailed cloſe in with Calais, he ſaw between three and four hundred veſſels, of all ſorts, for imbarkation, with their ſails to their yards; and, in Flemiſh-road, were about ſeventeen men of war, great and ſmall, which, with the tranſports, would probably have been, in a few days, on our coaſts, had not ſuch extraordinary diligence been uſed in geting a powerful fleet to ſea. Thirteen of theſe ſhips of war retired as cloſe as they could into the pier of Dunkirk; and ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, with ſeveral captains, were ſent to look on them; but they found nothing could be attempted againſt them, with hopes of ſucceſs. The 23d of March, three bomb veſſels joined ſir Cloudeſly. The 31ſt, admiral Allemonde came into the Downs from Holland, with ſix men of war of the line, and two fireſhips.

Many tranſports at Calais;

And men of war in Flemiſh-road.

Impracticable to attack them.

The firſt of April, ſeveral of our ſhips came into the Downs, from Spithead; and, the next day, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel was order'd to return, with all the bomb-veſſels, and ſuch ſmall ſhips as he ſhould think neceſſary, and attempt the burning of Calais, with the tranſports, and other ſhips in that harbor. The 3d, between noon and night, about 300 bombs and carcaſſes were thrown into the town, and among the ſhips, which did conſiderable damage, and ſet fire to the town in three or four places, and to ſome ſhips: but the bomb-veſſels and brigantines having received damage in their rigging, and all the mortars but two being diſabled, and, beſide the wind coming about, the next day, from S. S. E. to S. W. with hard gales, it was thought convenient to return to the Downs: from whence ſir Cloudeſly Shovel appointed a ſquadron, to indeavor to keep the French in at Dunkirk (2).

Calais bombarded.

The 27th of May, ſir George Rooke, who, upon his return from the Streights had taken the command of the fleet, being order'd to return to his duty at the admiralty board, the lord Berkley was appointed admiral of the fleet. Before ſir George came aſhore, he had intelligence, that the French had ſeventy men of war a little above Camaret-bay, all ready to put to ſea, with four flags flying, beſide ſome ſmall ſhips in the bay: upon his coming to town, he made a propoſal to attempt theſe ſhips there: which, however, was not thought practicable by a council of war, of Engliſh and Dutch admirals. Nevertheleſs, his lordſhip arriving, with the fleet, at Torbay, the 3d of June, received orders, ſome time afterwards, from the lords of the admiralty, touching the fleet's lying in Camaret and Bertheaume bays; and a ſquadron being ſent, with the bomb-veſſels, to deſtroy ſome of the

The lord Berkley appointed admiral of the fleet.

(1) His Majeſty had before beſtow'd ſeveral marks of his favor; and, among others, the lord George Hamilton was created earl of Orkney, in the kingdom of Scotland, in conſideration of his military ſervices in Ireland and Flanders; and the lord Murray, eldeſt ſon of the marquis of Athol, was made one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, in Scotland, in the room of the lord Stairs. The begining of this year, likewiſe, his moſt illuſtrious highneſs, the duke of Gloceſter, was elected a knight-companion of the moſt noble order of the garter, and was afterwards inſtall'd at Windſor, with great ſolemnity.

(2) The account the French give of this bombardment of Calais is in ſubſtance: that, the 13th (third) between the hours of one at noon and ſeven at night, the Engliſh ſpent three hundred and fifty bombs, and ten or twelve fire-pots: of which not above half fell into the city, the reſt fell into the port, and on ſhoar. The damage ſuſtained was chiefly in the Caſerns, the church and convent of the hoſpital, and eight or ten houſes. Three ſhips, and about thirty or forty houſes received ſome little harm; but as the bombs ſet fire to neither houſes nor ſhips, it is not believed that the whole damage amounts to above ten thouſand crowns.

The continuator of Rapin, in French, ſays, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel had before propoſed this enterprize to a council of war, and had the mortification to ſee it rejected. What ſatisfaction muſt it not then have been to him, to find it afterwards approved by the court of admiralty.

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French towns, a council of war was called, on the 16th; and tho' it was judged, that the fleet could not ride, in either of thoſe bays, out of bomb-ſhot, it was reſolved, as ſoon as weather would permit, to look into them, and indeavor to deſtroy what ſhips they ſhould meet there. The admiral turned it up, accordingly, as high as Dartmouth; but the ebb being ſpent, and the wind blowing hard, at W. S. W. he was oblig'd to put into Torbay, where, on the nineteenth, the Dutch admiral receiv'd orders, from the King, to ſend eight ſhips of the line, to Holland.

Reſolution to ſail to Bertheaume and Camaret bays.

Eight Dutch ſhips ordered home.

The 24th, the fleet got out of the channel, and, in Broad-ſound, one of our ſhips took a French privateer, which came from Breſt fourteen days before. The 4th of July, the fleet anchored about two leagues from Belle-iſle, and ſome of our men, who had been landed the day before, at Grovais, (or Gray) whither they had been ſent in the Burford and Newcaſtle men of war, with a fire-ſhip, burnt moſt of the villages, and kill'd and brought off a great number of cattle, without any reſiſtance: and at Howat, one of the iſlands called Cardinals, ſome of our men being landed in the barges and pinnaces, brought off about three hundred head of cattle, having burnt the town of that name. The next day, three more Engliſh, and two Dutch men of war, with the long boats of diverſe other ſhips, and ſeven hundred ſoldiers and ſeamen, were ſent to join the Burford and Newcaſtle at Grovais, who finiſh'd what captain Fitz-Patrick had begun; having deſtroy'd there about twenty villages more, and carried away thirteen hundred head of black cattle and horſes, with twenty ſmall veſſels; and the boats imployed againſt Howat, were ordered, at the ſame time, on the like ſervice, againſt Heydick (1). The men of war at the iſle of Rhee, with the bomb-veſſels, under the command of ſir Martin Beckman and captain Meeze, having thrown two thouſand bombs into the towns of St. Martins and Olonna, left them in flames and returned to the fleet.

Our fleet does conſiderable damages on the iſlands, on the coaſt of France.

Thus ended theſe little enterprizes, and, with them, thoſe of the body of the fleet, which being now in great want of moſt ſpecies of proviſions, and daily leſſened, not only by the withdrawing of moſt of the Dutch ſhips, but ſome of our own, by orders from the admiralty, the admiral was directed to come to Spithead, where he arrived the 13th of July.

The fleet ordered home.

I might now go on to give my readers an account of the proceedings of vice-admiral Mitchel, with a ſquadron, and afterwards, of captain George Meeze, with a detachment of that ſquadron, in the Soundings; but all that can be ſaid of them may be reduced to this, that they both uſed their beſt diligence to protect our trade, the chief end of their being there; that the firſt ſuffered very much, in a ſtorm, and that the latter, when he returned to Spithead, brought with him three French privateers, one of eight and thirty, another of ſix and thirty, and a third of fourteen guns.

Vice-admiral Mitchel, and captain Meeze's proceedings in the Soundings.

Before I conclude the naval tranſactions of this year, I muſt ſay a word or two of rear admiral Bembow, who, the begining of May, was ordered to command the ſquadron which lay off of Dunkirk, to prevent monſ. du Bart's geting to ſea, with his ſquadron. When he came on the coaſt, he found the ſhips he was to command lying about five leagues north from that port, and going in with his boat, into Flemiſh road, diſcovered the enemy's ſhips, being nine, ready to ſail. From the circumſtances of wind and tides, he expected them out of the north channel, and, therefore, not having ſhips enough to cover both, he ſpread what he had, Engliſh and Dutch, before that paſſage; but it being hazy, the next day, he found, the day following, du Bart had given him the ſlip and was got out of the eaſt chanel.

Admiral Bembow cruiſes before Dunkirk.

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Du Bart eſcapes him.

Having notice, on the 20th, that du Bart had been ſeen on the weſt-end of the Doggar-bank, the rear-admiral proceeded thither; but the Dutch, having no orders ſo to do, refuſed to accompany him. After ſome time ſpent, in vain, in ſearch of him, in company with five Dutch men of war he met at ſea, he returned to Yarmouth-roads, from whence he ſailed with the Eaſt-country-trade, and arrived at Gottenburg the 30th of June; having detached neceſſary convoys with the ſhips bound to ſeveral ports. He was there informed, that du Bart was at the Cow and Calf, in Norway: but, for want of proviſions and neceſſaries, he was not then in a condition to go in ſearch of him. The rear-admiral, being returned to the Downs, and there ſupplied with all neceſſaries, ſet ſail for Hamburg, to convoy a rich fleet of merchant-ſhips from thence: but, in his paſſage, got advice, that they were ſafely arrived at Orfordneſs, upon which he proceeded off of the Broad-fourteens, in ſearch of monſ. du Bart. The 15th of September, he met with ten Dutch men of war, and the 18th with the Ruby, and three Engliſh Eaſt-India ſhips, which had come north about, and were deſigned, with eleven Dutch, for the Texel. The next day, he diſcovered du Bart's ſquadron, conſiſting of ten ſhips, who, fortunately for the Engliſh and Dutch trade, had miſs'd theſe fourteen from the Eaſt-Indies. He gave chaſe to him, and two of our ſhips got within a league of him; but the reſt were three a ſtern; ſo that he plainly ſaw the French out-ſailed him, and, therefore, loſing ſight of them, when the night came on, he gave over the chaſe.

He follows him; but in vain.

Convoys the Eaſt-country-fleet.

Goes in purſuit of du Bart again.

Diſcovers his ſquadron, and gives chaſe to it.

But du Bart is too nimble for him.

Having thus diſpatch'd our maritime affairs, before I go to thoſe of the continent, I ſhall take a ſmall view of thoſe of Scotland and Ireland. The parliament of Scotland, being met, the 8th of September, at Edinburg, the lord Murray, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, for that kingdom, being lately created earl of Tullibardine, and appointed his Majeſty's high commiſſioner, his grace made a ſpeech to them, on occaſion of their meeting; as did, likewiſe, the lord Polwarth, lord high chancelor of Scotland. The King's letter to the parliament was read the 10th, after which committees were appointed as uſual, for the ſecurity of the kingdom, for trade and controverted elections; and then all the members ſigned the aſſociation, being the ſame, in ſubſtance, as that which the parliament of England had ſubſcribed. The following

Affairs of Scotland.

(1) Upon a modeſt computation, there were deſtroyed at leaſt twenty villages; the continuator of Rapin makes them forty or fifty, and thirteen hundred houſes; and near ſixteen hundred head of black cattle and horſes were killed. The Engliſh took about twenty barks; and a veſſel from Newfoundland, re-took another veſſel from the iſlands of America, laden with ſugar, and one of our frigats was taken by a St. Malo's privateer.

The loſs the French received (ſays biſhop Burnet) was not conſiderable in it ſelf; but it put their affairs in great diſtraction: and the charge they were at, in defence of their coaſt, was much greater than ours in attacking it. F. Daniel agrees with the biſhop in the firſt, but paſſes by the latter. The French Gazetteer had the vanity to turn this expedition into ridicule: he began his relation, in the following manner: "the Engliſh are ſo extravagant in their operations, that they confound even "reaſon itſelf, and their expeditions are ſo pitiful, that they beget nothing but ſcorn and contempt." And in another place: "they (the Engliſh) will be little feared, for the future; ſince, having attack'd the weakeſt part of our coaſts, with their "greateſt ſtrength, the very powder they ſpent in theſe fruitleſs expeditions amounts to much more than the damage they "have done us." But they were ſoon awaken'd out of theſe pleaſing dreams, by letters from the inhabitants, of thoſe parts, lamenting their great loſſes; and eſpecially St. Martins, where they allow'd the loſs to amount, at leaſt, to a hundred thouſand crowns; and that three parts in four of their houſes were ruined.

days,

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days, they resolved to give his Majesty a supply of 1,440,000l. Scots, to be raised by a land-cess, and an additional excise, for maintaining the standing-forces, both by sea and land. And considering the danger this kingdom was in, by the late conspiracy against his Majesty's person and kingdoms, they ordered an act to be brought in "for securing their "religion, lives and properties, in case his Ma-"jesty should come to an untimely death; and "another for obliging all, in public trust, to sign "the association." The 20th, the parliament read and approved the latter of the said acts, as also their answer to the King's letter; and, on the 25th, the lord-commissioner gave the royal assent to the "act "for the supply," and to such other acts as were approved by the parliament. The 9th of October, he returned to the house, and touch'd with the scepter, "an act for the security of the kingdom; "an act in favor of preachers at vacant churches; "and another in favor of the universities, schools "and hospitals; an act for the levy of 1000 men; "an act against Protestant servants in Popish fami-"lies; an act for better providing for the poor; "an act against prophaneness;" and several other acts: whereupon the parliament was adjourned, the 12th, to the 8th of December following.

Affairs of Ireland.

In Ireland, the lord Capel, lord-deputy of that kingdom, expired, the 30th of May, after a long sickness; upon which, the council, pursuant to an act made in the thirty-third year of King Henry VIII, elected the lord-chancellor Porter, to be lord-justice and chief governor of that kingdom, 'till his Majesty's pleasure was known. The 27th of June, the Irish parliament met at Dublin, according to their last adjournment. The King's commission, appointing the lord-chief-justice Haly, to be their speaker, being read, in the house of lords, and he being sworn, a motion was made, and unanimously agreed to, that the whole house, with their speaker, should wait upon the lord-justice Porter, to congratulate his being placed in the government. The commons, at the same time, having first expell'd mr. Sanderson, the only member of that house who had not sign'd the association, made the same unanimous vote, and, in the afternoon, both houses attended the lord-justice, and then adjourn'd to the 4th of August; upon which day, sir Charles Porter, lord chancellor, and the earls of Montroth and Drogheda, lately appointed lords-justices and general governors of Ireland, signified his Majesty's pleasure to the parliament, that they should farther adjourn themselves.

Proceedings of the lords-justices of England.

I might now, before I proceed to the affairs of the continent, give an account of the proceedings of the lords-justices of England: but very little of moment happen'd, during the King's absense: they may, therefore, be reduced to the issuing of proclamations and orders, "for appointing a fast; for "the currency of some species; the relief of the "poor; the apprehending of several clippers, and "preventing the exportation of coin and bullion; "for restraining the unwarrantable practises of "privateers and pirates; and one, in particular, "for apprehending the famous sea-robber, Henry "Every, and his crew, who had commited several "depredations in the seas of India or Persia, to the "great prejudice of the East-India-company; and, "lastly, for the execution of the late act of par-"liament for the increase and incouragement of "seamen."

The orders abovemention'd, for the currency of certain species, and to prevent the exportation of bullion, &c. were, indeed, highly necessary; for notwithstanding all the wise steps that had been taken, there was great confusion and distress, in England, upon calling in and re-coining the clipp'd mony, especially among the laboring and meaner sort of people, who could get little or no mony for their work, and, indeed, few cared to imploy any workmen. To remedy these, and the like inconveniences, an order of council was issued in July, this summer, that "the justices of peace should "frequently meet in their divisions, and consider "how to relieve and subsist the poorer sort of peo-"ple, till mony become more plentiful:" and another order of council was published, "requir-"ing the attorney-general to prosecute all those "who had entered into confederacies not to im-"ploy any persons, in the woollen, and other "manufactures, during this scarcity of mony.

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Campain in Flanders.

I come now to the affairs of the continent, and first of Flanders, where the confederates began with doing the enemies all the mischief they could, without coming to an ingagement. The news was no sooner come into those parts, that the conspiracy in England was happily discovered, the King safe, and the nation freed from all apprehensions of an invasion, than the Prince of Vaudemont, and other generals, bethought themselves of making an extraordinary bonefire for joy, at the expense of the French: in order to which, having drawn together a body of troops from several garisons, the earl of Athlone, and lieutenant-general Cohorn, march'd from Namur, the 13th of March, N. S. with forty squadrons, thirty battalions, fifteen pieces of cannon, and six mortars. The earl, with the greatest part of these troops, invested Dinant, and blocked up that garison, while our famous ingineer advanced, with the rest of the troops, and all the artillery, to Givet, where the enemy had laid up a vast magazine; and having got his batteries in readiness, by the 16th in the morning, he began to fire into the town, with bombs and red-hot bullets, which set fire, not only to the forrage but the houses. A detachment of soldiers was commanded, at the same time, to enter the town, with large flambeaux in their hands, which they perform'd with great bravery, firing the cazerns and granaries, where the oats and other provisions lay; so that, as well the whole town, as the magazine, were utterly consumed, and reduced to ashes: and what was yet more extraordinary, all this was executed, with the inconsiderable loss of nine or ten men.

The enemy's magazines at Givet burnt.

Notwithstanding this success, before the opening of the campain, when it was opened, it proved the most pacific of any that had happen'd during the war; and, indeed, the wants which both armies had to strugle with, were such that no great matter could be expected from either of them. The French had intirely exhausted their country, by keeping such numerous armies on foot, and, among other inconveniences, the re-coining of the mony in England, had brought the English army, in Flanders, under no small difficulties. The generals had so much to do to provide subsistence for their troops, that it, in a great measure, took off their thoughts from military exploits. The French were, at first, superior to the allies; but the latter being re-infored, by the coming up of the Germans, soon became equal to them. However, the generals, on both sides, spent the whole campain in observing one another, and in indeavoring to possess themselves of the most convenient 'camps, for the subsisting of their indigent troops.

The French sue for peace.

The French had, before the King arrived in Holland, sent monsr. Calliere to the Hague, offering to acknowledge King William, and to deliver up some considerable places as a barrier for the allies against France. The streights to which the confederate army was reduced, seem'd to favor monsr. Calliere's negociations, and the Dutch began to listen to the proposals of France: 'tho the latter soon found, they could not play the game of Nimeguen over again, and that the States were

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not to be brought to any reſolution, without the conſent of King William, and the reſt of the allies (1). However, ſome demands were made, by the Dutch, by way of preliminaries to a treaty, as the reſtitution of Lorrain, and of the towns of Straſsburg and Luxemburg. Theſe monſ. Calliere, in the name of his maſter, ſeem'd very ready to conſent to; tho' he ſoon clog'd the firſt with ſome difficulties. Matters being thus far advanced, on the part of the Dutch, and the Engliſh being, likewiſe, on account of the great loſſes their trade had ſuffer'd by the enemy's privateers and cruiſers, their heavy taxes, and the ſmall proſpect of being gainers by the war, rather inclin'd than averſe to the peace, it was, at length, agreed, at all hands, thro' the mediation of the King of Sweden, and the prudent management of the baron van Lilienrodt, his embaſſador in Holland, that plenipotentiaries ſhould be named, for carrying on this ſalutary work.

Affairs of Italy.

The better to ſucceed in this negociation, the court of France had, during the whole courſe of the preceding winter, been privately treating with the duke of Savoy, to ingage him to a ſeparate peace; and the Pope's nuncio, together with the Venetian envoy, ſeconded the intrigues of that court ſo effectually, and made ſuch advantageous offers to his Royal Highneſs, in the name of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he at length reſolved to accept of them. As this matter was to remain, for ſome time, at leaſt, a ſecret to the allies, the duke of Savoy went, towards the cloſe of the winter, with a ſmall retinue of his own naming, to our lady of Loretto, under pretenſe of a religious vow: and tho', as it was known, that his Royal Highneſs had more of the ſtateſman than the bigot in him, a ſuſpicion aroſe, that there was ſomething more than devotion in this journey; eſpecially as the Engliſh miniſter, lord Galway, was not allowed to accompany him: and tho' upon this ſuſpicion, ſpies were ſent after him, yet notwithſtanding all the vigilance of the allies, they could never get the leaſt notice of the treaty of peace, which the duke actually ſigned at Loretto, by the mediation of the agents of Rome and Venice, and a private meſſenger ſent by the marſhal de Catinat (2). By this treaty, "the French reſtored to his "Royal Highneſs all the new conqueſts they had "made, as alſo Pignerol demoliſhed; gave him "four millions of livres, towards the reparation of "the damage he had ſuſtained during the war; "ingaged to aſſiſt him with 8000 foot and "4000 horſe to be maintained at the charge of "France; and that a marriage between the duke "of Burgundy and the Princeſs, his Royal High-"neſs's daughter, ſhould forthwith be treated on, "in order to the conſummation thereof, as ſoon "as they ſhould be of age." With reſpect to the Princeſs's portion, it was agreed; "that the duke "ſhould give her 200,000 crowns in gold, towards "the payment of which, his Royal Highneſs was "to give a diſcharge for 100,000 crowns of gold, "which remained due by France to the houſe of "Savoy, a part of the ducheſs Royal's portion: "the remainder, the King of France promiſed to "remit in conſideration of the preſent treaty;" which was ſoon after ratified in France, with the guaranties of the Pope, and the republic of Venice.

A ſeparate peace between France and Savoy.

This treaty having been ſo artfully and ſecretly managed, the next care the duke had was to conceal it, not only from the miniſters and generals of the allies, but even from his own; none of which had been intruſted with this important ſecret but the marquis de St. Thomas, who, to carry on the treaty, had taken many a journey in diſguiſe, to Pignerol, to confer with the governor of that place and the marſhal de Catinat, who likewiſe came thither incognito. However, notwithſtanding all the precaution the duke could take, he was not long returned from Loretto, before King William, by ſome means or other, had got information of this ſeparate treaty, and obtained copies of the articles of it; which being ſent to the lord Galway, he communicated them to the miniſters of the allies, and even ſhewed them to the duke himſelf. His Royal Highneſs, tho' he was amazed at the diſcovery, ſtill denied the treaty, 'till, by the aſſiſtance of France, he was in a condition to throw off all diſguiſe. Towards the latter end of May, the marſhal de Catinat came down from the mountains of Savoy, into the plains of Turin, with an army of near 50,000 men, which was much ſuperior to that of the confederates. The duke of Savoy yet continued his diſſimulation, and, as if he had no private intelligence with the court of France, put all his own infantry into his fortreſſes, under pretenſe of defending them, and ſent all the confederate forces to the camp at Montcallier.

A ſham truce between France and Savoy.

The 12th of July, the duke concluded a ſham-truce with the French, for a month, and afterwards continued it to the 15th of December: and tho' the allies would not give their conſent to this ſuſpenſion of arms, they were conſtrained to behave, as if they had in effect accepted of it. At length, the duke of Savoy threw off the maſk, and openly notified the ſeparate peace he had made with France, to King William, in his camp at Gemblours, by the mouth of the preſident de la Tour, who, at the ſame time, ſignified to his Majeſty, that the forces of the allies, were to depart his country, within a limited time, or would be forced to it by his Royal Highneſs's troops, aſſiſted by thoſe of France: but that it was in the power of the confederates, to make a neutrality which ſhould include all Italy, within the ſame time.

Valenca beſieged.

The allies were accordingly obliged to retire out of a country where they were already looked upon as enemies, and to provide for the ſecurity of the Milaneſe; which the French troops, in conjunction with thoſe of Savoy, had reſolved to attack in order to oblige the Spaniards to accept the neutrality of Italy. The duke of Savoy followed the allies cloſe, and upon the expiration of the truce, the 13th of September, entered the Milaneſe, at the head of the French troops, and his own, by virtue of a commiſſion of generaliſſimo, from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty (3); and four days afterwards, he

(1) If we may give credit, to the continuator of Rapin, in French, the Dutch were not ſo very nice and ſcrupulous: for, according to him, the Dutch had privately treated with this ſame Calliere, two years before at Meaſtricht, whither he came by virtue of paſſes granted him by the States, and where he treated with their deputy, monſ. van Dyckvelt: and this year (ſays the ſame author) they again treated with him privately at Ghent, by means of burgo-maſter Borcel, whom they ſent thither, for that purpoſe, in the room of monſ. van Dyckvelt, who being ſo noted, they fear'd his appearance there might excite the jealouſy of the confederate powers: but notwithſtanding all their precaution, theſe myſterious ſteps could not wholly eſcape the vigilance of their miniſters. B. 25. p. 285.

(2) The continuator of Rapin, in French, pretends that the duke of Savoy, having information that the Dutch were treating privately with France, took this method to ſecure himſelf, leſt he ſhould be neglected in a general treaty.

(3) We ſhall hardly meet with an example in hiſtory, that the ſame general commanded two contending armies in one and the ſame campain: but what is yet more remarkable, before the allies departed his territories, the duke gave orders to both armies, at the ſame time, as well they as the French acknowleging him for their chief. His anceſtors had indeed, upon ſeveral occaſions, ſhewed themſelves inconſtant enough, between the houſes of France and Auſtria: but this was a ſtrain of policy, in which he exceeded them all, and is hardly to be parallelled, tho' ſome more modern events may be ſaid, in ſome meaſure, to come up to it.

laid

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laid ſiege to Valencia. This ſiege, tho' it was rather a political, than a real attack, at leaſt on the ſide of the French, who were, by no means, for increaſing the power of ſo troubleſome a neighbor as the duke of Savoy, ſo intimidated, however, the Spaniards, who were not deep-ſighted enough to penetrate into the real deſign of France, that, on the 7th of October, a meſſenger from his Catholic Majeſty brought his acceſſion to the peace of Italy; whereby a neutrality, or ſuſpenſion of arms, was eſtabliſhed in that country, 'till a general peace inſued; to which theſe artful intrigues and negociations of France were, without doubt, a great ſtep.

The neutrality of Italy agreed to.

Campain in Catalonia.

To facilitate this ſeparate as well as the general treaty, which followed it, the French formed a deſign of doing great matters in Catalonia; which however ended in little or nothing. The duke of Vendome did indeed, attack the Spaniards in their camp near Oſtalric, and obliged them to retreat under the cannon of their lines, which they did, however, in ſo good order, that the French, greedy of the purſuit, met with ſo warm a reception there, as quickly obliged them to retire in their turn. In this action, which was the only one that happened on his ſide, worthy our notice, the Spaniards loſt near 300 men, and the French about 100 leſs.

And on the Rhine.

On the Rhine, the campain was ſo inconſiderable, that it is hadly worth mentioning. The French, at the begining of it, did indeed paſs that river, and obliged Prince Lewis of Baden to intrench himſelf to avoid an ingagement: but towards the concluſion of it, the Prince, in his turn, gained the ſame advantage over the French, and cannonaded them ſeveral days, in their ſtrong intrenchments. General Thungen was to have croſſed the Rhine, at the ſame time, near Phillipſburg (Prince Lewis having paſſed it near Mentz) in order to have attacked the French in their rear: but they having timely notice of that deſign, detached the marquis de Huxelles, to prevent it; ſo that all the Germans could do was to repaſs the river with ſome booty, and diverſe hoſtages, for contribution: and thus the campain ended.

Death of the Queen mother of Spain, and the King of Poland.

While I am on the continent, I ſhall juſt mention the death of two crowned heads, to whom this year proved fatal: I mean Mary Ann of Auſtria, Queen-mother of Spain, who died on the 17th of May, N. S. of a cancer in her breaſt; and the brave John Sobieſki III, King of Poland, who departed this life the 17th of June, N. S. of an appoplectic fit, in the ſeventieth year of his age. The firſt was a conſiderable loſs to the confederates in general, and to the Spaniards in particular; her prevailing influence over the counſels of the latter making them frequently take ſuch reſolutions, as were conformable to the intereſts of the former. What were the conſequences of the death of the King of Poland, the reader will ſee in the ſequel.

King William leaves the army.

I return now to his Majeſty King William, who, being tired of a campain that furniſhed him with no opportunity of exerciſing his martial genius, left the army, the 26th of Auguſt, N. S. under the command of the elector of Bavaria, and retired to his beloved diverſion of ſtag-hunting, near his Royal palaces of Dieren and Loo. The 14th of September, his Majeſty ſet out from the laſt of theſe places, accompanied by the duke of Zell (a Prince for whom he always ſhewed a more than ordinary regard) and went the next day to Cleves, where he was magnificently entertained by the court of Brandenburg. Having ſpent two days at this place, he returned with the duke of Zell to Loo, whither he was followed three days after, by the electoral Prince of Brandenburg. Having ſtaid three weeks longer at Loo, his Majeſty went to the Hague;

and on the 14th of October, N. S. imbarked on board the William and Mary yacht, attended by ſeveral other yachts, and a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Aylmer. He landed two days afterwards at Margate, and arrived the ſame evening at Kenſington.

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Returns to England

And is complimented by the city.

The 8th of October, O. S. the lord-mayor and court of aldermen of London attended his Majeſty; and mr. Recorder, in the name of the city, "congratulated his Majeſty's ſafe return, and gave "him their hearty thanks for his Princely care, "and indefatigable pains for the ſafety of his own "kingdoms, and the ſecurity of Chriſtendom, "with the humble aſſurance of the city's ſincere "affection and conſtant loyalty, which they would "upon all occaſions effectually demonſtrate to the "utmoſt of their power." His Majeſty received this compliment very graciouſly, and upon that occaſion, confered the honor of knighthood upon John Johnſon, one of their aldermen, and upon the two ſheriffs, John Wolf and Samuel Blewet, eſqs;

The parliament meets.

The 20th, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, purſuant to their laſt prorogation, when the King, repairing to the houſe of lords, with the uſual ceremony, told both houſes;

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That he had called them together, as ſoon as "was poſſible, and he thought it a great happineſs, "that this year had paſſed without any diſadvantage "abroad, or diſaſter at home, conſidering their "great diſappointment in the funds given at their "laſt meeting, and the difficulties which had ariſen, "upon the re-coining of the mony; which was ſo "convincing a proof of the diſpoſition of the army, "and of the ſteady affections of his people, that "he could not but take notice of it, with great "ſatisfaction."

"Our enemies (continued he) have not been "without hopes, that ſuch a conjuncture might "have proved fatal to us; but as they have failed "in thoſe expectations, ſo I am fully perſuaded, "that your unanimous proceedings, in this ſeſſion, "will make them for ever deſpair of an advantage, "from any diſagreement among ourſelves. It muſt "be confeſſed, that the buſineſs which you have "before you is very great, becauſe of the neceſ-"ſity of ſupplying former deficiencies as well as "making proviſions for the next year's ſervice: "and upon this occaſion, it is fit for me to acquaint "you, that ſome overtures have been made, in or-"der to the entering upon a negociation for a gene-"ral peace: but I am ſure we ſhall all agree in opi-"nion; that the only way of treating with France "is with our ſwords in our hands, and that we can "have no reaſon to expect a ſafe and honorable "peace, but by ſhewing ourſelves prepared to make "a vigorous and effectual war.

"In order to this, I earneſtly recommend to you, "gentlemen of the houſe of commons, that you "would conſider of raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies, "as well for maintaining the honor of parliaments, "in making good the funds already granted, as "for carrying on the war, the next year; which, "I think, ought not to be leſs, than what was in-"tended to be raiſed for that purpoſe, the laſt "ſeſſion. I muſt alſo put you in mind of the civil "liſt, which cannot be ſupported without your "help; and the miſerable condition of the French "Proteſtants does oblige me to mention them to "you again.

In the concluſion, his Majeſty addreſſed himſelf to both houſes, telling them: "that it might de-"ſerve their conſideration, whether there did not "ſtill remain ſome inconveniencies relating to "the coin, which ought to be remedied: that he "hoped, they would find out the beſt expedients "for the recovery of credit, which was abſolutely "neceſſary, not only with reſpect to the war, but

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" for carrying on of trade: that he was of opinion, " that there was not one good Engliſhman, who " was not intirely convinced, how much did depend " upon this ſeſſion: and therefore he could not but " hope for unanimity and diſpatch in their reſolu- " tions, which at this time, were more neceſſary " than ever, for the ſafety and honor of England.

The houſe of commons having, as uſual, appointed the ſiting of the grand committees for religion, trade, grievances, courts of juſtice, and privileges and elections, made an unanimous vote, " that " they would ſupport his Majeſty and his govern- " ment, againſt all his enemies, both at home and " abroad, and that they would effectually aſſiſt " him, in the proſecution of the preſent war againſt " France." Purſuant to this vote, an addreſs was drawn up, by mr. chancellor of the exchequer, by their order, and was preſented to his Majeſty, by the whole houſe in a body, on the 23d of October: in this addreſs the commons took notice:

Addreſs of the commons to the King.

" that this was the eighth year, in which they had " aſſiſted him with large ſupplies, for carrying on " a juſt and neceſſary war in defenſe of their religion, " preſervation of their laws, and vindication of the " rights and liberties of the people of England; " which they had hitherto preſerved, and by the " bleſſing of God, on his Majeſty's conduct and " good government, would ſtedfaſtly maintain " and intail on their poſterity. That this had " coſt the nation much blood and treaſure, but " the hopes of accompliſhing ſo great and ſo " glorious a work, had made his ſubjects chear- " fully ſupport the charge: and to ſhew his Maje- " ſty, and all Chriſtendom; that the commons " of England would not be amuſed or diverted " from their firm reſolutions of obtaining by war, " a ſafe and honorable peace, they did, in the name " of thoſe they repreſented, renew their aſſurances " to his Majeſty, that this houſe would ſupport " him and his government, againſt all his enemies, " both at home and abroad, and effectually aſſiſt " him in the carrying on the preſent war againſt " France." To this addreſs, the King anſwered:

His Majeſty's anſwer.

" That the continuance of their zeal and af- " fection was the only thing in the world he moſt " valued, and that he would make their good, and " the ſafety of the nation, the principal care of his " life:"

Theſe aſſurances of affection, on the one ſide, of loyalty, on the other, and of mutual confidence on both, being over, the commons entered, with great alacrity, upon thoſe great affairs, which ſo much required their attention: but I ſhall poſtpone the farther proceedings of parliament for a while, to give an account of a very remarkable affair, which begun ſome months before the opening of this ſeſſion, and was afterwards the occaſion of very warm debates in both houſes; I mean the caſe of ſir John Fenwick, who was concerned in the late aſſaſſination and invaſion-plot.

Affair of ſir John Fenwick.

Sir John had lain concealed in London, from the time of the diſcovery of the plot, 'till the begin- ing of June, when he indeavored to make his eſ- cape to France: but was taken at Romney, in Kent, where he went under the name of Thomas Ward, and was in company of Robert Webber, an attorney: while he was at Romney, tho' in cuſtody, he found means to write the following letter to his lady, with a black-lead pencil:

His letter to his lady;

" What I fear'd is at laſt happened; had I " gone alone I had done it; but the other was " betray'd from London. It is God's will, ſo we " muſt ſubmit. I know nothing can ſave my " life, but my lord Carliſle's going over to him, " (meaning King William,) back'd by the reſt of " the family of the Howards, to beg it, and offering " that I will be abroad, all his time, where I can- " not hurt him, and that I will never draw ſword " againſt him: I muſt leave it to you what elſe to " ſay. All friends muſt be made; my lord Devon- " ſhire may, perhaps, by my lady; my lord Go- " dolphin and my lord Pembroke, by my lady " Montgomery; mr. Nelſon, by the biſhop of Can- " terbury; my lord Arran might ingage his bro- " ther Selkirk, to uſe his intereſt with Keppel. I " believe, if my lord Carliſle would go, it were " beſt before my trial, or elſe they will cut me " ſhort for want of time. If he can prevail with " him, for a pardon, he will procure it as well " before my trial as after; at leaſt, he may prevail " for a reprieve, till ſome can come over to him. " My lord will alſo have an opportunity to ingage " Benting (the earl of Portland) and get my " lord of Eſſex, to join with him. I cannot " think what elſe to ſay: but the great care muſt " be the jury; if two or three could be got, that " would ſtarve the reſt, that or nothing can ſave " me. Mony, I know, would do it: but, alas, that " is not to be had, nor ſhall I get enough for coun- " ſel. I beg of you not to think of being ſhut up " with me; I know it will kill you; and, beſide, " I have no ſuch friend as you, to take care of my " buſineſs; tho' it would be the comfort of my " life, the little time it laſts, to have you with me: " and I have this only comfort now left, that my " death will make you eaſy. My deareſt life, " grieve not for me, but reſign me to God's will. " You will hear as ſoon as they bring me to town, " where they put me, and then I would have a " ſervant, or ſome-body, with me. I am inter- " rupted, ſo can ſay no more now: ingage ſir John " Lowther, the new lord, who has more intereſt " than any body: let my lord Scarſdal ingage " Germain, to ingage Overkirk for me. Speak " to my lady Arlington. If my trial could be " put off, till the King comes back, there would " be more opportunity to ſolicit him."

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Sir John having deliver'd this letter to mr. Webber, the campanion of his flight, it was afterwards intercepted, by the mayor of Romney, and brought to the lords-juſtices. At his firſt examination, being ignorant of the miſcarriage of the letter, he denied every thing he was charged with: 'till the lords-juſtices producing it, he was quite confounded. His hopes of geting a jury pack'd, being, by this diſcovery, intirely defeated, he had now no proſpect of ſaving himſelf, but by geting his trial put off 'till the King's return; and to effect this he pretended, if time was allowed him, he would lay open the whole matter, and give the government a clearer light of this affair than they had hitherto had. In his firſt private treaty with the duke of Devonſhire, he inſiſted to have an aſſurance of life, upon his promiſe of diſcovering all he knew. This the King refuſed, and would have it left to himſelf to judge of the integrity and importance of what he ſhould diſcover. Sir John reſolved, there- upon, to throw himſelf upon the King's mercy, and ſent his Majeſty a paper, in which, after a bare account of the conſultations among the Jacobites, he ſaid, in general, that there was, in England, a ſettled number of perſons to manage the affairs of King James: and being afterwards put upon to name thoſe perſons, and to deſcend to particulars, he gave in another writing, in which, among other things, he pretended, that King James, and thoſe who were imployed by him, had aſſured the Jacobites, that the earls of Shrewſbury, Bath, and Marlborough, the lord Godolphin and admiral Ruſſel, were reconciled to him, and, being now in his intereſt, were acting for him; that Shrewſbury came into the office of ſecretary of ſtate, by the

Is intercepted.

His counter plot.

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the operation and consent of King James; and that his grace was in treaty with that Monarch, before he laid down the seals. That the lord Marlborough had promised King James some service, which had inclined his Majesty to promise him his pardon; that the earl of Bath was to betray Plymouth into the hands of the French King; that admiral Russel and the lord Godolphin had likewise undertaken particular services; and that commissary Crawford had sent over to France a list of the forces in England (1).

These informations, at first, startled not only the court, but the King himself, and gained sir John Fenwick some time. But as he did not offer the least appearance of proof or circumstance, to corroborate his assertions, not even that could amount to a presumption, to support his accusation, this pretended discovery could, at most, go no farther, than to raise the King's jealousy of those noblemen: but, with every impartial person, it could be look'd on as no more than a mean prevarication without any grounds.

Tampers with the King's witnesses.

Fenwick, being, in the mean time, sensible that his sham-plot must be, at length, discovered, indeavor'd to get off at least one of the two evidences who had sworn against him before the grand-jury: in this he succeeded with Cardel Goodman, who, in consideration of a large sum of mony, was induced to withdraw himself into France. Indeavours were likewise used with the other evidence, captain Porter, and the large temptation of 1000 l. a year was offer'd him, by means of one Clancey, an Irish peruke-maker: but Porter having already a pension of 300 l. per annum from King William, and thinking it not safe to trust a party he had so lately betray'd, discover'd the whole intreague to the government, whereupon Clancey was sentenced to pay a fine of 500 marks, and to stand three times in the pillory, which was executed accordingly.

The parliament was, at this time, ingaged in a multiplicity of important affairs, as the reader will see below: However, the great men who had been charged by sir John Fenwick, of corresponding with King James, being determined to clear their reputations, and make sir John feel the weight of their resentment, found means to have that matter inquired into by both houses.

Admiral Russel brings this case before the house of commons.

The government finding themselves abused by the clandestine practises of the Jacobites, and having now no remedy left against the prisoner, in the ordinary course of law, the King gave leave to admiral Russel, to acquaint the house of commons with these proceedings, and lay before them the several papers which were given in by sir John Fenwick, in the nature of information against himself and several other persons of quality: this he did, the 6th of November, and desired that the said papers might be read, that he might thereby have the opportunity to justify himself, or if he did not, he was willing to fall under the censure of the house.

Sir John Fenwick examined by the house of commons.

The papers being read, sir John was ordered to be brought to the bar of the house, which being done, the 9th of the same month, and he being interrogated by the speaker, concerning his inclinations to discover the designs and practises of the enemies of the government; he, at first answer'd, he did not know but what he should say might hurt himself, and, therefore, desired he might have some security, that his confession should not rise up against him, in a court of judicature, adding, that he would not willingly offend, either the King or the house. Being ordered to withdraw, several debates arose in the house, and upon his being called in again, he was urged to make what discoveries he could, as the only means to bespeak the favor of the house: after many expostulations and excuses, which served to no end but to prejudice the house against him, he address'd himself to the commons in these words:

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"When first I spoke to the privy counsellor, "I proposed to him, whether I might have a pardon, without being made an evidence against any "man, and, in that case would serve the King, so "as to tell him, all that I knew. It was upon "honor, what I did to him, and he took the "words in writing from me, and sent them "to the King in Flanders: the King's answer "was, that he made no objection as to my "being an evidence, nor his giving me a pardon: "But that I could expect no pardon, 'till he knew "what I could say." He added, "that, thereupon, he was incouraged to do what he had "done, for his Majesty's service; but the King's "answer being, that he should more fully make "good what he had said, he afterwards explain'd "what he had inform'd that honorable person; and "still it was answered, it was not satisfactory: "that he hoped he should not find this, from this "honorable house, and that they would consider, "he was upon his life; that he knew this house "was good security for it, but 'till he had it, he "was under these circumstances, and he might be "told all was not satisfactory, and so desired the "house to consider of it."

His informations voted scandalous.

The speaker again press'd sir John, to make a discovery; but all his answers were but so many prevarications; insomuch that, at length, the house, to do justice to the loyalty of the injured noblemen, and to clear them intirely, from these false accusations, voted; "that the papers which had been "read, intitled, sir John Fenwick's informations, "accusing several peers of the realm of disloyalty, "were false and scandalous, tending to the subver-"sion of the government, to raise a jealousy be-"tween the King and his subjects, and to stifle the "truth of the controversy."

Bill to attaint him of high treason.

A motion was then made, for leave to bring in a bill, to attaint him of high treason, which, after a warm debate was carried in the affirmative, 179 voices against 61. The bill was accordingly presented to the house three days after, and the question being put, after a long debate of several hours, for a second reading, it was likewise carried in the affirmative, 196 voices against 104. The same day, the house ordered, that sir John Fenwick should have a copy of the bill, and of the order for reading it, eight days after; and that mr. secretary Vernon should then produce the letter written in Kent, by sir John Fenwick. The day before the bill was to be read a second time, sir John presented a petition, praying to be heard by his counsel, against the passing of the said bill; upon which the house ordered, that he should be allowed two counsel at the bar of the house, to make his defense.

(1) The author of the history of King William says, this expedient was suggested to Fenwick, by a person, who tho' he had been a great instrument in the late revolution, yet to gratify a private resentment, advised sir John to set up this counter-plot, by impeaching several of the King's best and heartiest friends, as guilty of conspiring against his Majesty. Vol. 3. p. 206.

Bishop Burnet carries the matter yet farther, and says Fenwick was put upon this artifice to save his life, or at least to gain time, by the earl of Monmouth, formerly known by the name of the lord Mordaunt; who (he adds) was the contriver of it, more out of spleen or revenge against certain persons, whom he thought were more favored than he, than to serve Fenwick. To this end, he drew up certain instructions, which he put into the hands of the duchess of Norfolk, to be convey'd to the prisoner; who finding it accompanied with threats and promises, according to the use he should make of those instructions, he thereupon formed this accusation. History of his own times.

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The 13th of November, sir John Fenwick was brought to the bar of the house, and was heard by his council, against the bill: the speaker opened the matter, and addressing himself to sir John Fenwick, laid before him the heinousness of the "crime "with which he stood charged, and how destructive "it would have been, if it had succeeded, to the "very being of this kingdom: and therefore, that "he might not go unpunished, if he was guilty, "they had ordered a bill to be brought to "attaint him for high-treason, which had been "once read, and would be now read to him, at the "bar, and then he would hear the evidence against "him, and have liberty to make his defense: "that tho' he could not claim any right thereto, "the house, to shew how ready they were to favor "him, in giving him any reasonable help, did allow "him counsel to assist him: that he was, likewise, "to acquaint those who were his counsel, that the "house did reckon their own prudence would so "guide them, as not to give any just offense to "this house. That they ought not to question the "power of parliament to pass bills of attainder, "when they judge it requisite, of which the com-"mons are more proper judges than any person, "and therefore they did not allow him to debate "that point.

This speech being ended, the clerk of the house of commons read the bill, importing, "that "whereas sir John Fenwick was, upon the oaths "of George Porter and Cardel Goodman, in-"dicted of high-treason, in conspiring to assassinate "his Majesty's sacred person, and incouraging the "French King to invade this kingdom: that sir "John Fenwick having obtained his Majesty's favor "to have his trial delayed, from time to time, "upon his repeated promises of making an in-"genuous and full confession of his knowlege of "any conspiracy against his Majesty's person or "government, he had so far abused his Majesty's "great clemency and indulgence, that instead of "making such confession, he had contrived false and "scandalous papers, as his informations, reflecting "on the fidelity of several noble peers, diverse mem-"bers of the house of commons, and others, only by "hear-say, and contriving thereby to undermine the "government, and create jealousies, between the King "and his subjects, and to stifle the real conspiracy: "and that whereas Cardel Goodman, one of the "witnesses against the said sir John Fenwick, to "prove the said treason, lately, and since the se-"veral times appointed for the trial of the said sir "John Fenwick, at one of which times, the said "sir John Fenwick had been tried, had it not "been for the expectation of the said discoveries "so often promised by him, was withdrawn, so "that the said Cardel Goodman could not be had, "to give evidence upon any trials: be it there-"fore, inacted, that the said sir John Fenwick be "convicted and attainted of high-treason, and "suffer the pains of death, and incur all forfeitures "as a person attainted of high treason."

To give a particular account of the pleadings on both sides, and of the several debates in the house, on this and other subsequent days 'till the bill passed, would carry me too great a length: I shall therefore only give an abridgment of the proceedings during that time. The bill being read, as I said above, the commons went on to examine witnesses, as well to the treasons contained in the indictment of sir John Fenwick, as to the allegations in the bill of attainder: and captain Porter was examined as to the lady Fenwick's practising with him, about his evidence: to the latter sir John's counsel objected, that what a wife said or did could be no evidence against her husband. Goodman's examination, before mr. secretary Vernon, was likewise read against the prisoner: but his counsel insisted that was no evidence. After this, several of the grand jury-men were examined, who found the indictment against the prisoner, concerning the evidence that induced them to find the bill; and this his counsel objected was another extraordinary step. The record of Cooke's conviction was also read against sir John, and some of Cooke's jury were examined, what evidence Goodman gave at Cooke's trial; but this was objected to as illegal. Mr. secretary Vernon then gave evidence of the various artifices sir John had made use of to put off his trial. There were likewise some debates and questions concerning sir John Fenwick's letter.

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The bill being read a second time, as ordered, great debates arose about its commitment; as there did likewise five days after, at the third reading of it: I shall only mention some few of the arguments, which were made use of, in these debates, for and against the bill. Debates on the bill.

The arguments against the bill were chiefly, "that the person to be condemned by this bill was "forth coming; had been indicted, and had pleaded, "and was ready to undergo his trial, in the ordi-"nary courts of justice: that the meanest subject "was intitled to a trial by jury: even the regicides "who actually murdered the King, and did not "fly, were admited to a trial in the ordinary court, "of justice, tho' a bill of attainder passed against "the rest: that it would be thought strange for "the same parliament which passed an act re-"quiring two witnesses in high-treason, to pass "another act to put a man to death, without one "legal witness, and without allowing him any trial "at all. That if mr. St. John's position, in the "lord Strafford's case, was admited, that a subse-"quent law might be made to take away a man's "life without any evidence, other than the private "opinion or conscience of every particular law-"maker, then none are safe: that, in the "lord Strafford's case, the proceedings were first "by impeachment: the witnesses had been exa-"mined in the house of peers, and the bill of at-"tainder recited, that it had been fully proved: "but for a bill to begin originally in the house of "commons, and judgment be given there, to de-"prive a man of his life, and all that is valuable, "without the sanction of an oath, was extremely "hard. Reasons against the bill.

"That bishop Burnet, in his history of the re-"formation had observed: that such bills could "not be enough condemned; for that they were a "breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules "of justice. Had the government been in danger "by the prisoner, ordinary rites might indeed "be dispensed with: but this being for an offense "commited a year before, the persons executed, "who were concerned in it, and all the danger "over, there could be no manner of reason for "resorting to their legislative power to punish this "man. The most that could be thought reason-"able, in this case, would be to inact, that "Goodman, the witness's evidence, tho' he was "fled, should be read at his trial. They could "not condemn the prisoner, and put him in a "worse condition, than if Goodman was here; "for then he would have had a trial by a jury, "the benefit of his challenges, the witnesses sworn, "and might have had his exceptions to their testi-"mony, all which he was deprived of here. That "the parliament had power to make such a law "was granted: but they thought it ought not to "be used, but upon extraordinary occasions, when "the offenders were so great, that they could not

"otherwise

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" otherwiſe be brought to juſtice, or where the " crimes did not fall under the denomination of the " common law, which was not the preſent caſe

" That there was not one precedent for attainting " a perſon who was in cuſtody and forth-com- " ing, but what had been univerſally branded ; " they were rather reproaches to the ill reigns " they were made in, and to be marked out as " rocks for us to avoid, than patterns to be imi- " tated : that tho' it were true, they were not tied " up by the rules in Weſtminſter-hall, yet what " was reaſon and juſtice in Weſtminſter-hall was " ſo every where, and ſo far as their rules were " founded on reaſon and juſtice, they ought to be " purſued : that they had indeed, by a law, pre- " vented people's being executed by an arbitrary " power, and in an unlawful manner, in Weſtmin- " ſter-hall : but if they made this example, they " might be perpetually executed here, and the ſub- " ject would be never the ſafer for the bill of trea- " ſons : that one time or other, every one might " be concerned, and have a proceeding of this " ſort againſt him : we have ſeen parties hang one " another by turns, with great violence. Some, " indeed, ſaid, they did not aim at the priſoner's " blood, but his confeſſion ; and ſo he was, in a " manner, to be racked to death, from one read- " ing of the bill to another ; and poſſibly might " come to be hanged at laſt, not for high-treaſon, " but for not confeſſing it. As to the ſafety of the " government, which was pretended, they did not " ſee how that depended on his life, or that it " would be one penny the worſe, if the bill did not " paſs. The preamble of the bill for attainting the " duke of Monmouth gave a ſubſtantial reaſon for " it ; that he was in arms, and could not be " brought to juſtice ; which implied, that if " he could have been brought to juſtice, they " would not have attainted him : that where the " government was at ſtake, and nothing would " preſerve it, but the breaking thro' the ſettled " forms, there the government did, and always " would break thro' them, whatever rules were " preſcribed : but they did not think ſir John " Fenwick's living or dying was of that conſequence " as this bill of attainder was. As to the allegation " that he protracted his trial, it was natural what " every body attempted, and could not be ſuffici- " ent ground to attaint him. That as to his " being the occaſion of withdrawing the evidence, " it was neither proved, nor ſo much as ſuggeſted " in the bill ; and if it had, it did not demand " ſuch a puniſhment, any more than his having " aſperſed ſome great perſons, as the bill charged : " that it was true, ſome were accuſed ; and it " was hard they ſhould ſit as judges on the perſon " who accuſed them, and indeavor to baffle his " evidence, by craming a bill of attainder down his " throat : that there were other gentlemen in the " houſe, who were counſel for the King, and pro- " ſecutors, and they thought it hard too, that they " ſhould ſit in judgment on the priſoner : that it " was agreed by all, that this power ought not to " be exerciſed, but on extraordinary occaſions : " that high-treaſon, 'tis true, was a great crime ; " but what was there in this caſe to make it differ " ſo much from other high-treaſons, that they muſt " proceed in this extraordinary manner ? he had " aſperſed great men ; he had prevaricated with " the government, and protracted his trial, 'till a " witneſs was withdrawn : but if theſe reaſons were " ſufficient to induce them, to have recourſe to a " bill of attainder, then, whenever there ſhould " be but one witneſs for the future, by virtue of " this precedent, the legiſlature muſt interpoſe, " and a bill of attainder be brought in ; and then " to what purpoſe was the care and wiſdom of " their anceſtors, and of themſelves, who had provided, that where the crime was ſo great, and attended with ſo great puniſhment, there ſhould be two witneſſes ?

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" That in this precedent, it would appear, by " their journals, that they had cauſed the depoſi- " tion of a perſon to be read, who was abſent, " taken before a juſtice of peace, when the party " accuſed had no opportunity to interrogate him ; " and that they had heard a witneſs, as to what " was ſwore in the trial of another man ; and this " appeared to be to ſupply the defect of a witneſs " viva voce. That it was not becauſe it was diſa- " greeable to the rules in Weſtminſter-hall, that " ſuch a teſtimony was not admited ; but the rule " was founded on juſtice and common right ; that " no evidence ſhould be brought againſt a man, " that was given in a cauſe, where he was not a " party, when the oath was made, and he had " no opportunity to croſs-examine the witneſs. " That, according to the opinion of their prede- " ceſſors, ſuch proceedings as theſe were contrary " to the fundamental articles of juſtice and right ; " which parliaments, as well as other courts, ought " to be governed by ; that moſt of the attainders, " which had been produced as precedents for them, " had been reverſed, and that becauſe the perſons " condemned had not had the due benefit of the law, " and if that was a good reaſon for reverſing " ſuch attainders, it was alſo a good reaſon why " they ſhould not proceed by attainder.

" That to tell them the government was in dan- " ger, and that the ſtate of England and Europe, " depended on this bill, was certainly offered " rather to amuſe than convince them. It was im- " poſſible the government could be in danger, " from one they had in their power, and might " reſtrain him of his liberty for life, and whoſe " eſtate and intereſt were ſo inconſiderable. It was " ſtrange that the government could not ſupport " itſelf, without taking away the life of ſuch a " one, contrary to the rules of law.

Reaſons for the bill.

On the other hand, thoſe who argued for the bill, alleged, " that the parliament would never " take things out of the ordinary courts of juſtice, " or attaint a perſon of treaſon, unleſs in extra- " ordinary caſes : but here it appeared, they had " been deprived of the evidence that was neceſſary, " in the ordinary courſe of proceedings ; and in ſuch " caſes, it was uſual for the parliament to interpoſe : " and as to that objection, that what had been " offered was not legal evidence, the parliament " might make uſe of ſuch informations, as would " give them any light into the matter, and were not " tied down to the rules of Weſtminſter-hall ; " they were judges of their own methods, and " how far ſir John Fenwick was concerned upon the " circumſtances before them. That this power, " had indeed been ſeldom exerted, but where the " party was withdrawn from juſtice, and could not " be come at in the ordinary courſe ; but this was a " parallel caſe ; they could not come at juſtice in the " ordinary courſe, their witneſs having been tamper- " ed with, and withdrawn ; and, therefore, by their " own arguments, it was proper to be brought before " the parliament : that they were inveſted with a " diſcretionary power, to do whatever they appre- " hended to be for the good of the kingdom ; and " this was a fit occaſion to exert that authority. " That indeed this power was like thunder in the " hands of providence, and was not to be uſed " but upon extraordinary occaſions, and then it " ought not to fail : for men would trifle with and " deſpiſe that power, which was not able effectu- " ally to exert itſelf : that as ſome gentlemen were " afraid of making an ill precedent, it was for " that reaſon too, that they were for the bill : for, " as

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" as the bill ſtood, he was but a bungling poli-
" tician, who could not ruin the government, and
" yet not come within the bill of treaſon, to be
" hanged for it; and therefore for the keeping
" miniſters of ſtate in awe, and that the parlia-
" ment might have it in their power to puniſh future
" offenders as they thought fit, as well as the pri-
" ſoner, they were for the bill.

" That it had been ſaid, this was a matter of
" no great conſequence, becauſe it concerned ſir
" John Fenwick's life; he was not thought to be
" ſo conſiderable, as, by his eſcape, to bring the
" public into any danger: but it was a very juſt
" obſervation, that if a plot was diſcovered, and
" not thoroughly proſecuted, it would ſtrengthen
" and grow upon them, and ten to one, if it did not
" ſubvert the government: that no one could think
" that ſir William Perkins and ſir John Friend,
" and the reſt who were diſcovered, were the only
" perſons concerned in this conſpiracy, they believed
" there muſt be much greater men concerned in it:
" that when they ſaw ſuch a ſtruggle to get people
" outof goal, and ſend them out of the way, they
" could not ſuppoſe, but that there was ſomething
" extraordinary ſtill to be done, and they would not
" have men think to ſecure themſelves by brib-
" ing witneſſes. It was notorious what parties
" there were for King James; perſons were plot-
" ing in every part of the kingdom, and an open
" invaſion threatned: and if this was not time to
" exert their extraordinary power, when would it
" be a proper time?

" Others urged, if it were the law of God and
" nature, that no man ſhould be put to death with-
" out two witneſſes, they wondered all Chriſtian
" nations were not governed by that law. But,
" indeed no two nations agreed in their manner of
" proof, and we differed from all other nations,
" in producing the witneſſes, face to face, and re-
" quiring two witneſſes, in caſes of treaſon:
" that we ourſelves did not require the ſame proof
" in ſome caſes as we did in others; one witneſs was
" ſufficient in felony; and before the ſtatute of Ed-
" ward VI, even in treaſon, that evidence was ſuffi-
" cient which was ſufficient to incline the jury to give
" verdict: that if this precedent had been made
" in the caſe of an innocent perſon, or even where
" the fact was doubtful, by a prevailing party, it
" had been an ill precedent; but it being made for
" a man who was notoriouſly guilty, and one who
" deſerved this extraordinary reſentment of the
" nation, and who had been brought to juſtice in
" the ordinary manner, if he had not eluded and
" made it impracticable; they thought, if it ſhould
" appear that the nation would not be put off ſo,
" but made an example of him, poſterity would
" applaud and thank them for it: that they did
" not however condemn him, becauſe he had pro-
" tracted his trial, but becauſe he had been guilty
" of high-treaſon, the worſt of treaſon, which
" would have been proved, in the ordinary courſe
" of proceedings, if he had not pretended to make
" diſcoveries, and by that means, put off his
" trial 'till a witneſs was gone; and when he found
" himſelf out of the ordinary reach of juſtice, ſet
" the juſtice of his country in defiance: altho' theſe
" were not ſufficient reaſons why he ſhould die, yet
" they were ſufficient to juſtify their proceed-
" ing in this manner againſt him: that tho'
" ſir John Fenwick was ſo inconſiderable, that
" he could not indanger the government, it was
" plain he was to be general, and knew a great
" many officers: that he had not made that
" atonement to his injured country (by an ingenuous
" confeſſion) as he ought to have done; and un-
" leſs they proceeded ſteadily againſt him, they
" ſhould have none of thoſe diſcoveries: not that
" they would hang up a man becauſe he would not
" confeſs; but that he, having been guilty of the
" worſt treaſons, and aggravated his crime in that
" manner, deſerved to die, unleſs he would merit
" his life, by a diſcovery of what he knew.

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The bill paſſed in the houſe of commons.

And in the upper houſe.

The proteſt of ſome lords.

These debates being at an end, and the queſtion put, " that this bill do paſs," it was carried in the affirmative, 189 againſt 156. The bill was thereupon ſent up to the houſe of lords for their concurrence, where, likewiſe, it was attended with great debates, and at length was carried by a majority of ſeven voices only: there being ſixty-eight againſt ſixty-one. The lords who were againſt it entered their proteſts, for the following reaſons:

1. " Becauſe bills of attainder againſt perſons in
" priſon, and who therefore are liable to be tried
" by common law, are of dangerous conſequence
" to the lives of the ſubjects, and may tend to the
" ſubverſion of the laws of the kingdom.

2. " Becauſe the evidence of grand jury-men,
" of what was ſworn before them againſt ſir John
" Fenwick, as alſo the evidence of the petty
" jury-men, in another cauſe, was admited here;
" both which are againſt the rules of law; beſide
" that, they diſagreed in their teſtimony.

3. " Becauſe the information of Goodman in
" writing was received, which law was not to be
" admited; and the priſoner, for want of his ap-
" pearing face to face (as is by law required) could
" not have the advantage of croſs-examining him;
" and it did not appear by evidence, that ſir John
" Fenwick, or any other perſon imployed by him,
" had any way perſuaded Goodman to withdraw
" himſelf: and it would be of very dangerous
" conſequence, that any perſon ſo accuſed ſhould
" be condemned; for, by this means, a witneſs
" who ſhould be found inſufficient to convict a
" man, ſhould have more power to hurt a man by
" his abſenſe, than if he were produced viva voce
" againſt him.

4. " Becauſe if Goodman had appeared againſt
" him, he was infamous in the whole courſe of his
" life, and could not be a good witneſs, eſpecially
" in caſes of blood.

5. " Becauſe, in this caſe, there was but one
" evidence, viz. Porter, and he a very doubtful one.

6. " Becauſe ſir John Fenwick was ſo inconſider-
" able a man, as to indangering the peace of the
" government, that there was no neceſſity of proceed-
" ing againſt him in ſo extraordinary a manner."

The act has the royal aſſent.

Sir John Fenwick beheaded.

A paper given by him to the ſheriffs.

The 11th of January the King gave the royal aſſent to this " act of attainder againſt ſir John
" Fenwick" (1); and his puniſhment being afterwards commuted from hanging to beheading, he was executed, the 28th of the ſame month, on Tower-hill, where he delivered a paper to the ſheriffs importing:

" That he died in the communion of the church
" of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, wherein he
" was brought up, and which he had ever profeſſed;
" tho' he confeſſed he had been an unworthy mem-
" ber of it, in not living up to the ſtrict and ex-
" cellent rules thereof; that his religion taught
" him his loyalty, which he bleſſed God was un-
" tainted; and he had ever indeavored, in the
" ſtation wherein he had been placed, to the utmoſt
" of his power, to ſupport the crown of England,

(1) His Majeſty gave, at the ſame time, the royal aſſent, to another act, " for the attainder of ſuch of the perſons concerned
" in the late conſpiracy, to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty's Royal perſon, who were fled from juſtice, unleſs they rendered themſelves to
" juſtice; and for continuing ſeveral others of the ſaid conſpirators in cuſtody.

" in

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" in the true and lineal courſe of deſcent, without " interruption: that as for what he was now to die, " he called GOD to witneſs, he went not to that " meeting in Leadenhall-ſtreet, with any ſuch in- " tent as to invite King James, by force, to invade " this nation: nor was he himſelf provided with " either horſe or arms, or ingaged for any number " of men, or gave particular conſent for any ſuch " invaſion, as was moſt falſly ſworn againſt him. " He alſo declared, in the preſenſe of God, that " he knew nothing of King James's coming to " Calais, nor of any invaſion intended from thence, " 'till it was publicly known, and that the only " notion he had, that ſomething might be attempt- " ed, was from the Toulon-fleet coming to Breſt. " That he received the knowlege of what was con- " tained in thoſe papers that he gave to a great " man, who came to him in the Tower, both from " letters and meſſages, which came from France; " and that the great man told him, when he read " them to him, that the Prince of Orange had " been acquainted with moſt of theſe things before. " That he might have expected mercy from that " Prince, becauſe he was inſtrumental in ſaving " his life: for when, about April 1695, an at- " tempt formed againſt him came to his knowlege, " he did, partly by diſuaſſions, and partly by delays, " prevent that deſign, which he ſuppoſed was the " reaſon, that the laſt villanous project was con- " cealed from him. That if there were any perſons " whom he had injured, in word or deed, he hear- " tily prayed their pardon, and begged of GOD to " pardon thoſe who had injured him, particularly " thoſe who had zealouſly ſought his life, and " brought the guilt of his innocent blood on this " nation, no treaſon being proved upon him. That " he returned his moſt hearty thanks to thoſe noble " and worthy perſons, who gave him their aſſiſtance " in oppoſing this bill of attainder, without which " it was impoſſible he could have fallen under the ſen- " tenſe of death; and he prayed GOD to bleſs them " and their poſterity; tho' he was fully ſatisfied, they " pleaded their cauſe, while they defended his. In " the concluſion, he prayed GOD to bleſs his true and " lawful ſovereign, King James, the Queen and " Prince of Wales, and reſtore him, and his poſterity, " to this throne again, for the peace and proſperity " of this nation, which could not poſſibly proſper, 'till " the government was ſettled upon a right foot (1).

Ill ſtate of the coin farther remedied.

I return now to the other affairs of parliament: the King had recommended, from the throne, three important affairs to the conſideration of parliament, viz. " A farther remedy of the ill ſtate of " the coin; the reſtoring of the public credit, " and the providing a ſupply for the next year's ſer- " vice." In order to effect the two firſt, the commons reſolved: " that they would not alter the " ſtandard of gold or ſilver, in fineneſs, weight or " denomination, and that they would make good " all parliamentary funds, ſince his Majeſty's ac- " ceſſion to the throne, that had been made credits " for loans from the ſubject:" and as the circulation of guineas was obſtructed, the 22d of October, a bill was ordered to be brought in, " for the giving " leave to import guineas, and to coin gold at the " mint." The 28th, two other bills were likewiſe ordered to be prepared, one " for the farther reme- " dying the ill ſtate of the coin, and the other " for incouraging the bringing plate into the mints to be coined." The firſt two bills received the royal aſ- ſent, the 3d of December, at which time his Ma- jeſty, likewiſe, confirmed " an act, to explain that " part of the act paſſed the laſt ſeſſion of parlia- " ment (for laying ſeveral duties on low wines, and " ſpirits of the firſt extraction, and for preventing " the frauds and abuſes of brewers, diſtillers, and " other perſons chargeable with the duties of exciſe) " which relates to the payment of tallies, and the " intereſt thereof.

Acts paſſed.

A ſupply granted.

The commons having taken into conſideration the ſtate of the war for the year 1697, as well with regard to the navy as the land-forces; they granted, on the 4th of November, " 2,372,197 l. " for the maintenance of 40,000 ſeamen, and of the " two marine regiments; and for the ordinary of " the navy, and the charge of the regiſtry of ſea- " men: and the ſum of 2,507,882 l. for the main- " tenance of 87,440 men, to imployed in Eng- " land, and beyond the ſeas, for the extraordi- " nary ſervice of the office of ordnance, the pay " of the general officers, and the charge of the " tranſports, hoſpitals, and other contingencies of " the war." Beſide theſe large ſums, they voted " farther, on the 23d of December, " 125,000 l. " for making good the deficiency, in re-coining " hammered mony, and to be given, for bringing " plate into the mints, to be coined."

Ways and Means.

In order to raiſe theſe great ſums, the commons had recourſe, on the 22d of December, to a general capitation or poll-tax, from which none were ex- empt but thoſe who received alms; and, at the ſame time, they laid three ſhillings in the pound upon land. Towards levying the 125,000 l. above- mentioned, they reſolved, on the 9th of January, to lay a duty of ſix-pence per ounce, upon all plate that ſhould not be brought in to be coined, and twenty per cent, upon all paper, paſt-board, parch- ment and vellom imported; as alſo 17 l. 10 s. upon the ſame goods made in this kingdom, or in ſtock, for the term of two years.

Loſs of public credit.

The loſs of public credit was, however, the greateſt difficulty this parliament had to ſtrugle with (2); and ſo great it was, that the kingdom was thereby reduced to a diſtreſs'd condition. Mony was, indeed, coin'd with all poſſible expedition; but thoſe who received it from the Mint, being generally monied men, would not part with it, with- out unreaſonable advantages; inſomuch that govern- ment-tallies and debentures were at forty, fifty, and ſixty per cent. diſcount, and even bank-bills at above twenty per cent. The ſellers, as well of the one as the other, being very numerous, they were offer'd, and, in a manner, cried about the exchange, which, while ſome men ſuffer'd egre- gioufly, gave an opportunity to others to raiſe vaſt fortunes, by buying them up (3). The enemies of

Great diſtreſs of the nation.

(1) Great interceſſion was made to obtain the King's pardon. His lady, who had been the chief inſtrument to ſeduce him into the unhappy meaſures which coſt him his life, continued her ſupplications to the King and miniſtry to the very day of his cataſtrophe, and her petitions were backed by numbers of the nobility. His Majeſty was once inclined to ſhew him mercy, at the preſſing inſtances of his lady, when a certain lord interpoſing ſaid, " Sir, this lady is to be pitied, but if the plot had ſuc- " ceeded, the nation would have been more ſo. England would not only have ſhed tears as ſhe does: but would have ſeen " ſtreams of blood flowing, by the maſſacre of her moſt valuable citizens." And this conſideration proved of ſuch weight as to overbalance his Majeſty's clemency.

(2) The occaſion of this was, on one hand, the deficiency of parliamentary ſecurities, eſpecially the land-bank, which proved wholly abortive, and inſtead of above two million and a half, with which it was charged, did not produce one penny: and on the other hand the recoining of the ſilver.

(3) This it is generally believed, gave the firſt riſe to that infamous practiſe of ſtock-jobing (which continued to be the bane of our trade, till very lately the wiſdom of parliament thought fit, in a great meaſure, to put a ſtop to it) many buying who had no mony to purchaſe, and as many ſelling what they were never poſſeſs'd of. Stories were fram'd, and feign'd intelligences divulged, to raiſe or ſink this kind of ſtock, in order to purchaſe or ſell to an advantage.

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the nation had now, indeed, the ſatisfaction of ſeing it ſufficiently diſtreſs'd, it being hardly poſſible, that the public affairs could be more imbaraſs'd, than they were at this juncture: but ſuch was the diligence of parliament, which was, in a more particular manner, animated by the wiſdom, ſagacity and eloquence of the chancellor of the exchequer; that what by the eſtabliſhing new duties, and continuing others which were near expiring, funds were created for the diſcharge of the government's debts, in a courſe of time: and as the Bank of England had been found of great advantage to the miniſtry, in order to raiſe the credit of it, a reſolution was taken, to increaſe their capital ſtock another million, by new ſubſcriptions, and to continue their term to the year 1710. And tho' theſe new ſubſcriptions were allowed to be made in tallies and bank-notes; yet as there were now good funds ſettled for paying them off, the monied men, who could bear ſtock, run into it, by which means, bank-bills and notes, in a ſhort time, roſe to par again: but nothing was more effectual to ſupply the want of caſh, at this time, than the parliament's authoriſing the treaſury to iſſue out near three millions of exchequer-notes, which being allowed in taxes, and circulated by the Bank, for a moderate premium, redreſs'd, in a great meaſure, this grievance, and contributed to reſtore things to their ancient ſtate.

Remedied by the wiſdom of parliament.

I ſhould have mention'd before, that towards the begining of this ſeſſion, the commons, in a grand committee, having conſidered the ſtate of the nation, and taken notice of the late miſcarriages of the fleet, ordered, the fourth of November, that ſir George Rooke ſhould attend the houſe, to give an account why the French Toulon ſquadron was not intercepted in going into Breſt? The admiral attended accordingly, and afterwards produced copies both of his journal, and of the orders he had received from the admiralty; which being examined, it was ordered, the 23d of November, that ſir Cloudeſly Shovel ſhould lay before the houſe copies of all ſuch orders as he received, in order to the joining ſir George Rooke. Four days after, ſir Robert Rich, from the commiſſioners of the admiralty, preſented to the houſe of commons, copies of all orders ſent both to ſir George and ſir Cloudeſly, in relation to the fleet, in general, between the firſt day of January 1696, and the time the French got into Breſt; as alſo an account of what intelligences they received of the Toulon ſquadron's ſetting out, and their motions towards Breſt. Much time was ſpent, in both houſes, about this affair; but after all, it did not appear, that either of thoſe two admirals had fail'd in their duty.

Miſcarriages of the fleet inquired into.

An' 1697. Farther ways and means.

The 9th of February 1697, the commons computed the aids granted to his Majeſty, both by the capitation act and other ſubſidies, at three millions, which falling ſhort of the mony to be raiſed for the ſervice of the year 1697, and for making good the deficient funds, they reſolved, on the 17th, "that "for raiſing the ſum of 840,000 l. charged upon "the duties laid upon ſalt, and upon coals and "culm, and tonage of ſhips, taken away the laſt "ſeſſion of parliament, for which the proviſion then "made had proved defective, a farther duty, of "fifteen per cent, be laid upon all leather for three "years.

Meſſage concerning the civil liſt.

The 18th, the commons received a meſſage from the King, by mr. ſecretary Trumball, importing: "that his Majeſty finding himſelf under very great "difficulties, for want of mony to ſupply the occaſions of the civil liſt, he had thought neceſſary "to remind the houſe, of that part of his ſpeech, "which related to that head, deſiring that ſpeedy "care might be taken to make effectual proviſion "for it." The commons, thereupon, took his Majeſty's ſpeech again into conſideration; and, on the 26th, reſolved, "that a ſupply of 515,000 l. be "granted to his Majeſty, for the ſupport of the "civil liſt; and, the next day, that the ſaid ſum "be raiſed by laying a duty of ſix-pence per buſhel "upon malt, for three years and a quarter." And becauſe the aforementioned impoſitions did not fully anſwer the ſums already voted, the commons reſolved, on the 3d of March; "that towards the "ſupply granted for carrying on the war, and for "the ſupport of the civil liſt, over and above the "duties already payable, a farther duty be laid "upon all cyder, perry, liquors call'd ſweets, mum, "wine, and upon all goods made of, or mix'd with "wool, ſilk or hair." The 8th, the houſe likewiſe reſolved; "that for making good the defi-"ciency of the proviſion for payment of the intereſt of the tranſport debt, for the reducing of "Ireland, a duty of 4 l. per annum be laid upon "all hawkers and pedlars for one year; and that "every hawker and pedlar, travelling with a "horſe, aſs or mule, ſhould pay 4 l. per annum, "more, for each horſe, aſs, or mule he ſhould ſo "travel with."

Will' III. An' 1697. The civil liſt provided for.

Bills paſs'd.

The ſame day, the King went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to "Firſt, an act "for granting to his Majeſty ſeveral duties upon "paper, vellom and parchment; to incourage the "bringing plate and hammer'd mony into the "Mint, to be coined. Second, An act for con-"tinuing certain additional impoſitions upon ſeveral "goods and merchandizes. Third, An act to inable "the returns of juries as formerly, until the firſt "day of November 1697. Fourth, An act for "the preventing frivolous and vexatious ſuits. "Fifth, An act to reſtore the markets at Black-"well-hall to the clothiers, and for regulating the "factors there. Sixth, An act to inable James, "duke of Ormond, to raiſe mony by ſale of "woods, and making leaſes for lives renewable "for ever, for payment of debts; and for incourag-"ing Engliſh plantations in Ireland; and for Charles, "lord Preſton, earl of Arran, in the kingdom of "Ireland, to make leaſes of his eſtate in the "ſaid kingdom;" and to ſeveral other private bills.

Farther ways and means.

The commons having conſider'd of ways and means to raiſe the 840,000 l. abovemention'd, reſolved, the 17th of March, "that the duties upon "leather be appropriated for the ſatisfaction of what "remained unpaid of the principal and intereſt "of the 560,000 l. advanced on the duties upon "coal and culm, taken away the laſt ſeſſion, that "for raiſing the remaining ſum of 280,000 l. the "times be inlarged for perſons to come in, and "purchaſe the annuities mentioned in a former "act. And that in caſe the ſaid ſum of 280,000l. "and intereſt due thereupon, was not raiſed there-"by, that it would be made good out of the "firſt aids, to be granted the next ſeſſion of par-"liament."

Acts paſs'd:

The firſt of April, the King gave the royal aſſent, Firſt, to "an act for the compleating, build-"ing and adorning the cathedral of St. Paul's, "London, and for repairing the collegiate church "of St. Peter's Weſtminſter. Second, an act for "making good the deficiences of ſeveral funds, and "for inlarging the capital ſtock of the Bank of "England. Third, an act for repealing a "clauſe in a former act, relating to party guiles, "and for preventing frauds of brewers, and others "chargeable with the duties of exciſe. Fourth, an "act for inlarging common highways. Fifth, an "act for continuing ſeveral former acts, for puniſh-"ing mutineers in the army, &c. Sixth, an act "for the relief of creditors, by making compo-"ſitions with their debtors, in caſe two thirds in "number and value do agree; and Seventh, an act

" act for paving and regulating the Hay-market, " within the liberty of Weſtminſter.

Ways and means re-ſumed.

The third of April, the queſtion was put, whether the bill for laying a farther duty upon wines ſhould be ingroſs'd, which paſs'd in the negative. The 7th, the commons reſolved; " that for raiſing " the ſum of 600,000l. towards the ſupply gran- " ted to his Majeſty, for the proſecution of the " war, inſtead of the duties upon wines, the duty " of the old ſubſidy of tonage and poundage upon " goods imported (dying wares excepted) accord- " ing to the book of rates ſettled in the year " 1660, be doubled, for the term of two years " and three quarters; and that an additional aid, of " one ſhilling per pound, be laid upon all lands, for " one year, as an equivalent of the duty of ten per cent " laid upon the manufactures made of, or mix'd " with wool, ſilk or hair."

More acts paſs'd.

The 16th the King came again to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent; Firſt, " to an act " for laying a duty upon leather, for the term of " three years. Second, an act for granting to the " King certain duties, on malt, mum, ſweets, " cyder, and perry. Third, an act for licenſing " hawkers and pedlars, for a farther proviſion for " payment of the tranſport-debt, for the reducing " of Ireland. Fourth, an act for granting to his " Majeſty a farther ſubſidy of tonage and poun- " dage upon merchandizes imported; and an ad- " ditional land-tax. Fifth, an act for leſſening " the duties upon tin and pewter exported, and " granting an equivalent for the ſame, by a duty " upon drugs. Sixth, an act to make perpetual " and more effectual an act to prevent delays at the " quarter-ſeſſions of the peace. Seventh, an act " to inforce the act for the increaſe and incourage- " ment of ſeamen. Eighth, an act for raiſing " the militia for the year 1697. Ninth, an act " for explaining and inforcing the act for paving " the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter. Tenth, " an act for the farther incouragement of the manu- " facture of luſtrings and alamodes; and for pre- " venting the importation of the ſame. Eleventh, " an act for the repair of the piers of Burlington, " in the county of York. Twelfth, an act for " the better obſervation of the courſe anciently " uſed in the receit of the Exchequer. Thirteenth, " an act for the eaſier obtaining partition of land " in coparcenary, &c. Fourteenth, an act for ſup- " plying ſome defects in the laws, for the relief of " the poor. Fifteenth, an act to reſtrain the num- " ber and ill practiſes of brokers and ſtockjobers. " Sixteenth, an act for the better preventing the " counterfeiting the current coin of this kingdom; " and, Seventeenth, an act for the more effectual " relief of creditors, in caſes of eſcapes, and for " preventing abuſes in priſons, and pretended pri- " vileg'd places." After which, his Majeſty told both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" That he was now to return them his hearty " thanks for what they had done this ſeſſion, which " had been carried on with great prudence, temper " and affection: that at the opening of the ſeſſion, " he told them, how ſenſible he was of the difficul- " ties to be ſtruggled with, which were of ſuch a " nature, that he would freely own, the hopes he " had of overcoming them were founded only on " the wiſdom and zeal of ſo good a parliament. " That expectation (continued his Majeſty) has " been fully anſwer'd: you enter'd upon the buſineſs " with ſo much chearfulneſs, proceeded ſo unani- " mouſly, and have, at laſt, brought things to " ſuch a concluſion, that we may hope to carry on " the war with ſucceſs, in caſe our enemies do not " think it their intereſt to agree to an honorable " peace; and ſo effectual a proviſion being made " for ſupplying the deficiencies of the funds (which " is the beſt foundation for the re-eſtabliſhing of " credit) I doubt not, but in a ſhort time, it will " have a very happy effect, to the univerſal eaſe " and ſatisfaction of my people." In the concluſion, he acquainted them; " that the circumſtances " of affairs making it neceſſary for him to be out " of the kingdom for ſome time, he ſhould take " care to leave the adminiſtration of the govern- " ment, during his abſenſe, in the hands of ſuch " perſons as he could depend upon. And that " he had nothing more to aſk of them, but that " they would carry down the ſame diſpoſition, into " their ſeveral countries, which they had expreſſed " in all the proceedings of that ſeſſion.

This ſpeech being ended, the lord-keeper declared his Majeſty's pleaſure, that this preſent parliament ſhould be prorogued to the 13th of May next (1).

Plenipotentiaries named.

I return now to other domeſtic affairs, which happen'd during the latter part of this ſeſſion of parliament. Towards the concluſion of the foregoing year, the King made choice of the earl of of Pembroke, lord-privy ſeal, the lord viſcount Villiers, and ſir Joſeph Williamſon, to be his plenipotentiaries for the treaty of a general peace.

Other domeſtic occurrences.

The 6th of February, his Majeſty conſtituted the lord Galway, one of the lords-juſtices of Ireland, and John Methwen, eſq; lord-chancelor of that kingdom, in the room of ſir Charles Porter, lately deceaſed, who held both thoſe offices during his life.

The 12th, the earl of Ayleſbury, who had been commited ſome months before to the Tower, upon the ſame evidence by which ſir John Fenwick loſt his head, was brought to the court of King's-bench, by a habeas-corpus, and was there admited to bail: but the lord Montgomery, who was likewiſe brought up by a habeas-corpus, was remanded to Newgate.

The 17th, the earl of Portland was created a knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, and was inſtall'd the 25th of the inſuing month at Windſor, with great pomp and ſplendor.

The 29th of February died John lord Berkley, baron of Stratton, who had ſignalized his valor, conduct and zeal for the preſent government, in ſeveral enterprizes in the channel: and, upon his death, his regiment of marines was beſtowed on ſir Cloudeſly Shovel.

The 11th of April, ſir Thomas Mompeſſon, ſir Charles Cotterel, jun. and James Tyrril, eſq; were appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of lord privy-ſeal, during the abſenſe of the earl of Pembroke; and, the 14th, the earl of Mancheſter, captain of the yeomen of the guard, was named his Majeſty's embaſſador extraordinary to the ſtate of Venice. Sir James Ruſhout was appointed, at the ſame time, embaſſador to the Ottoman port, and Lambert Blackwell, eſq; (who was ſoon after

(1) Beſide the acts which received the royal ſanction, this ſeſſion, ſeveral others were either rejected or left depending; of the firſt were " a bill for a general naturalization, and another to regulate printing-preſſes; and, of the latter, Firſt, a bill " to prevent the buying and ſelling of offices and places of truſt. Second, a bill to prevent the undue marriages of infants. " Third, a bill for regulating elections of members to ſerve in parliament. Fourth, a bill to ſettle and regulate the trade to " Africa. Fifth, a bill to incourage the woollen manufacture in England, and to prevent the exportation of it from Ireland to " foreign parts; and, Sixth, to reſtrain the wearing of all wrought ſilks and Bengals, imported into this kingdom from Perſia " and Eaſt-India, and all callicoes printed and ſtained there.

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knighted) envoy to the great duke of Tuſcany. The 19th, the earl of Sunderland was made chamberlain of the King's houſhold, the earl of Dorſet having reſign'd that office into his Majeſty's hands. The 22d, his Majeſty beſtowed the title of lord chancelor of England, upon ſir John Sommers: and, the ſame day, appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancelor, the earl of Pembroke, lord privy-ſeal, the dukes of Devonſhire and Shrewſbury, the earls of Sunderland and Romney, and Edward Ruſſel, eſq; firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, lords-juſtices of England during his abſenſe. The 24th, the King left Kenſington, and having embark'd at Margate, the 26th, landed ſafely, the next day, in Holland; where we ſhall leave his Majeſty for a while.

The King goes for Holland.

A few days after his Majeſty's departure, it was publicly declared, that the lord-chancelor was created lord Sommers, baron of Everſham, in the county of Worceſter; Edward Ruſſel, eſq; baron of Shingey, viſcount Barfleur, in Normandy, and earl of Orford, in the county of Suffolk: Thomas lord Coventry, viſcount Deerhurſt, and earl of Coventry; and the viſcount Galway, earl of Galway, in the kingdom of Ireland. That the marquis of Wincheſter, the earl of Galway, and the lord viſcount Villiers were appointed lords juſtices of Ireland; that Arnold van Keppell was created earl of Albermarle, viſcount Bury, and baron of Aſhford in Kent. That the earl of Stamford was made chancelor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaſter; that the office of chief-juſtice in Eyre, on this ſide Trent, was granted to the lord Wharton, who was, likewiſe, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Oxon; and that the government of Barbadoes, was beſtowed on Ralph Grey, eſq;

Captain Vaughan executed.

During the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, captain Thomas Vaughan, commander of a ſhip call'd the Royal Clancarty, was tried and convicted of high-treaſon, for that being a ſubject of King William's, he had accepted of a commiſſion from the French King, and cruiſed upon the ſubjects of England, with an intent to take and ſpoil them of their goods, upon the high ſeas, and he was executed as a traytor accordingly.

The treaty of Ryſwick was the grand tranſaction of this year, but before I proceed to give an account of that, and other affairs of the continent, I ſhall give a brief narration of the affairs of Ireland.

Affairs of Ireland.

In Ireland, the parliament met, the 27th of July, purſuant to their laſt adjournment, and the lords-juſtices made a ſpeech to both houſes; in anſwer to which, the houſe of commons having unanimouſly voted an addreſs of thanks, it was preſented the 30th. Theſe mutual aſſurances of truſt and confidence being paſs'd, the commons examined the account of the debt due on the civil and military liſts; and, on the 11th of Auguſt, unanimouſly reſolved to grant his Majeſty the ſum of 150,000 l. for the clearing of that debt, to the 30th of June incluſive. About the ſame time, the parliament, likewiſe, paſs'd a bill tranſmited out of England, "for confirming "ſeveral out-lawries and attainders, and for veſt-"ing in his Majeſty the eſtates of thoſe who were "dead in rebellion there, or in foreign parts." The commons, ſoon after, preſented a petition in favor of the Proteſtants, to which the lords-juſtices gave a favorable anſwer.

The 8th of September, the commons ordered a bill to be prepared, "for the incouragement of "Proteſtant ſtrangers to ſettle in that kingdom"; and voted an addreſs to the lords-juſtices in their "behalf. They made, at the ſame time, "an act "for baniſhing all Papiſts exerciſing any eccleſi-"aſtical juriſdiction, and all regulars of the Popiſh "clergy, out of that kingdom;" which, together with "an act, for the confirmation of the "articles made at the ſurrender of the city of Li-"merick;" and another, "to prevent Proteſtants "inter-marrying with Papiſts, received the royal "aſſent, on the 27th of the ſame month.

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Both houſes were then adjourned to the 20th of October, and afterwards to the begining of November. The 19th of that month, the lords-juſtices gave the royal aſſent to "an act for continuing an "additional duty on tobacco, beer, ale, and other "liquors, and on ſeveral merchandizes, to the "25th of December 1702. An act to hinder the "reverſal of ſeveral outlawries, and to prevent the "return of ſubjects of that kingdom, that had "gone into the dominions of the French King, in "Europe, and an act for taking away the benefit "of the clergy, in ſome caſes." The 24th, the lords-juſtices ſent a meſſage to the commons, to haſten their proceedings, which had ſo good effect, that on the 4th of December, their excellencies paſſed, 1. "An act to raiſe mony, by way of a poll. "2. An act for the better execution of an act for "the better ſuppreſſing of tories and rapperies, &c. "3. An act to prevent frivolous and vexatious "law-ſuits. 4. An act to prevent frauds and clan-"deſtine mortgages. 5. An act for the more in-"tire obtaining partition of lands in copercenary, "&c. 6. An act for the more eaſy ſecuring and "recovering of ſmall debts;" and ſome others of leſs importance.

Treaty of Ryſwick.

I come now to the treaty for a general peace; and here the firſt difficulty that aroſe, was about the place for the congreſs. Mentz or Francfort were propoſed by the Emperor: but the Dutch, with moſt of their allies, were for ſome place in Holland. After ſeveral debates on this head, towards the middle of January, monſ. Cailliere moved, by his maſters orders, that the plenipotentiaries of the allies ſhould reſide at the Hague, and thoſe of France at Delft, and that the conferences ſhould be held at Ryſwick, a palace belonging to K. William, which was ſituate at an equal diſtance, between theſe two places. This motion was approved of by the confederates, and it being ſettled accordingly, after ſeveral debates, the preliminaries were likewiſe concluded and ſigned, the 10th of February, and were as follow:

The prelimi-naries.

1. "That the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nime-"guen ſhould be the baſis of this, to be negoci-"ated at Ryſwick.

2. "That Straſburg ſhould be reſtored to the "Empire, in the ſame condition the French took it;

3. "And Luxemburg to the Spaniards, in its "preſent condition (1).

4. "That Mons and Charleroy ſhould be ſur-"rendered as they were.

5. "That all places taken by the French in Ca-"talonia, ſince the peace of Nimeguen, ſhould be "reſtored in the ſame manner.

6. "That Dinant, both city and caſtle, ſhould "be given up to the biſhop of Liege, as they were "when taken.

7. "That all re-unions ſince the treaty of "Nimeguen ſhould be made void.

"8. That Lorrain ſhould be reſtored, accord-"ing to the conditions of the treaty (2).

(1) For theſe two places, however, the French offered the allies an equivalent.

(2) It was here farther agreed, that in caſe the condition made in reſpect to that country ſhould not pleaſe, that article ſhould be refered to the general treaty, and that it ſhould be the firſt point debated in the negociation. Here it was likewiſe farther agreed, more particularly, that upon concluſion of the peace, the King of France ſhould acknowlege the Prince of Orange, as King of Great Britain, without any manner of difficulty, reſtriction, condition, or reſerve; but as for other Princes, whether they were in the confederacy or not, their pretenſions ſhould be reſerved to the general negociation, under the mediation of the King of Sweden: who was prefered to ſeveral other powers, and in particular the Pope, the King of Portugal, the republic of Venice, and the duke of Savoy, who all aſpired to the honor of being mediator of the peace of Europe.

9. "That

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9. " That the duchy of Deux-ponts ſhould be " reſtored to Sweden.

10. " That Philipſburg ſhould be given up to " the biſhop of Spire.

11. " That the fort of Kiehl, and other forti- " fications made on the Rhine, ſhould be razed.

12. " That the ſame ſhould be done by Fort " Lewis and Hunningen.

13. " That Traerbach and Mont-royal ſhould " be given up; the firſt diſmantled; but upon con- " dition never to be fortified again.

14. " That the Elector-palatine ſhould not " only be reſtored to all the Electorate, but alſo " to the duchies of Simmeren and Lauthern; with " the earldom of Manheim, and all other places, " whereof he had been diſpoſſeſſed to the preſent " time.

15. " That the ducheſs of Orleans ſhould not " have recourſe to open force, to maintain her " pretenſion; but might bring her action accord- " ing to law, in relation to the Elector.

16. " That the caſtle and county of Veldens " ſhould be reſtored to their lawful owner.

17. " That Biſweiler ſhould be given to the " count of Hanau.

18. " That the ſeigneuries of March, Marmoſy " and Dagſtein, and the county of Dagſburg, " ſhould be delivered up to the count of Overſtein.

19. " That the ſeigneuries of Salms and Valken- " ſtein ſhould be given up to the Prince of Salms, " or to their proprietors, ſince the ſame was ſtill " in queſtion.

20. " That the ſeigneuries of Latzenſtein and " Altheim ſhould be delivered to their owners.

21. " That Otweiler ſhould be given up to the " houſe of Naſſau.

22. " That the city and county of Mombelliard, " Harcourt, Bainon and Chattelette ſhould be put " into the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Wirtemberg.

23. " That Germeſheim ſhould be given up to " the Elector-palatine, notwithſtanding any for- " mer treaties to the contrary: and,

24. " That the principality of Orange ſhould " be given up to its ſovereign.

Objections made againſt them.

Several of the miniſters of the allies, having conſulted their maſters upon theſe preliminaries, declared, that, as to the firſt article, they fully agreed to it: but as for Straſburg, they farther inſiſted it ſhould be reſtored, with its fortifications and dependencies, and that no equivalent ſhould be accepted. The three following articles they agreed to: only they inſiſted, that not only the city, but the county of Luxemburg, and that of Chinay ſhould be given up; as they did, likewiſe, that the city and caſtle of Dinant ſhould be yielded; together with the duchy of Bouillon, in the ſame ſtate they were. They likewiſe owned themſelves ſatisfied as to the ſeventh article, concerning the re-unions: but not ſo with the agreement made about Lorrain, which they would have reſtored to the duke, its ſovereign, without any manner of reſtriction.

Death of the King of Sweden.

Theſe objections were ſome hinderance to the affair, and the death of Charles XI, King of Sweden, who after having been ill ſome time, died at Stockholm, the 5th of April, O. S. in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the thirty-ſeventh of his reign, leaving his crown to his ſon, Charles XII, then ſcarce fifteen years of his age, was like to have put a ſtop to it: however, this accident made no manner of alteration in the affairs of Europe, for there gents (1) of Sweden, among whom the Queen had two voices, having full power to make treaties, and to perform all other acts of ſovereignty, as ſhould be agreed on by the major part of them, ſent immediately expreſſes to ſeveral foreign courts, to acquaint them with their intentions to purſue the mediation, begun by the late King, for the tranquility of Chriſtendom; and diſpatch'd a new commiſſion to mr. Lillienrodt, for that purpoſe.

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Ceremonials ſettled.

It had been agreed, on the 3d of April, by the plenipotentiaries at the Hague, that, to carry on the treaty with the greater eaſe, all ceremonies ſhould be laid aſide, and the titles any Prince took be of no conſequence: that the ſeveral miniſters ſhould have free and ſecure correſpondence with the Princes, their maſters; that in order, thereunto, blank paſs-ports ſhould be given to each party for the couriers diſpatched by them, as alſo for the packet-boats to and from England, and that the powers of the reſpective plenipotentiaries ſhould be on the ſame foot they were at Nimeguen.

Theſe things being ſettled, monſ. Lillienrodt, the mediator, appointed the firſt conference to be held at Ryſwick, on the 9th of May, and accordingly the allies being met together, in the appartments on one ſide of the palace, and the French in the appartments on the other ſide, and the mediator in the middle between both, the allies and the French ſhewed him their powers, and gave him copies of the ſame, which he communicated to the reſpective miniſters, and left the copies with them. This, and the ſettling part of the ceremonial, in order to farther proceedings, took up about three hours, and then the conference was adjourned to the eleventh of the ſame month; when being met again, in the ſame manner as they did the firſt time, the mediator exchanged the powers of the allies with thoſe of the French plenipotentiaries. They, likewiſe, agreed to meet conſtantly on Wedneſdays, in the morning, and on Saturdays, in the afternoon, and that to prevent the inconveniencies that might ariſe from crowds of attendants, each plenipotentiary ſhould go to the congreſs with one coach and ſix horſes only, two pages, and two footmen. The 15th and 18th the mediator and the plenipotentiaries met again; but all they did, at thoſe two conferences, was only to regulate ſeveral points of ceremony, in which, for the moſt part, they followed the rules which were obſerved at the treaty of Nimeguen.

To go thro' the ſeveral daily tranſactions, at all the meetings for this treaty, and what happened during that time, on the continent, would carry me beyond the limits I am here tied down to: I ſhall therefore only in general obſerve; that the Emperor and Spaniards, not being ſo perfectly ſatisfied, with what King William and the Dutch had done for them, ſhewed, for ſome time, a backwardneſs to come into the terms ſtipulated. This perhaps may have been, in a great meaſure, the reaſon, why the Engliſh and Dutch ſo tamely ſuffered the French to take, during the treaty, the towns of Aeth, in Flanders, and Barcelona in Spain. This induced the Spaniards to ſign the peace, at the ſame time the Engliſh and Dutch did, viz. the 20th of September, N. S. a little before midnight (2). The

The treaty ſigned.

(1) The late King had, by his will, appointed the Queen, and five of the ſenators, to adminiſter the government during the young King's minority, which was to be 'till he was entering upon the eighteenth year of his age.

(2) During the negociations at Ryſwick, King William, wiſely conſidering what a hinderance the uſual forms and incident chicaneries, of a ſolemn negociation were to the progreſs of a treaty, thought fit to commit his perſonal intereſt, and thoſe of his dominions, to the arbitration of two men of the ſword, viz. the earl of Portland, on his ſide, and the marſhal de Boufflers, on the ſide of France, and they had ſeveral meetings, on this account, at an equal diſtance between the two reſpective camps, being attended with the ſame number of guards, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction; in which conferences, the principal matters between England, France and Holland were adjuſted, and thereby the negociations at Ryſwick, greatly accelerated.

miniſters

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miniſters of the Emperor and the Empire, who were, moſt of them, all the while preſent in the hall, were however ſo far from approving what was done, that, on the contrary, they required the mediator to enter a proteſtation; "that this was the ſecond "time a ſeparate peace had been concluded with "France (meaning that of Nimeguen for one) "in which the Emperor and Empire had been ex-"cluded; and that the States of the Empire, who "had been impoſed upon thro' their one credulity, "would not, for the future, be ſo eaſily per-"ſuaded to enter into confederacies:" being however unable to maintain the war alone, they ſigned the peace, likewiſe, on the 30th of the inſuing month, N. S.

Principal articles between Great-Britain and France.

The moſt material articles of the treaty, beween Great Britain and France were, the 3d, "that all "offences, injuries and damages, on either ſide "ſhould be forgoten. The 4th; by which the "French King ingages, on the word and faith of a "King, not to diſturb King William in the do-"minions he injoys, or to aſſiſt, directly or indirect-"ly, any of the enemies of the ſaid King, or "favor any plots and conſpiracies againſt him. "The 5th; which allows free commerce and navi-"gation between the ſubjects of each Prince. "The 7th; which agrees to a reſtoration of all "countries, iſlands, forts and colonies, which either "the French or Engliſh poſſeſſed before the war. "The 10th; by which all ſhips and merchandizes, "taken on either ſide, within twelve days after the "publication of the peace, in the Britiſh and "North-ſeas, as far as cape St. Vincent; within "ten weeks beyond the Cape, and on this ſide the "Equator, and within ſix months beyond the Equa-"tor, ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of the captors. "The 12th; by which ſix months are allowed to "the ſubjects on either ſide to withdraw their effects, "in caſe of a rupture. The 13th; by which, the "principality of Orange, and all other lands be-"longing to the King of Great-Britain, as Prince "of Orange, were to be reſtored to him, with the "meſne profit. The 15th; being a confirmation, "of the late treaty between the French King, and "the duke of Savoy. The 16th; by which it was "ſtipulated, that all powers be comprehended in "this treaty, which ſhould be named within ſix "weeks after the ratification of it, and particularly, "the King of Sweden, the mediator: and, by a "ſeparate article, the Emperor was allowed till "the 1ſt of November, to accept the condi-"tions agreed on for him between the two Kings.

Between France and Spain.

"By the treaty between France and Spain, the "following towns and places were to be reſtored "to the latter; viz. Gironne, Roſes, Belver, and "Barcelona, in Catalonia; Luxemburg, the pro-"vince and duchy of Luxemburg, with the coun-"try of Chinay, as before the treaty of Nimeguen, "as alſo Charleroy, Mons, Courtray, and ſeveral "other places, of leſs note, in the Low-countries.

Between France and the States.

"By the treaty between France and the States "General, all cities, lands, forts, iſlands and places, "which had been taken on either ſide, during the "war, were to be reſtored; and particularly the "fort of Pondicherry, in the Eaſt-Indies, to the "States: but the greateſt advantage the Dutch got "by this peace, was the concluding a treaty of "commerce with France, very much in their "favor, and even beyond any thing that was ſtipu-"lated for England.

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Between France the Emperor and the Empire.

By the treaty between France, the Emperor and the Empire, it was agreed, "that the treaties "of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen ſhould be the baſis "and foundation of this treaty, in matters both "eccleſiaſtical and civil, unleſs where it was ex-"preſly covenanted to the contrary. That the "French King ſhould reſtore to the Emperor and "the Empire, and the members thereof, whatever "places had been taken, as well during the war, "by way of force, as by the name of unions and "re-unions, which were ſituated without Alſace; "only the Roman Catholic religion ſhould re-"main in thoſe places thus reſtored, in the ſtate "it then was (1). Particularly, it was agreed, "that France ſhould yield up to the Emperor and "Empire, Fort Kiehl, Friburg, Sturtort, Old "Briſac, and Phillipſburg: that Dinant ſhould "be reſtored to the biſhop of Liege, and that the "caſtles of Traerbach, Ebrenburg, Kiruburg, and "the fortreſs of Mont-royal, ſhould be demoliſh-"ed, and reſtored to the reſpective proprietors. "And, on the other hand, it was agreed, that the "Imperial town of Straſburg, the capital of Alſace, "and dependencies on the left ſide of the Rhine, "ſhould be yielded up and united to the kingdom "of France; ſo that the Rhine was looked upon "as the boundary between the Empire and France, "'till the preſent war."

The intereſt of the late King James not regarded at Ryſwick.

The abdicated King James made, in the mean time, but an indifferent figure, at St. Germains: the French King's promiſes to that unfortunate Prince, and open declaration to all Europe, that he would never lay down his arms 'till he had reſtored him to his throne, had all along greatly fed his hopes: but he now found, by ſad experience, how little the promiſes of Sovereigns are to be relied upon, when their own intereſt comes in competition. The King of France, being exhauſted by a tedious war, both of men and mony, thought it prudence to clap up a peace, and reſtore to his neighbors all the conqueſts he had made ſince the treaty of Nimeguen (2). He neither did inſiſt, that a miniſter from that unfortu-nate Monarch ſhould be admited at the conferences at Ryſwick, which propoſal was unanimouſly re-jected by the allies, nor would the French pleni-potentiaries concern themſelves with that Prince's manifeſto. The late King James finding himſelf thus abandoned by the French King, and that neither his pardons nor his threats had any effect upon his late ſubjects, was perſuaded to publiſh his ſaid ma-nifeſto, which contained as well "a ſummary ac-"count of the reaſons that ſhould ingage the con-"federate Catholic Princes to promote his reſtora-"tion, as an expoſtulation of the injuſtice done "him, and a proteſtation againſt what was done at "Ryſwick, as null, in reſpect to the violation of "his rights:" but of all this no notice was taken by any of the allies. In the mean time, his friends

(1) The miniſters of the Proteſtant Princes of Germany were ſo offended at this article, that they refuſed to ſign the treaty when concluded, and publiſh'd a declaration, in which, among other things, they alledged, that this clauſe was intirely oppoſite to the fundamental laws of the Empire, and more eſpecially to the peace of Weſtphalia, which ought to be look'd upon as the baſis and foundation of this peace, and is declared to be ſo in the preceeding article, where it is likewiſe added, that immediately after the ratifications, the ſaid treaties ſhall be duly put in execution, in reſpect of the ſpiritual and the temporal, and ſhall be inviolably obſerved for the future.

(2) It was thought Lewis the XIVth was the readier to conclude this treaty, in hopes that having diſarmed and broke the confederacy, he might recover all he now loſt, at the death of the King of Spain, who had been many years in a lingring ſtate of health, and was, at this time, in ſo deſparate a condition, that the French court thought he could not live a month longer.

in

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in England were ſo inraged to ſee him thus forſaken, that they could not forbear venting their bitter invectives againſt his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty (1).

The French refugees diſappointed.

Nor was it King James alone who was diſappointed in his hopes, on this occaſion; as he was abandon'd by the French King, ſo the French refugees, in England, Germany and Holland, thought themſelves no leſs neglected by King William, who having always declared himſelf their protector, they expected he would alſo prove their deliverer, and never conclude a peace with France, 'till they were reſtored to their eſtates, and the free exerciſe of their religion in their own country: but they found theſe their expectations fruſtrated, and that they were not ſo much as mentioned in the articles of peace (2).

Maritime affairs.

Having thus given a brief account of the treaty of peace at Ryſwick, before I return to King William, I ſhall give the reader a ſhort relation of what happen'd this year at ſea. The main body of the fleet was, this ſummer, under the command of ſir George Rooke, as admiral: but as no conſiderable action happen'd, nor, indeed, any thing ſo memorable paſs'd in the Narrow-ſeas as to deſerve a place in a general hiſtory, I ſhall refer the reader for farther particulars to Lediard's naval hiſtory (3), and confine myſelf here, to a tranſaction in America, which made a great noiſe in the world, at that time; I mean monſ. Ponti's expedition, with a ſquadron of French men of war fitted out at the charge of a company erected by the French King's permiſſion for that purpoſe, which ſet ſail from Breſt, the begining of this year. We had, at this time, a ſquadron of men of war, in thoſe parts, under the command of vice-admiral Nevil, who arrived at Barbadoes, the 17th of April, where his ſquadron was re-inforc'd by ſeveral as well Dutch as Engliſh men of war. The 28th, he bore away for Antegoa, and ſeting ſail from thence the begining of May, he detach'd one of his frigats to St. Thomas's, for a pilot, to conduct her to Puerto-Ricco, for intelligence: from whence ſhe was to return to Puntade la Guada, the place of rendezvous. About this time, the Monmouth, a ſhip of the ſame ſquadron, took a French privateer, which had juſt put the governor of Petit-Guavas aſhoar.

Vice-admiral Nevil's expedition in the Weſt-Indies.

He arrives at Barbadoes.

Gets intelligence of monſ. Ponti's ſquadron.

The eight of May, this frigat join'd the fleet again, and brought certain intelligence, that monſ. Ponti ſailed from Petit-Guavas, the 11th of March, O. S. with ſix and twenty ſhips, ſmall and great. This occaſioned a council of war, where it was reſolved to proceed immediately to Jamaica. The fifteenth of May, being off of the Eaſt-end of that iſland, the admiral was informed of a report, that the French ſquadron was before Carthagena; whereupon, having watered at Port-royal, the 24th, he took advantage the five and twentieth, of a ſmall gale, off of ſhoar, and got clear of the keys, ſteering away S. E. by S. and S. S. E. for Carthagena.

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Comes up with them.

The 27th, being about half ſeas over, that part of his ſquadron, which was to windward, made a ſignal of ſeing ſhips ſtanding weſtward; upon which he immediately tack'd and ſtood after them, with a preſs'd ſail, judging them to be either French, or Spaniſh gallions. The next morning early, they were perceived to be ten men of war and two fly-boats; and, continuing to give them chaſe, the Warwick, a fifty-gun ſhip, came up with one of them and fired at her; but ſhe being a better ſailor, got clear. Soon after, the ſame ſhip got up with one of the fly-boats, and, taking her, found her to be laden with powder, cannon-ball, ſhells, and one mortar. Some accounts ſay, this ſhip was formerly taken from the Spaniards, being vice-admiral of the Barlovento-fleet, and had now on board, beſide plate, eight hundred barrels of powder, and a hundred negroes, valued at twenty thouſand pounds; the author of the Britiſh Empire in America, ſays two hundred thouſand pounds; but there ſeems to be a cypher too much.

And chaſes them;

In the afternoon, four of our ſhips, the Briſtol, Trident, Goſport and Newcaſtle, being near them, monſ. Ponti drew his ſquadron into order of battle, and fired ſeveral ſhot at the Briſtol; but his vice-admiral, monſ. de Labbé, with another of his ſhips, left him, and made off, as the whole fleet did towards evening.

But they eſcape.

Our fleet continued the chaſe two days and two nights longer, ſometimes near, and ſometimes at a greater diſtance; but could never reach them again (4); which was chiefly occaſion'd by our ſhips, moſt of them loſing their top-maſts, and ſpliting their ſails, with preſſing the chaſe, tho' thoſe of the French ſtood firm. By theſe accidents, we loſt the rich booty which monſ. Ponti had made, at the taking of Carthagena (5).

(1) Upon this occaſion the following Latin epigram appeared;

Pompeium Pharius tradit, Lodovixque Jacobum:
Regibus infidis hoſpes uterque perit.
Vilici at Gallus quam gens malefida Canopi;
Hoc admiſiſſes tune, Photine, Nefas?
Prodidit his ſocium, Victori victus amicum:
Aſt victor victo tradidit ille ſuum. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 3. p. 268.

(2) King William did, indeed, direct the Dutch plenipotentaries to open that matter, at a diſtance, to the French embaſſadors; which they did; but the French King, to whom this overture was communicated, expreſſing an inſuperable averſeneſs to it, and urging, that as he did not pretend to preſcribe to King William any rules about his ſubjects, ſo he expected the ſame liberty as to his own, which he looked upon as the great prerogative of a Sovereign; upon which the matter was no longer inſiſted upon.

(3) The reader will not only there find a particular account of the tranſactions of this year, which are not judged of ſufficient moment, and too prolix to be inſerted here; but, likewiſe, obſervations on the conduct of our officers, and the ſucceſs of our fleet, during this whole war, and liſts of the ſhips taken and deſtroy'd on both ſides. Vol. 2. p. 723.

(4) The author of the hiſtory of King William ſays, the Engliſh admiral Nevil, reckoning there was no ſafety for the French, but to go before the wind for the Streights of Bahama, ſlackned his way, propoſing to get ſo much a-head of them as to hinder their paſſage. Hereupon the French, at the cloſing of the night, tack'd about, and found the ſucceſs of their working the next day; for they could reckon no more than fourteen ſhips following them in a line; and they not ſo nigh, by far, as the day before, which made the French continue the ſame board, till they got within twenty leagues of Carthagena, where they were on the nine and twentieth, and the next day got clear of the Engliſh fleet.

(5) Biſhop Burnet, who makes light of monſ. Ponti's booty, ſays, the plate had all been ſent away (from Carthagena) before the French came there; but they landed and pillaged the place, and then gave it out, that they had found many millions there, which, at firſt, ſeemed incredible, and was afterwards known to be falſe; yet it was conſtantly aſſerted, at that time, to cover the reproach of having miſcarried in the attempt, on which they had raiſed great expectations, and to which many undertakers had been drawn in. Our ſquadron (continued the biſhop) was much ſuperior to theirs, yet never ingaged them. Once indeed they came up to the French, and had ſome advantage over them: but did not purſue it.

The French allow the Spaniards had time to ſend away a hundred and thirty mules, laden with gold, valued at thirty millions of livers, or about a million and a half ſterling; but that, notwithſtanding this, monſ. Ponti brought home, eight millions in ſilver, and a million in jewels, beſide cannon, and the booty which the ſeamen got. But that the Spaniards ſhould have time to load ſo many mules with gold, and ſhould not take their jewels with them, in their pockets, is not very probable.

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The vice-admiral arrives at Carthagena.

The vice-admiral, when he loſt the French, judged himſelf to be about eighteen leagues ſhort of Carthagena, the appointed rendezvous, and therefore ſtood in for that place. He brought to, towards evening, within ſight of land, where rear-admiral Meeze, with ſix ſhips more, which had likewiſe all their ſails blown away, joined him. He anchored, the next evening, before Bocca-Chiga Caſtle, at the entrance of Carthagena harbor; where he found the French, having taken the place, had diſmantled and quited it; and that, what with Ponti's plundering, and the ravaging of privateers, who had been to gleen his leavings, the inhabitants were in a diſtreſſed condition, and had moſtly deſerted the place. The vice-admiral let the governor know, he was going that night to ſea, becauſe he fear'd the gallions might be in danger. But that, if the wind ſhould hang out of the way, he would ſpare him what neceſſaries he could.

And finds it deſtroyed by the French.

The next day at noon, the wind coming weſterly, the vice-admiral weigh'd and ſtood eaſtward, leaving orders for the ſhips which were miſſing to follow him; and, the 6th of June, diſcovering eight privateers, under the ſhoar of Sambay, he ſent the Colcheſter, Goſport, and one ſhip more, with a fire-ſhip, to deſtroy them, while he ſtood over for cape Tuberon, or Petit-Guavas: but, not being able to fetch either of thoſe places, proceeded for Hiſpaniola, where, having taken a privateer of twenty-four guns, and burnt another of twelve, he anchored the 19th of June.

Petit Guavas burnt.

The vice-admiral receiving intelligence, on the 22d, from ſir William Beaſton, governor of Jamaica, that it would be of great ſervice if he could deſtroy Petit-Guavas, he ordered rear-admiral Meeze thither with nine ſhips of the ſquadron; who effected it, on the 28th, and after having taken the town, by ſurprize, burnt it down to the ground.

The 30th, the vice and rear-admirals being again join'd, they ſail'd for Jamaica. The 11th of July, they made the iſle of Pines; the 16th, got about a range of rocks, called the Calleradoes, and the next day rear-admiral Meeze died.

The ſquadron arrives at the Havanna.

The 22d, the ſquadron arrived at the Havanna, where the vice-admiral, in requital for his great care and vigilance for the ſafety of the gallions, was not only refuſed entrance into the harbor, and what water and refreſhments he wanted, by the Spaniſh governor; but when he let the general of the gallions, which were then lying there, know, that the chief intent of his voyage was to ſecure them, and to convoy them to Spain, he was told, he had no ſuch orders, and therefore could not accept of the courteſy. The vice-admiral, therefore, put his ſhips into the beſt condition he could, and ſailed for Virginia, where he died the 27th of Auguſt; but the ſeamen moſt of them recovered their health there. The command of the fleet, thereby devolving on captain Thomas Dilkes, being the only ſurviving captain of the whole fleet he arrived with it in England, the 24th of October.

Ill uſage of the Spaniards.

Death of the vice-admiral.

The fleet returns.

As the reader may be deſirous to know what came of monſieur Ponti, after he eſcaped vice-admiral Nevil's ſquadron, I think it proper to mention here, that the firſt place he touched at, in his way home, was Newfoundland, where captain John Norris, afterwards ſir John Norris, lay in the harbor of St. John's, with a ſquadron conſiſting of four fourth-rates, two fifth-rates, two ſixth-rates, two fire-ſhips, and two bomb-veſſels, with a hagboat. But tho' captain Norris had re-itterated intelligence that was monſieur Ponti's ſquadron returning with the riches he had taken from Carthagena, and that his ſhips were but weakly manned; and tho' the commadore was convinced of the truth of this intelligence, and was for going in ſearch of them; yet he was over-ruled in ſeveral councils of war, held on that occaſion; and, upon a perſuaſion, that this was a much ſtronger ſquadron under the command of monſieur Neſmond, a reſolution was taken, not only to remain in the harbor of St. John's, but to ſecure themſelves againſt any attack from his part, by laying booms a-croſs the mouth of the harbor, raiſing batteries, and placing the ſhips in a proper poſture of defenſe; and thus monſieur Ponti eſcaped us a ſecond time, tho' not ſo honorably for us as the firſt, that being probably owing to the knavery, or at leaſt neglects of the purveyers for the navy: but this, to an ill-timed caution (if not worſe) of our officers (1).

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Thus monſieur Ponti twice eſcaped out of our clutches; but he was not yet clear; for after being got ſafe upon our coaſt, he was met by five Engliſh men of war, and a fireſhip, under the command of captain Harlow, who purſued him after an ingagement of two hours, for two days and two nights; without being able to come up with him again: ſo he had the good fortune to eſcape a third time, and carried the ſpoil of the Spaniards into Breſt.

Soon after the concluſion of the peace, King William named the earl of Portland to be his embaſſador extraordinary in France; about the ſame time, his Majeſty created the lord viſcount Villiers, one of his plenipotentiaries at Ryſwick, earl of Jerſey, and gave him the character of his embaſſador to the States-general. The 7th of November, the King, who had left the army the begining of Auguſt, and retired to his palace at Dieren, having ſettled ſeveral important matters with the Elector of Bavaria and Prince Vaudemont, and paid off the foreign troops, in his ſervice, went to the Hague, where he was received with all imaginable marks of reſpect, and, on the 9th, gave a private audience to the French embaſſadors, in his cloſet.

King William comes to the Hague.

The lords-juſtices had, in the mean time, cauſed the peace to be proclaimed in London, on the 19th of October, O. S. with univerſal joy; and on the 11th of November, having information that the duke of Berwick, ſir George Barclay, Harriſon, Durant, colonel Parker, and ſeveral other ſuſpected perſons under favor of the peace, which had opened a free paſſage between France and England, were arrived at London, on ſome treaſonable deſigns, they iſſued out their proclamations for apprehending them, promiſing for every one of them the reward of 1000 l.

Peace proclaimed.

(1) Biſhop Burnet ſays, commodore Norris's ſquadron (which was ſent to thoſe parts, with ſome land-forces, to recover Hudſon's bay) might have fallen upon the French, and would probably have maſtered them; but as they had no certain account of their ſtrength, ſo being ſent out upon another ſervice, they did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them; ſo the French got ſafe home, and the conduct of our affairs at ſea was much cenſured: yet our admiralty declared themſelves ſatisfied with the account the commanders gave of their proceedings: but that board was accuſed of much partiality. On all ſuch occaſions, the unfortunate muſt expect to be blamed, and to outward appearance there was much room given, either to cenſure the orders, or the execution of them. The King owned, he did not underſtand thoſe matters: and Ruſſel (now made earl of Orford) had both the admiralty and the navy board in a great dependance on himſelf; ſo that he was conſidered almoſt as much, as if he had been lord high-admiral: he was too much in the power of thoſe, in whom he confided, and truſted them too far; and it was generally believed, that there was much corruption, as it was certain there was much faction, if not treatchery, in the conduct of our mariners.

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The King lands in England.

The King having finiſhed all his affairs, at the Hague, and regulated with the States-general the number of the forces which it was judged neceſſary to keep on foot the next year, his Majeſty imbarked for England the 13th of November, and landed the next morning ſafe at Margate. The ſame day, he went to Canterbury, where he received the congratulations of the magiſtrates and the clergy, upon his happy return with peace. The 15th, his Majeſty lay at Greenwich, and, the next day, at the requeſt of his loyal city of London, to honor them, made a moſt ſplendid public entry, thro' that city, to his palace, and gave the ſatisfaction to an incredible number of ſpectators, to ſee their hero return crowned with victories, and the conſequence of them, peace.

The triumphant cavalcade proceeded to Whitehall, where the lord-mayor attended his Majeſty to the foot of the ſtairs, leading up to the guard-chamber; and having taken leave of his Majeſty, his lordſhip, and the aldermen, were conducted into the lodgings, and treated with a magnificent ſupper, by the lord ſteward. The whole ceremony was performed with great order and magnificence: the cannon at the Tower were diſcharged at his Majeſty's taking coach, and at his paſſing over the bridge: the foot-guards gave three vollies, in St. James's Park; and the evening concluded with bonefires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and all other popular demonſtrations of duty and affection.

A thankſgiving appointed.

Upon his Majeſty's arrival at Kenſington, the firſt thing he did, was, on the 17th of November, to iſſue a proclamation appointing a ſolemn day of thankſgiving to ALMIGHTY GOD for the bleſſing of a general peace, to be held the 2d of December; and at the ſame time, another proclamation was iſſued, to prolong the prorogation of the parliament to the 3d of December. On the ſame, and ſome following days, the two univerſities, and moſt of the corporations in his Majeſty's dominions, preſented their humble addreſſes to his Majeſty, in which they congratulated his proſperous return to theſe his kingdoms, in peace, ſafety, and honor.

And celebrated.

The day appointed for the thankſgiving, on account of his Majeſty's ſafe return, and the happy concluſion of the peace, being come, it was celebrated with the greateſt appearance imaginable of an unanimous and hearty joy and ſatisfaction. The King, to ſet an example to his ſubjects, went to the royal chapel at Whitehall, where a ſermon ſuitable to the occaſion was preached by the biſhop of Saliſbury. His Majeſty was pleaſed afterwards to dine with the earl of Romney, and, in the evening, ſaw the fire-works, which his lordſhip had cauſed to be prepared in St. James's-ſquare. On this ſolemn occaſion, the choir of St. Paul's was firſt opened, for divine ſervice, and at night, there were bonefires and illuminations, in all parts of London and Weſtminſter.

The parliament meets.

The next day, the 3d of December, the parliament met, according to their laſt prorogation: when the King, being come to the houſe of peers, addreſſed himſelf to both houſes, in the following words:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"The war which I entered into, by the advice "of my people, is, by the bleſſing of God, and "their zealous and affectionate aſſiſtance, brought "to the end we all propoſed, an honorable peace; "which I was willing to conclude, not ſo much to "eaſe myſelf, from any trouble or hazard, as to "free the kingdom from the continuing burden of "an expenſive war. I am heartily ſorry, my ſub-"jects will not at firſt find all that relief from the "peace which I could wiſh, and they may expect: "but the funds intended for the laſt year's ſervice, "have fallen ſhort of anſwering the ſums for which "they were given, ſo that there remain conſiderable "deficiencies to be provided for. There is a debt "upon account of the fleet and the army: the "revenues of the crown have been anticipated by "my conſent, for the public uſes; ſo that I am "wholly deſtitute of means to ſupport the civil "liſt; and I can never diſtruſt you will ſuffer this "to turn to my diſadvantage, but will provide for "me, during my life, in ſuch a manner as may "be for my honor, and for the honor of the "government. Our naval force being increaſed "to near double what it was, at my acceſſion to "the crown, the charge of maintaining it will be "proportionably augmented, and it is certainly ne-"ceſſary for the intereſt and reputation of England, "to have always a great ſtrength at ſea. The cir-"cumſtances of affairs abroad are ſuch, that I "think myſelf obliged to tell you my opinion, "that for the preſent, England cannot be ſafe with-"out a land-force; and I hope we ſhall not give "thoſe who mean us ill, the opportunity of af-"fecting that under the notion of a peace, which "they could not bring to paſs by a war. I doubt "not but you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, "will take theſe particulars into your conſidera-"tion, in ſuch a manner, as to provide the ne-"ceſſary ſupplies, which I do earneſtly recom-"mend to you."

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My lords and gentlemen,

"That which I do moſt delight to think of, and "am beſt pleaſed to own, is, that I have all the "proofs of my people's affection, that a Prince "can deſire: and I take this occaſion to give you "the moſt ſolemn aſſurance, that as I never had, "ſo I never will, nor can have any intereſt ſeparate "from theirs. I eſteem it one of the greateſt ad-"vantages of the peace, that I ſhall now have "leiſure to rectify ſuch corruptions or abuſes, as "may have crept into any part of the adminiſtra-"tion during the war, and effectually to diſcourage "prophaneneſs and immorality, and I ſhall imploy "my thoughts in promoting trade, and advancing "the happineſs and flouriſhing ſtate of the king-"dom. I ſhall conclude with telling you, that as "I have, with the hazard of every thing, reſ-"cued your religion, laws and liberties, when they "were in the extreameſt danger, ſo I ſhall place "the glory of my reign, in preſerving them intire, "and leaving them ſo to poſterity.

Addreſs of the lords.

The lords hereupon made an addreſs to his Majeſty, in which having "congratulated his "happy return, accompanied with the bleſſings of "a ſafe and honorable peace, which, next under "GOD they were ſenſible was owing to his "courage and conduct; they told him, that after "the hazards and labors he had ſo long ſuſtained "for the good of Europe, there wanted nothing "but this to compleat the glory of his reign; and "aſſured his Majeſty, that they ſhould never be "wanting in their indeavors to aſſiſt his Majeſty in "maintaining the quiet which he had ſo gloriouſly "reſtored to theſe his kingdoms, and in contribu-"ting all they could to the ſafety of his perſon, "and the ſecurity, peace and proſperity of his "government.

The King's anſwer.

His Majeſty, in return, "aſſured their lord-"ſhips of his kindneſs, and told them, he hoped "this peace would be ſo bleſſed, that they might "injoy it."

The commons were not, this time, ſo ready with their addreſs as the lords; for his Majeſty's ſpeech had a various effect upon them. Some thought ſeveral expreſſions in it too magiſterial; others ſeemed to be offended that they were put in mind of what his Majeſty had done for the nation:

others

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others again diſtruſted the great promiſes of what he would do for them, and many others began to be jealous of what he had told them, "that England "could not be ſafe without a land-force;" as if his Majeſty meant to keep a ſtanding army, to invade their liberties, in defenſe of which the nation had ſpent ſo vaſt a ſtock of blood and treaſure. However, the 9th of December, they preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, in which they told him; "that they who had ſo frequently waited on "his Majeſty, with the tender of their aſſiſtance, "for carrying on the war, came now to congratu- "late his Majeſty upon the happy concluſion "of it, in a peace ſo honorable and advantageous "to the nation, as ſufficiently juſtified the wiſdom "of the commons, in adviſing, and his Majeſty's "conduct in the proſecution, of it. That the pro- "ſpect of the benefit his people would receive "from the peace was very pleaſing: that the ho or "his Majeſty had reſtored to England, of holding "the balance of Europe, gave his ſubjects great "content: but what his commons were moſt ef- "fected and delighted with, was, that his Ma- "jeſty's ſacred perſon would now be ſecure from "thoſe many and great dangers, to which he had "ſo often expoſed it for their ſake; nothing being "ſo evident, as that his Majeſty's return in ſafety "was a bleſſing more welcome to his people than "peace, and received with greater demonſtrations "of joy. That therefore, with hearts full of af- "fection, duty and gratitude, they did aſſure his "Majeſty, in the name of all the commons of Eng- "land, that this houſe would be ever ready to "aſſiſt and ſupport his Majeſty, who, by puting "a period to the war, had confirmed them in the "quiet poſſeſſion of their rights and liberties, and "ſo fully compleated the glorious work of their "deliverance.

Addreſs of the commons.

To this addreſs his Majeſty anſwered;

"That nothing, which related to the peace, "pleaſed him ſo much, as the ſatisfaction they "had in it, and as they had aſſiſted him in the war, "beyond all expreſſion, ſo he did not doubt but "they would be as zealous in maintaining the "peace.

The ſame day, the commons voted a ſupply, and order'd an account to be laid before them of the deficiencies of the laſt year's aids, of the arrears of the army and navy, and of the debt charged on the revenue. The next day, they conſidered, in a grand committee, the ſtate of the nation, and what forces ſhould be diſbanded, was the main point in debate. The court-party was for preſerving part of the army, and, therefore, alledged, "That the "nation was ſtill unſettled, and not deliver'd from "the fear of King James; that the friends of that "abdicated Prince were as bold and numerous as "ever, and himſelf ſtill protected by the French "King, who having as yet reformed none of his "troops, was conſequently as formidable as be- "fore; that if the army was intirely diſbanded, "the peace, which was obtained at the expenſe of "ſo much blood and treaſure, would be altogether "precarious, and not only England, but all Europe, "ly, once more, at the mercy of that ambitious "Monarch, an inveterate enemy to King William, "the Proteſtant religion and the liberties of Chriſt- "endom, whom the neceſſity of his affairs, not his "inclination, had reconciled."

A ſupply voted.

Reaſons for and againſt diſbanding the army.

The country-party, and the repulicans, on the other hand, who, tho' diametrically oppoſite in their views, upon this occaſion, ſpoke the ſame language, both in this debate, viva voce, and in their writings, was only repreſented the danger of keeping up a ſtanding army. The arguments they made uſe of to ſupport this aſſertion, taken partly from the examples ſo plentifully found in the hiſtories of other nations, ancient and modern, and partly from the preſent circumſtances of things, were too numerous and prolix, to find place here, and are, beſide, the leſs neceſſary, as they are much the ſame as have been frequently made uſe of ſince, upon the like occaſions, and are conſequently freſh in the minds of moſt readers. I ſhall, therefore, only obſerve, that this party, whether by the force of their arguments, or their ſuperior number, I ſhall not determine, had the fortune to prevail, and the commitee of the whole houſe came thereupon to this reſolution, "that all the land- "forces of this kingdom, which had been raiſed, "ſince the 29th of September, 1680, ſhould be "paid and diſbanded." This reſolution being reported to the houſe, on the 11th, the courtiers moved, that the report be re-commited: but their motion being rejected, the houſe agreed with the committee, in their reſolution. The 14th, the commons took into conſideration the ſervices of the officers and common men, who, amidſt ſo many hardſhips, dangers, and diſappointments in nine ſucceſſive campains, had recovered the declining reputation of the Engliſh valor, and preſerved the kingdom from the aſſaults of the moſt potent Empire that perhaps was ever erected in the world, and thereupon paſſed a vote, "that it be an in- "ſtruction to the committee who were to conſider "of the ſupply, that they ſhould likewiſe con- "ſider of a gratuity to be given to ſuch officers "and ſoldiers of the Engliſh army, who were or "ſhould be diſbanded." At the ſame time they ordered mr. Hammond and mr. Moyle to bring in a bill "to inable ſoldiers who ſhould be diſbanded, "to exerciſe their trades in any town or corporation "throughout the country." The 17th, they appointed ſeveral members to prepare and bring in a bill, "to regulate the militia, and make them more "uſeful"; and the next day, they reſolved, "that "10,000 men were ſufficient for a ſummer and "winter-guard at ſea for the year 1698 (1).

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The diſband- ing of the army voted.

The 20th of December, the commons took the ſupply into conſideration, and reſolved, "that in "a juſt ſenſe and acknowlegment of what great "things his Majeſty had done for theſe kingdoms, "the ſum of 700,000 l. per annum, be granted to "his Majeſty, during his life, for the ſupport of "the civil liſt." Some members moved indeed, the next day, that this reſolution might be re-commited, but it was, nevertheleſs, approved by the houſe.

A ſupport for the civil liſt voted.

The 14th of January 1698, the King came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent, 1. To "an act to prevent the farther currency of any "hammer'd ſilver coin; for re-coining ſuch as was "now in being, and the making out new exchequer "bills, where the former bills were or ſhould be "filled up with indorſements. 2. An act againſt "correſponding with the late King James, and his "adherents. 3. An act for continuing the impri- "ſonment of ſeveral conſpirators; and, 4. An act "to give farther time for the adminiſtring of oaths "relating to tallies and orders, and for the eaſier "diſpatch of public buſineſs in the exchequer, and "in the bank of England.

An' 1698. Acts paſs'd.

The ſame day the houſe of commons agreed to the reſolutions which had been taken in a grand committee

Farther lutions c cerning t ſupply.

(1) Theſe reſolutions very much diſpleaſed the King, who, tho' he was willing to eaſe his Engliſh ſubjects, and free them from the apprehenſions of a ſtanding army, by diſbanding a good number of regiments, and reducing others, did not think proper abſolutely to comply with the commons, as to the diſcharging all the troops which had been raiſed ſince the year 1680, whereby he muſt leave himſelf and his kingdom too much expoſed.

mittee

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mittee, about the ſupply; viz. Firſt, "That the "ſum of 350,000 l. be granted to his Majeſty, "for maintaining guards and gariſons for the "year 1698. Second, that a ſupply be granted "to his Majeſty, which, together with the funds "already ſettled for that purpoſe, ſhould be ſuf- "ficient to anſwer and cancel all exchequer-bills, "iſſued, or to be iſſued, not exceeding 2,700,000l. "and Third, that a ſupply be granted to his Ma- "jeſty, for the ſpeedy paying and diſbanding the "army."

The 18th, the houſe ſettled the bounty which was to be given to every trooper, foot-ſoldier, and non-commiſſion'd officer, upon their being diſbanded; voted a ſupply of 250,000 l. for that charge, and reſolved, that proviſion be made, for giving half-pay to the commiſſion-officers (being his Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects) diſband- ed, or to be diſbanded, till they ſhould be fully paid off and cleared, and otherwiſe provided for. At the ſame time, they order'd, that a liſt be laid before them of ſuch commiſſion-officers as were to injoy the benefit of this reſolution (1). The 22d, the commons granted 536,000 l. for making good the deficiency of the aid of 4s. in the pound, and 940,000 l. for ſupplying the other deficient ſubſidies granted the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and having afterward taken the arrears of the army into con- ſideration, they reſolved, that the ſum of 1,254,000l. was neceſſary to clear the arrears of pay due to the land-forces, according to the eſtabliſhment, from the 1ſt of April 1692, 'till the laſt of September 1697, beſide 940,815 l. for ſubſiſtence; 28,295 l. for contingencies; 50,000 l. for the general-officers, and 75,000 l. for the guards and gariſons; in all 2,348,102 l. and that there was but 855,502 l. remaining in the hands of the pay-maſter of the army, the firſt day of January 1697-8.

Ways and means.

The 9th of February, they reſolved, in order to raiſe the ſums voted neceſſary for diſbanding the army, paying off of quarters, paying of ſea- men, and towards making good loans, and the de- ficiencies of former funds, to lay an aid of three ſhillings in the pound upon land, by way of aſſeſſ- ment upon every county, in proportion to the rates of the firſt four ſhillings aid, granted in 1691, by which they put a ſtop to any future deficiencies of this aid.

National debts.

The 10th, they conſidered the eſtimate of what was due, to ſome of his Majeſty's allies, as well for arrears of ſubſidies, as for payment of auxiliaries, and reſolv'd, "that 180,000 rix-dollars were due "to the Elector of Brandenburg; 250,000 rix- "dollars to the Land-grave of Heſſe-Caſtle; 121,203 rix-dollars to the duke of Wolfembuttle; "149,997 rix-dollars to the biſhop of Munſter; "50,000 rix-dollars to the dukes of Hanover and "Zell; 25,000 rix-dollars to the duke of Holſtein; "and 200,000 rix-dollars to the King of Denmark, "as well on the accounts abovemention'd, as in "conſideration of an intire prohibition of com- "merce, between that crown and France." They alſo reſolved, that there was due "177,000 l. "to the contracters for bread and forage." The 15th, they continued their examination of the debt of the nation, and reſolved, "that the ſum of "1,392,742 l. was due upon the ſeveral heads of "the eſtimate of the general debt of the navy; "204,157 l. to the office of ordnance; 340,708 l. "for tranſports for reducing Ireland; 125,785 l. "for other tranſport-ſervice; and 49,929 l. for "quartering and cloathing the army raiſed by "act of parliament in 1677, and diſbanded by "another act in 1679.

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This debt being ſo very conſiderable, that it was impoſſible for the parliament to think of providing for it at once, the commons came to a reſolution of doing it by degrees: to this end, they voted, Firſt, "that of the debt due for clearing the army, "from the firſt of April 1692, to the laſt of Sep- "tember 1697, amounting to 1,254,000 l. the ſum "of 139,066 l. be raiſed in the year 1698, which "would clear the army, to the firſt of April "1693. Second, that the ſum of 203,450 l. be "raiſed for the clearing the arrears of ſubſiſtence to "the troops in England, between the firſt day of "January 1696, and the firſt day of Auguſt "1697. Third, that 450,816 l. be raiſed, for "clearing the arrear of ſubſiſtence due to the troops "in Flanders, to the 4th of October 1697. Fourth, "that the ſum of 50,000 l. be raiſed for the "general officers. Fifth, that 137,990 l. be raiſed "for clearing the arrears of ſubſiſtence due to the "troops in Flanders, from the 4th of October "1697, to the laſt of December. Sixth, that the "ſum of 1,100,117 l. be raiſed for the navy, "viz. 100,000 l. for wear and tear; 600,000 l. "for ſeamens wages, in part of 1,862,849 l. due "on that ſcore; 16,389 l. due to the regiſter'd "ſeamen; 24,000 l. for the ſallaries of the com- "miſſioners of the admiralty, and other officers, "and for contingencies; 28,663 l. for the half- "pay ſea-officers; 90,073 l. for penſions to ſu- "peranuated ſea-officers and widows; 15,927 l. "for the charge of the yards; 849 l. for the "muſter-maſters of the out-ports; 43,399 l. for "wages to ſhips and veſſels in ordinary; 19,608 l. "for victuals of the ſhips in ordinary; 32,558 l. for "harbor-moorings; 35,848 l. for ordinary repairs "of the navy; 55,520 l. for the two marine "regiments; and 37,286 l. for the charge of the "office for regiſtering ſeamen. Seventh, that the "ſum of 60,000 l. be allowed for the ordnance; "and Eighth, that proviſion be made towards pay- "ment of the principal and intereſt of the tran- "ſport-debt; all which ſums, they reſolved to "raiſe, in the year, 1698."

Part of the national debt provided for.

Farther ways and means.

To this end, beſide the land-tax, already voted, on the 7th of April, they laid "a duty upon all "coal and culm, over and above the duties, already "payable," and reſolved, on the 9th, "that the "fourth part of the clear value of all the benefi- "cial grants from the crown of England or Ire- "land, and all the forfeited eſtates, which had been "reſtored by the crown, by reverſal of outlawry, "or otherwiſe, ſince the 29th day of May 1660, "be applied to the uſe of the public. On the 14th, "they continued the poll or capitation-tax for "one year longer. The 16th, they laid a duty "upon all coals imported from Scotland, or other "parts beyond the ſeas. The 28th, they doubled "the duties upon ſtamp'd vellom, parchment and "paper, 'till the firſt day of Auguſt 1706; con- "tinued the duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate and "ſpices; as alſo the duties payable by hawkers "and pedlars, for the term of three years, to com- "mence from the expiration of the preſent duties "upon them. The 7th of May, they laid a far- "ther duty upon ſalt; and, the 14th, they doubled "the duties upon luſtrings and alamodes imported, "and inlarged the time for purchaſing annuities, "upon the ſeveral acts of parliament for granting "the ſame." As even all this was not ſufficient to anſwer the neceſſities of the year, the commons

(1) The court was very backward in leting this liſt be laid before the commons, being, as it has been ſaid, unwilling to let them know, how few of the regiments were actually diſbanded: and, when the commons addreſs'd the King, on this ac- count, his Majeſty put them off, by telling them, "he would comply with their deſire as ſoon as conveniently he could."

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resolved, on the 19th, "that towards raising a "fund for two millions, the duties upon salt, "granted before and during this session, and "the additional duty upon stamp'd vellom, "parchment, and paper, voted three weeks be- "fore, be granted to his Majesty, his heirs and "successors, redeemable by parliament."

In order to keep my account of the supplies voted this session, and the ways and means provided for the raising of them, intire, and in one connexion, I have postponed my relation of several other transactions in parliament which I shall now resume: but shall first mention an occurrence or two, which happen'd, during this time, out of parliament.

Some transactions out of parliament.

Towards the conclusion of the foregoing year, James Vernon, esq; was constituted secretary of state, on the resignation of mr. secretary Trumbal; and the commons being about to address his Majesty, to remove the earl of Sunderland (1), his lordship prudently withdrew, and resigned his office of lord-chamberlain.

Whitehall consumed by fire.

This winter proved fatal to the ancient palace of Whitehall, which was burnt down by accident, on the 4th of January, in the evening, nothing of it remaining the next morning, but the Banqueting-house, which, indeed, was the only part of it that had any shew of grandeur.

The Czar of Muscovy arrives in England.

The 11th of the same month, arrived in England, Peter Alexowitz, Czar or Emperor of Russia, who having form'd a design of civilizing his barbarous subjects; of introducing arts and sciences among them, and of rendering the forces of his Empire, by sea and land, equal to those of his politer neighbors, travelled incognito, in the retinue of his own embassador, thro' most countries in Europe, for his instruction: tho' he made his longest stay in England and Holland (2), to make himself master of navigation and ship-building; being persuaded, that nothing could contribute so much to his grandeur, as his having fleets of men of war, in the Baltick, the Black-sea, and the Caspian-sea. He was magnificently entertain'd, during his stay in this kingdom, and had several private conferences not only with the King, but with the Prince and Princess of Denmark.

The 14th, the earl of Portland, who, as I mention'd above, had been appointed his Majesty's embassador to the court of France, departed for that kingdom, and, on the 27th of the next month, made his public entry into Paris, with the utmost magnificence.

The 4th of April, the earl of Jersey was appointed to succeed the earl of Portland, in the embassy of France. Soon after, the marshal de Tallard arrived here as embassador from that court, and, the 18th of May made his public entry thro' the city of London. The 18th of June, the earl of Portland return'd from France, and the same day, the earl of Marborough was declared governor to the duke of Gloucester, who was then entring the tenth year of his age, and dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, was appointed his preceptor. But to return to the parliament.

Farther proceedings of parliament.

The commons, after their inquiring into the grants made by King Charles II, and King James II, proceeded to examine those made by his present Majesty in Ireland; and finding, on the 16th of February, that there was one made to mr. Roylton, which mr. Mountague, chancellor of the exchequer, own'd to be for his benefit, a warm debate arose, thereupon, in the house; and it was mov'd, that he should withdraw, which, however, pass'd in the negative. It was, thereupon, resolved, by a great majority; "that it was the opinion of this "house, that the honorable Charles Montague, "esq; chancellor of the Exchequer, for his good "services in this government, did deserve his Ma- "jesty's favor:" which will stand a monument to his fame, to all succeeding ages.

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An address of the commons against impiety, &c.

The commons having observed, that the enemies of Christianity were more audacious at this time than ever, in ridiculing the mysteries of that holy faith, both in their conversations, and the blasphemous pamphlets they publish'd, and that prophaneness and immorality daily gained ground among us, presented, on the 17th of the same month, an address to the King, in a body, in which, among other things, they desired "his Majesty would issue his procla- "mation, requiring the judges, and inferior ma- "gistrates, to put the laws in execution against "prophaneness and immorality, and to discounte- "nance them in his officers and courtiers, and that "he suppress all pernicious books and pamphlets, "which contained impious doctrines against the "Holy Trinity, and other fundamental articles of "our faith:" To this, his Majesty answered; "that he could not but be very well pleased with "an address of this nature: and he would give im- "mediate directions, in the several particulars they "desired: but that he could wish some more ef- "fectual provision were made for the suppressing "those pernicious books and pamphlets, which "their address took notice off." Accordingly, on the 28th, was published, his Majesty's proclamation, for preventing and punishing immorality and prophaneness. In the mean time, the house of lords, to shew their zeal for so laudable a design, prepared and pass'd a bill "for the more effectual suppressing "Atheism, Blasphemy, and Prophaneness," to which, after several conferences, the commons gave their concurrence.

His Majesty's answer.

A bill for that end.

Society for the reformation of manners.

On this occasion, probably, and about this time, by the incouragement of the King, not only the archbishop of Canterbury, with several other prelates and divines, but a great many of the laity, formed themselves into a "society for the refor- "mation of manners (3);" which proved the fore-runner of another, "for the propogation of "the gospel in forein parts."

Acts pass'd.

The 7th of March, the King came to the house of lords, and gave the royal assent, First, to "an "act for explaining another act for laying certain "duties on malt, mum, sweets, cyder and perry. "Second, an act for satisfying arrears of several "annuities which incurr'd between the 17th of "May 1696, and the 17th of May 1697. Third, "an act, that all retailers of salt shall sell by weight. "Fourth, an act for rendering the laws more ef- "fectual, for preventing the importation of forein "bone-lace, needle-work, point and cut-work.

(1) His enemies accused him of most of the arbitrary proceedings taken in the late reign, and pretended to have well-grounded suspicions of advising the like in this, and especially the keeping up a standing army. Salmon's history of England, vol. 24. p. 260.

(2) He had before had an interview with his Majesty, in Holland, which was managed in the following manner: the Russian embassadors having had their audience of the States-general at the Hague, they were admited to that of King William at Utrecht; which being over, his Majesty and the Czar met in a small gallery, into which they entered both at a time, out of the adjoining apartments. Hearty imbraces and compliments being mutually pass'd, they had a long conference together about the posture of affairs, in which, it is said, the Czar highly applauded his Majesty's indefatigable indeavors, and constant aim to reduce France within its ancient limits.

(3) This institution is, in itself, certainly very laudable, tho' it be not attended with all the success that were to be wish'd, and is not only render'd, in a great measure, useless, but laid open to censure, by the scandalous and unwarrantable practices of those beggarly informers, whom the society are under a necessity of imploying, for the detecting of vicious persons.

"And

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" And, Fifth, an act to prevent the throwing and " firing of ſquibs, ſerpents, and other fireworks " (1)." And, on the 2d of May, his Majeſty came again to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to; " Firſt, an act for granting to his Majeſty " 1,484,015 l. for diſbanding forces and paying " ſeamen. Second, an act for explaining an act " for the relief of the poor; and, Third, an act " for diſſolving the marriage between Charles earl " of Macclesfield, and Ann his wife, and to illegi- " gimate her children."

The earl of Macclesfield's caſe.

His lordſhip caſe was this: going to travel, ſoon after he was married, he left his lady, at his father's houſe; but ſhe, not liking the place or company, went to her mother, the lady Maſon's. The earl, being returned home, and reſenting this ſtep of his lady's, which ſhe had made without his privity or conſent, inſtead of recalling her, ſuffered her to live in a ſtate of ſeparation: during this time, the counteſs entertain'd a gallant, by whom ſhe had a daughter, towards the latter end of the year 1696. This child dying before the earl had heard any thing of the matter, by the interceſſion of friends, he was prevailed upon to allow her 500 l. per annum, as a ſeparate maintenance, till he heard ſhe had another child; and then, being out of all patience, he indeavor'd to get a divorce in Doctor's-commons: but conſidering that court could not authorize his marrying again, he brought the matter before the houſe of lords.

While this cauſe was depending in Doctor's-commons, the counteſs inſiſted on her innocence, and ſaid, that her huſband, neglecting to cohabit with her on his return from his travels, ſhe had, with the aſſiſtance of a woman of intrigue, ſurprized him into a private meeting with her; and he, not diſcovering ſhe was his wife, had got her with child: but this matter being afterwards diſcover'd, ſhe only inſiſted, in the houſe of lords, that the late earl had turn'd her out of doors, and that the preſent earl had been the occaſion of her misfortune, by refuſing to live with her, at a time when he could make no juſt objection to her conduct; notwithſtanding ſhe had ſaved his life, by petitioning King James in his behalf. The lords, tho' they paſs'd the bill for diſſolving the marriage, and to make her children illegimate, had ſuch a regard to her repreſentations, that they added a proviſo, whereby the earl was obliged to reſtore her fortune.

Affairs of the Eaſt-India trade.

The buſineſs of the Eaſt-India-trade, which had been depending many years, and was look'd on as ſo nice and difficult, that it had been refer'd to the King and his council, and back again by them to the parliament, was now brought upon the carpet again. The old company having offer'd to advance 700,000 l. at four per cent, for the ſervice of the government, in caſe the trade to India might be ſettled on them, excluſive of all others, the houſe ſeem'd inclined to imbrace their propoſal; when another number of merchants, the chief of whom was mr. Shephard, who were, likewiſe, favor'd by the court, propoſed to the houſe to raiſe two millions, at eight per cent, on condition the trade to India might be ſettled on the ſubſcribers excluſive of all others. They alſo propoſed, that theſe ſubſcribers ſhould not be obliged to trade in a joint-ſtock, but if any members of them ſhould afterwards deſire to be incorporated, a charter ſhould be granted them for that purpoſe. The houſe judged this new overture not only to be more advantageous to the government, but, likewiſe, very likely to ſettle this controverted trade, on a better footing than it had hitherto been. A bill was, therefore, ordered, the 26th of May, to be brought into the houſe, " for ſettling the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, on " thoſe who ſhould ſubſcribe the two millions, " according to the limitations before-mentioned," and then they made the following reſolutions:

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" 1ſt, That every ſubſcriber might have the " liberty of trading yearly, to the amount of his " reſpective ſubſcription, or might aſſign over his " liberty of trading, to any other perſon.

" 2d, That his Majeſty be impower'd to in- " corporate ſuch of the ſaid ſubſcribers as ſhould " deſire the ſame.

3. " That the powers and privileges for carrying " on the Eaſt-India trade ſhould be ſettled by par- " liament.

4. " That the ſaid ſubſcribers ſhould injoy the " ſaid eight per cent, and liberty of trading to the " Eaſt-Indies, excluſive of all others, for the term " of ten years, and until the ſame ſhould be re- " deemed by parliament.

5. " That every perſon ſubſcribing 500 l. have " a vote, and no perſon to have more votes than " one.

6. " That all ſhips laden in the Eaſt-Indies " ſhould be obliged to deliver in England.

7. " That no perſon who ſhould be a member of " any corporation trading to the Eaſt-Indies, ſhould " trade otherwiſe, than in the joint-ſtock of ſuch " corporation of which he was a member.

8. " That 5 l. per annum, ad valorem, upon all " returns from the Eaſt-Indies, be paid by the im- " porter, to be placed to the account of the ſub- " ſcribers, towards the charge of ſending em- " baſſadors, and other extraordinary expences; " and;

9. " That over and above the duties now paya- " ble, a farther duty of one ſhilling and ten pence " per pound weight, be laid upon all wrought-ſilks " imported from India and Perſia, to be paid " by the importer.

The bill being accordingly brought into the houſe, the old Eaſt-India-company petitioned againſt it, to which the commons had ſo much regard, as to offer the ſettling of this trade on them, if they would accept it on the ſame terms and limitations, on which the others were contented to take it, and which the parliament judged moſt advantageous for the kingdom; but the members of the old company having rejected this propoſal, the commons paſſed the bill, the 25th of June, in favor of the new adventurers.

Notwithſtanding this bill had paſſed the houſe of commons, the old company would not yet give up their cauſe, but followed the bill to the houſe of lords, where they were heard by their council, ſir Thomas Powis and ſir Bartholomew Shore, as their antagoniſts were, in anſwer to their allegations. The lords having weighed the reaſons on both ſides, and chiefly conſidered, that the propoſal the old company had at length made, to lend the two millions, was like to prove ineffectual, by reaſon that ſome of their principal members were known to have no great affection to the preſent government, upon mature conſideration they gave their concurrence to the bill (2). As

(1) This bill was order'd upon the complaints of ſeveral perſons who had been maim'd, or otherwiſe hurt by theſe diminutive fire-works, and particularly the lord Jermyn, who, on the thankſgiving-day for the peace, had the misfortune to have one of his eyes put out, by a ſquib thrown into his coach, as he paſs'd along Fleet-ſtreet.

(2) Biſhop Burnet gives us the following account of the paſſing of this act: while the houſe of commons (ſays he) was ſeeking a fund for paying the arrears of the army, and for the expence at ſea and land, for the next year; a propoſal was made for conſtituting a new Eaſt-India-company, which ſhould trade with joint-ſtock, others being admited in a determinate proportion to a ſeparate trade. The old Eaſt-India-company oppoſed this, and offered to advance a ſum (but far ſhort of what the public occaſions,

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Affairs of the African company.

As I am now upon the affairs of trade, it may not be improper to mention here, that the commons took likewiſe into conſideration, thoſe of the African company, which had long wanted a due regulation: and upon account of the neceſſity of keeping up forts and caſtles, for the defenſe of the Engliſh factories, on the coaſt of Guinea, the parliament made a bill to ſettle the ſaid company, and to inable them to maintain all ſuch forts, as they now had in their poſſeſſion, or ſhould hereafter purchaſe or erect, for the preſervation of their trade: and inacted, at the ſame time, that any of the ſubjects of this realm, as well as the ſaid company, might, after the 24th of June 1698, trade from England, or after the 1ſt of Auguſt, from any of his Majeſty's plantations in America, to the coaſt of Africa, between Cape-mount, and the Cape of Good Hope, both the ſaid company, and the interlopers, anſwering a duty of 10 per cent, of the value of the goods exported thither from England, or from his Majeſty's American plantations, towards the maintenance of the forts and ſettlements.

Owlers and ſmugglers puniſh'd.

This ſeſſion, likewiſe, the parliament, for the benefit of trade, made ſeveral prudent proviſions, inan act "for the explanation and better execution "of former acts made againſt tranſportation of "wool, fuller's-earth, and ſcouring clay;" they likewiſe applied themſelves with great diligence, to diſcover and puniſh ſuch offenders, who carried on a fraudulent and ſecret commerce with France, and, to the great damage of the royal luſtring company of this kingdom, had, for diverſe years paſt, ſurreptitiouſly brought in great quantities of French alamodes and luſtrings. Many of theſe private ſmugglers being detected, were impeached before the houſe of lords, of high-crimes and miſdemeanors; and eight of them were, by that houſe, fined in the ſum of 18,000 l. which, at the requeſt of the commons, was appropriated towards the building of Greenwich-Hoſpital.

Falſe indorſements on exchequer bills detected.

Offenders of another kind were likewiſe animadverted upon, this ſeſſion, by the commons, tho' they had the good fortune to come off at a rate no way adequate to their crime. Theſe were certain officers concerned in the revenue, who found means to rob the public many ways; but more particularly by falſe indorſements on exchequer notes; by which they gained 7. l. 12 s. per cent, which indeed was allowed, upon the ſecond iſſuing of exchequer-bills, but not upon the firſt, 'till theſe plunderers of their country found means clandeſtinely to procure ſuch indorſements to defraud the public. The chief of theſe were mr. Charles Duncomb, receiver-general of the exciſe; John Knight, treaſurer of the cuſtoms; Bartholomew Burton of the exciſe-office; and Reginald Maryot, one of the deputy-tellers of the exchequer; the laſt of whom procured his pardon, by being an evidence againſt the reſt. Duncomb and Knight, who were members of the commons, were expelled the houſe and commited to the Tower, and Burton was ſent to Newgate. But after a bill had paſſed in the houſe of commons, to puniſh Duncomb, it was loſt in the upper houſe, by one ſingle voice; upon which the proſecution was dropped, and they all eſcaped (1).

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Acts paſſed.

The 16th of May, the King came again to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent, 1. To "an act for laying ſeveral duties upon coals "and culm. 2. An act to execute judgments and "decrees, ſaved in a clauſe in an act made in this "reign, for taking away the courts holden before "the preſident and council of the marches of "Wales. 3. An act for continuing the duties "upon coffee, tea, chocolate and ſpices; for the "ſatisfaction of the Iriſh tranſport-debt. 4. An "act for the better preventing the counterfeiting "and diminiſhing the coin of this kingdom. "5. An act for determining differences by arbitration. 6. An act for the better payment of "inland-bills of exchange. 7. An act to naturalize the children of ſuch officers and ſoldiers, the "natural-born ſubjects of this realm, who had been "born abroad during the war; the parents of ſuch "children having been in the ſervice of the government. 8. An act to repeal an act made the "39th year of Queen Elizabeth, for reſtraining "malſters from making of malt;" and ſeveral "private acts.

The dependance of Ireland, on the parliament of England aſſerted.

The 21ſt, a complaint being made to the houſe of commons, of a printed book, intitled: "the "caſe of Ireland's being bound by acts of parliament "in England," (written by William Molyneux of Dublin, eſq;) which denied the dependance of Ireland on the parliament of England; the commons in a body preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, wherein they ſet forth; "the dangerous attempts which had "been made by ſome of his ſubjects of Ireland, to "ſhake off their ſubjection to and dependance on "England; which appeared not only by the book "above-mention'd, but more fully by the proceedings "of the houſe of commons in Ireland, who pretended to paſs an act for the confirming an act of the "Engliſh parliament, for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon and government, expreſly binding "Ireland, and making ſeveral alterations therein, "which amounted to a repeal of what was inacted in England: they therefore humbly beſought his Majeſty, that he would give his orders for preventing any thing of the like nature "for the future, and to diſcourage all things which "might in any degree leſſen the dependance of Ireland and England:" to which his Majeſty anſwered: "that he would take care what they "complained of ſhould be redreſſed.

The King's revenue provided for.

The 28th the commons reſolved, in order to make up the King's revenue, "that of the hereditary and "temporary exciſe, poſt-office, ſmall branches "of the new ſubſidies of tonage and poundage, "continued to the firſt day of February 1699, "700,000 l. be granted to his Majeſty, during "his life, and that whatſoever the ſaid revenues "ſhould exceed 700,000 l. yearly ſhould be ap-

occaſions required) for an act of parliament, that ſhould confirm their charters. The projectors of the new company offered two millions, upon the ſecurity of a good fund to pay the intereſt of their mony at eight per cent; great oppoſition was made to this; for the King, upon an addreſs that was made to him, by the houſe of commons, had granted the old company a new charter, they being obliged to take in a new ſubſcription of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, to increaſe their ſtock and trade. Thoſe impowered by this new charter were not charged with any malverſation. They had been trading under great diſadvantages, and with great loſſes, by reaſon of the war; it is true, the King had reſerved a power to himſelf, by a clauſe in the charter, to diſſolve them, upon warning given, three years before ſuch diſſolution: ſo it was ſaid, that no injuſtice was done them, if public notice ſhould be given of ſuch an intended diſſolution. To this it was anſwered, that the clauſe, reſerving that power, was put in many charters; but that it was conſidered only as a threatning, obliging them to a good conduct; but that it was not ordinary to diſſolve a company, by virtue of ſuch a clauſe, when no error or malverſation was objected. The old company came at laſt to offer the whole ſum that was wanted; but the party was now formed, ſo they come too late, and this had no other effect, but to raiſe a clamor againſt this proceeding, as extreamly rigorous, if not unjuſt: but the act was carried: the King was very indifferent in the matter at firſt, but the greatneſs of the ſum that was wanted, which could not probably be raiſed by any other project, prevailed on him.

(1) It was then generally believed, that Duncomb came off by the force of almighty gold, and that his ill acquired wealth, computed by ſome at 400,000 l. was ſunk at leaſt a third, if not one half, on this account. The commons were however ſo diſſatisfied at Duncomb's being ſet at liberty, by order of the houſe of lords, without their conſent, that they cauſed him to be remanded to the Tower, where he continued 'till the end of the ſeſſion.

"propriated

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" propriated to ſuch uſes as ſhould be directed by " parliament.

Duties upon glaſs, &c. taken off.

The glaſs and tobacco-pipe-makers having juſtly complained of the grievous taxes which had been laid on their manufactures, the commons reſolved, on the 25th of June, " to take off half the duties " now upon glaſs-wares, and the whole duties upon " ſtone and earthen-wares and tobacco-pipes, and " to grant an equivalent to his Majeſty, by laying " a farther duty upon whale-bone, and upon Scotiſh " linen imported.

Complaints againſt the woollen manufactures in Ireland.

The laſt thing I have to mention of note, which came under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, this ſeſſion, was the complaints made, that the woollen manufacture was carried on in Ireland, to the great prejudice of that ſtaple-trade in England. To ſtop the progreſs of this growing evil, they enter'd indeed upon a bill, but it terminated in an addreſs to the King, in which, among other things, they told his Majeſty, " that the par- " liament of England would be neceſſitated to inter- " poſe, to prevent this miſchief, unleſs his Ma- " jeſty, by his authority and great wiſdom, ſhould " find means to ſecure the trade of England, by " making his ſubjects of Ireland, to purſue the " joint intereſt of both kingdoms :" to this addreſs his Majeſty anſwered : " he ſhould do all that in " him lay, to promote the trade of England, and to " diſcourage the woollen, and incourage the linen- " manufacture in Ireland."

Acts paſſed.

The 5th of July, the King came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal ſanction, 1. " To an act for " raiſing two millions, and for ſettling the trade to the " Eaſt-Indies. 2. An act for laying farther duties on " ſtamped vellom, parchment and paper. 3. An act " for granting to his Majeſty an aid by a quarterly " poll for one year. 4. An act for laying a far- " ther ſubſidy upon tonage and poundage towards " raiſing a yearly ſum of 700,000 l. for the civil " liſt, &c. 5. An act for increaſing his Majeſty's " duties upon luſtrings and alamodes. 6. An act " for applying to the uſe of the navy and ordnance " the overplus of the mony and ſtores, which were " provided for the building twenty-ſeven ſhips of war. " 7. An act for inlarging the time for purchaſing " certain annuities. 8. An act for the better and " more orderly payment of the lottery tickets ; " now payable out of certain additional duties of " exciſe, and of other annuities lately payable out " of the tonage-duties. 9. An act for licenſing " hawkers and pedlars, for a farther proviſion of " intereſt for the tranſport-debt, for the reducing " of Ireland. 10. An act for taking away half " the duties on glaſs-wares, and the whole duties " on ſtone and earthen-wares and tobacco-pipes, " and for granting (in lieu thereof) new duties upon " whale-fins and Scotiſh linen. 11. An act for pre- " venting abuſes in charging, collecting and paying " the duties upon marriages, births, burials, bache- " lors and widowers. 12. An act for the better pre- " venting the imbezzlement of his Majeſty's ſtores " of war ; as alſo the cheats and abuſes in paying " ſeamens wages. 13. An act for the more effec- " tual ſuppreſſing blaſphemy and prophaneneſs. " 14. An act to ſettle the trade to Africa. " 15. An act for the better incouragement of the " royal luſtring company, and for the more effec- " tual preventing the fraudulent importation of lu- " ſtrings and alamodes. 16. An act for the increaſe " and preſervation of timber, in the new foreſt, " in the county of Northampton. 17. An act to " ſtop the coining of half-pence, and farthings for " one year. 18. An act for the exporting watches, " ſword-hilts, and other manufactures of ſilver. " 19. An act for adjuſting the proportions of fine " ſilver and ſilk, for the better making ſilver and " gold-thread ; and for preventing the abuſes of " the wire-drawers. 20. An act for raiſing the " militia, for the year 1698, altho' the month's-pay, " formerly advanced, be not repaid. 21. An act " for inlarging the time for regiſtring ſhips, pur- " ſuant to the act for preventing frauds and regu- " lating abuſes in the plantation-trade. 22. An " act for the explanation and better execution of " former acts made againſt exportation of wool, " fuller's-earth, and ſcouring-clay 23. An act to " repeal the act made, the laſt ſeſſion of parlia- " ment, for relief of creditors, by making com- " poſition with their debtors, in caſe two-thirds " in number and value, did agree (1) :" and to twenty other private acts. This being done, his Majeſty told both houſes :

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The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" That he could not take leave of ſo good a " parliament, without publicly acknowleging the " ſenſe he had of the great things they had done " for his ſafety and honor, and for the ſupport and " welfare of his people. Every one of your ſeſſions " (continued he) has made good this character : the " happy uniting of us in an aſſociation, for our " mutual defenſe ; the remedying the corruption of " the coin, which had been ſo long growing upon " the nation ; the reſtoring of credit ; the giving " ſupplies, in ſuch a manner, for carrying on the " war, as did by GOD's bleſſing, purchaſe an hono- " rable peace ; and after that the making ſuch pro- " viſions for our common ſecurity, and towards " ſatisfying the debts contracted in ſo long a war, " with as little burden to the people as is poſſible, are " ſuch things as will give a laſting reputation to this " parliament, and will be a ſubject of emulation to " thoſe who ſhall come hereafter." He added, " that " beſide all this, he thought himſelf perſonally ob- " liged to return his thanks to the houſe of com- " mons, for the regard they had had to his honor, by " the eſtabliſhment of his revenue ; that there was " nothing he valued ſo much as the eſteem and love " of his people : and as, for their ſakes, he avoided " no hazards during the war, ſo his whole ſtudy " and care ſhould be to improve and continue to " them the advantages and bleſſings of peace." He concluded, " by earneſtly deſiring them all, in " their ſeveral ſtations, to be vigilant in preſerving " peace and good order, and a due and regular " execution of the laws, eſpecially thoſe againſt " irreligion and prophaneneſs.

The parliament diſſolved, and another called.

Then the parliament was prorogued to the 2d of Auguſt : but, on the 7th of July, a proclamation was iſſued, for diſſolving the preſent parliament, and calling another, to meet the 24th of Auguſt.

A new Eaſt-India-company erected.

The act for eſtabliſhing the new Eaſt-India-company having obtained the royal ſanction, the commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty, for taking ſubſcriptions towards the raiſing of two millions, and for ſettling a new Eaſt-India-company, opened their books, the 14th of July, at Mercer's-hall, and ſuch was the zeal which people of all ranks, and even foreigners, ſhewed on this occaſion, to aſſiſt the government, and promote the trade of the nation, that in three days, the whole ſum was compleated (2).

(1) Tho' the deſign of this act was good, there was a neceſſity of repealing it ; becauſe debtors took the advantage of it, to make ſo many feigned creditors, that they out-voted the real creditors, and thereby, in a great meaſure, defrauded them of their debts.

(2) When the books were cloſed, it appeared, that there was ſomething more ſubſcribed than the two millions ; and it was then generally believed, that if they had been kept open, 'till the diſtant corporations, private men in remote countries, and merchants beyond-ſea could have remited their commiſſions, for the large ſums they intended to ſubſcribe, the ſubſcription would have amounted to, at leaſt two millions more : an aſtoniſhing inſtance of the opulence of England, and of the ſtrength of the government, hardly to be parallelled in the hiſtory of former times, and which poſterity will ſcarce believe.

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His Majeſty afterwards granted a charter, bearing date the 5th of September, grounded upon this act of parliament, made and paſſed for that purpoſe, to this new ſociety for carrying on a trade to the Eaſt-Indies, by the name of; "The General Society, "intitled to the advantages given by an act of par- "liament, for advancing a ſum not exceeding two "millions, for the ſervice of the crown of England." For which, every ſubſcriber towards it, beſide the freedom of traffic to the Eaſt-Indies, under the reſtrictions and limitations mentioned in the ſaid charter, are intitled to an annuity of eight per cent for ever, in the manner by the act preſcribed.

We have an abſtract of this charter, in Harris, to which are annex'd heads of an agreement between the two Eaſt-India-companies; but they are too prolix to be here inſerted.

Some domeſtic occurrences.

I muſt now go back to ſome other tranſactions which happened during the ſeſſion of parliament. I have already mentioned monſ. de Tallard's arrival in England, as embaſſador from France: the 28th of March, he had his firſt private audience of the King at Kenſington. The next day baron Simeoni, captain of the guards of the elector of Bavaria, had his firſt public audience of his Majeſty; and the count de Platen, chamberlain to his electoral highneſs of Brumſwick, had, the ſame day, his audience of leave.

The King goes to New-market.

The 4th of April, the King went to New-market, to take the diverſions of hunting and horſe-racing: and the next day, the univerſity of Cambridge paid their duty to his Majeſty, being introduced by their chancellor, the duke of Sommerſet. Monſ. de Tallard followed his Majeſty to that place, and was not a little ſurprized to ſee ſo vaſt a concourſe of nobility and gentry (eſpecially as it was in time of parliament) and the prodigious ſums of mony that were either won or loſt there. The 16th, his Majeſty returned to Kenſington; the 26th, the count de Bonde, embaſſador extraordinary from the court of Sweden, made his public entry in mourning on occaſion of the death of the late King of Sweden; and on the 29th had his firſt public audience of King William at Windſor. The 16th of May, the French embaſſador made his public entry, with a very handſome, tho' ſmall retinue, and on the 19th had his firſt public audience at Windſor, where he was ſplendidly entertained at dinner. The 30th the Swediſh embaſſador returned to the Sovereign the Garter and George of his late Majeſty Charles XI, King of Sweden, with the whole habit, and other enſigns of the order, that he had been inveſted with in 1669; which act was performed at Kenſington with great ce remony.

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I have already mentioned the earl of Portland's embaſſy to France, where he made his public entry with ſuch pomp and ſplendor, as had never been ſeen at that court, ſince the duke of Buckingham was there, to demand the Princeſs Mary Henrietta, of France, in marriage for King Charles I. The 11th of March, he was admited to hi firſt public audience, where nothing was wanting on the ſide of the court, to ſhew him the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of honor (1). Nor were the Princes of the blood, and the marſhals of France, and other perſons of the higheſt diſtinction in that kingdom, leſs forward in ſhewing him the moſt ſingular marks poſſible of honor and reſpect. He was in particular treated four days, with great magnificence at Verſailles (2).

The earl of Portland's embaſſy to France.

The 4th of June, the earl of Portland had his laſt private audience (having had ſeveral before) of the French King, at Verſailles, in his cloſet, when he took his leave, as he did of the reſt of the court ſoon after. The King ſent the earl the uſual preſent of his picture ſet with diamonds: but it was obſerv'd that the ſtones were of three times the value uſual on thoſe occaſions. The 8th, he left Paris, and arrived at Kenſington, on the 19th of the ſame month (3).

Lords-juſtices appointed.

The 16th of July, the King declared in council his intention of going to Holland, in a ſhort time, and that he had nominated the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord Sommers, lord chancellor; the earl of Pembroke, lord privy-ſeal; the duke of Devonſhire, lord ſteward of his Majeſty's houſhold; the earl of Dorſet; the earl of Marlborough, governor to his Highneſs the duke of Glouceſter; the earl of Romney, lord warden of the Cinque-ports; the earl of Oxford, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; and Charles Montague eſq; firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, to be lords-juſtices of England, for the adminiſtration of the government, during his abſenſe. Four days after, the King ſet ſail for Holland, attended by a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and landing the next day at Orange-polder, lay that night at his palace at Hounſlardike, and went from thence to the Hague; where I ſhall leave his Majeſty to give a brief account of the affairs of Scotland and Ireland.

The King goes to Holland.

The parliament of Scotland meeting, the 19th of July, the King's letter to them was read, in which

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(1) He had this audience, in his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's bed-chamber, and even within the rails round the bed, where the King ſtood, with the three young Princes his grandſons, the count de Thouloufe, the duke d'Aumont, and the marſhal de Noailles; an honor rarely ſhewn any embaſſador, unleſs on very extraordinary occaſions.

(2) I muſt not here omit a paſſage between mr. Prior, ſecretary of the embaſſy, and one of the French King's officers. The latter leading the ſecretary about the apartments, ſhewed him, among other curioſities, thoſe fine pieces of Le Brun, repreſenting Lewis XIVth's victories, and could not forbear being ſo vain, to aſk him, in a taunting manner, whether King William's actions were, likewiſe, to be ſeen, in his palace? To which mr. Prior, as wittily, as aptly replied: "No, ſir, "the monuments of my maſter's actions are to be ſeen every where but in his own houſe."

(3) Thus ended this famous embaſſy, which, it has been ſaid, coſt King William 80,000 l. to little or no purpoſe, but to do honor to his favorite; for, as it has been very juſtly obſerved, "no embaſſador was ever more honored, or leſs ſucceſsful, than "the earl of Portland: not having been able to gain one of the two points, which he had principally in commiſſion; I mean "the removal of King James, and the relief of the Proteſtants of France, againſt whom the perſecution, which had been, in "ſome meaſure, interrupted by the war, began to rage afreſh, with redoubled violence; both which, Lewis XIV flatly "denied:" and he perhaps, may have been the more tenacious, in thoſe and other points, as France had not found any great immediate benefit by the peace, farther than the diſcontinuance of a war, they were not in a condition to carry on, and a time to breathe, in order to prepare for the execution of other great ſchemes, they had even now undoubtedly in view. The continuator of Rapin, in French, gives this matter a very different turn, and will not allow that the French King was reduced to any neceſſity of making peace, being (as he expreſſes it) every where conqueror; but that it was a meer ſtrain of policy: however it is moſt probable that they both concurred. As to their commerce with England, in particular, they did not find their expectations anſwered. The Engliſh were uſed, before the war, to ſend vaſt ſums of mony yearly into France, not only for wines, paper, ſtuffs, linen, hats and ſilks; but alſo for a great many unprofitable and unneceſſary bawbles, which were all paid for with ready mony; they taking little or nothing of our growth or manufacture: but the Engliſh had, by this time, learnt to make ſhift without theſe commodities of the product of France. They ſupplied themſelves with wines, chiefly from Portugal, Italy, and Spain, with linen from Holland and Sileſia; and for papers, ſtuffs, hats and ſilks, the manufactures of thoſe goods ſet up here by the French refugees ſufficiently furniſhed us; ſo that when the French King ſent over a commiſſary-general, to regulate the commerce between the two nations, he met with inſuperable difficulties; as well on this account, as becauſe of the great duties laid on all French goods, which were already appropriated to ſeveral uſes.

"he

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" he thanked them for the proofs they had given " him of their loyalty and affection during the war, " and aſſured them, he would give them ſuch in- " couragement, on all occaſions, that they ſhould " find the advantages of their fidelity and duty to " him; and he was ſorry the ſituation of his affairs " prevented his deſign of holding this ſeſſion of " parliament in perſon: he acquainted them, that " it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the forces to be " continued, and deſired ſupplies accordingly. " He recommended the diſcouragement of irre- " ligion, vice and immorality: and put them in " mind of the great deliverance he had been the " occaſion of; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, of " his care to maintain their religious and civil " rights, and of his favor and protection, in all " their concerns.

The Scots Eaſt-India-company were, however, notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, very uneaſy, on account of the ſtop put to their ſubſcriptions, by England; they therefore prefered a petition to their parliament, in which they repreſented; " that " notwithſtanding the King and parliament had, " by two ſeveral ſolemn acts, and letters-patent, " eſtabliſhed their company, with ſuch powers and " privileges, as were neceſſary to incourage their " undertakings; and particularly, impowered them " to raiſe a joint-ſtock, and to infranchiſe ſuch " foreiners, as would become partners with them, " and to enter into treaties of commerce, with " any in amity with his Majeſty: and accordingly " their directors propoſing to ſhare theſe privileges " with their country-men, and their neighbors in " England, 300,000 l. had been ſubſcribed, by " the ſubjects of both kingdoms, within the " ſpace of nine days, as one half of their capital- " ſtock, and one-fourth thereof paid in ſpecie: " that the commons of England had, notwith- " ſtanding, defeated their enterprize, by ſum- " moning, not only the Engliſh ſubſcribers, but " ſeveral of the ſubjects of Scotland, before them, " and laid them under ſuch diſcouragements, that " they were forced to relinquiſh the undertaking: " that, however, the nobility, gentry, and mer- " chants in Scotland, upon the faith of the " ſaid acts of parliament and letters-patent, raiſed " ſtill a more conſiderable ſtock, for carrying on " this trade, and had as great expectations of fo- " rein aids as their hearts could wiſh; eſpecially " at Hamburg, where the merchants of that city " entered into a contract with their directors, to " join at leaſt 200,000 l. ſterling with them: but, " to their great ſurprize, the Engliſh miniſters, un- " der pretenſe of a warrant from his Majeſty, put a " ſtop thereto, not only diſowning the authority of " the ſaid acts of parliament, and letters-patent, " but by threatning both the ſenate and inhabi- " tants of Hamburg, with the King's utmoſt diſ- " pleaſure, if they countenanced or joined in the " ſaid trade.

" That as the proſpect they had of aſſiſtance " from Hamburg, and ſeveral other places, had " induced them to prepare a far greater equipage, " than otherwiſe they would have done; ſo the ren- " dring thoſe meaſures abortive had not only weak- " ened their ſtock, leſſened their credit, retarded " their firſt expedition, and diſheartned many of " their partners at home, but even ſlackened their " reſolution and power of proſecuting, at that time, " ſeveral other branches of forein and domeſtic " trades and improvements, which they had in " view, that tho' their company was more imme- " diately and ſenſibly touched, by theſe proceed- " ings; yet they conceived, that the honor and " independency of the nation, as well as the credit " and authority of parliament, was ſtruck at, " thro' their ſides: and therefore they could not " avoid laying this matter before the great " council of the nation, that they might provide " ſuch remedies, as they, in their great wiſdom, " ſhould judge proper, and vindicate their com- " pany's reputation abroad, by ſupporting the " credit of the acts of parliament and letters " patent, by which the ſame was eſtabliſhed, and " wherein the honor of the nation was ſo much " concerned."

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The parliament, hereupon, addreſſed his Majeſty, and ſet forth, " that having conſidered the " repreſentation made to them, by their company " trading to Africa and the Indies, ſhewing ſeveral " obſtructions they had met with in their trade, by " a memorial preſented to the ſenate of Hamburg, " by his Majeſty's reſident, and otherwiſe; they, " therefore laid before his Majeſty, the whole nation's " concern in that matter; earneſtly intreating, and " aſſuredly expecting, that his Majeſty would take " ſuch meaſures as might effectually vindicate the " undoubted rights and privileges of the ſaid com- " pany, and ſupport the credit and intereſt thereof; " and as they returned his Majeſty their hearty " thanks for the aſſurances he had given them of all " due incouragement, for promoting the trade of that " kingdom, they humbly recommended to the " more eſpecial marks of his favor, the concern " of the ſaid company, as that branch of their " trade, in which they, and the nation they " repreſented, had a more particular inte- " reſt."

This addreſs, and two petitions from the Eaſt-India-company to the King, had, however no effect; his Majeſty thinking it neceſſary to continue diſincouraging the undertaking, both at Hamburg and in England. This was ſo highly reſented by the parliament of Scotland, that they came to ſome threatning reſolutions; upon which, the high commiſſioner adjourned them, from time to time, which did but more and more incenſe the nation. Under all theſe difficulties, they however proceeded to ſettle a colony or Darien, and might probably have maintained it, if the jealouſy of the Spaniards, and their precautions, backed by a prohibition from England to the iſland of Jamaica, and all other Engliſh ſettlements in America, to have any intercourſe or correſpondence with the Scots at Darien, or to furniſh them with proviſions of any kind, had not deprived them of all means of ſubſiſtence: but I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of this matter, in the ſequel.

Affairs of Ireland.

While the King was in Holland, a parliament was alſo aſſembled in Ireland, which met the 17th of September, according to their laſt prorogation, and was opened with a ſpeech by one of the lords-juſtices; in which he reminded the Iriſh, " that it was to King William they owed their de- " liverance, their preſent ſafety, and their hopes of " future proſperity: he then recommended to the " parliament the incouragement of the linen- " manufacture; and told them, that the woollen- " manufacture could never be incouraged there, " being the ſtaple-trade of England, from whence " all forein markets were ſupplied: he likewiſe " informed them, that the King would ſend over " from England part of the forces, which had " ſerved abroad, and diſband moſt of thoſe in Ire- " land (except five regiments of French refugees) " however, the King declared he would keep the " officers in pay 'till they could be otherwiſe pro- " vided for, and deſired ſupplies accordingly."

Upon this, both houſes voted " their thanks to " his Majeſty for what he had done, and intended " to do for them; but could, by no means, come " into the ſcheme for ſuppreſſing their woollen " manufacture: they hoped to regulate it ſo (they " ſaid) that it might not be prejudicial to England."

A motion

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A motion was alſo made, for addreſſing his Majeſty, to diſband the five French regiments in Ireland; but it was rejected. The parliament then proceeded to the buſineſs of the ſupply, and readily granted what was demanded of them. The bill for levying the ſupply granted being compleated, the lord-juſtices adjourned the parliament, and then took a progreſs into the country, to view the ſtate of ſeveral places in the kingdom, and give ſuch inſtructions as were neceſſary for the ſecurity of the government.

Maritime affairs.

I ſhould now, according to the method I have hitherto obſerved, give an account of our maritime affairs: but nothing happen'd this year at ſea, worthy our notice (1); towards the latter end of the year, rear-admiral Bembow was, indeed, ordered to the Weſt-Indies, with three men of war of the fourth-rate, and a ſmall French prize: and he ſailed, accordingly, the 29th of November: but as nothing occured, before the concluſion of this year, I ſhall defer my relation of his proceedings to the next; and give ſome account of what was doing, during this time, beyond the ſeas. We left the King at the Hague, ſtill imploying his thoughts how to eſtabliſh the public tranquility of Europe, as well by mediating a peace between the Chriſtians and the Turks, as by providing againſt the pretenſions which France might make upon the death of the King of Spain, who was in a languiſhing condition. His Majeſty having aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the States of Holland, and that of the States-general, and given audience to ſeveral public miniſters, went, the 6th of Auguſt, N. S. to Loo, whither he was attended by the earls of Eſſex, Portland and Selkirk, with ſeveral other perſons of quality.

Negociation of the firſt treaty of partition.

Here it was the count de Tallard, in the name of the French King, made the firſt propoſal to King William (2), of coming to an agreement with his Britanic Majeſty, concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown of Spain. The French embaſſador being very urgent for his Majeſty's anſwer, the earl of Portland was ordered to write a letter to mr. ſecretary Vernon, and inform him; "that count "Tallard having declared an accommodation "might be found out, in relation to the Spaniſh "ſucceſſion, his Majeſty had founded France upon "the conditions, of which he ſubjoined the par-

The King's letter to the lordSommers.

"ticulars (3)". The King, at the ſame time, acquainted the lord Sommers by letter, "that "he had ordered mr. Vernon, not to communi-"cate the propoſals made by count Tallard, to "any other beſide his lordſhip, and to leave to his "lordſhip's judgment, to whom elſe he ſhould "think proper to impart them; to the end that "his Majeſty might know his lordſhip's opinion "upon ſo important an affair, which required the "greateſt ſecreſy, and in which no time was to "be loſt, if it was fit the negociation ſhould be "carried on." For that purpoſe, his Majeſty commanded the lord Sommers, "to ſend him the "full powers, under the great-ſeal, with the names "in blank, to treat with count Tallard, which he "believed might be done ſecretly, that none but "his lordſhip and Vernon, and thoſe to whom "his lordſhip ſhould communicate it, might "have knowledge of it; and ſo that the clerks "themſelves, who were to write the warrant, and "the full powers, might not know what it was." To preſs the neceſſity of this treaty, his Majeſty obſerved; "That, according to all intelligence, "the King of Spain could not out-live the month "of October, and that the leaſt accident might "carry him off, before that time."

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The lord Sommers being at Tunbridge, when mr. Vernon received the earl of Portland's letter, that to his lordſhip was immediately ſent him thither, and he as ſoon returned it to mr. Vernon, deſiring him to communicate the contents of it to the lord Orford, mr. Montague, and the duke of Shrewſbury, and to let them know, at the ſame time, how ſtrictly his Majeſty required that it ſhould remain an abſolute ſecret. Mr. Vernon, however, did not think it proper to impart it then to any but the earl of Shrewſbury. Some time after, mr. Montague and mr. Vernon going to Tunbridge, they and the lord Sommers, debated this important matter; and thereupon his lordſhip writ a letter to the King, acquainting him:

The lord Sommers's anſwer.

"That, upon the whole diſcourſe, three things "had principally occured to be humbly ſuggeſted "to his Majeſty: Firſt, that the entertaining a "propoſal of this nature ſeem'd to be attended "with very many ill conſequences, if the French "did not act a ſincere part; but that they were "ſoon at eaſe, as to any apprehenſion of that ſort, "being fully aſſured his Majeſty would not act "but with the utmoſt nicety, in an affair wherein "his glory, and the ſafety of Europe, were ſo "highly concern'd. Second, that the next thing "to be conſidered was the very ill proſpect of what "was like to happen, upon the death of the King "of Spain, in caſe nothing was done previouſly, "towards the providing againſt that accident, "which ſeemed probably to be very near; the "King of France having ſo great a force, in ſuch "a readineſs, that he was in a condition to take "poſſeſſion of Spain, before any other Prince could "be ready to make a ſtand. That his Majeſty, "who was ſo perfectly inform'd of the circum-"ſtances of parts abroad, was the beſt judge whe-"ther this was the caſe: but that ſo far as related to "England, it would be want of duty, not to give "his Majeſty this clear account; that there was "a deadneſs and want of ſpirit in the nation uni-"verſally, ſo as not at all to be diſpoſed to the "thoughts of entring into a new war; and that "they ſeem'd to be tired with taxes, to a degree "beyond what was diſcerned, 'till it appear'd upon "the occaſion of the late elections; and that this "was the truth of the fact, upon which his Ma-"jeſty would determine what reſolutions were pro-"per to be taken. That what remained was,

(1) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that before the King departed for Holland, there came news from Spain, that their King was dying. The French (continues he) upon this ſent a fleet to ly before Cadiz, which came thither at the time the gallions were expected home, from the Weſt-Indies; and, it was apprehended, that if the King had died, they would have ſeized on all that treaſure: we ſent a fleet thither, to ſecure them; but it came too late to have done any ſervice, if it had been needed. This (adds the Biſhop) was much cenſured: but the admiralty excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, that the parliament was ſo late in fixing the funds, for the fleet, that it was not poſſible to be ſooner than they were: However the King of Spain recovered for that time. Hiſtory of his own times.

(2) This propoſal had been made by the French King to the earl of Portland, while he was in France, and it was probably in order to ingage King William to give into it, without ſuſpecting any latent ſubterfuge, that he indeavor'd to dazzle his Majeſty's eyes, by the extraordinary reception he gave to his embaſſador, and by the marks of his eſteem and affection which he gave him in ſeveral letters: which overture King William had communicated to his chancelor before he left England.

(3) Theſe conditions were in ſubſtance, "that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria ſhould have the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, "and the Low-Countries, and all that depended upon the Spaniſh dominions, except Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, the province "of Guipuſcoa, on this ſide of the Pyrenées, Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian, Final, and the places in Tuſcany, of which Spain "ſtood poſſeſſed, in conſideration of which France was abſolutely to renounce the right it pretended to the ſucceſſion of Spain, "and as for Milan, it was to be given to the arch-duke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon (now Emperor)."

"Third,

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" Third, the conſideration, what would be the " condition of Europe, if the propoſal took place? " that of this they thought themſelves little capable " of judging; but it ſeem'd, that if Sicily was in " French hands, they would be intirely maſters of " the Levant-trade; that, if they were poſſeſs'd of " Final, and thoſe other ſea-ports on that ſide, " whereby Milanf would be intirely ſhut out from " relief by ſea, or any other commerce, that duchy " would be of little ſignification in the hands of " any Prince; and that if the King of France had " poſſeſſion of Guipuſcoa, which was mentioned " in the propoſal, beſide the ports he would have " in the ocean, it was apparent there would be as ea- " ſy a way of invading Spain on that ſide, as he now " had on the ſide of Catalonia: but that it was not " to be hoped, that France would quit its " pretences to ſo great a ſucceſſion, without con- " ſiderable advantages; and that they were all " aſſured his Majeſty would reduce the terms as " low as could be done, and make them, as far " as poſſible, in the preſent circumſtances of things, " ſuch as might be ſome foundation, for the future " quiet of Chriſtendom, which, all his ſubjects " could not but be convinced, was his true aim. " That if it could be brought to paſs, that Eng- " land might be ſome way a gainer by this tranſ- " action, whether it was by the Elector of Bava- " ria (who was the gainer by his Majeſty's inter- " poſition in this treaty) his coming to an agree- " ment, to let the Engliſh into ſome trade to the " Spaniſh plantations, or in any other manner, it " would wonderfully indear his Majeſty to his ſub- " jects. That it did not appear, in caſe this ne- " gociation ſhould proceed, what was to be done " on his Majeſty's part, in order to make it take " place; whether any more was required, than " that the Engliſh and Dutch ſhould ſit ſtill, and " France itſelf ſhould ſee it executed? that if it " were ſo, what ſecurity ought to be expected; " that if by their being maſters, the French were " ſucceſsful, the latter would confine themſelves to " the terms of the treaty; and not attempt to make " farther advantages of their ſucceſs?" the lord Sommers concluded theſe prudent and weighty cautions, by telling the King; " that he ſuppoſed " his Majeſty would not think it proper to name " commiſſioners, that were not Engliſh, or natura- " lized, in an affair of this nature."

The negociation was, in the mean time, ſo eagerly carried on, that, on the 29th of Auguſt N. S. ſeveral days before his Majeſty had received the lord Sommers's anſwer, a treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed:

The firſt treaty of partition.

I. " That the peace of Ryſwick ſhould be " confirm'd.

II. " That in conſideration of the ill ſtate of the " King of Spain's health, and for preſerving the " public peace, in caſe the ſaid Prince ſhould die " without iſſue, the kingdom of Naples and " Sicily, with the places then depending upon " the Spaniſh monarchy, ſituated on the coaſts of " Tuſcany, or the adjacent iſlands, comprehended " under the name of Santo-Stephano, Porto-Her- " cole, Orbitello, Telamone, Portolongo, Piom- " bino, the marquiſate of Final, the province of " Guipuſcoa, particularly the towns of Fontarabia " and St. Sebaſtian, and eſpecially Port-Paſſage; " and, likewiſe, all places on the French ſide of " the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, " Alava or Biſcay, on the ſide of the province of " Guipuſcoa, with all the ſhips and gallies, and " other appurtenances belonging to the ſaid gallies, " ſhould be given to the Dauphin, in conſideration " of his right.

III. " That the crown of Spain, and the other " kingdoms, and places, both within and without " Europe, ſhould deſcend to the Electoral Prince of " Bavaria, of whom his father, the Elector, was " to be a guardian and adminiſtrator, till he came " of age.

IV. " That the duchy of Milan ſhould be re- " ſerved and alloted to arch-duke Charles, the " Emperor's ſecond ſon."

This treaty was to be communicated to the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria, by the King of Great-Britain and the States-General; and if they did not agree to it, then the proportion of the party not agreing, ſhould remain in ſequeſtration, 'till things could be brought to an accommodation. And in caſe the Electoral Prince of Bavaria ſhould come to inherit his ſhare, and yet die before his father, without iſſue, the Elector was to ſucceed him in thoſe dominions, and his heir after him. Likewiſe the duchy of Milan, upon the arch-duke's refuſal to accept of it, was to be ſequeſtred and govern'd by the Prince of Vaudemont, and, after him, by his ſon, Prince Charles of Vaudemont.

Intreagues of the marquis de Harcourt.

While the French King was thus decoying King William into the treaty of partition, the marquis de Harcourt, the French embaſſador, at the court of Spain, was ſeting all his engines to work, to pave the way, for a Prince of the houſe of Bourbon, to mount the Spaniſh throne: but the Queen of Spain, who was nearly related to the King of the Romans, and intirely in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, by her vigilance, ſo circumvented his intreagues, that all he could do, for the preſent, was to ingage cardinal Portocarrero in the intereſt of France (1).

Farther intreagues of France.

The French King was no leſs aſſiduous to ſtrengthen his intereſt in the Northern parts of Europe, than in the Southern; to which end he ſought the alliance of the King of Sweden, with whom, at length, he concluded a treaty, at Stockholm, the 9th of July: and as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in order to be in a readineſs, at all events, had cauſed 60,000 of his beſt men to file towards the frontiers of Catalonia and Navarre; and ſent a conſiderable number of his ſhips of war and gallies, into ſeveral ports of Spain; ſo, on the other hand, he cauſed a great camp to be formed at Campiegne, under the pretenſe of inſtructing the duke of Burgundy in the art of war: but which was thought to be deſign'd, to make, upon occaſion, a ſudden irruption into the Spaniſh Netherlands. However, the unexpected recovery of the King of Spain's health, diſpell'd the fears of one party, and diſappointed the hopes of the other, for the preſent.

King William goes to Zell.

King William, having taken a review of the Dutch troops near Arnheim, went, on the 20th of September, to pay a viſit to the duke of Zell, at his reſidence of that name, where he was received with extraordinary reſpect, and was waited upon by ſeveral neighboring Princes and Princeſſes, particularly the Electreſs of Hanover, with the Electoral

(1) By this, and what follows, the reader may form a judgment how juſt the precautions, and how ſalutary the counſels were, which the lord Sommers laid before his Majeſty, tho' they came too late to take effect. This, however, the author of the continuation of Rapin in French denies, and calls it a miſtake of the author of the compleat hiſtory of England. " It is " certain, ſays he, that the treaty was not ſign'd till September, or October; for the beſt writers are divided, as to which " of theſe two months, and even as to what day it was in either. There are very ſtrong reaſons to believe it was not ſign'd till " the 31ſt of October. Book 25. p. 327. Whenever this treaty was ſign'd, the private views France had in it are too evident, and will too plainly appear in the ſequel, to need any illuſtration here.

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Prince and the Princeſs his ſiſter, and at his return to Loo, the duke of Bavaria came thither to pay his acknowlegements to his Majeſty for the care he had taken, in the late treaty of partition, for his intereſt. King William's journy to Zell gave the court of France great uneaſineſs; tho' he had nothing more in view but to cement the union of the Princes of Germany, by a match between the King of the Romans, and the Princeſs of Hanover, which was now agreed on, and ſoon after compleated; and by removing the apprehenſions ſome members of the Empire were under of the growing power of the Emperor. This latter, King William, to his immortal honor, found means to do effectually, in concert with the States, by puting a ſtop to the Hungarian war, which had laſted above fifteen years, and by their joint mediation ſet on foot the conferences at Carlowitz, which ended in the ſeveral treaties of peace and truce between the Turks, the Emperor, the Muſcovites, the Poles and the Venetians (1): and as, by this time, the new King, Auguſtus of Poland, had brought the Cardinal-Primate, who had all along ſtickled for the Prince of Conti, to acknowledge his title, and the troubles of Lithuania were likewiſe compoſed, there ſeemed now to be a univerſal peace ſettled, throughout Chriſtendom: but it proved of ſhort duration, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Treaty of Carlowitz.

King William returns to England.

The 9th of November, O. S. King William arrived at the Hague, from Loo; and having regulated all things neceſſary with the States-general, he imbark'd, the firſt of December, on board the William and Mary-yacht, and ſet ſail from the coaſt of Holland, attended by ſeveral other yachts, and a ſquadron of men of war commanded by ſir Cloudeſly Shovel. The 3d his Majeſty landed at Margate, and the 6th the parliament met.

The parliament meets.

The King being come to the houſe of peers, the chancelor ſignified to the commons his Majeſty's pleaſure, that they ſhould forthwith proceed to the choice of a ſpeaker. The commons, thereupon, returned to their houſe, and having made choice of ſir Thomas Littleton, baronet, preſented him, at the appointed time, to the King, who having declared his approbation of their choice, his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them:

Sir Thomas Littleton choſen ſpeaker.

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" That he had no doubt but they were met together, with hearts fully diſpoſed to do what " was neceſſary for the ſafety, honor, and happi- " neſs of the kingdom, and that was all he had to " aſk of them: that, in order to this, two things " ſeemed principally to require their conſidera- " tion.

" One was, what ſtrength ought to be maintained at ſea, and what force kept up at land, for " this year; that all he ſhould obſerve to them " upon this head was, that the flouriſhing of trade, " the ſupporting of credit, and the quiet of peo- " ples minds at home, would depend upon the " opinion they had of their ſecurity; and that to " preſerve to England the weight and influence it " had at preſent, on the counſels and affairs abroad, " it would be requiſite Europe ſhould ſee they " would not be wanting to themſelves.

" That the ſecond thing he ſhould mention " to them, as of great conſequence, was the mak- " ing ſome farther progreſs towards diſcharging " the debts which the nation had contracted by " reaſon of the long and expenſive war. That " in this, the public intereſt, as well as juſtice, was " concerned, and he thought an Engliſh parliament could never make ſuch a miſtake, as not to " hold ſacred all parliamentary ingagements. He, " therefore, earneſtly recommended theſe things to " the houſe of commons; that they might pro- " vide ſuch ſupplies, as they ſhould judge neceſſary " for theſe ſeveral occaſions; and concluded, by " telling both houſes, that he thought it would be " happy, if ſome effectual expedient could be found, " for imploying the poor, which might tend to the " great increaſe of our manufactures, as well as to " remove a heavy burden from the people: that " he hoped alſo they would imploy their thoughts " about ſome good bills for the advancement " of trade, and for the farther diſcouraging of " vice and prophaneneſs: and theſe things which he " now mentioned to them, being of common con- " cern, he could not but hope for unanimity " and diſpatch."

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It is remarkable, that the King, in this ſpeech, does not ſo much as mention the partition-treaty he had ſo lately concluded abroad; his Majeſty, for what reaſons I ſhall not pretend to determine, making it a ſecret, as well to the privy-council as the parliament. It appears, however, by this ſpeech, that the King was deſirous of having a good body of land-forces kept on foot, as well as a good navy maintained at ſea, to compel the execution of that treaty, if upon the King of Spain's death, France ſhould attempt to fly off from it: but the parliament not being acquainted (at leaſt not in form) with this treaty, did not apprehend it neceſſary, to have a great army on foot, in time of peace; the firſt reſolution, they, therefore, came to, in this ſeſſion was; " that all the land-forces " in Engliſh pay, exceeding 7000 men (and thoſe " conſiſting of his Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects) " be forthwith paid off and diſbanded: and that " all the forces in Ireland, exceeding 12,000 men, " (and thoſe his Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects, to " be kept and maintained by the kingdom of Ire- " land) be, likewiſe, forthwith diſbanded, and they " ordered a bill to be brought in, purſuant to that " reſolution," which had a quick paſſage thro' both houſes. Theſe proceedings occaſioned a great clamor, and it was ſtrongly urged, " that this great " reform would leave the kingdom naked, and " expoſed to the enemy:" but, on the other hand, it was argued, that the King had ſtill an army of 24 or 25,000 men, viz. the 7000 in England, 12,000 in Ireland, and 4 or 5000 in Scotland, and beſide, that all the officers of the late army were kept either in whole or half-pay; ſo that, at a very ſhort warning, the Engliſh army might have been increaſed to 50,000 men. But even allowing all this, if the nation had been in diſtreſs, either by an invaſion, from abroad, or an inſurrection at home, it would have found but very little ſafety, from theſe troops, ſo diſperſed in the three kingdoms.

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Theſe proceedings could not but make the King very uneaſy: however, his Majeſty conſidering, that to contend with the commons would but be to kick againſt the pricks, went to the houſe of lords, on the firſt of February, and gave the royal aſſent to, " Firſt, an act for granting an aid of 800,000 l. for " the effectual diſbanding of the army. Second, an " act to prevent the making or ſelling of buttons " made of cloth, ſerge, druget or other ſtuff. " Third, an act to prohibit the exportation of any " corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biſcuit or ſtarch, " for one year;" and ſome private bills. On this occaſion, his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

Acts paſs'd.

(1) By this peace, the Emperor preſerved his late acquiſitions, and vaſtly inlarged his territories: the Poles had the important place of Caminieck reſtored to them, with other advantages: the Muſcovites were gainers by the keeping of Aſſoff: and the Venetians had all the Morea, and ſeveral fortreſſes in Dalmatia, yielded up to them; ſo that the Turks loſt the beſt half of their dominions in Europe.

My

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My lords and gentlemen,

The King's speech to both houses.

" I am come to paſs this bill (meaning the mony-bill) as ſoon as I underſtood it was ready for me; tho', in our preſent circumſtances, there appears great hazard in breaking ſuch a number of the troops; and tho' I might think myſelf unkindly uſed, that thoſe guards, who came over with me, to your aſſiſtance, and have conſtantly attended me, in all the actions wherein I have been ingaged, ſhould be removed from me; yet it is my fix'd opinion, that nothing can be ſo fatal to us, as that any diſtruſt or jealouſy ſhould ariſe between me and my people; which I muſt own, would have been very unexpected, after what I have undertaken, ventured and acted, for the reſtoring and ſecuring of their liberties.

" I have thus plainly told you the only reaſon, which has induced me to paſs this bill; and now I think myſelf obliged, in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in me, and for my own juſtification, that no ill conſequences may ly at my door, to tell you as plainly my judgment, that the nation is left too much expoſed.

" It is, therefore, incumbent upon you, to take this matter into your ſerious conſideration, and effectually to provide ſuch a ſtrength as is neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and the preſervation of the peace, which GOD has given us.

Addreſs of the commons.

The commons, hereupon, unanimouſly voted an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, which was preſented, the fourth, by the whole houſe; wherein they ſet forth;

" How ſenſible they were of the difficulties and labors he had ſuſtained; and the hazards he had run in reſcuing their religion, and liberties, and giving peace to Chriſtendom; they thank'd him for his good will and affection to his people, and the undeniable proofs he gave to comply with their deſires in parliament, and, laſtly, aſſured him, he ſhould never have reaſon to think his commons undutiful or unkind to him, but that they would always ſupport his perſon and government, againſt all his enemies.

In anſwer to this, the King told them:

The King's anſwer.

" That he was fully ſatisfied of their duty and affection, and had no doubt but they would always act in the manner they had expreſſed on this occaſion.

Addreſs of the lords.

The lords, likewiſe, preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty on this occaſion; " thanking him for his willingneſs to diſband the army, as well as for his great care and concern for the ſafety of the kingdom upon all occaſions, aſſuring his Majeſty, that, at all times, for the ſafety of the kingdom, and the preſervation of the peace, which GOD had given them, they would aſſiſt and defend his Majeſty, againſt all his enemies, both at home and abroad:" for which addreſs, the King returned them his thanks.

The army reduced to 7000 men.

By theſe addreſſes it plainly appeared, that neither of the houſes ſeemed inclined to indulge the King, in keeping on foot a greater number of troops; upon which, his Majeſty wiſely gave into what he found would be to no purpoſe to oppoſe, and gave effectual orders for reducing the army, according to the late act: but he retained a greater number of horſe than foot, according to the uſual proportion, as likewiſe a larger number of officers, than that body of troops required. Amidſt theſe compliances, his Majeſty could not, however, conceal the reluctance he had of being obliged to ſend away his Dutch guards; a regiment, which he ſet the greater value upon, as they had attended his perſon from the cradle, followed his fortune every where, and to whom, beſide many other ſignal ſervices, he thought the famous victory of the Boyne chiefly owing; with theſe, I ſay, his Majeſty had the utmoſt regret to part. He therefore, on the 18th of March, ſent the following meſſage to the commons by the lord Ranelagh, not only ſigned, but all written with his own hand.

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The King's meſſage about the Dutch guards.

" His Majeſty is pleaſed to let the houſe know, " that the neceſſary preparations are made for tranſporting the guards, who came with him into " England; and that he intends to ſend them " away immediately, unleſs, out of conſideration " to him, the houſe be diſpoſed to find a way for " continuing them longer in his ſervice, which " his Majeſty would take very kindly." W. R.

The queſtion was hereupon propoſed; that a day be appointed to conſider of his Majeſty's meſſage: but it was rejected, and inſtead thereof, they voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, in which they repreſented:

The addreſs of the commons thereupon.

" That the paſſing the late act for diſbanding the " army gave great ſatisfaction to the ſubjects, and " the readineſs his Majeſty had expreſſed, to com- " ply with the punctual execution thereof, would pre- " vent all occaſions of diſtruſt and jealouſy between " his Majeſty and his people.

" That it was an unſpeakable grief to them, his " Majeſty ſhould be adviſed to propoſe any thing, " to which they could not conſent, with due regard " to that conſtitution his Majeſty came over to re- " ſtore, and had ſo often expoſed himſelf to pre- " ſerve; reminding him of his declaration, that all " the forein forces he brought over ſhould be ſent " back.

" In duty therefore, to his Majeſty, and to diſ- " charge the truſt repoſed in them, they begged " leave to lay before him, that nothing conduced " more to the happineſs and welfare of this king- " dom, than an intire confidence between his Ma- " jeſty and his people, which could no way be ſo " firmly eſtabliſhed, as by intruſting his ſacred per- " ſon, with his own ſubjects, who had ſo eminent- " ly ſignalized themſelves during the late long " and expenſive war.

This addreſs being reported, the 20th of March, to the houſe, a motion was made, and the queſtion put, that it ſhould be re-commited, which having paſſed in the negative, the addreſs was preſented, the 24th, to his Majeſty, by the whole houſe.

The King's anſwer.

To this, the King replied, " that he came hither " to reſtore the ancient conſtitution of this govern- " ment; that he had all poſſible regard to it ſince " his coming, and was reſolved, thro' the courſe of " his reign, to indeavor to preſerve it intire, in all " the parts of it. That he had a full confidence in " the affections of his people, and was well aſſured, " they had the ſame in him; and as to his ſub- " jects, who had ſerved in the army, he was an " eye-witneſs of their bravery and zeal for his perſon " and government, and had all the reaſon to rely " upon them, that a Prince could have; he was ſa- " tisfied, that there was not a man among them " capable of entertaining a thought, that what " was propoſed in his meſſage, proceeded from any " miſtruſt of them.

" That it ſhould be his ſtudy to perform the part " of a juſt and good King; and as he ſhould ever " be nicely careful of obſerving his promiſes to his " ſubjects ſo he would not doubt of their tender " regard for him.

The Dutch guards return to Holland.

Hereupon his Majeſty finding the commons not to be removed from their reſolutions, the Dutch guards were ſoon after ſhipped off for Holland.

Acts paſſed.

The ſame day, the King came to the houſe of lords and gave the royal aſſent, 1. " To an act to prevent " the exceſſive diſtilling of ſpirits and low-wines " from corn, and againſt the exporting of beer and " ale, and to prevent frauds in diſtillers. 2. An " act to inlarge the trade to Ruſſia. 3. An act for

" preventing

" preventing irregular proceedings of ſheriffs and " other officers, in making the returns of members " choſen to ſerve in parliament. 4. An act for the " clearing, repairing and maintaining the haven and " peers of Great Yarmouth, in the county of " Norfolk. 5. An act for making and keeping the " river Tone navigable, from Bridgwater to Taun- " ton in the county of Sommerſet.

Miſmanagements of the navy inquir'd into.

The army being thus diſbanded, the commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the navy, and after a ſtrict examination of the preſent and paſt management of the maritime affairs, preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, complaining of ſome miſconduct therein.

Addreſs of the commons thereupon.

In particular they repreſented, that the Streights ſquadron not ſailing 'till September laſt was prejudicial to England, and a great miſmanagement. That the orders made by the commiſſioners of the admiralty, the 12th of September 1695, giving Henry Prieſtman, eſq; an allowance of ten ſhillings per diem, from the date of his commiſſion, as commander in chief, before Sallee, in the year 1684, 'till the ſhip Bonadventure was paid off, over and above his pay, as captain of the ſaid ſhip, was very unreaſonable, and a miſapplication of the public mony. That the victualling any of his Majeſty's ſhips, by others than by the victualers appointed for that ſervice, or their agents, was contrary to the courſe of the navy, and might be of ill conſequence. That many new and unneceſſary charges had, in an extraordinary manner, been introduced into the navy, which was a great miſmanagement. That the deductions of poundage, taken by the paymaſters of the navy, for ſlop-cloths, dead-mens wages, tobacco, cheſt at Chatham, chaplain and ſurgeon was without warrant, and ought to be accounted for. That it was inconſiſtent with the ſervice of the navy, for the ſame perſon to be one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral, and treaſurer of the navy, at the ſame time. And that the paſſing of any account of monies impreſſed for the contingent uſes of the navy, without regular vouchers, or ſuch other proof as the nature of the ſervice would admit, either with or without a ſign manual, was contrary to the rules and methods of the navy, and of dangerous conſequence. All which they beged leave to lay before his Majeſty, deſiring that he would be graciouſly pleaſed, to take effectual care, that the miſmanagements herein complained of might be prevented for the future (1).

The King's anſwer.

His Majeſty's anſwer was; " That he would " conſider their addreſs; that it was his deſire, that " all ſorts of miſmanagements and irregularities " ſhould be prevented or redreſſed; and that they " might be aſſured he would take the beſt care he " could in relation to the navy, the right ma- " nagement whereof was of ſo great concern to he " kingdom."

The diſaffected, and more eſpecially the Papiſts, being very elate upon the diſbanding of the army, the commons thought fit to take notice of it, in the following addreſs to his Majeſty:

Addreſs of the commons againſt Papiſts &c.

" We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſub- " jects, the commons in parliament aſſembled, having " obſerved the great concourſe to this city of Pa- " piſts and other diſaffected perſons, who have not " owned your Majeſty to be lawful and rightful " King of theſe realms, and the boldneſs they aſ- " ſume from your Majeſty's unexpected clemency, " not only to keep horſes and arms, contrary to law, " but alſo to frequent all public places of reſort, " near your two houſes of parliament, and even to " approach near your royal palaces, whereby they " may have opportunities to perpetrate any wicked " attempt againſt your perſon, on the ſafety and " preſervation whereof our religion and liberties, " and the peace and welfare, not only of theſe " kingdoms, but of all Europe, do in a very great " meaſure depend.

" And having alſo conſidered the many plots and " conſpiracies againſt your Majeſty's perſon and go- " ment, but eſpecially the late horrid intended aſ- " ſaſſination, contrived and carried on, not only by " Papiſts (whoſe religion and intereſt might lead " them to it) but even by ſuch who at their death " (to the great ſcandal of our religion) profeſſed " and owned themſelves to be members of the " church of England, which chiefly (under God) " owes its preſervation and defenſe to your Majeſty, " and whoſe doctrines are directly oppoſite to all " ſuch inhuman and treaſonable practiſes.

" And having alſo certain information, that great " numbers of Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, within " this city, and parts adjacent, intrude themſelves " into the preſenſe of ſick and dying perſons, with " deſign to prevail upon them, in their weakneſs, " to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and " daily indeavor to pervert and ſeduce from their al- " legiance, your Majeſty's good ſubjects, in poiſoning " them with their wicked and damnable doctrines and " principles, and that they have imported great " quantities of Popiſh books, to keep ſchools to " breed up and inſtruct children in the Romiſh " ſuperſtition and idolatry.

" We, therefore, hold ourſelves obliged, for " quieting the minds of your good ſubjects, and " in duty to your Majeſty, to intreat that you " will be graciouſly pleaſed (in order to ſuppreſs " ſuch practiſes, of the reſtleſs and notorious " enemies of your government) to iſſue out your " royal proclamation, for removing all Papiſts " and others, who diſown your Majeſty's govern- " ment, from the city of London, and parts ad- " jacent, according to the laws; and that the laws " may be put in execution againſt them, in ſuch " manner, that their wicked deſigns may be effectu- " ally diſappointed.

The King's anſwer.

To this addreſs his Majeſty anſwered: " He " would take care that the laws ſhould be put in " execution, according to the deſire of the com- " mons: and, in order thereunto, on the ſecond of " March, he cauſed his royal proclamation to be " publiſh'd.

A ſupply granted.

I return now to the ſupply: the 18th of February, the commons reſolved; " that 15,000 men be im- " ployed, for a ſummer and winter guard of the " ſea, for the year 1699, and that they ſhould " conſiſt of ſeamen only (2)."

Ways and Means.

The 9th of March, they ordered a bill to be brought in, " for granting to his Majeſty the ſum " of 1,484,015 l. (including the 800,000 l. before " voted) for diſbanding and paying off the army, " providing for the fleet, maintaining the guards " and gariſons, and for other neceſſary occaſions;" to raiſe which ſum, they reſolved, " that an aid " of three ſhillings in the pound be laid upon all " lands, penſions, offices and perſonal eſtates, to

(1) This addreſs of the houſe of commons was chiefly levelled againſt the earl of Orford, who was both treaſurer of the navy, and one of the lords-commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England, and who it was believed had been a great gainer by his late expedition in the Mediterranean; tho' it was likewiſe thought by many, that the riches he acquired there proceeded from preſents he received from the States he protected, and not from any undue practices. However, his lordſhip ſeing what ſtorm was gathering againſt him, thought it prudence to retreat, and lay down all his imploys.

(2) The reaſon of this was, leſt the King, under the notion of marines, ſhould keep more ſtanding forces, than the 7000 men already mentioned.

" be

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" be rated according to the proportions laid upon " the ſeveral counties, cities, towns, and places, by " an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for granting " to his Majeſty the like ſum of 1,484,015 l.

Proviſion ordered for ſeveral debts.

The 28th, the commons reſolved; " that proviſion be made, from time to time, for making " good the principal and intereſt, due on all the " parliamentary funds, granted ſince his Majeſty's " happy acceſſion to the crown; and particularly, " that farther proviſion be made, within the year " 1699, for the exchequer-bills; that proviſion be " made both for ſecuring and paying off the prin- " cipal and intereſt, due on the aid of three ſhillings " in the pound, granted in the year 1697, the " duties on paper, vellom and parchment; and on " ſuch of the malt-tickets, as were or ſhould prove " deficient: for paying and diſcharging the arrears " of the annuities lately charged on the tonage- " duties, and now on the aditional exciſe: for " ſecuring and paying the debt due for tranſport- " ſervice, performed at any time ſince the begin- " ing of the late war.

The 31ſt, they took the ſame reſolution, " for " giving half-pay to the commiſſion-officers (his " Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects of England) of " horſe, dragoons and foot, diſbanded and to be " diſbanded, 'till the ſaid officers ſhould be fully " paid off, or otherwiſe provided for: for ſecur- " ing and paying the arrears due to the general- " officers of the army upon the Engliſh eſtabliſh- " ment, and for ſecuring and paying the arrears of " pay and ſubſiſtence, due to the officers and ſoldiers " of the army, upon the Engliſh eſtabliſhment (1).

Petition of the old Eaſt-India company.

I have already given an account of the eſtabliſhment of the new Eaſt-India-company, by which the old company thought themſelves ſo aggrieved, that, in hopes of obtaining ſome relief, they preſented, the 24th of February, a petition to the commons, praying: " that their caſe might be " taken into conſideration; and that this houſe " would make ſome proviſion, that their corpora- " tion might ſubſiſt, for the reſidue of the term of " twenty-one years, granted by his Majeſty's " charter.

" That the payment of the five per cent, by the " late act for ſettling the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, " might be ſettled and adjuſted, in ſuch a man- " ner, as it might not remain a burden upon the " petitioners: and that ſuch farther conſideration " might be had for the petitioners relief, and for the " preſervation of the Eaſt-India-trade to England, " as ſhould be thought meet."

A bill in their favor rejected.

The commons having taken this petition into conſideration, ordered, the 27th of February, a bill to be brought in, purſuant thereunto; but it was rejected, the 9th of the next Month, without coming to a ſecond reading.

Acts paſs'd.

The 4th of May, the King came to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent, Firſt, to " an " act for granting to his Majeſty the ſum of " 1.484,015 l. for diſbanding the army, provid- " ing for the navy, and for other neceſſary occa- " ſions. Second, an act for levying farther duties " upon ſweets, and for leſſening the duties on vine- " gar, certain low wines, whale-fins, and brandies " imported; and for the more eaſy raiſing the " duties upon leather, and for charging cinders, " and for permiting the importation of pearl-aſhes, " and for preventing abuſes in the brewing of " beer and ale, and frauds in importation of to- " bacco. Third, an act for the more effectual charg- " ing the duties upon rock-ſalt. Fourth, an act to " incourage the trade to Newfoundland. Fifth, an " act to prevent the exportation of wool out of the " kingdoms of Ireland and England, into forein " parts, and for the incouragement of the woollen " manufactures of the kingdom. Sixth, an act for " limiting certain times, within which writs of er- " ror ſhall be brought, for the reverſing fines, " common recoveries, and ancient judgments. " Seventh, an act for raiſing the militia, for the " year 1699, altho' the month's pay, formerly ad- " vanced, be not repaid. Eighth, an act for the " better apprehending and puniſhing houſe- " breakers, robbers and horſe-ſtealers. Ninth, " an act for making Billingſgate a free market, for " the ſale of fiſh. Tenth, an act for continuing " the act for the more eaſy recovery of ſmall " tithes. Eleventh, an act for ſuppreſſing of Lot- " teries. Twelfth, an act for taking off the re- " maining duties upon glaſs-wares. Thirteenth, " an act for making and keeping navigable the " rivers of Air and Calder, in the county of York. " Fourteenth, an act to inable poſthumous chil- " dren to take eſtates, as if born in their father's " life-time. Fifteenth, an act to inable ſuch officers " and ſoldiers, as have been in his Majeſty's ſer- " vice, during the late wars, to exerciſe trades, " and for officers to account with their ſoldiers. " Sixteenth, an act for continuing the impriſon- " ment of Counter, and others, for the late horrid " conſpiracy, to aſſaſſinate the perſon of his ſacred " Majeſty. Seventeenth, an act for making and " keeping the river Trent, in the counties of " Leiceſter, Derby, and Stafford navigable. Eigh- " teenth, an act for ſettling augmentations on cer- " tain vicariges for ever: " and to ſeveral private acts.

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After this, his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes;

My lords and gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" At the opening this parliament, I told you " my opinion was, that you were come together, " with hearts fully diſpoſed to do what was neceſſary " for the ſafety, honor and happineſs of the king- " dom; and having nothing elſe to recommend to " you, I had reaſon to hope for unanimity and " diſpatch.

" You have now ſat ſo many months that the " ſeaſon of the year, as well as your particular af- " fairs, make it reaſonable you ſhould have a " receſs. I take it for granted you have finiſh'd " all the bills which, for the preſent, you think " requiſite to be paſs'd into laws, and I have given " my aſſent to all you have preſented me. If any " thing ſhould be found wanting for our ſafety, " the ſupport of public credit, by making good " the faith of the kingdom, as it ſtands ingaged " by parliamentary ſecurities, and for diſcharge " of the debts occaſioned by the war, or towards " advancing of trade, the ſuppreſſing of vice, and " the imploying of the poor, which were all the " things I propoſed to your conſideration, when " we met firſt, I cannot doubt but effectual care " will be taken of them next winter; I wiſh no " inconvenience may happen in the mean time."

The parliament prorogued.

This done, the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament to the 1ſt of June next.

I muſt now give a brief account, of ſome tranſactions which happened during the latter part of this ſeſſion of parliament.

The King's order to the play-houſes.

His Majeſty, who had always the reformation of manners at heart, ſent an order, on the 18th of February, to both play-houſes, importing: " that " his Majeſty being informed, that notwithſtand- " ing an order made, the 4th of June 1697, by " the earl of Sunderland, then lord chamberlain " of his Majeſty's houſhold, to prevent the pro- " phaneneſs and immorality of the ſtage, ſeveral " plays had lately been acted, containing expreſſi- " ons contrary to religion, and good manners;

(1) Theſe reſolutions were not, however, put in execution, this ſeſſion.

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" and whereas the maſter of the revels had repre-
" ſented, that in contempt of the ſaid order, the
" actors did neglect to leave out ſuch prophane and
" indecent expreſſions, as he had thought proper
" to be omited, therefore, it was his Majeſty's
" pleaſure, that they ſhould not hereafter pre-
" ſume to act any thing, in any play, contrary to
" religion and good manners, as they ſhould an-
" ſwer it at their utmoſt peril.

The maſter of the revels was at the ſame time commanded not to licenſe any plays, containing irreligious or immoral expreſſions; and to give notice to the lord chamberlain, or in his abſenſe to the vice-chamberlain, if the players preſumed to act any thing, which he had ſtruck out (1).

Proclamation for a general faſt.

The 12th of March, his Majeſty's proclamation was iſſued, for a general faſt to be obſerved throughout the kingdom, to implore God's mercy, for ſuch as ſuffered abroad, for the Proteſtant religion.

Trials of the lords Warwick and Mohun,

The 28th, Edward earl of Warwick was brought to his trial, in Weſtminſter-hall, before the houſe of peers, for the murder of Richard Coote, eſq; and was found guilty of manſlaughter only; and the next day, Charles lord Mohun, was tried for the ſame fact and acquited. The caſe was this: theſe two noble peers, with mr. Coote, and three other gentlemen, were drinking late at night, at Locket's (then a famous tavern in the Strand) and ſome words ariſing, they all took chairs, and were carried to Leiceſter-fields, where they ingaged three againſt three, and Coote was killed, but by whom it did not certainly appear (2).

Preferments.

The duke of Shrewſbury, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, being in a declining ſtate of health, reſigned that poſt, in order to travel into Italy, and was ſucceeded, the 14th of May, by the earl of Jerſey, then lately returned from his embaſſy at the court of France; where he was ſucceeded by the earl of Mancheſter. And the 18th the King declared, Thomas earl of Pembroke lord preſident of the council; and John lord viſcount Lonſdale, lord privy-ſeal, in his room.

Lords-juſtices appointed.

The 31ſt, the King nominated the following perſons lords-juſtices, for the adminiſtration of the government, during his Majeſty's abſenſe, viz. the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, the lord-preſident, the lord privy-ſeal, the duke of Devon, the earls of Bridgwater, Marlborough and Jerſey, and mr. Montague, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury.

King William goes to Holland.

The 1ſt of June, the King left Kenſington, and imbarking the next day at Martgate landed ſafely, the day following, at Orange-polder, from whence he went to the Hague; where I ſhall leave his Majeſty to give an account of the affairs of Scotland and Ireland.

Scotiſh affairs.

Tho' the ſituation of the Scotiſh India-company's affairs gave that whole nation no ſmall uneaſineſs, and notwithſtanding the company had met with ſeveral repulſes in England, their court of directors wrote, towards the begining of the year to the lord Seafield, to put him in mind of ſeconding their petition, and the parliament's addreſs to his Majeſty; to which his lordſhip anſwered, the 7th of February;

" that he had repreſented their petition to the King,
" and that he was commanded to let them know,
" that there being accounts, that the ſhips belong-
" ing to the company were arrived on the coaſts of
" America, and the particular deſign not being
" communicated to his Majeſty, he, therefore,
" delayed giving any anſwer, 'till he received cer-
" tain information of their ſettlement."

This intimation being given the company, by the King's orders, their council-general wrote a letter to his Majeſty, on the 21ſt of March, importing; Will' III. An' 1699.

" that they had arrived ſafe at their intended port,
" within a league of the Golden-iſland, on the
" coaſts of Darien; and after having treated, on
" board their ſhips, with the natives, who were al-
" ways owned to be the only proprietors of that
" part of the coaſt, their men had, at the requeſt,
" and with the conſent of the ſaid natives, landed
" on the 4th of November 1698, and taken poſ-
" ſeſſion of an uninhabited place, never before occu-
" pied by any European whomſoever; and that,
" in purſuance of the ſaid treaty, the chief men
" and leaders of the ſaid natives, had joined with
" and taken commiſſion from the ſaid council. That
" they thought it their duty, at their firſt meet-
" ing, to give his Majeſty an account thereof,
" and likewiſe, that by letters from the ſaid coun-
" cil, bearing date at NewEdinburg, in Caledonia,
" (the name of their new ſettlement) the 28th of
" December, they were poſitively informed, that
" the French had a deſign upon all that coaſt, or
" or leaſt to make a ſettlement ſomewhere there-
" abouts: and they humbly conceived, that the firſt
" ſettlement of their colony, in thoſe parts, might
" be a means of preventing, or at leaſt leſſening the
" evil conſequences that might ariſe to his Majeſty's
" kingdoms and dominions every where, by the
" ſettlement of any powerful foreign neighbor in,
" upon, or near any part of that coaſt. And that,
" as they were always bound thankfully to acknow-
" lege his Majeſty's goodneſs, for granting them
" thoſe privileges mentioned in the acts of parlia-
" ment, and his Majeſty's letters-patent, by which
" their company was eſtabliſhed; ſo they did, in
" all humility, confidently expect his Majeſty's
" royal favor and protection, as having, in all
" the ſteps of their conduct, tho' the whole courſe
" of that affair, ſtrictly obſerved the conditions re-
" quired by the ſaid act of parliament, and letters-
" patent: and they refered that, together with the
" contents of their laſt petition to his Majeſty's
" royal conſideration, to give ſuch directions there-
" in, as in his royal wiſdom ſhould ſeem meet and
" expedient."

This ſettlement, in the mean time, gave alarm to " all the nations of Europe, who had plantations in that neighbourhood:" and eſpecially the Spaniards, who thinking themſelves more immediately concerned, their embaſſador in England preſented a memorial to his Majeſty, on the 3d of May; in which they termed this undertaking of the Scots, an inſult upon his Catholic Majeſty's ſovereign dominions in America, and particularly in the province of Darien, and as a rupture of the alliance ſubſiſting between the two kiugdoms of Great-Britain and Spain: adding, that his Majeſty would take ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think convenient, to reſiſt ſuch hoſtilities and unjuſt procedures, The company were unwilling, after the great expences they had been at, to abandon their deſign; and, therefore to juſtify the legality of their ſettlement, in oppoſition to the pretentions of the Spaniards or any other nation whatſoever, and to ſhew that it could be no prejudice to the Engliſh but rather an advantage, they made ſeveral long repreſentations to his Majeſty: but the King and council muſt have thought otherwiſe; for, on the 8th of April, the governor of Jamaica by expreſs commands from his Majeſty, ſignified to him by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, iſſued a proclamation, " forbiding all manner of

(1) This reſtraint upon the play-houſes was, perhaps, in ſome meaſure, occaſion'd by " mr. Jeremy Collier's view of the " immorality and prophaneneſs of the Engliſh ſtage," publiſhed not long before.

(2) The earl claiming the benefit of his peerage, according to the ſtatute, in that caſe provided, was there upon, diſcharged: but was adviſed, by the lord chancellor, who was conſtituted lord high-ſteward for the day, not to offend again, becauſe he could injoy that benefit but once.

inter-

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" intercourſe between any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, " and the colony of Darien, or the furniſhing them " with any aſſiſtance of arms and ammunition, pro- " viſions, or any other neceſſaries whatſoever, at " their utmoſt peril. And the like proclamations " were about the ſame time, iſſued by the governor " of Barbadoes, New York and New England."

The Spaniards making, in the mean while, great preparations in America, to diſlodge the Scots, the council of Caledonia had again recourſe to his Majeſty's clemency and protection, in an addreſs preſented in the month of September, about which time, the Spaniſh embaſſador preſented a ſecond memorial againſt this Scotiſh ſettlement, as did likewiſe the French embaſſador another, which occaſioned a ſecond petition from the company to the King to implore his protection, to which his Majeſty directed the lord Seafield to anſwer; " that he very " much regreted the loſs, which that kingdom and " the company had lately ſuſtained: that he would " upon all occaſions protect and incourage the trade " of the nation: and would alſo take care, that " the ſubjects of that kingdom ſhould have the " ſame freedom of trade and commerce, with the " Engliſh plantations, as they ever had formerly:" and as for the parliament (which they had begged might be allowed to meet) his Majeſty ordered them to be acquainted, " that it was adjourned to the " 5th of March next inſuing, and that he would " cauſe them to meet, as ſoon as he judged the " good of the nation required it."

Affairs of Ireland.

The commons of England having voted, as we have ſeen above, that 12,000 men ſhould be maintained in Ireland, the parliament of that kingdom applied themſelves to find the neceſſary funds for that purpoſe: and on the 26th of January, the lords-juſtices gave the royal aſſent, 1. " To an " act for raiſing 120,000 l. on all lands, tenements " and hereditaments, in Ireland. 2. An act to " compleat the ſupply to his Majeſty, and to build " and finiſh the barracks. 3. An act for laying an " additional duty upon woollen manufactures export- " ed out of that kingdom. 4. An act for making " improvements on church-lands. 5. An act for " confirming eſtates and poſſeſſions injoyed under " the acts of ſettlement and explanation. 6. An act " for the preſervation of the game. 7. An act " againſt deceitful, diſorderly and exceſſive gaming. " 8. An act for planting and preſerving timber- " trees. 9. An act to prevent Papiſts being ſolli- " citors. 10. An act for determining differencces by " arbitration. 11. An act for explaining an act for " confirming the acts of ſettlement and explana- " tion. 12. An act to hinder the reverſal of ſeveral " outlawries." And to ſome other as well private as public bills.

Spencer Cowper's

While the King was abroad, a remarkable trial came on at Hertford, which, at that time, was ſo much the converſation of the town, that it might be look'd upon as a neglect to paſs it by wholly in ſilence; I mean that of Spencer Cowper, eſq; then an eminent counſel, and afterwards a judge, for the pretended murder of mrs. Sarah Stout, a young Quaker at Hertford. She was not only a client, but an intimate acquaintance of mr. Cowper's, and was, at the ſame time, in great intimacy with his wife. Mr. Cowper coming down to Hertford, as counſel at the Lent aſſizes of this year, came late that night the judge came in, to mrs. Stout's, the mother of the unfortunate young woman, with a deſign, as it was ſaid, to ly at her houſe; but, while his bed was warming, the young lady and he, ſiting by themſelves, in the parlor, had ſome words; upon which he went to his inn and lay there, and ſhe was found, the next morning, drowned, in the river, a little diſtance from the town. The whole body of Quakers, thereupon, pretended, Cowper had hired certain perſons, who came with him to Hertford, to murder her, if he had not a hand in it himſelf; and being indicted, he was tried for it accordingly: preſumptions were likewiſe ſo ſtrong againſt him, that all his eloquence, in his own defence, with that of his brother, afterwards lord chancelor, for him, and the joint intereſt they had in that country, were but barely ſufficient to bring him off. Being, however, acquited, a writ of appeal was lodg'd againſt him: but on occaſion of ſome practices to deſtroy it, that affair came before the court of King's-bench, where it dropp'd: upon this, the whole body of Quakers indeavor'd to revive it by an act of parliament, in order to try him again: but, on this occaſion, it appeared, that the intereſt of the Cowper's was more powerful than that of the Quakers, for their petition was rejected: for farther particulars, I ſhall refer the reader to the ſtate-trials (1).

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Before I return to his Majeſty in Holland, I ſhall ſay a word or two of maritime affairs: I juſt hinted, among the tranſactions of the foregoing year, that rear-admiral Bembow ſailed the 20th of November, with a ſmall ſquadron, for the Weſt-Indies: his inſtructions were to viſit Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Caribbee-iſlands, and ſo to imploy the ſhips under his command, as might be moſt proper, for the defenſe of the trade and plantations: he was, likewiſe, inſtructed to demand ſatisfaction of the Spaniards, for ſeveral depredations they had commited on our ſhips, goods and men: and as the government was informed, that one Kidd, who ſailed from England, a conſiderable time before, on a private account, in a ſhip called the Adventure-gally, with a commiſſion, under the great ſeal, and power to ſeize on pirats, and their effects, had ſo far broke his inſtructions, and, indeed, the real and only deſign of his voyage, as to commit ſeveral notorious piracies himſelf; the rear-admiral was particularly charged, to make diligent inquiry after him, and to ſeize on and ſecure his perſon, together with his men, ſhip, and effects, that ſo they might be brought to deſerved puniſhment.

Maritime affairs.

As the affair of Kidd made, afterwards no little noiſe, and I ſhall have occaſion to make farther mention of it, I ſhall give the reader a brief account, for what reaſon, and in what manner he was ſent to ſea.

Some pirates (ſays biſhop Burnet) had got together in the Indian-ſeas, and robb'd ſome of the Mogul's ſhips, in particular one, which he was ſending with preſents to Mocca; moſt of which pirats were Engliſh. The Eaſt-India-company having repreſented the danger of the Mogul's taking reprizals of them for theſe loſſes, it appeared that there was a neceſſity of deſtroying theſe pirats, who were harboring themſelves in ſome creek in Madagaſcar: ſo a man of war was to be ſet out to deſtroy them, and one Kidd, who knew their haunts, and was thought a proper man for the ſervice, was pitch'd upon to command it: but there was not a fund to

(1) Upon the whole, I do not find it appears, that mr. Cowper was guilty of the murder: it is certain, ſhe was very fond of, and ſome ſay even troubleſome to him: and it was, thereupon ſuggeſted, that the impoſſibility of having him for a huſband, or his ſlighting her, had driven her to deſpair. It was inſinuated, ſome ſay by mr. Cowper's friends, that ſhe was with child by him, and that ſhe drowned herſelf to avoid the ſhame: but the Quakers, to remove this ſcandal, had her opened, and proved, that there was not the leaſt ground for this report. It is highly probable, that matters had not gone this length, eſpecially as the unfortunate young woman did not want good ſenſe to rule her conduct, except in this unhappy inſtance, and generally bore a fair and virtuous character.

bear

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bear the charge of this: for the parliament had ſo appropriated the mony given for the ſea, that no part of it could be applied to this expedition. The King propoſed the management of it by a private undertaking, and ſaid he would lay down three thouſand pounds himſelf, and recommended it to his miniſters to find the reſt: in compliance with this, the lord Sommers, the earls of Orford, Rumney, Bellamount, and ſome others, contributed the whole expence; for the King excuſed himſelf, by reaſon of other accidents, and did not advance the ſum, that he had promiſed: lord Sommers underſtood nothing of the matter, and left it wholly to the management of others, ſo that he never ſaw Kidd, only he thought it became the poſt he was in, to concur in ſuch a public ſervice. A grant was made to the undertakers of all that ſhould be taken from thoſe pirats, by their ſhip. Here was a handle for complaint; for as it was againſt law to take a grant of the goods of any offenders before conviction, ſo a parity between that and this caſe was urged; but without any reaſon: the proviſions of law being very different, in the caſe of pirates, and that of other criminals. The former cannot be attack'd but in the way of war; and, therefore, ſince thoſe, who undertook this, muſt run a great riſk in executing it, it was but reaſonable, and according to the law of war, that they ſhould have a right to all that they found in the enemy's hands; whereas thoſe who ſeize common offenders, have ſuch a ſtrength by the law, to aſſiſt them, and incur ſo little danger in doing it, that no juſt inference can be drawn from the one caſe to the other. When this Kidd was thus ſet out, he turn'd pirate himſelf; ſo a heavy load was caſt on the miniſtry, but chiefly on him, who was at the head of the national affairs; it was ſaid, he ought not to have ingaged in ſuch a project; and alſo maliciouſly inſinuated, that the privateer turned pirate, in confidence of the protection of thoſe who imployed him; if he had not ſecret orders from them for what he did. Such black conſtructions (continues the biſhop) are men, who are ingaged in parties, apt to make of the actions of thoſe, whom they intend to diſgrace, even againſt their own conſciences: ſo that an undertaking, that was not only innocent but meritorious, was traduced as a deſign for robbery and piracy. This was urged in the houſe of commons as highly criminal, for which all who were concerned in it, ought to be turned out of their imployments; and a queſtion was put upon it: but it was rejected by a great majority.

But to return to rear-admiral Bembow, being arrived at Jamaica, the governor and merchants intreated him to ſail to Puerto-bello, to demand ſatisfaction for the depredations commited by orders of the admiral of the Barlovento-fleet; he ſailed thither accordingly; but to no purpoſe; for tho' after ſome rude treatment at firſt, fair promiſes of ſatisfaction were given him; he was no ſooner departed than they were forgotten and came to nothing. He returned therefore to Jamaica, where having intelligence that captain Kidd was hovering on the coaſt, he went in queſt of him, but without ſucceſs, as he did once more afterwards.

We left King William at the Hague, where having received the compliments of the forein miniſters, and other perſons of diſtinction, and aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the States-general, as well as at that of the States of Holland; he left the Hague, on the 22d of June, and went for Loo, where, and at his palace of Dieren he ſpent the ſummer, in his uſual diverſions of hunting and ſhooting. There his Majeſty was waited on by ſeveral embaſſadors from different courts, and received a viſit from the old duke of Zell, who came thither attended with a numerous and magnificent retinue. The duke, having ſpent about a month with King William, departed the 3d of October, N. S. on his return home; and ſoon after his Majeſty came to the Hague, where he again aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the States-general. The 26th he imbarked on the Maeſe, on board the William and Mary-yacht, landed the next day at Margate, lay that night at Canterbury, and on 18th O. S. arrived at Kenſington.

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King William returns to England.

The 20th, the lord-mayor, recorder, aldermen, and ſheriffs of London, waited on the King, to congratulate his ſafe return: on which occaſion, his Majeſty, after having expreſs'd his favorable acceptance of their affections, earneſtly recommended to them the vigorous execution of the laws againſt all ſorts of prophaneneſs and debauchery, and the relief of the poor; and then confer'd the honor of knighthood upon Charles Duncomb and Jeffery Jefferies, eſqs; the two ſheriffs, and William Withers, eſq; alderman. The biſhop of London at the head of the clergy of London and Middleſex, likewiſe, waited on his Majeſty, to congratulate his happy arrival.

Is complimented by the city;

And the clergy.

The 24th, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, and was farther prorogued to the 16th of November; and, the next day, his Majeſty conferr'd the office of lord-chamberlain, which had been ſome time vacant, on his grace the duke of Shrewſbury.

The duke of Shrewſbury made lord-chamberlain.

The 16th the parliament met, when the King being come to the houſe of lords, and the commons ſent for up, his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The parliament meets.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I hope you will not think I have called you " out of your countries too ſoon, if you conſider " that our common ſecurity requires a farther pro- " viſion ſhould be made for the ſafety of the king- " dom, by ſea and land, before we are at the end of " what was granted for that purpoſe, the laſt ſeſſion: " and when you enter upon this buſineſs, I believe " you will think it neceſſary to take care of the re- " pairs of the ſhips and of the fortifications, without " which our fleet cannot be ſafe, when it is in " harbor.

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" I cannot omit to put you in mind of another " matter, in which ſo great a number of my ſub- " jects is concerned, and wherein the honor of the " kingdom, and the faith of parliaments, is ſo far " ingag'd, that our future ſecurity ſeems to depend " upon it; I mean the making good the deficiences " of the funds, and the diſcharging the debts con- " tracted by reaſon of the war.

" And 'till we may be ſo happy, to ſee the pub- " lic debt paid, I ſhall hope no ſeſſion will end, " without ſomething done towards leſſening them: " while I am ſpeaking to you on this head, I " think myſelf obliged to mention, with a very " particular concern, a debt which is owing to the " Prince of Denmark, the ſtate whereof I have or- " dered to be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" Theſe things are of ſuch importance, that I " moſt earneſtly recommend them to your conſide- " ration, and deſire you to provide the neceſſary " ſupplies.

My lords and Gentlemen,

" There is nothing I ſhould more rejoice in, " than that I was not under the neceſſity of ſo often " aſking aids of my people; but, as the reaſon of " it is evident, becauſe the funds formerly applied " to defray the public expence, are now anticipated " for payment of the debts of the kingdom; ſo it " is to my ſatisfaction, that you all ſee, that no- " thing of what is demanded is for any perſonal uſe " of mine, and I do faithfully aſſure you, that no " part of what is given ſhall be diverted from any " purpoſe for what it is deſign'd.

" I believe the nation is already ſenſible of the

" good

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" good effects of peace, by the manifeſt increaſe of " trade, which I ſhall make it my buſineſs to in- " courage by all the means in my power. Probably " it might receive an advantage, if ſome good bill " were prepared for the more effectual preventing " and puniſhing unlawful and clandeſtine trading, " which does not only tend to defraud the public, " but prejudices the fair merchant, and diſcourages " our own manufactures.

" The increaſe of the poor is become a burden " to the kingdom, and their looſe and idle lives do, " in ſome meaſure, contribute to that depravation " of manners, which is complained of (I fear with " too much reaſon.) Whether the ground of this " evil be from defects in the laws already made, or " in the execution of them, deſerves your conſide- " ration. As it is an indiſpenſable duty, that the " poor, who are not able to help themſelves, ſhould " be maintain'd; ſo I cannot but think it extreamly " deſirable, that ſuch as are able and willing ſhould " not want imployment; and ſuch as are obſtinate " and unwilling ſhould be compell'd to labor.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have a full aſſurance of the good affections of " my people, which I ſhall indeavour to preſerve " by a conſtant care of their juſt rights and liberties; " by maintaining the eſtabliſh'd religion; by ſeeing " the courſe of juſtice kept ſteady and equal; by " countenancing virtue and diſcouraging vice, and " by declining no difficulty or dangers where their " welfare and proſperity may be concern'd. Theſe " are my reſolutions; and I am perſuaded, that you " are come together, with purpoſes on your part, " ſuitable to theſe on mine. Since then our aims " are only for the general good, let us act with con- " fidence in one another, which will not fail, by " GOD's bleſſing, to make me a happy King, and " you a great and flouriſhing people."

Addreſs of the commons.

The commons took 'till the 4th of December, before they addreſs'd the King, and then did it in the following manner: they ſet forth; " that no- " thing being more neceſſary for the peace and wel- " fare of this kingdom, the quieting the minds of " his people, and diſappointing the deſigns of his " enemies, than a mutual and intire confidence, be- " tween his Majeſty and his parliament, they did " eſteem it their greateſt misfortune, that after ha- " ving ſo amply provided for the ſecurity of his " Majeſty and his government, both by ſea and " land, any jealouſy or diſtruſt had been raiſed of " their duty and affection to his ſacred Majeſty and " his people; and begg'd leave humbly to repreſent " to his Majeſty, that it would greatly conduce to " the continuing and eſtabliſhing an intire coufidence " between his Majeſty and his parliament, that he " would be pleaſed to ſhew marks of his high diſ- " pleaſure, towards all ſuch perſons who had or " ſhould preſume to miſrepreſent their proceedings " to his Majeſty: and that the commons, having, " likewiſe, a due ſenſe of the great care and concern " his Majeſty had always expreſs'd for preſerving " and maintaining the religion, laws and liber- " ties of his people (in defence of which his Ma- " jeſty had ſo often expoſed his royal perſon) would " uſe their utmoſt care and indeavors, to prevent " and diſcourage all falſe rumors and reports, reflect- " ing upon his Majeſty and his government, where- " by to create any miſunderſtandings between him " and his ſubjects. (1).

To this addreſs his Majeſty returned the following anſwer:

WILL' III. AN' 1699.

Gentlemen,

" My parliament have done ſo great things for " me, and I have, upon all proper occaſions, ex- " preſs'd ſo great a ſenſe of their kindneſs, and my " opinion has been ſo often declared, that the hap- " pineſs of an Engliſh King depends upon an intire " good correſpondence between him and his parlia- " ment, that it can't ſeem ſtrange for me to aſſure " you, that no perſons have yet dar'd to go about " to miſrepreſent to me the proceedings of either " houſe: had I found any ſuch, they would have " immediately felt the higheſt marks of my diſplea- " ſure. It is a juſtice I owe not only to my parlia- " ments, but to every one of my ſubjects, to judge " of them by their actions, and this rule I will " ſteadily purſue. If any hereafter ſhall attempt to " put me on other methods, by calumnies or miſ- " repreſentations, they will not only fail of ſucceſs, " but ſhall be look'd upon and treated by me as my " worſt enemies.

The King's anſwer.

Gentlemen,

" I am pleaſed to ſee, by your addreſs, that you have " the ſame thoughts of the great advantages which " will inſue to the kingdom, by our mutual confi- " dence, as I expreſs'd to both houſes, at the open- " ing of the ſeſſion. I take very kindly the aſſurance " you give me of uſing your utmoſt care and in- " deavors, to prevent and diſcourage all falſe ru- " mors and reports, reflecting upon me, and my " government; and I faithfully promiſe you, that " no actions of mine ſhall give a juſt ground for any " miſunderſtanding between me and my people."

What ſincerity there was in theſe fine compliments, on both ſides, the reader will beſt ſee by what follows:

The Iriſh forfeitures reſumed.

The firſt buſineſs the commons went upon was to conſider the report of the ſeven commiſſioners, appointed by them, the laſt ſeſſions, to take an account of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, who were the earl of Drogheda, Francis Anneſly, eſq; John Trenchard, eſq; James Hamilton, eſq; Henry Langford, eſq; ſir Richard Leving, and ſir Francis Brewſter.

Theſe gentlemen having put their commiſſion in execution, with great ſtrictneſs and application, framed a report, which was preſented to the commons, by mr. Anneſly, wherein they ſet forth, among other things:

Report of the commiſſioners

" That they met with great difficulties in their " inquiry, which were occaſioned chiefly, by the " backwardneſs of the people of Ireland, to give " any information, out of fear of the grantees, " whoſe diſpleaſure in that kingdom was not eaſily " born, and by reports induſtriouſly ſpread and be- " lieved, that their inquiry would come to nothing: " nevertheleſs it appeared to them, that the perſons " outlaw'd in England, ſince the 13th of February, " 1688, on account of the late rebellion there, a- " mounted to fifty-ſeven, and in Ireland to 3921. " That all the lands, in the ſeveral counties in Ire- " land, belonging to the forfeiting perſons, as far " as they could reckon, made 1,060,792 acres, " worth, per annum, 211,623 l. which (by compu- " tation of ſix years purchaſe for a life, and thir- " teen years for the inheritance, which was at this " time the value of the lands of that kingdom) " came to the full value of 2,685,130 l. Beſide " the ſeveral denominations, in the ſeveral counties, " to which no number of acres could be added, be- " cauſe of the imperfection of ſurveys. Likewiſe, " a great number of houſes, mills, fairs, mar- " kets, rectories and tithes, ferries and fiſheries.

(1) By this addreſs it is plain, that his Majeſty's ſpeech, ſtudied and elaborate as it was, had not removed the ill impreſſions, which the diſſatisfaction he expreſs'd at the proceedings of the parliament, when he laſt parted with them, had left in their minds; and that they took his advice of " acting with confidence in one another," as an implication of a diſtruſt or want of confidence in them.

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"That ſome of thoſe lands had been reſtored to the "old proprietors, by virtue of the articles of Li- "merick and Galway, and by his Majeſty's favor, "and by reverſal of outlawries and royal pardons, "obtained chiefly by gratifications to ſuch perſons "as had abuſed his Majeſty's royal bounty and "compaſſion: beſide theſe reſtitutions, which they "thought to be corruptly procured, they gave an "account of ſeventy-ſix grants and cuſtodiams, un- "der the great ſeal of Ireland: as, to the lord "Romney, three grants now in being, containing "49,517 acres: to the earl of Albemarle, in two "grants, 108,633 acres, in poſſeſſion and reverſion: "to William Bentinck, eſq; lord Woodſtock, "135,820 acres of land: to the earl of Athlone two "grants, containing 26,480 acres: to the earl of "Galway, one grant of 36,148 acres, and to ma- "ny others: wherein, they obſerved, that the "eſtates ſo mentioned did not yield ſo much to the "grantees, as they were here valued at; becauſe as "moſt of them had abuſed his Majeſty, in the real "value of their eſtates, ſo their agents had impoſed "on them, and had either ſold or let the greateſt "part of thoſe lands at an under-value. But after "all deductions and allowances, there yet remain'd, "1,699,343 l. 14 s. which they laid before the "commons, as the groſs value of the eſtates, ſince "the 13th of February, and not reſtored: beſide "a grant, under the great ſeal of Ireland, dated "the 30th day of May 1695, paſſed to mrs. "Elizabeth Villiers, now counteſs of Orkney, of "all the private eſtates of the late King (except "ſome ſmall part, in grant to the lord Athlone) con- "taining 95,649 acres, worth per annum 25,995 l. "18 s. Total value, 331,943 l. 9 s. concluding "that there was payable, out of this eſtate, "2000 l. per annum, to the lady Suſanna Bellaſis, "and alſo 1000 l. per annum, to mrs. Godfrey, for "their lives, and that almoſt all the old leaſes deter- "mined in May 1701, and then this eſtate would "anſwer the value, abovemention'd. Sign'd,

Francis Annſly,
John Trenchard,
James Hamilton,
Henry Langford.

Votes thereupon.

The commons having read and examined this report, came, on the 15th of December, to an unanimous reſolution, "that a bill be brought in to ap- "ply all the forfeited eſtates and intereſts in Ireland, "and all grants thereof, and of the rents and re- "venues belonging to the crown within that king- "dom, ſince the 13th of February 1688, to the "uſe of the public;" and ordered a clauſe to be inſerted in that bill, "for erecting a judicature for "determining claims touching the ſaid forfeited "eſtates;" they likewiſe reſolved, that they would "not receive any petition, from any perſon whom- "ſoever, touching the ſaid grants or forfeited eſtates, "and that they would take into conſideration the "great ſervices performed by the commiſſioners "appointed to inquire into the forfeited eſtates of "Ireland."

A remarkable paſſage.

Sir Richard Leving, one of the commiſſioners of the forfeited eſtates, having raiſed a report, that while they were in Ireland, executing their commiſſion, a member of the commons wrote to them, that they ſhould make a ſeparate article of the grant to the lady Orkney (which they accordingly did) becauſe it would reflect upon ſomebody (meaning the King); ſir Richard, and ſome of the King's friends infer'd from thence, that this inquiry into the grants of the forfeited eſtates was intended only to caſt an aſperſion on his Majeſty, and therefore, it ought to be droped (1): but upon examining the matter, the reſt of the commiſſioners declared, "they had received no ſuch letter: whereupon, the "commons reſolved: that the ſaid report was falſe "and ſcandalous; that the commiſſioners, who "had ſigned the report, had acquited themſelves "in the execution of their commiſſion, with un- "derſtanding, courage and integrity; and that "ſir Richard Leving had been the author of that "groundleſs and ſcandalous aſperſion, caſt on the "ſaid four commiſſioners, and that he ſhould be "commited to the Tower for the ſaid offenſe.

Will' III. An' 1699. Farther votes thereupon.

Upon the ſecond reading of the bill "for ap- "plying the Iriſh forfeitures to the uſe of the pub- "lic," and commiting it to the committee of the whole houſe, the courtiers made a motion, and cauſed the queſtion to be put, "that the ſaid com- "mittee be impowered to receive a clauſe, for re- "ſerving a proportion of the forfeited eſtates in "Ireland to the diſpoſal of his Majeſty;" which paſſing in the negative, it was reſolved; "that the "adviſing, procuring and paſſing the ſaid grants "of the forfeited and other eſtates, in Ireland, "had been the occaſion of contracting great debts "on the nation, and levying heavy taxes on the "people; that the adviſing and paſſing the ſaid "grants was highly reflecting on the King's honor; "and that the officers and inſtruments concerned in "the procuring and paſſing theſe grants, had highly "failed in the performance of their duty and truſt."

During theſe tranſactions, the commons had, at ſeveral times, made the following reſolutions, viz. On the 6th of December, "that the ſum of "76,383 l. now remaining in the exchequer, on "the account of the ſubſidy of tonage and poun- "dage, with what ſhould ariſe from the ſaid fund, "to the 25th of that month, ſhould be applied to- "wards the payment of ſeamens wages: that "whoſoever ſhould advance or lend a ſum, not "exceeding 220,000 l. for the farther paying of "ſeamens wages, ſhould receive the ſame, with "intereſt at 5 l. per cent. per annum, out of the "firſt aid to be granted this ſeſſion. The 21ſt, "that 7000 men be a complement for ſea-ſervice, "for the year 1700, for thirteen months; and that "the uſual pay of 4 l. per month be allowed for "the maintaining the ſaid 7000 men, including the "ordnance for ſea-ſervice." The 16th of January, they reſolved, "that 18,000 l. be allowed for "bounty-mony, to the officers of the fleet, and "90,000 l. for the extraordinaries of the navy. "The 21ſt, that 300,000 l. be granted to his Ma- "jeſty for maintaining guards and gariſons, and "25,000 l. for the office of ordnance for the year "1700, and that half-pay be allowed to the diſ- "banded officers not otherwiſe provided for.

Buſineſs of the ſupply.

An' 1700.

Ways and Means.

To raiſe the ſupply already granted, the commons reſolved, the 26th, to lay a tax of two ſhillings in the pound, "upon all lands, penſions, offices and "perſonal eſtates," and appointed a day, "to "conſider of the grants made ſince the ſetling of the "civil liſt upon his Majeſty." The firſt of February, the bill for levying the 2 s. aid was read a ſecond time, and commited to a commitee of the whole houſe, to whom the bill for reſuming the forfeited eſtates in Ireland was alſo committed, and who were ordered to join both the ſaid bills together, and to receive a clauſe of credit, and another of appropriation. The 5th, the houſe being informed, that ſeveral grantees of forfeited eſtates in Ireland, were felling timber, and commiting other waſtes, they reſolved, that ſuch perſons ſhould be anſwerable for the ſame, and directed the committee of the whole houſe, to inſert a clauſe in the afore-mentioned bill of reſumption, for the ſaid purpoſe. Theſe ſteps being taken, the commons reſolved, the next day, "to grant a ſupply to his

The reſumption bill tack'd to the mony bill.

(1) It is eaſy to imagine (ſays the author of King William III, Vol. 3. p. 421) how ill theſe proceedings were reliſhed at court: but it is hardly to be conceived how uneaſy the King was about this paſſage.

"Majeſty

WILL' III. AN' 1700.

"Majeſty, for diſcharging the debt due to the army.

The state of the nation conſidered.

The 13th, the commons, in a grand committee, conſidered the ſtate of the nation, and a motion was made, and the queſtion put; "That the procuring or obtaining of grants of eſtates, belonging to the crown, by any public miniſter, concerned in the directing or paſſing ſuch grants, to or for their own uſe or benefit, while the nation lay under the heavy taxes of the late war, was highly injurious to his Majeſty, prejudicial to the ſtate, and a violation of the truſt repoſed in them;" but the court-party had ſo much influence, to get this queſtion carried in the negative: however, they gave, at the ſame time, their conſent, to an order for bringing in a bill, "to reſume the grants of all lands and revenues "of the crown, and all penſions granted by the "crown, ſince the 6th of February 1684; and "for applying the ſame to the uſe of the public." This order was nevertheleſs of no effect.

Farther proceedings about the forfeitures.

The 17th, the commons proceeded to conſider farther of the ſtate of the nation, when, after a long and warm debate, it was reſolved: "that an addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, repreſenting "to him the reſolutions of this houſe, relating to "grants of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland.

A farther ſupply granted.

They reſolved, the ſame day; "that a ſupply be "granted to his Majeſty, towards the payment of "his proportion of the debt owing to the Prince "of Denmark; and the monies to be raiſed to be "laid out in this kingdom, and ſettled upon the "Prince and Princeſs, and their iſſue, according "to their marriage-agreement." They farther reſolved, that an addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, "that he would pleaſe to uſe his indeavors, "to procure other Princes and States, to pay their "proportions of the debt due to his Royal Highneſs; and that a ſupply be likewiſe granted to "his Majeſty, for the carrying on the coinage of the "gold and ſilver of this kingdom; for continuing "the contracts and circulating exechequer-bills, "for one year longer; for making good both the "deficiencies of the aid of three ſhillings in the "pound, granted in the 8th year of his Majeſty's "reign; of the duty on paper and parchment, "granted the ſame ſeſſion of parliament; of malt-"tickets, and of the quarterly-poll, granted in "the 9th year of his Majeſty's reign, for paying "off the debt due for tranſport-ſervice; and laſtly, "for the payment of the debt due to the navy, and "the ſick and wounded ſeamen.

Farther ways and means.

Towards raiſing theſe ſupplies, the commons reſolved; "that only one moiety of the ſeveral "duties paid upon the importation of tallow-candles, "from Ireland, be drawn back upon the exportation thereof: that the forfeited eſtates, and other "intereſts in Ireland, to be veſted in truſtees, for "the benefit of the public, be applied towards ſatisfaction of the ſaid debts, to the army, the "tranſport-debts, and tallies or tickets upon "deficient funds; and that a farther duty be "laid upon wrought ſilks, bengals, and ſtuffs "mixed with ſilks, or herba, of the manufacture "of China, Perſia and Eaſt-India, and all callicoes painted, died, printed or ſtained there, untill the 30th of September 1701."

Addreſs concerning the forfeited eſtates.

The 21ſt, the commons, in a body, waited upon the King, with their addreſs in relation to the Iriſh forfeitures, to which his Majeſty gave the following anſwer:

The King's anſwer.

Gentlemen,

"I was not only led by inclination, but thought "myſelf obliged in juſtice, to reward thoſe who "had ſerved well, and particularly in the reduction "of Ireland, out of eſtates forfeited to me by "the rebellion there. The long war, in which "we were ingaged, occaſioned great taxes, and "has left the nation much in debt, and the taking "juſt and effectual ways for leſſening that debt, and "ſupporting public credit, is what, in my opinion, "will beſt contribute to the honor, intereſt and "ſafety of the kingdom.

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Reſolution of the commons thereupon.

The 26th, the ſpeaker reported this anſwer, at which the commons were ſo provoked, that they reſolved; "that whoever adviſed it had uſed his "utmoſt indeavour to create a miſunderſtanding "and jealouſy between the King and his people."

They likewiſe, reſolved, the ſame day; "that "towards raiſing the ſupply, a duty be laid upon "all hops imported into Ireland, except ſuch as are "of the growth of this kingdom.

Votes concerning the exciſe.

The 1ſt of March, colonel Granville reported from the committee of the whole houſe, who had conſidered the ſtate of his Majeſty's revenue; that it was their opinion, "that there had been a "great loſs in his Majeſty's revenue of exciſe, to "the prejudice of the public;" To this reſolution, the houſe agreed, and moreover reſolved; "That it be an inſtruction to the committee of "the whole houſe, to whom the land-tax and "Iriſh forfeiture-bill was commited, that they re-"ceive a clauſe to inable his Majeſty, for the im-"provement of the revenue, to let to farm the "duties of exciſe, if he thought fit; and that it "be an inſtruction alſo, that no member of the "houſe be concerned in the farming or managing "the revenue of exciſe.

The commiſſioners of the Iriſh forfeitures rewarded.

The 7th, the commons reſolved, "that the earl "of Drogheda, Francis Anneſly, John Trenchard, "James Hamilton, Henry Langford, eſq; com-"miſſioners, and James Hooper, eſq; ſecretary of "the commiſſion for inquiring into the Iriſh for-"feitures, ſhould receive, each of them, 1000 l. "for their ſervice, and ſir Richard Leving, and ſir "Francis Brewſter, the other two commiſſioners, "each 500 l. in conſideration of their expenſes; "all which ſums were ordered to be paid out of "the Iriſh forfeitures.

Farther votes concerning the ſupply.

The 12th, the commons came to the following "reſolutions: 1. "That the ſurpluſage, over and "above 700,000 l. of this year's produce of the "ſubſidies, duties and ſmall branches of the revenue "appropriated to the ſervice of his Majeſty's "houſhold, be applied for the ſervice of the "year 1700. 2. That towards the farther raiſing "of the ſupply already granted, the ſum of 60,000 l. "be raiſed, by inlarging the time to purchaſe annuities. 3. That the additional duties of 25 per "cent. on all French goods, and 25 per cent. on all "French wines and brandies; the duty of 5 l. per "ton on all French ſhiping; the Plantation-duties, "and duty of one ſhilling and ten pence per pound "weight, upon all wrought ſilks, be applied for the "ſervice of this preſent year. 4. That a farther duty "be laid upon all wrought ſilks, bengals, and ſtuffs "mixed with ſilk or herba, of the manufacture of "China, Perſia, or Eaſt-India, and all callicoes painted or ſtained there, imported before the 30th of "September, 1701; of 15 per cent. upon the "groſs ſales at the candle, over and above the "duties now payable for the ſame; and, 5. That a "farther duty of 15 per cent. be laid upon all muſ-"lins imported:" which they ordered to be formed into a bill, with a clauſe for a draw-back of the duties upon Eaſt-India goods, upon the exportation thereof.

Truſtees for Iriſh forfeitures appointed.

The 28th, the commons appointed the following gentlemen, by ballot, to be truſtees for the Iriſh forfeitures, viz. Francis Anneſly, James Hamilton, John Baggs, John Trenchard, James Iſham, Henry Langford, James Hooper, eſquires, ſir Cyril Wyche, John Cary gentleman, ſir Henry Sheeres, Thomas Harriſon, William Fellowes, and Thomas Rawlins, eſquires.

The

Will' III. An' 1700.

The report concerning the forfeitures in Ireland printed.

The bill for granting an aid to his Majeſty, by the ſale of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, which, as I have ſaid above, was tacked to the land-tax-bill, having paſſed the houſe of commons, they ordered the report of the commiſſioners of the Iriſh forfeitures to be printed, with all the votes, addreſſes and ſpeeches relating to that affair, from the year 1690 to this time (1).

They, likewiſe, reſolved; "That the procu-"ring or paſſing exorbitant grants, by any mem-"ber now of the privy-council, or by any other "that had been a privy-counſellor, in this or any "former reign, to his uſe or benefit, was a high "crime and miſdemeanor.

Differences between the two houſes about the forfeiture-bill.

The court-party now found themſelves ſo weak in the houſe of commons, that they ſaw it was impoſſible to effect any thing there; they therefore indeavored to oppoſe the paſſing of the complicated bills in the houſe of lords: and, indeed, that illuſtrious aſſembly, did not ſhew any great diſpoſition to favor it: not only, as they look'd upon it as a reflection on his Majeſty, and as it nearly concerned ſome of their body; but becauſe this method of tacking one bill to another was an innovation in parliamentary proceedings, and had a direct tendency to retrench, at leaſt, if not wholly to diveſt the peers of their ſhare in the legiſlative authority. However, as they could not reject the bill, without leaving the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate unprovided for, they only made great amendments in that part of it which related to the forfeitures, and ſo ſent it back again. The commons having taken theſe amendments into conſideration, on the 8th of April, unanimouſly diſapprov'd of them, and demanded a conference, which was held the next day, and managed with great vehemence and warmth on both ſides. This was followed by two more, with as little ſucceſs: at which the commons were ſo exaſperated, that they were upon the point of taking ſome reſolutions, which would have greatly widen'd the breach; when the King, being inform'd of the high ferment the houſe of commons was in, and apprehending the conſequences, ſent a private meſſage (by the earl of Albemarle) to the lords, deſiring them to paſs the bill without any amendments, which the lords did immediately, and acquainted the commons with it (2).

The bill paſſed.

Inquiry into the commiſſions of peace.

There was another inquiry made this ſeſſion, which, it was thought, was not much more agreeable to the court than the former, and which I have hitherto omited mentioning, to keep my foregoing relation intire, and in one connexion; I mean that concerning the qualifications of the juſtices of peace, and deputy-lieutenants, who had been made for ſeven years laſt paſt.

The committee appointed to make this inquiry reported, that not only many perſons diſſenting from the church of England, but men of ſmall fortunes were put into thoſe places; whereupon the commons addreſſed his Majeſty, repreſenting, "that

Addreſs of the commons, thereupon.

"it muſt conduce much to his ſervice, and the good "of the kingdom, that gentlemen of quality, and "good eſtates, be reſtored, and put into the com-"miſſions of peace and lieutenancy, and that men "of ſmall eſtates be neither continued, nor put "into the ſaid commiſſions.

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The King's anſwer.

To which addreſs, his Majeſty anſwered: "he "was of opinion, that men of the beſt quality "and eſtates were the moſt proper to be intruſted in "the commiſſions of the peace and lieutenancy, and "directions ſhould be given accordingly.

This anſwer was ſo pleaſing to the commons, that they returned their thanks to his Majeſty in a body; upon which the King aſſured them, "he "ſhould always indeavor to do what was for the "good of the public."

Diſcontent of the commons.

The condeſcenſion of the lords in paſſing the reſumption-bill, without any amendment, did not, however, wholly appeaſe the commons, who purſuing their reſentment againſt the preſent miniſtry, put the queſtion, "that an addreſs be made to his "Majeſty, to remove John lord Sommers, lord "chancellor of England, from his preſenſe and "councils for ever:" which tho' it was carried in the negative, no doubt, by reaſon of his acknowleged merit and great ſervices; yet it was reſolved, "that an addreſs be made to his Ma-"jeſty, that no perſon who was not a native of his "dominions, except his Royal Highneſs, Prince "George of Denmark, be admited to his Majeſty's "councils in England or Ireland."

Acts paſſed.

Not to give the commons time to preſent this diſtaſteful addreſs, the King came to the houſe of lords, the 11th of April, and the commons being ſent for up, gave the royal ſanction to the following bills, viz. 1. "To an act for granting an aid to his Majeſty, by "ſale of the forfeited and other eſtates and intereſts "in Ireland, and by the land-tax in England, for the "ſeveral purpoſes therein mentioned. 2. An act for "laying farther duties upon wrought-ſilks, muſ-"lins, and ſome other commodities of the Eaſt-"Indies, and to inlarge the time for purchaſing "certain reverſionary annuities therein mention-"ed. 3. An act for the more effectual imploying "the poor, by incouraging the manufactures "of this kingdom. 4. An Act for aſcertaining "the meaſures of ale and beer. 5. An act to inable "his Majeſty's natural born ſubjects to inherit the "eſtates of their anceſtors, either lineal or collateral, "notwithſtanding their father or mother were "aliens. 6. An act for preventing frivolous and "vexatious ſuits in the principality of Wales, and "the counties palatine. 7. An act for the better "preſerving the navigation of the rivers Avon and "Froom, and cleanſing, paving, and inlightning the "ſtreets of the city of Briſtol. 8. An act to inable "the mayor and citizens of the city of Cheſter, to "recover and preſerve the navigation on the river "Dee. 9. An act for the farther preventing the "growth of Popery. 10. An act for making the "river Larke, alias Burne, navigable. 11. An act "for the more effectual puniſhment of vagrants, "and ſending them by law whither they ought to be "ſent. 12. An act to prevent diſputes that may "ariſe by officers and members of corporations "having neglected to ſign the aſſociation, and "taking the oaths in due time. 13. An act for the "repair of Dover-harbor. 14. An act to puniſh

(1) Whether the deſign of the houſe of commons, in making theſe matters ſo public, was to juſtify their proceedings, or to expoſe the conduct of the court, I ſhall leave undetermined; but their mentioning, in particular, the King's ſpeech to both houſes, of the 5th of January, 1690, in which he aſſured them, that he ſhould not make any grant of the forfeited lands in England and Ireland, 'till there was an opportunity of ſettling that matter in parliament, in ſuch a manner as ſhould be though moſt expedient, ſeems to have a direct tendency to both.

(2) The conſtancy of the commons in purſuing this matter to the deſigned concluſion, was the occaſion of great clamor againſt them, and of their being accuſed of high ingratitude to our glorious deliverer: I ſhall not enter into a diſcuſſion how far theſe clamors were reaſonable or not: but this I think may be ſaid in juſtification of theſe proceedings, that the nation groaning under a load of debts when theſe conſiderable grants were made; his Majeſty having ſolemnly promiſed not to make any ſuch grants without the conſent of parliament; theſe grants being made chiefly, if not wholly to foreiners, and the Britiſh generals, ſuch as the duke of Ormond, the earl of Marlborough, Douglas, Talmaſh, Cunningham, Cuts and others, who were equally inſtrumental in the reduction of Ireland, being excluded the benefit of them, were powerful motives for the reſumption of theſe grants: but biſhop Burnet was of a different opinion. See hiſtory of his own times, &c.

"governors

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" governors of plantations in this kingdom, for " crimes commited by them in the plantations. " 15. An act for the more effectual suppreſſion of " piracies. 16. An act to repeal an act made in the " ninth year of his Majeſty's reign, intitled, an act " for rendring the laws more effectual for prevent- " ing the importation of forein bone-lace, loom-lace, " needle-work, point, and cut-work, three months " after the prohibition of the woollen manufactures " in Flanders ſhall be taken off. 17. An act for the " better aſcertaining the tithes of hemp and flax. " 18. An act to inable juſtices of the peace to build " and repair goals in their reſpective counties. " 19. An act for continuing ſeveral laws therein " mentioned, and for explaining an act, intitled, an " act to prevent the exportation of wool out of the " kingdoms of Ireland and England, into forein " parts, and for the incouragement of the woollen " manufactures of the kingdom of England. 20. An " act for the explanation and better execution of " former acts made touching watermen and wherry- " men, rowing on the river of Thames, and for " the better ordering and governing the ſaid water- " men, wherry-men and lighter-men, upon the ſaid " river, between Graveſend and Windſor. 21. An " act for taking away the duties upon the wool- " len manufactures, corn, grain, bread, biſcuit and " meal exported. 22. An act for raiſing the militia " for the year 1700, altho' the month's pay, for- " merly advanced, be not repaid. 23. An act for the " appointing commiſſioners to take, examine and " determine the debts due to the army and navy, " and for tranſport-ſervice; and alſo an account of " the prizes taken during the late war. 24. An act " to diſſolve the duke of Norfolk's marriage with " the lady Mary Mordaunt, and to inable him to " marry again (1). 25. An act for continuing the " governor and company of merchants, trading to " the Eaſt-Indies, a corporation" (2). And to ſeveral private acts.

Toe parliament prorogued.

This done; his Majeſty cauſed the earl of Bridgwater to prorogue the parliament, to the 23d of May.

Mr. Stephens's ſermon, before the houſe of commons, cenſured.

Tho' I have now done with the proceedings of this ſeſſion of parliament, I muſt not omit taking notice of one paſſage, which, at that time, made not a little noiſe; the commons having appointed one mr. Stephens to preach before them, on the 30th of January, that miniſter, inſtead of aſſerting the rights and prerogatives of Monarchy, and ſuiting his ſermon to the occaſion, exalted the power of the people; preach'd up the exploded opinions that were the firſt cauſe of the murder of King Charles I; and would have perſuaded his honorable auditors, that the obſervation of this faſt ſhould be utterly aboliſh'd: beſide which it was remark'd, that he omited praying for the parliament, and every branch of the royal family. The next day, a motion being made, and the queſtion put, " that the thanks of the houſe be " given to mr. Stephens for his ſermon," it was carried in the negative, and reſolved; " that, for " the future, no perſon be recommended to preach " before the houſe, who is under the dignity of a " dean of the church, and has not taken the degree " of doctor in divinity."

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A ſecond treaty of partition.

The electoral Prince of Bavaria happening to dy, during this ſeſſion of parliament (viz. on the 6th of February) the earls of Portland and Jerſey were appointed by the King, as his Majeſty's plenipotentiaries, for agitating and concluding a new treaty of partition. By this treaty, which was agreed upon the 15th of March, between the Engliſh and the Dutch, on the one part, and the French, on the other, it was ſtipulated; " that Spain, Flanders, and the " Weſt-Indies, which by the former treaty, had " been alloted to the Prince of Bavaria, ſhould de- " volve to the arch-duke Charles, the Emperor's " ſecond ſon; that Naples and Sicily, with the reſt " of the Spaniſh places on the coaſt of Italy, as like- " wiſe the province of Guipuſcoa, ſhould be aſſign'd " to the Dauphin; that Lorain ſhould be annex'd " to France, the duchy of Milan be confer'd on the " duke of Lorain, and the county of Bitſche to the " Prince of Vaudemont (3).

The great ſeal taken from the lord Sommers;

The King, in the mean time, obſerving the ſtream to run ſo ſtrong againſt the lord Sommers, that it was a matter of doubt, with him, whether he ſhould be able to ſtem it, reſolved, immediately after the parliament was prorogued, to ſend the earl of Portland, to the lord chancellor Sommers, to demand the great ſeal from him (4): and, on the 21ſt of May, commited the cuſtody of it to ſir Nathan Wright, one of his Majeſty's ſerjeants at law, with the title of lord-keeper, who, thereupon, by virtue of his office, took his place in the privy council.

And given to ſir Nathan Wright.

Knights of the garter made.

The 14th of the ſame month, his Majeſty admited the earl of Albemarle into the moſt noble order of the Garter: but to avoid the cenſure of ſhewing partiality to a foreiner, that honor was, at the ſame time, beſtow'd on the earl of Pembroke (5).

On Midſummer-day, the King was pleaſed to conſtitute Edward, earl of Jerſey, lord chamberlain; Henry, earl of Romney, groom of the ſtole, and the earl of Carliſle, one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber. The 27th, his Majeſty declared in council; that the public affairs requiring his going over to Holland, he had appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord-keeper of the great-ſeal; the lord preſident of the council; the viſcount Lonſdale, lord privy-ſeal; the lord-ſteward, and the lord-chamberlain of his houſhold; the earl of Bridgwater, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; the earl of Marlborough, governor to his Highneſs the duke of Glouceſter, and the earl of Tankerville, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, to be lords-juſtices of England, for the adminiſtration of the government during his abſenſe.

Lords juſtices appointed.

The King goes to Holland.

July the 24th, his Majeſty ſet out from Hampton-

(1) The duke of Norfolk met with the leſs difficulty in geting this act paſs'd, becauſe of the precedent in the caſe of the earl of Macclesfield: and having beſide proved, by ſeveral unqueſtionable witneſſes, that his ducheſs lived with ſir John Germain, as his wife, at a houſe they hired at Vaux-hall, and at his lodgings in the Cock-pit, for ſeveral years: however, the duke made no advantage of that proviſion in the act, which inabled him to marry again: but dying ſome time after, the ducheſs married ſir John Germain, and ſhe was the more acceptable to him, as, by this act, her fortune was returned her. For farther particulars I refer to the State-trials.

(2) The old Eaſt-India-company laid hold of this favorable opportunity of the country-party prevailing in the houſe of commons, to get this bill paſs'd, in which they ſucceeded, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the new Eaſt-India-company, and the indeavors of the courtiers.

(3) It was again remark'd, and gave occaſion to ſome murmuring, that this treaty was kept a ſecret, both to the parliament and the privy council: and this murmuring (ſays the author of the continuation of Rapin, in French) was very much increas'd by the inſinuations of the Spaniſh embaſſadors, here and in Holland, as well againſt this as the former treaty.

(4.) It has been matter of diſpute, whether the King gained or loſt friends by this change: but I think the latter is almoſt evident: for tho' the lord Sommers had been attack'd by the commons, yet the majority of that houſe had ſtood warmly up in his defence: and as the abandoning ſo faithful a miniſter could not but diſcourage others from imbracing his Majeſty's ſervice heartily; ſo his yielding ſo tamely, to the negative reſolves of the houſe of commons, could not but lay him open to more vigorous attacks.

(5) This could not, however, remove the general diſlike conceived on this occaſion; and it was remark'd, that tho' the inſtallation of the two new knights was performed at Windſor, on the 5th of June, with great ſplendor, yet few of the nobility graced the ceremony with their preſenſe, and very ſevere reflections were thrown upon his Majeſty on this occaſion.

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court, and, the next day imbark'd at Margate, for Holland, where he arrived the 7th of the ſame month. I come now to the affairs of Scotland.

Affairs of Scotland.

During the laſt ſeſſion of the parliament of England, the affairs of Scotland, likewiſe, gave his Majeſty no ſmall uneaſineſs: an addreſs was deſign'd to be preſented to the King by the lord Baſil Hamilton, concerning the Scotiſh Eaſt-India-company: but tho' his Majeſty declared his willingneſs to receive the petition; yet he would not allow the lord Baſil to be the preſenter of it: becauſe he did not wait upon his Majeſty, when he was formerly in London, nor had ever ſince given any public evidence of his loyalty, or had even, hitherto, own'd his Majeſty's right to the throne (1).

The houſe of peers, in England, thought fit, likewiſe, to concern themſelves in this affair, and to addreſs the King againſt the Scots ſettlement at Darien, in America; but the commons would not join with them, in that addreſs; in anſwer to which, his Majeſty propoſed a union between the two kingdoms, which would prevent all diſputes of this nature for the future. The lords accordingly brought in a bill, for authorizing commiſſioners of England, to treat with commiſſioners of Scotland on that ſubject: but the commons refuſing their concurence, the bill drop'd. In the mean time, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's proclamation, iſſued out in Scotland, againſt diſorderly petitioning, the Scots went on with a national addreſs to his Majeſty, which was preſented by the marquis of Tweedale, the 25th of March, in which having, among other things, again preſs'd the ſiting of a parliament in Scotland, his Majeſty appointed the 21ſt of May for that purpoſe, and conſtituted the duke of Queenſborough his high-commiſſioner.

The parliament being met accordingly, his Majeſty's letter was read to that aſſembly; in which he told them; "he did intend to have held that ſeſſion "in perſon, but the preſent circumſtances of affairs "abroad would not allow it; that it would be ne-"ceſſary to keep up the forces they had already, "and deſired ſupplies accordingly: he ſaid he was "heartily ſorry for the loſſes the nation had ſuſtain'd "in their trade: but recommended to them the in-"couraging their manufactures, and the improving "the native product of the kingdom, which was "not only the ſureſt foundation of the forein trade, "but would be an effectual way of providing for the "poor. He aſſured them, he would maintain their "laws, liberties and kirk-government; recom-"mended the preventing the growth of Popery, "and diſcouraging of vice and immorality; con-"cluding with an aſſurance of his favor and pro-"tection.

After the reading of this letter, the lord high-commiſſioner made a ſpeech, as did, likewiſe, the lord Marchmont, lord high chancellor; which done the houſe adjourned to the 24th. The 26th, a ſharp repreſentation came to the parliament from the council-general of the African and India-company, containing a tedious rehearſal of their loſſes, diſappointments, and grievances: which repreſentation was back'd the next day, by an addreſs from the ſhire of Haddington, importing; "that after a long and "expenſive war, they expected to have injoyed the "bleſſing of a happily concluded peace, by the "eſtabliſhment of their forein trade; incouragement "of home-manufactures; imploying the poor in the "improvement of their native product, and the "leſſening of their public burdens: but that, inſtead "thereof, to their unſpeakable loſs, and almoſt "ruin of the nation, they found their trade abroad "ſenſibly decay'd, and their coin carried out by the "importation of commodities, from places where "theirs were prohibited: that their woollen and other "manufactures at home, received not the incourage-"ment which the good of the country required: and "more eſpecially, that their company, trading to "Africa and the Indies, met with ſo much oppoſition "from abroad, and got ſo little ſupport at home, "that, after ſo great a loſs of men, and expence of "treaſure, it was too probable, that their ſettlement "in Caledonia (or Darien) would fall, a ſecond time, "under the ſame unlucky circumſtances as at firſt, if "not prevented: that yet, after all thoſe hardſhips "the nation groan'd under, numerous forces were "kept on foot, which occaſion'd them, in time of "peace, heavy and unneceſſary taxes, while their "much wealthier neighbors diſbanded theirs.

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This addreſs, and ſeveral others of the like tendency, being read, it was moved to reſolve; "that "the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and "rightful ſettlement, and that the parliament would "maintain and ſupport the ſame." The high-commiſſioner obſerving, that this reſolution was likely to be carried, adjourn'd the parliament for three days, and at their next meeting again for twenty days: Upon which a majority of members met that evening, and ſign'd an addreſs to his Majeſty, "complaining of their having been interrupted by a "ſudden adjournment, while they were debating a "motion concerning their colony at Darien, which "was contrary to an act of parliament of the 11th "of King James VI, which inacted, that nothing "ſhould be done or commanded, which might di-"rectly or indirectly prejudice the liberty of free "voting and reaſoning of the eſtates of parliament; "nor was the adjournment for twenty days con-"ſiſtent with their claim of right: wherein it was "declared, that parliaments ought to be frequently "call'd, allow'd to ſit, and the freedom of ſpeech "and debate ſecured to the members. They, there-"fore, earneſtly intreated his Majeſty, that he "would be pleaſed to allow his parliament, to meet "on the day to which it was adjourned, and to ſit "as long as might be neceſſary for redreſſing the "grievances of the nation.

The King, in anſwer to this addreſs, only ſaid, he would conſider of it; and being preſs'd by the lord Roſs, and the reſt of the commiſſioners ſent up with this addreſs, for a farther anſwer, he replied, "that he "could give no anſwer to their petition, at that time; "but they ſhould know his intentions in Scotland." He then adjourned the parliament farther, by proclamation, and, on the 26th of July, directed a letter to the duke of Queenſborough, and the privy-council of Scotland, which letter was publiſh'd in the nature of a proclamation, and in which he told them: "that he was ſorry for the nation's loſs, and would "do all that lay in his power to repair it: but it "was not poſſible for him to agree to the "reſolve offer'd, to aſſert the right of the Eaſt-In-"dia company's colony in America, concluding, "that his neceſſary abſenſe had occaſioned the laſt "adjournment: but as ſoon as God ſhould bring "him back from Holland, he was fully reſolved "they ſhould meet again." In this the King was

(1) How much the Scots reſented this refuſal, the reader may ſee by the letter the directors of their company wrote to this lord, in which, among other things they ſay: "they could not but heartily regret, that the carrying the company's commiſſion "ſhould be the occaſion of puting a diſtinguiſhing mark upon a perſon of his lordſhip's quality and merit, as to be denied acceſs "to his Majeſty's perſon, becauſe he had not waited on his Majeſty when laſt in London. That no body was ſo blind but might "ſee thro' it: and that whereas they never heard, that his lordſhip had ever done any thing unworthy of his quality, or incon-"ſiſtent with the duty of a loyal and peaceable ſubject; ſo they ſtill hoped his Majeſty might be undeceived of any miſrepreſenta-"tion he might have of him."

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as good, or rather better than his word; for, before his return, his Majeſty allowed the parliament of that kingdom to meet, on the 28th of October, and ſent them a letter from Loo, in which, among other things, he told them, "he was greatly concerned at "his not being able to aſſert the company's right of "eſtabliſhing a colony at Darien, without diſturb-"ing the peace of Chriſtendom, and bringing that "ancient kingdom into an inevitable war, without "hopes of aſſiſtance."

During this interval, the Scots received the melancholy news of their people's having abandon'd, or rather ſurrender'd their new ſettlement at Darien, to the Spaniards. This occaſion'd the company to repreſent to the parliament, the firſt day of their ſeſſion; "that for want of due protection abroad, "ſome perſons had been incouraged to break in up-"on their privileges even at home." This repreſentation was back'd by a national addreſs, ſeting forth their grievances; which being preſented to the King, on the 16th of November, his Majeſty anſwered thereto; "that he could not take farther "notice of it, becauſe the parliament was then ſit-"ing, and he had made a declaration of his mind for "the good of his people, with which he hoped all "his faithful ſubjects would be ſatisfied."

The parliament having ſat near three months, at length, notwithſtanding ſome heats about the miſcarriage of their ſettlement at Darien, they came, the 21ſt of January, to the reſolution; "that in con-"ſideration of their great deliverance by his Ma-"jeſty, and that, next under GOD, their ſafety and "happineſs depended wholly on his preſervation, "and that of his government, they would ſupport "both to the utmoſt of their power, and maintain "ſuch forces, as ſhould be requiſite for thoſe ends."

Soon after, the lord high-commiſſioner gave the royal aſſent, "to an act for keeping on foot 3000 "men till the firſt of December 1702, and to ano-"ther for a land-tax to maintain thoſe troops;" which done, he communicated the King's letter, in which it was deſired he might have 1100 men on his own account, to the firſt of June following, which being readily complied with, the parliament was prorogued to the 6th of May.

Death of the duke of Glouceſter.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, England met with a very ſenſible affliction, in the death of that hopeful Prince, William, duke of Glouceſter, who departed this life, the 29th of July, ſoon after the King went for Holland (1).

Maritime affairs.

I proceed now to give a brief account of the maritime tranſactions of this ſummer, which, ſo far as they immediately concern'd the Engliſh nation, conſiſted chiefly in ſending of ſeveral ſmall ſquadrons abroad; as, one under the command of vice-admiral

A ſquadron ſent to the Mediterranean.

Aylmer, in the Mediterranean, for the ſecurity of the trade to Turky and Italy, and to confirm the treaties with the governments of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli.

And others to Newfoundland

Captain Andrew Leake, and after him, captain Stafford Fairborn, were ſent to Newfoundland, for the ſecurity of our fiſhery there, and to convoy our ſhips from thence to Portugal, and the Mediterranean, and back again.

Captain Warren ſent with a ſquadron to the Eaſt-Indies.

Another ſmall ſquadron was ſent to the Eaſt-Indies, under the command of captain Thomas Warren, for the greater ſecurity of that rich trade, and ſuppreſſing pirates in thoſe parts. But after theſe ſhips had continued a long time there, to the great expence of the public, and captain Warren dying there, they returned under the command of captain James Littleton, who had the good fortune to burn or deſtroy ſome of the ſhips belonging to theſe pirates, in their lurking holes.

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Another ſmall ſquadron was ſent before Sallee, in the kingdom of Fez, under the command of captain John Munden, to cruiſe againſt the pirates of Barbary, eſpecially thoſe of that port.

But the moſt material maritime tranſactions of this year was ſir George Rooke's expedition to the Baltick, to reconcile the Kings of Sweden and Denmark.

Sir George Rooke's expedition to the Baltick.

The differences which ſubſiſted, at this time, between the two Northern crowns, being likely to prove of very ill conſequence to the affairs of Europe, ſir George Rooke, admiral of the fleet, received orders, in the month of November, of the foregoing year, to take upon him the command of a ſquadron of his Majeſty's ſhips, which were to be joined by ſeveral Dutch ſhips, and afterwards by the Swediſh fleet, in the Baltick, in order to compoſe theſe differences. Admiral Allemonde joined ſir George Rooke, the 24th of May, off of Scheveling, with five ſhips of the line, a frigat, a fire-ſhip, and two bomb-veſſels, and ſoon after rear-admiral Vanderduſſen came to the fleet, with the reſt of the Dutch ſhips; upon which, the united fleet ſailed for Gottenburg, off of which place they arrived the 8th of June. Here it was determined in a council of war, to advance towards the Sound, tho' they were informed the Daniſh fleet was ſo ſtationed, that they might be able to make ſome oppoſition, and ſo indeed they found them, at their arrival there (2).

Not long after, a ſignal was made, as was agreed, from Helſingburg, that the Daniſh fleet were under ſail: whereupon our admiral weighed, and advanced into the Sound, to prevent any miſchief, which might otherwiſe happen to the Swedes: but the Daniſh ſhips anchored again, on this ſide of the Grounds, not only to guard the paſſage, but to prevent our joining with the Swediſh ſquadron, which was now come down to the South-ſide of that channel.

The fleets continued in this poſture for ſome time, and ſir George Rooke expected the Swedes would have puſhed thro'; but they having miſſed an opportunity which offered, he got under ſail, and came near to the iſland of Ween, while the Danes plied towards him, in a line of battle; but about noon, they anchored about three leagues off, at the entrance of the channel, which leads to Copenhagen, and the Swedes were on the other ſide of the Grounds, at about the ſame diſtance. The Swediſh fleet having paſſed the channel of Flinterrena, the 3d of July, he got under ſail the next day, and anchoring off of Landſcron, he joined them the 6th; upon which the Danes retreated into their harbor.

The admiral, as ſoon as he got into Copenhagen-road, took a view of the Daniſh fleet, but found it ſo ſecured, that it was judged impracticable to attempt them with the frigats and fire-ſhips; it was

(1) His ſickneſs was in great meaſure occaſion'd by the ſolemnizing the anniverſary of his nativity, on Wedneſday the 24th of July. After the ceremony was over, his Highneſs found himſelf fatigued and indiſpoſed, and the next day he was very bad, and complained of his throat. All Friday he was hot and feveriſh. Saturday morning, after taking away a little blood, he thought himſelf better: but in the evening, his fever appearing more violent, a bliſter was applied to him, and other proper remedies adminiſtred; the ſame day a raſh appeared on his ſkin, which increaſing, on Sunday, more bliſters were laid on. In the afternoon the feaver growing ſtronger, he went into a delirium, which laſted with his life. He paſs'd the night as he did the preceeding, in ſhort broken ſleep, and incoherent talk. On Monday, the bliſters having taken effect, and the pulſe mending, the phyſicians who attended him, thought it not improbable but he might recover; but about eleven at night, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a difficult breathing, and could ſwallow nothing, inſomuch that he expired before midnight; being ten years and five days old. Hiſt. of K. Will. III. vol. 3. p. 457.

(2) He found them to be twenty-eight ſail proper for the line of battle, and that they were ranged athwart the narrow paſſage under the guns of their caſtle of Cronenburg, oppoſite to Helſingburg. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 731.

therefore

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therefore reſolved, in a council of war, to bombard them. Accordingly four bomb-veſſels were ſent in, and the ſame night they threw in about an hundred and forty ſhells, but with little ſucceſs: Three Engliſh, ſix Swediſh, and three Dutch ſhips, were, for that reaſon, ordered into the South channel, going into Copenhagen, with the bomb-veſſels, from whence they bombarded the Daniſh fleet for ſome hours; but no great damage was either done or received.

Preparations were now making to beſiege the city in form, and the young King of Sweden landed, about the latter end of July, with a body of troops, for that purpoſe; but all differences were ſoon after happily adjuſted, and the ſeveral ſquadrons thereupon retired to their reſpective coaſts (1).

The King returns to England.

The King having diſpatched ſeveral important affairs in Holland, imbarked on his return to England, the 17th of October, O. S. landed the next day ſafe at Harwich, and came the 20th to Hampton-court.

Conſequences of the ſecond treaty of partition.

I have already mentioned the concluſion of a ſecond treaty of partition, which according to agreement, was propoſed, by the contracting powers, to other Princes and States, for their acceptance and guaranty: but it appeared ſo ſtrange and unprecedented to them, that I do not find, any one Prince accepted of it. The Emperor thought himſelf aggrieved by it, becauſe he pretended a right to the whole Spaniſh Monarchy. The Engliſh and Dutch certainly had no other view in it, but to eſtabliſh the peace and tranquility of Europe, and to form a barrier in the Netherlands, for the ſecurity of the latter: but the French had very different and underhand views, and accordingly made quite another uſe of this treaty: for under pretenſe of preſerving the Spaniſh Monarchy intire (a very prevalent argument with the haughty Spaniards) they procured a will from the craſy and half-dead King, which was ſigned the 2d of October, N. S. By this will, he conſtituted the duke d'Anjou, his univerſal heir, upon default of iſſue; he was, in default of iſſue on his ſide, to be ſucceeded by the duke of Berry, the duke by arch-duke Charles, and the arch-duke, by the duke of Savoy and his family: provided, however, that none of the crown-lands and ſeigneuries ſhould be alien'd or divided, by any of his ſaid ſucceſſors. This memorable will, which proved afterwards the occaſion of ſo much blood-ſhed, was a contrivance of cardinal Portocarrero, and the marquis de Harcourt, and the King ſurvived it but barely a month, dying the 1ſt of November, N. S.

The King of Spain's laſt will.

The duke d' Anjou declared King of Spain.

A copy of this will being ſent to the court of France, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſeemed to be in ſuſpenſe, at firſt, whether he ſhould accept the will, or obſerve the treaty of partition. But he did not long waver in his reſolution; for, on the 16th of November, N. S. the duke d'Anjou was declared King of Spain, in the court of France, and was proclaimed King, at Madrid, by the direction of his grandfather, Lewis XIV, the 24th of the ſame month; againſt which both the new-elected Pope (Clement XI) and the Emperor proteſted. The Engliſh and Dutch miniſters, likewiſe, repreſented, that this ſtep was not agreeable to the treaty of partition, ſo lately ſigned: but the moſt Chriſtian King anſwered; that the principal deſign of that treaty being to prevent the union of the kingdoms of France and Spain under one ſoverein, this was effectually provided for by the will; the heirs of the duke d'Anjou being rendered incapable of the crown of Spain, if they ſucceeded to that of France (2): ſo that the ſpirit and intention of the partition treaty was ſtill complied with, tho' it might be contrary to the letter of it; adding, that his grandſon's title by the will, accruing ſince that treaty, could not be affected by it.

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The Dutch acknowlege him.

The duke of Bavaria, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, yielding up at the ſame time all the towns and fortreſſes in that country, to the French, with their gariſons, which were partly compoſed of Dutch troops, the States-general, who were unprovided for a war, were under a neceſſity of acknowleging the duke d'Anjou's title to the crown of Spain, that they might get their ſoldiers again, who were thereupon ſuffered to return home.

Theſe proceedings of the French court could not but ſenſibly affect King William: however, he concealed his reſentment, for the preſent, knowing himſelf not to be in a condition to ſhew it in a proper manner: for when count Tallard came to wait on his Majeſty, at Kenſington, the King, who was then looking out of the window, contented himſelf with ſayinig, "Monſieur, le tems eſt bien changé," (ſir, the times are altered, or the weather is altered, for the French word tems ſignifies either.)

The parliament diſſolved;

The King's parting with the parliament, at the end of the laſt ſeſſion, without ſpeaking to them, was a plain indication of his diſpleaſure, and as he now looked upon a war with France unavoidable, he was apprehenſive he could not rely upon effectual aſſiſtance from a houſe of commons, which had already ſhewn how much they were piqued againſt the court. He therefore thought fit, the 19th of December, to diſſolve the preſent parliament, which he had before prorogued ſoon after his arrival, and to call another to meet the 6th of February next inſuing.

And another called.

Promotions at court.

In the mean time, to beſpeak the affection of the oppoſite party, his Majeſty was pleaſed to make ſome removes in imployments of the greateſt truſt. He appointed the earl of Rocheſter to be governor-general of Ireland; the lord Godolphin to be firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, in the room of Charles Mountague, eſq; whom he had before made auditor of the exchequer, and created lord Halifax; the lord Tankerville he made privy-ſeal, in the room of the lord Lonſdale deceaſed; and ſir Charles Hedges, one of the judges of the admiralty, he made one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, in the room of the earl of Jerſey.

An' 1701. The parliament meets.

The parliament met, according to the writs of ſummons, on the 6th of February, but were prorogued to the 10th, when the commons being directed to chuſe a ſpeaker, and having made choice of Robert Harley, eſq; a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed parts, and manly eloquence, they returned to the houſe of lords, the next day, when the King made a ſpeech to both houſes, the ſubſtance of which was;

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That the death of the duke of Glouceſter "having made it abſolutely neceſſary, there ſhould "be a farther proviſion for the ſucceſſion in the "Proteſtant line, on which the happineſs of the "nation, and the ſecurity of its religion ſo much "depended, he could not but recommend it to "their early and effectual conſideration: that the "death of the King of Spain, with the declaration "of his ſucceſſor, had made ſo great an alteration "in affairs abroad, that it required their particular

(1) The King's conduct (ſays biſhop Burnet) in this whole matter was highly applauded, he effectually protected the Swedes, and yet obliged them to accept of reaſonable terms of peace.

(2) At the ſame time, that the French King was gloſſing over his treachery, in this manner, two remarkable inſtruments were drawing up at Paris, contrary to the meaning of the will, to preſerve the duke d'Anjou's title to the crown of France, in caſe his elder brother died without inheritable iſſue: which plainly ſhewed, that the houſe of Bourbon aimed at the union of the two crowns, as a greater ſtep to univerſal monarchy.

"conſideration;

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" conſideration ; and he did not doubt, but their " reſolutions thereupon, would be ſuch as ſhould " moſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of Eng- " land, the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, " and the peace of Europe.

" He deſired ſupplies for the current year, and " put them in mind of the deficiencies and public " debts, which were yet unprovided for ; and re- " commended to them the puting the royal navy in " a good condition, and of fortifying the harbors " for its ſecurity.

" He recommended the improvement of trade, " and making proviſion for the poor, and con- " cluded with an exhortation to a union among " themſelves, as moſt conducive to their ſafety at " home, and rendering them conſiderable abroad."

Bribery inquired into.

The firſt thing the commons inquired into was bribery in elections, which they did ſo thoroughly that they at length proceeded to purge their houſe of ſeveral members, who appeared to be come into it by undue meaſures, and not content with this, they called likewiſe their agents and bribed electors to an account, and returned their thanks to ſir Edward Seymor, for acting ſo vigorouſly againſt them:

Addreſs of the commons.

(1) The report of the King's ſpeech being made by the ſpeaker, on the 14th, the conſideration of it was adjourned to the next day : however to give his Majeſty immediate aſſurance of their loyalty and affection, they preſently came to this unanimous reſolution ; " that they would ſtand by and ſupport " his Majeſty and his government, and take ſuch " effectual meaſures as might beſt conduce to the in- " tereſt and ſafety of England, preſervation of the " Proteſtant religion, and the peace of Europe :"

The King's anſwer.

The ſubſtance of this reſolution being brought into an addreſs, and preſented to the King, by the whole houſe, his Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer : " that he thanked them for their addreſs, and " ready concurence with thoſe great ends therein " mentioned, which he took to be extreamly im- " portant to the honor and ſafety of England." He alſo aſſured them ; " that he would never propoſe " any thing, but what was for their common ad- " vantage and ſecurity :" he farther told them ; " that having this opportunity, he thought proper " to acquaint them, that he had, the day before, " received a memorial from the envoy extraordi- " nary of the States-General, a tranſlation whereof " he left them : and as to the former part of it, he " thought it neceſſary to aſk their advice, as to " the latter he deſired their aſſiſtance."

Two more addreſſes of the commons.

The commons, hereupon, addreſſed the King ; " that his Majeſty would pleaſe to cauſe the treaty " between England and the States General, of the " 3d of March 1677, together with all the re- " newals from that time to be laid before them :" to which the King having readily complied, the commons after maturely conſidering the dangerous ſtate of Europe, on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, made another unanimous addreſs to his Majeſty ; " that he would be pleaſed to enter " into ſuch negociations, in concert with the States- " General, and other potentates, as might moſt " effectually conduce to the national ſafety of theſe " kingdoms, and the United-provinces, as like- " wiſe to the preſervation of the peace of Europe ;" they alſo gave his Majeſty aſſurance " of ſupporting " and aſſiſting him to perform the treaty made with " the States-General, March 3, 1677."

The King's anſwer.

To this his Majeſty anſwered, " that he thanked " them heartily for their addreſs, and promiſed to " inable him to make good his treaty : that he " would immediately order his miniſters abroad, to " enter into ſuch negociations as ſhould be condu- " cive to thoſe great ends they deſired : that no- " thing could more effectually eſtabliſh their ſecu- " rity, than the unanimity and vigor they had " ſhewn upon this occaſion ; and that he ſhould al- " ways indeavor, on his part, to preſerve and in- " creaſe all mutual love and confidence betwixt " him and them (2)."

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The earl of Melford's letter.

The 17th of February, mr. ſecretary Vernon produced a letter, in the houſe of commons, which had been intercepted, from the earl of Melfort, to his brother the earl of Perth, who was at that time governor to the ſuppoſed Prince of Wales. This letter ſuggeſted, in general, that there were men and arms provided by the Papiſts and Jacobites to aſſiſt the French King, if he would make a deſcent in England, in favor of King James : but no particular perſons being named, as concerned in any ſuch conſpiracy, the houſe, looking upon it as a rude and undigeſted ſcheme, only read it, and then laid it aſide, without taking any reſolution thereupon. It was likewiſe communicated to the houſe of lords ; but was as little regarded there : however, their lordſhips preſented an addreſs to the King, the next day, in anſwer to his Majeſty's ſpeech, in which,

Addreſs of the houſe of lords.

" They returned their thanks and acknowlege- " ments to his Majeſty, for his concern, expreſſed " in his ſpeech, for the Proteſtant religion, and his " care for its preſervation, by recommending to " their conſideration a farther proviſion for the ſuc- " ceſſion to the crown, in the Proteſtant line." They added : " That being deeply ſenſible of the " weight of what his Majeſty had farther recom- " mended to them, they could not but deſire he " ſhould be pleaſed to order all treaties made by " him, ſince the late war, to be laid before them, " that they might thereby, be better inabled to " give their advice. They withal requeſted his " Majeſty to ingage in ſuch alliances abroad, as he " would think proper for preſerving the ballance of " Europe, aſſuring him they would readily concur " with whatever ſhould be conducive to the honor " and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the Pro- " teſtant religion, and the peace of Europe. They " next humbly thanked his Majeſty for communica- " ting the afore-mentioned letter to them, and de- " ſired he would be pleaſed to order the ſeizing of all " horſes and arms of Papiſts, and other diſaffected " perſons, and have thoſe ill men removed from " London, according to law : but eſpecially deſired " he would be pleaſed to give directions for a ſearch " to be made after arms and proviſions for war, " mentioned in the ſaid letter ; Laſtly, they re- " queſted, that ſuch a fleet might ſpeedily be fited " out, as his Majeſty, in his great wiſdom, ſhould " think neceſſary for the defenſe of himſelf and " kingdoms."

The King's anſwer.

His Majeſty, in anſwer, " thanked their lord- " ſhips for this addreſs, and aſſured them, he would " take care, to perform all that they had deſired of " him."

Alliance between the Emperor, England and Holland.

King William having now the aſſurances of his parliament to aid and ſupport him in what alliances he ſhould find neceſſary to enter into, for the public good, concluded one, in particular, between the Emperor, England and Holland, to maintain the pretenſions of the former to the Spaniſh Monarchy, which was the baſis of the grand alliance that

(1) By theſe proceedings, which were chiefly levelled at the court-intereſt, it plainly appeared, that the country-party had again the majority in the houſe of commons.

(2) Hitherto the begining of this ſeſſion was very promiſing : but we ſhall find, that the attention of the commons to public affairs was ſoon after taken off by private differences between the two houſes.

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infued, tho' it met with ſome interruption for the preſent.

The commons declare for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion;

His Majeſty had, as we have ſeen above, recommended to both houſes, from the throne, to provide for the ſucceſſion of the crown, after his and the Princeſs of Denmark's demiſe: but not contented with having declared his mind only, he even urged it (1): the commons therefore, took that part of his ſpeech into their early conſideration, and came, on the 3d of March, to the reſolution; that for "preſerving the peace and happineſs of this kingdom, and the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, "by law eſtabliſhed, it was abſolutely neceſſary, that "a farther proviſion ſhould be made, for the limitation and ſucceſſion of the crown, in the Proteſtant "line, after his Majeſty, and the Princeſs, and "the heirs of their bodies reſpectively, and that a "farther proviſion ſhould be firſt made, for the "rights and liberties of the people.

Under ſome limitations.

A committee being appointed for that purpoſe, ſome reſolutions were therein taken, and reported, on the 12th, to the houſe, who thereupon agreed and reſolved:

1. "That all things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy-council, ſhall be tranſacted there; and all reſolutions taken thereupon ſhall be ſigned by the privy-council.

2. "That no perſon whomſoever, who is not a native of England, Scotland or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, or who is not born of Engliſh parents beyond the ſeas (altho' ſuch perſon be naturalized or made a deniſon) ſhall be capable of any grant of lands, tenements or hereditaments from the crown to himſelf, or any other in truſt for him.

3. "That upon the farther limitation of the crown, in caſe the ſame ſhall hereafter come to any perſon not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to ingage in any war for the defenſe of any dominions or territories, not belonging to the crown of England, without the conſent of parliament.

4. "That whoſoever ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of this crown, ſhall join in the communion with the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed.

5. "That no pardon be pleadable to any impeachment in parliament.

6. "That no perſon who ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of this crown, ſhall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland or Ireland, without conſent of parliament.

7. "That no perſon who has any office under the King, or receives a penſion from the crown, ſhall be capable of ſerving as a member of the houſe of commons.

8. "That farther proviſion be made for the confirming of all laws and ſtatutes, for the ſecuring our religion, and the rights and liberties of the people.

9. "That judges commiſſions be made "quam diu ſe bene geſſerint," and their ſalaries aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; but, upon the addreſs of either houſe of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

The houſe of Hanover agreed to be next in ſucceſſion.

10. "That the Princeſs Sophia, ducheſs Dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in ſucceſſion to the crown of England, in the Proteſtant line, after his Majeſty and the Princeſs, and the heirs of their bodies, reſpectively; and that the farther limitation of the crown be to the ſaid "Princeſs Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being "Proteſtants." Will' III. An' 1701.

11. "That a bill be brought in upon the ſaid "reſolutions."

Theſe reſolutions being ſoon known abroad, many of the blood-royal, who were nearer related to King James I and King Charles I, than any of the Proteſtant line, except the King and Princeſs, thought theſe ſteps a great infringement of their rights: eſpecially the ducheſs of Savoy, daughter to the late ducheſs of Orleans, and grand-daughter to King Charles I, who was neareſt in blood to the crown, after the Princeſs of Denmark and King William. She, therefore, ordered count Maſſy, embaſſador of Savoy, to make a proteſtation, or rather repreſentation, in her behalf, containing in ſubſtance:

The ducheſs of Savoy's proteſt:

"That Ann of Orleans, ducheſs of Savoy, &c. "Princeſs of the blood-royal, by the royal Princeſs of Great-Britain, Henrietta her mother, "puts ſo high value upon that prerogative, that ſhe "gladly made uſe of the opportunity which then "offered, to ſet it forth before the eyes of the whole "Engliſh nation, as an evidence ſhe drew from "thence, of having a right to that auguſt throne: "that therefore being informed it had been reſolved in that parliament, that being the only "daughter of the late Princeſs Royal, Henrietta, her "mother, ſhe was the next in ſucceſſion, after his "Majeſty William III, and the Princeſs Ann of "Denmark, according to the laws and cuſtoms of "England, which always prefered the neareſt to "the remoteſt line: that her title being thus notoriouſly known and indiſputable, ſtood in need "of no farther proof: however, ſhe thought fit "to proteſt againſt all reſolutions and deciſions, "contrary thereunto, in the beſt and moſt effectual "manner that might be practiſed in ſuch a caſe, "wherein ſhe complied with cuſtom rather than "neceſſity: becauſe ſhe had ſo great an idea of "the wiſdom and juſtice of the King and parliament, that ſhe had no cauſe to fear they "would do any thing prejudicial to her and her "children.

Not regarded by the parliament.

The commons took however no notice of it: but proceeded in the bill for the farther limitation of the crown, in the Proteſtant line.

The convocation meets.

The convocation of the clergy of the dioceſe of Canterbury being, according to cuſtom, ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, at the ſame time with the parliament, they attended the King, on the 10th of March, with an addreſs, in anſwer to which his Majeſty aſſured them of his protection: but ſoon after, a fatal and memorable difference aroſe between the two houſes, about the power of adjournment, whether it was in the archbiſhop alone for both houſes, or whether the lower houſe might adjourn themſelves?

Exchequer bills renewed.

The 13th of March, the King came to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to "a bill for "renewing ſuch of the exchequer bills as remained "uncancelled.

The 18th, the King ſent a meſſage to the commons by mr. ſecretary Hedges, importing;

Meſſage from the King to the commons.

"That his Majeſty having directed mr. Stanhope, "his envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary at "the Hague, to enter into negociations, in con-"cert with the States-General and other potentates, "for the mutual ſecurity of England and Holland, "and the preſervation of the peace of Europe, "according to an addreſs of their houſe, to that "effect, and that mr. Stanhope having tranſmited

(1) The King did not ſo much as hint at the perſon he was deſirous to have favored, on this occaſion: tho' immediately after the death of the duke of Glouceſter, this important affair was previouſly concerted at Loo, whither the principal party concerned came to pay a viſit to his Majeſty.

"to

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" to his Majeſty copies of the demands made by himſelf, and the deputies of the States upon that ſubject, to the French embaſſador there, his Majeſty had thought fit to communicate the ſame to the commons, it being his intention to acquaint them, from time to time, with the ſtate and progreſs of thoſe negociations, into which he had entered, purſuant to their addreſs above-mentioned (1).

Their addreſs in anſwer.

The 21ſt, the commons took this meſſage into conſideration, and having read the propoſals made to the French embaſſador, by mr. Stanhope, and alſo the tranſlation of the reſolutions of the States-General, for treating with monſ. d'Avaux, the 22d of March 1700, they reſolved, that the treaty of partition be read, likewiſe, which being done accordingly, they voted " an addreſs, to return their " thanks to his Majeſty, for his meſſage, in which " he was pleaſed to communicate his royal intentions to acquaint them, from time to time, with " the ſtate and progreſs of theſe negociations, into " which he had entered, purſuant to their addreſs; " and, at the ſame time, to lay before his Majeſty " the ill conſequences of the treaty of partition, " (paſſed under the great-ſeal of England, during the ſiting of parliament, and without " the advice of the ſame) to this kingdom, and " the peace of Europe; whereby ſuch large territories, of the King of Spain's dominions, were " to be delivered up to the French King."

His Majeſty's reply.

In anſwer to this addreſs, the King, without taking notice of the partition-treaty, only told the commons; " that he was glad they were pleaſed " with his communicating to them the ſtate of the " negociations, which he ſhould continue to inform " them of, and receive their advice thereupon; " being perſuaded nothing could contribute more " to the happineſs of the kingdom, and the peace " of Europe, than the concurence of the parliament, in all his negociations, and a good underſtanding between him and his people."

The lords had, ſome days before, ſhewn their diſapprobation of this treaty; and great debates aroſe thereupon in their houſe, in which very ſevere reflections were caſt upon ſeveral peers, but upon none more than the earl of Portland, who was ſuppoſed to be author and chief manager of this fatal treaty: the debate being ended, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to acquaint them;

The meſſage of the lords to the commons.

" That there having been lately a treaty made " with France, extreamly dangerous in itſelf, and " alſo tranſacted in a moſt irregular manner, the " lords had thought fit to communicate it to the " houſe of commons, and to deſire them to appoint " a committee, for meeting a committee of the " lords, in order to their joint conſideration of " ſome method to be uſed, in making ſuch an application to his Majeſty, about this matter, as " might, for the future, prevent any proceedings of " this kind."

The lords, at the ſame time, deſired the commons, that mr. Vernon, a member of their houſe, might come to a committee of the upper houſe to give an account of ſome matters relating to the treaty of partition, which the commons readily granted.

Addreſs of the the lords.

The 20th, the lords preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, declaring their ſenſe of the partition-treaty, in the following manner:

" That having read and conſidered the ſaid " treaty, of the 3d of March, 1700, N. S. made " with the French King, together with the ſeparate " and ſecret articles, which he had been pleaſed to " communicate to them, they had, to their great " ſorrow, found the ſubſtance thereof would be of " very ill conſequence to the peace and ſafety of " Europe: for that, beſide the occaſion it might " have given the late King of Spain to have made " his will, in favor of the duke d'Anjou, if that " treaty had taken effect, the prejudice to his Majeſty and his ſubjects, and indeed to all Europe, " by the addition of Sicily, Naples, ſeveral parts " of the Mediterranean, the province of Guipuſcoa, and the duchy of Lorrain, had been not " only very great, but contrary to the pretenſe of " the treaty itſelf, which was to prevent any umbrage that might have been taken, by uniting " ſo many ſtates and dominions under one head: " that by all the informations they had had of the " fatal treaty, they could not find, that the verbal " orders or inſtructions (if any were given to his " Majeſty's plenipotentiaries) were ever conſidered " in any of his Majeſty's councils, or that the " draught of that treaty had ever been laid before " his Majeſty, at any meeting of his council, " much leſs that it was adviſed or approved of by " any council or committee of council: wherefore " they thought themſelves bound, in duty to his Majeſty, and juſtice to their country, moſt humbly " to beſeech him, that, for the future, he would " be pleaſed to require and admit, in all matters " of importance, the advice of his natural-born " ſubjects, whoſe known probity and fortunes might " give him and his people, a juſt aſſurance of " their fidelity to his ſervice: and that, in order " thereunto, he would be pleaſed to conſtitute a " council of ſuch perſons, to whom his Majeſty " might be pleaſed to impart all affairs, both at " home and abroad, which might any way concern " him and his dominions: for, as intereſt, and natural affection to their country, would incline " them to wiſh the welfare and proſperity of it, " much more than others, who had no ſuch ties " upon them; and as their experience and knowlege of their country would alſo render them more " capable than ſtrangers, of adviſing his Majeſty, in the true intereſt of it; ſo they were " confident, that after ſuch large and repeated demonſtrations of his ſubjects duty and affection, his " Majeſty could not doubt of their zeal in his " ſervice, nor want the knowlege of perſons fit to " be imployed in all his moſt ſecret and arduous " affairs. And as it appeared, that the French " King's accepting of the King of Spain's will, " was a manifeſt violation of that treaty, they humbly adviſed his Majeſty, in future treaties with " that Prince, to proceed with ſuch caution as might " carry a real ſecurity (2).

The King's anſwer.

To this addreſs the King anſwered; " that it contained matters of very great moment, and he " would take care, that all treaties he made " ſhould be for the honor and ſafety of England."

The debates on this treaty were no leſs vehement in the houſe of commons, than in the houſe of peers, and ſome members did not ſtick to caſt very ſevere, or rather indecent reflections upon his Majeſty (3). However, being at length come to a cooler temper, the King, on the 30th, ſent another

(1) By the memorial mentioned in the King's meſſage, the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters demanded of the French embaſſador, that his maſter ſhould withdraw his troops out of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and allow a ſufficient barrier for the ſecurity of England and the States-General: to which, however, that embaſſador did not think fit to return any anſwer.

(2) A motion was made, in the houſe of lords, before this petition was preſented, that it might be ſent to the commons for their concurence, which was back'd by ſome lords, with ſeveral reaſons; but the motion was rejected.

(3) Mr. How among others ſaid, the partition-treaty was a felonious treaty, and compared it to the diſtribution of other mens goods among highway-men.

meſſage

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His Majesty's message to the commons.

message to the houſe, by mr. ſecretary Hedges, importing:

"That his Majeſty having received an account "from mr. Stanhope, his envoy extraordinary at "the Hague, that the French embaſſador had de- "clared the King, his maſter, had no other an- "ſwer to return to the demands of the States-general, "than that he was ready to renew and confirm the "treaty of Ryſwick; it being all the ſecurity the "States were to expect: and that he had no orders "to give any anſwer to his Majeſty's ſaid envoy, "but if his Majeſty had any thing to demand, it "might be done by his embaſſador at Paris, or the "French miniſter at London; and that he had no "command to treat with any but the States: and "his Majeſty having alſo received two reſolutions "of the States, and a memoraial from their envoy "in England, relating to the ſhips they were ſending "to join his Majeſty's fleet, and the ſuccors they "deſired might be haſtened to them, by virtue of "the treaty of March 3, 1677, his Majeſty had "thought fit to communicate the whole to that "houſe, that they might be particularly informed of "the preſent ſtate of affairs abroad, where the nego- "ciations ſeemed to be at an end, by the poſitive "anſwer the French embaſſador had given to the "States, which his Majeſty recommended to the "ſerious conſideration of that houſe, as a matter of "the greateſt weight and conſequence, and deſired "they would give him ſuch advice thereupon, as "might be for their own ſecurity, and that of the "States-general, and the peace of Europe (1).

Advice of the commons to the King.

The commons, having taken his Majeſty's meſ- ſage into conſideration, the 2d of April, reſolved unanimouſly to adviſe his Majeſty: "that he would "be pleaſed to carry on the negociation, in concert "with the States-general, and take ſuch meaſures "therein, as might moſt conduce to their ſecurity: "and that his Majeſty would purſue the treaty made "in 1677, aſſuring him, that the houſe would ef- "fectually inable him to ſupport the ſame.

His Majeſty's anſwer.

To this, his Majeſty anſwered; "that, accord- "ing to their advice, he had given his envoy at the "Hague orders, to carry on the negociation, in "concert with the States-general, and take ſuch mea- "ſures therein, as might conduce to their ſecurity. "He thank'd them for the aſſurance they gave him "of inabling him to make good the treaty above- "mentioned, and told them he would purſue the "ſame, according to their advice; and he did not "doubt but the readineſs they had ſhewn upon that "occaſion, would very much contribute to the ob- "taining ſuch a ſecurity as was deſired."

King William acknowledges the duke d'Anjou, King of Spain.

King William, however, plainly foreſaw, that France would never tamely yield up any part of the Spaniſh monarchy, which he had now in poſſeſſion, and was at the ſame time ſenſible, that the parlia- ment was not inclined to enter into a war for th recovery of thoſe dominions from the duke d'Anjou; he therefore thought it prudence, to keep the French at a bay, by a feign'd negociation, which was dex- trouſly carrying on by the earl of Mancheſter at Paris, and mr. Stanhope at the Hague; while his Majeſty, the better to cover his deſigns, acknow- ledged the duke d'Anjou to be King of Spain, and wrote him the following congratulatory letter:

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Moſt ſerene and potent Prince, our dear brother and ally;

His congratu- latory letter to him.

"We have received your Majeſty's letter, of the "24th of March laſt, which has been very accept- "able to us upon many accounts: firſt, becauſe it "brought us notice of your ſafe arrival into your "kingdom of Spain, and of your coming to the "poſſeſſion of it, and taking upon yourſelf the go- "vernment of the dominions thereunto belonging: "and, in the ſecond place, becauſe it has made it "plain to us, that your Majeſty has a mind to con- "tinue, and keep inviolably, that moſt ancient al- "liance which is between the two crowns. Indeed, "we have willingly imbraced this occaſion, both to "congratulate your Majeſty's happy exaltation to "the Spaniſh throne, and to ſhew you how much "eſteem we have for your Majeſty, and how much "we deſire to make it appear to you, that our in- "clination does moſt readily prompt us to indeavor "what we can, that the mutual conjunction of friend- "ſhip and alliance between us may be confirm'd and "knit faſter, and the common good of the two na- "tions may daily more and more flouriſh and be "promoted, which we hope alſo will redound to the "public benefit, and good of all Europe. What "remains is to commend and commit your Majeſty "to the care and protection of Almighty God.

Given at our palace of Kenſington, the 17th day of April 1701, and the 13th year of the reign of your Majeſty's moſt loving brother and ally,

Sign'd, Gulielmus Rex, (2).

Negociations at the Hague fruitleſs.

The duke d'Anjou being now acknowledged King of Spain, both by the King of England and the States-general, the conferences were reſumed at the Hague, between the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters, and monſ. d'Avaux, the French embaſſador, to ſettle a barrier, purſuant to the advice the commons had given his Majeſty: but it plainly appear'd, that the aims of France were to ſpin matters into a length, while they were indeavoring, tho' in vain, to in- gage the Dutch into a ſeparate treaty.

The earl of Portland im- peach'd.

The commons of England continued, in the mean time, to conſider the partition treaty, and the ad- viſers and promoters of it; and, in the begining of April, came to a reſolution; "that William, earl "of Portland, by negociating and concluding the "treaty of partition, which was deſtructive to the "trade of this kingdom, and dangerous to the peace "of Europe, was guilty, and ſhould be impeach'd, "of high crimes and miſdemeanors:" and ſir John Leviſon Gower, by order of the houſe, went up to the bar of the houſe of lords, and there impeach'd the ſaid earl, acquainting their lordſhips, that they would, in due time, exhibit articles againſt him. This done, the commons, at a conference, deſired the lords to communicate to them, what informa- tions their lordſhips had received of any tranſactions relating to the treaties of partition of the Spaniſh monarchy. The lords, thereupon, delivered to them the two Latin commiſſions of powers, granted to the earls of Portland and Jerſey, for negociating the ſaid treaties, one dated the firſt of July 1699, and

(1) The demands made by mr. Stanhope were, that reaſonable ſatisfaction ſhould be given the Emperor, upon his pretenſions to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion: that the French King, by a ſhort and limited time, ſhould withdraw all his troops out of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and that the towns there ſhould be gariſoned by Walloon or Netherland troops, except ſuch places as were reſerved for the ſecurity of England and Holland. That for the particular ſecurity of England, Oſtend and Nieuport ſhould be gariſon'd by Engliſh troops: that no places belonging to Spain ſhould ever be alienated or transfer'd to France, or come under the power of the French King: that the ſubjects of England ſhould have the ſame privileges within the Spaniſh dominions, as at the King of Spain's death, and be upon the ſame foot, with reſpect to trades, in the Spaniſh dominions, as the French.

(2) This ſtep has been very much cenſured by ſome authors, and particularly by biſhop Burnet, as the manner of taking it has been by others, while he was actually forming alliances againſt the Prince he congratulated. But if all circumſtances be con- ſidered, I think he is far from having incur'd blame on either account. The Dutch had long before acknowledged him; the French had refuſed to treat with his Majeſty's envoy at the Hague: and there was now no medium but either to acknowledge the duke d'Anjou, or to declare war, which latter neither the King nor the nation were yet in a condition to do. The French King deceived King William in the partition-treaties, and made a handle of the latter of them to ingage the Spaniards to play the whole Spaniſh monarchy into his hands. If ever it was juſtifiable to deceive the deceiver, it ſurely was, in the caſe before us.

the

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the other the 2d of January 1700: as alſo a private paper of the lord Portland's, in which ſecretary Vernon adviſes him to negociate the firſt treaty.

The lord Sommers impeach'd.

The 14th, while the commons were in debate, whether they ſhould impeach the lord Sommers for adviſing that treaty, his lordſhip, before they were come to any reſolution, came down to their houſe, and deſired to be heard, when being admited, he made an apology for his conduct, and delivered the copies of two letters, to the houſe, the firſt of which he received from the King, deſiring his advice in the firſt treaty of partition, and the ſecond his lordſhip's anſwer to it; of both which, the reader has ſeen copies above. Notwithſtanding this, he was no ſooner withdrawn, than the commons came to a reſolution, "that John, lord Sommers, by adviſing "his Majeſty, in the year 1698, to the treaty of "partition of the Spaniſh monarchy, whereby large "territories of the King of Spain's dominions were "to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high "crime and miſdemeanor;" and mr. Harcourt, by the command of the commons, impeach'd that lord, at the bar of the houſe of peers, declaring that the houſe would, in due time, exhibit articles againſt him.

Addreſs of the commons againſt the impeach'd lords.

The 15th, the commons formed an addreſs to the King, in which "they humbly craved leave to re-"preſent to his Majeſty, the great ſatisfaction they "had from their late inquiry concerning the treaty "of partition, made in 1698, (on which the treaty "in 1699 was founded) to ſee his Majeſty's great "care of his people, and this nation, in not enter-"ing into that negociation, without the advice of "his Engliſh counſellors; and finding, that John, "lord Sommers (on whoſe judgment his Majeſty "chiefly relied, in that important affair) did, in "concert with Edward, earl of Orford, and Charles, "lord Hallifax, adviſe his Majeſty to enter into "that treaty, of ſo dangerous conſequence to the "trade and welfare of the nation, and who, to "avoid the cenſure which might juſtly be appre-"hended to fall on thoſe who adviſed the ſame, in-"deavored to inſinuate, that his Majeſty, without "the advice of his council, entered into that treaty, "and, under his ſacred name, ſought protection, "for what they themſelves had ſo adviſed, of "which treatment his Majeſty could not but have "a juſt reſentment; and that they might be no "longer able to deceive his Majeſty, and abuſe his "people, they humbly beſought his Majeſty, that "he would be pleaſed to remove the lord Sommers, "the earl of Orford, and the lord Hallifax, from "his council and preſenſe for ever; as alſo, "William, earl of Portland, who tranſacted thoſe "treaties, which were ſo unjuſt in their own na-"ture, and ſo fatal in their conſequences to England, "and the peace of Europe. After which, they "humbly craved leave, upon that occaſion, to re-"peat their aſſurances to his Majeſty, that they "would always ſtand by, and ſupport his Majeſty, "to the utmoſt of their power, againſt all his ene-"mies, both at home and abroad."

The earl of Orford, and the lord Hallifax impeach'd.

Tho' this addreſs, I ſay, was voted, the 15th, the commons did not preſent it 'till the 23d, in which time they likewiſe impeach'd the earl of Orford, and the lord Hallifax. In the mean while, the houſe of lords, tho' they had themſelves ſaid very hard things, againſt the partition treaty, and the manner of tranſacting it, in their addreſs, were now alarm'd at this forward ſtep of the commons, and reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent the effect of it; to this end, they preſented the King, on the 16th, an addreſs, in which they repreſented; "that the com-"mons having ſeverally impeach'd, at the bar of "their houſe, the earls of Portland and Orford, and "the lord Sommers and Hallifax, of high crimes and "miſdemeanors, and having acquainted their lord-"ſhips, that they would, in due time, exhibit par-"ticular articles againſt thoſe impeach'd lords, and "make the ſame good; they moſt humbly be-"ſought his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to "paſs no cenſure upon them, 'till they were tried "upon the ſaid impeachments, and judgment given, "according to the uſage of parliament, and the "laws of the land." To this addreſs, tho' it was preſented by the duke of Devonſhire, and the earl of Romney, two perſons great in the King's intereſt, his Majeſty did not think fit to give any manner of anſwer (1).

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Addreſs of the peers in favor of the impeached lords.

The King's anſwer to the addreſs of the commons.

When the addreſs of the commons came to be preſented, the 23d, tho' his Majeſty could not but be uneaſy at it, yet he was pleaſed to anſwer; "that "he was willing to take all occaſions of thanking "them very heartily, for the aſſurances they had "frequently given him, and repeated then, of "ſtanding by, and ſupporting him, againſt all his "enemies, towards which, nothing, in his opinion, "could contribute ſo much as a good correſpon-"dence between him and his people; and, there-"fore, they might depend upon it, that he would "imploy none in his ſervice, but ſuch as ſhould be "thought moſt likely to improve that mutual truſt "and confidence betwen them, which was ſo neceſ-"ſary, in that conjuncture, both for their own ſe-"curity, and the defenſe and preſervation of their "allies." This anſwer, tho' ambiguouſly fram'd, was ſo ſatisfactory to the commons, that they returned his Majeſty their thanks for it.

Indirect practices of the French.

Before I proceed to give an account of the ſucceſs of theſe impeachments, it may not be amiſs to ſay a word or two of the negociations at the Hague, which were carried on, by monſ. d'Avaux, in the ſame manner, and with the ſame views as I have mentioned above, and, indeed, with the ſame ſucceſs; the French inſiſting, that the States ſhould treat without the admiſſion of the Engliſh envoy, and the Dutch as ſtrenouſly reſiſting all their importunities and temptations. During theſe negociations, the French were advancing, with great bodies of troops, to the very gates of the Dutch frontier-towns, and tho' King William did all that was in his power, to ſupport them, and ſent over into Holland the three regiments, which were retained in Scotland, in his own pay; and, beſide, the States had, with their own mony, procured ſome auxiliaries from Germany; yet all theſe being inſufficient to remove their juſt apprehenſions, they wrote a very lamentable and affecting account of the dangerous ſituation of their affairs, to his Majeſty, earneſtly intreating, that the Engliſh forces might be ſent to their relief, without delay, purſuant to the treaty of 1677.

Apprehenſions of the Dutch.

His Majeſty hereupon ſent a meſſage to the commons on the 11th of the May, importing;

The King's meſſage to the commons concerning them.

"That having received an account from mr. "Stanhope, of the preſent poſture of affairs in Hol-"land; and, likewiſe, a letter from the States-general, "which was of the greateſt importance, and his "Majeſty, who had ſo perfect a knowledge of "their country, being intirely convinced of the "hardſhip of their preſent condition, and the "great preſſures they lay under, which were parti-"cularly expreſs'd in that letter, he thought it ab-"ſolutely neceſſary to communicate the ſame to that

(1) The houſe of lords were ſo diſſatisfied, at the King's ſilence, that they appointed a committee to inquire if there was any pecedent of the like nature. However, we may, upon this occaſion, obſerve that his Majeſty did, in effect, grant their requeſt, tho' he made a ſhew rather of complying with the commons,

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" houſe, that the expectations the States had of " preſent aſſiſtance from his Majeſty might more " fully appear: and his Majeſty did not doubt, but " that houſe would be ſo juſtly ſenſible of theſe im- " mediate dangers, to which they ſtood expoſed, as " to take the ſame into their moſt ſerious conſide- " ration, it being moſt evident, that the ſafety of " England, as well as the very being of Holland, " very much depended upon their reſolution in that " matter.

Votes of the commons thereupon

The commons having read, and maturely conſider'd as well of this meſſage, as of the moving letter of the States, they came to the following unanimous reſolution;

" That they would effectually aſſiſt his Majeſty " to ſupport his allies, in maintaining the liberties " of Europe, and would immediately provide ſuc- " cors for the States-general, and order'd, that this " reſolve ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty by the " whole houſe." This being done accordingly the King returned them " his hearty thanks, for the " zeal they expreſs'd for the common cauſe; adding, " he knew nothing that could be more effectual for " the ſupport of it, both at home and abroad, than the " unanimous concurrence they had ſhewn, upon this " occaſion, and that it would be a particular ſatiſ- " faction to him, in his time, to renew the glory " which the Engliſh formerly had of maintaining " the liberty and balance of Europe."

This letter being, likewiſe communicated to the lords, they thank'd his Majeſty for it, in an addreſs. But to return to the impeachments:

The 5th of May, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to remind them, that there were yet no articles prefered againſt the impeached lords; upon which the commons, on the 9th, ſent up articles againſt Edward, earl of Orford, in maintainance of their impeachment. Theſe articles ſet forth:

Articles againſt the earl of Orford.

" That, prefering his private intereſt to the pub- " lic good, he had, during an expenſive war, pro- " cured ſeveral grants from his Majeſty, of lands, " and exorbitant ſums of mony: that while he com- " manded the royal navy in the Streights, he re- " ceived the public mony, and converted it to his " private uſe, and then procured a privy-ſeal to diſ- " charge him of it: that he receiv'd conſiderable ſums " from the King of Spain alſo, with great quantities " of wine, oil, and other proviſions for the fleet; " which he converted to his own uſe: that he ſold " and diſpoſed of ſeveral veſſels, as prizes, without " condemnation: that preſiding in the commiſſion " of lord high-admiral, he had rejected the requeſt " of the Eaſt-India company, for ſuppreſſing pirates, " and had procured a commiſſion for William " Kidd (1), who had commited piracy, incouraged " thereto by his hopes of the earl's protection: that, " in the time of the aſſaſſination-plot, he had taken " ſeveral ſeamen out of the Ducheſs, to be put on " board captain Kidd, to the prejudice of the public " ſecurity: that in the time of the war, he ſent out " the King's ſhip the Dolphin, upon a private " voyage to his own advantage, but at the public " charge: that he had procured and poſſeſs'd offices, " which were inconſiſtent one with the other. That " while he commanded the royal navy, he loſt " ſeveral opportunities of deſtroying the enemy's " ſhips, and that he had adviſed the King to enter " into the treaties of partition, to the prejudice of the " nation, with ſome other things of leſs moment.

To theſe articles, the earl ſoon put in his anſwer, and ſaid; " that his Majeſty, in conſideration of " his many years ſervice, had voluntarily made him " a reverſionary grant, for the value of about " 10,000 l. That he had legally paſs'd his accounts, " for all monies he had received on account of the " public: that whatever he received of the King of " Spain for the fleet, was duly diſtributed among " the ſeamen. That he denied having injoyed any " offices that were inconſiſtent one with another. " That he conſtantly gave orders for proceeding " againſt the prizes, that were taken according to " law: that he never diſcouraged the Eaſt-India " company's requeſt for the ſuppreſſing of pirates: " that Kidd's commiſſion was granted according to " law, and intended for the public good, and if he had " commited piracy, he was never incouraged in it " by him: that as to the taking of men out of the " Ducheſs, to put on board captain Kidd, they were " but ſome of the very perſons taken before from on " board of captain Kidd, and that all fears of the in- " vaſion were then over: that he had no intereſt or " concern in the ſhip Dolphin. That he had not " neglected his duty againſt the enemy; and, con- " ſidering his ſervices againſt the French fleet, he " did not expect to be charged therewith: and he " denied that he adviſed his Majeſty to enter into " the partition treaty, avering, that he had ob- " jected to it, and gave his opinion againſt it."

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His lordſhip's anſwer.

The next againſt whom the commons exhibited articles was the lord Sommers, the charge given in, the 19th of May, was as follows:

Articles againſt the lord Sommers.

" That he, contrary to his truſt, put the great " ſeal to the commiſſion for treating about the par- " tition, without the participation of the council: " that having no warrant for the ſame, he after- " wards indeavored to procure one to be tranſmited " to him: that he ratified the treaty of partition " in 1698. That he did the ſame by the other " treaty of partition in 1699: that he did not " cauſe the ſaid commiſſions and ratifications to be " inrolled: that he procured diverſe grants to him- " ſelf, of which they inſtanced diverſe particulars " in two or three articles, eſpecially of the forfeited " eſtates in Ireland. That beſide the fees and per- " quiſites of his office, he procured a penſion of " 4000 l. per annum; that he was concerned, as " well as the other lords, in ſending out of captain " Kidd: that he did not do his office at chancery, " but aſſerted ſome things dangerous to the conſti- " tution of the kingdom; with ſome other mat- " ters of leſs moment."

Lord Sommers's anſwer.

To theſe articles, the lord Sommers anſwered: " that he had, according to his duty, given the " King his opinion freely, on the partition-treaties, " and had his Majeſty's letters for his warrants, in " ſeting the ſaid great ſeal to the ſaid commiſſions " and treaties: that it was not incumbent on him, " as-lord chancellor, to ſee the ſaid commiſſions or " treaties inrolled; but the care of it belonged to " the prothonotary of the court of chancery: that " he never paſſed any grants without ſufficient war- " rants, and that more conſiderable grants had " paſſed in the times of his predeceſſors. That " the penſion of 4000 l. per annum had been allow- " ed to other chancellors: that he never begged " any grant: but what he had received was given " him voluntarily by his Majeſty, in conſideration " of his ſervices: that the commiſſion to captain

(1) This arch-pirate, returning with his booty to New-England, was there taken by the lord Bellamont, the governor, and ſent to England, where he was tried at a ſeſſions of admiralty, held at the Old-baily, and condemned and executed for murder and piracy. The houſe of commons, upon his being brought to England, which was in the begining of the year 1700, addreſs'd his Majeſty; " that the ſaid captain Kidd might not be tried, diſcharged or pardoned, 'till the next ſeſſion of parliament, and " that the governor of New-England might remit over all inſtructions or papers taken with, or relating to the ſaid Kidd:" with which his Majeſty complied, and Kidd was not executed, 'till the 22d of May, of this year, that is, 'till it appeared, that he either could not, or would not (the former of which is, however, moſt probable) diſcover any thing to the prejudice of the impeached lords. Lediard's Naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 728.

Kidd

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" Kidd was then thought neceſſary, for the preſervation of trade and navigation: he acknowleged, that Samuel Newton's name, in the grant of the veſſels and goods, that ſhould be taken by Kidd, was uſed in truſt for him (the lord Sommers) but that Kidd, having abuſed his commiſſion, and turned pirate, his imployers had loſt their expences, inſtead of making any gain by ſending him out.

Articles againſt the lord Hallifax.

The articles againſt the lord Hallifax ſet forth, that whereas the commons had thought it reaſonable to apply the forfeited eſtates in Ireland to the uſe of the public, he had procured a grant of ſeveral ſums forfeited to the crown, in that kingdom, amounting to 13,000 l. that he had alſo procured ſeveral grants in England, particularly a grant of 14,000. l. to be raiſed out of ſcrubbed beech, birch, holly, &c. growing in his Majeſty's foreſts, under color whereof he had cut down and ſold, for his own benefit, ſappling oaks, and many tuns of well-grown timber; that he procured ſeveral offices and places in the treaſury and exchequer, which he injoyed at the ſame time, tho' they were manifeſtly inconſiſtent, and ought to have been a check on each other; and laſtly, that he adviſed the partition-treaties."

The lord Hallifax's anſwer.

To this charge, the lord Hallifax anſwered, that he did accept a grant of debts, &c. forfeited to the crown, in Ireland, amounting to 13,000 l. as he lawfully might: but that they had been taken away from him by the late act of reſumption and he had not made clear of them, above 400 l; that he had not accepted of the grants mentioned in England, and particularly 2000 l. per annum for ſeven years, to be raiſed by the fall of ſcrub, beech, birch, &c. and if any abuſe had been in cuting of the wood, he was not anſwerable for the ſame, it being done by the direction of his Majeſty's ſurveyor-generals, and other officers. He did not deny his injoying the ſaid places in the treaſury, and the exchequer: but ſaid, it was but for a while; he deſigned, from the begining, to lay ſome of them down, and had actually relinquiſhed ſome of them: he ſaid, he never adviſed the partition-treaties, or was conſulted thereupon: but when the matter was diſcourſed of at Tunbridge-wells, he made ſeveral objections to the ſame."

A meſſage from the lords to the commons.

And now thoſe differences between the two houſes, which afterwards run a great length, and were a great obſtruction to the public affairs, began to ſhew themſelves, and to increaſe daily: for, on the 24th of May, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to put them in mind of replying to the earl of Orford's anſwer, that a day might be appointed for his trial, and of exhibiting articles againſt the earl of Portland, and the other lords.

The anſwer of the commons.

The commons, who began to ſhew ſome uneaſineſs and reſentment at this meſſage, anſwered: " that they defered bringing up the replication againſt the earl of Orford, becauſe they thought fit to begin with the trial of the lord Sommers; and to the other part of the lords meſſage, puting them in mind of ſending up articles of impeachment againſt the earl of Portland, &c. they held it to be unparliamentary, they, as proſecutors, being the proper judges, where articles of impeachment ought to be brought up.

A ſecond meſſage of the lords.

This anſwer of the commons had the ſame effect upon the lords, as their meſſage had upon the commons, and jealouſies thereupon increaſed: inſomuch that the peers ſent a ſecond meſſage to the lower houſe, acquainting them, " that they had appointed the 9th of June, for the trial of the earl of Orford, and that the commons might reply if they thought fit: they alſo put them in mind again, that no articles were exhibited againſt the earl of Portland; which, after an impeachment had ſo long depended, they obſerved was a hardſhip, and not agreeable to the uſual method of parliament."

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Reply of the commons.

The commons replied to this: " that it was their undoubted right, when ſeveral perſons ſtood impeached to bring to trial ſuch of them, in the firſt place, as they thought fit, and that no day ought to be appointed by their lordſhips for the trial, without ſome previous ſignification to their lordſhips, from the commons, of their being ready to proceed therein; and therefore the commons could not agree, to the day appointed by their lordſhips for the trial of the earl of Orford; and as to the ſending up articles againſt the earl of Portland, they thought their lordſhips, by the frequent repetition of it, intended to introduce diſputes to the delay of juſtice, and in breach of that good correſpondence, which ought to be obſerved between the two houſes."

The lords inſiſt on their right.

The controverſy began now to be very warm, in both houſes: and the lords, to ſhew that they intended to perſiſt in their former meſſage, gave a freſh inſtance of this their reſolution, by " puting the commons in mind of replying to the lord Sommers," and on that occaſion aſſerted, " that the right of limiting a convenient time for the trial was lodged in them."

The commons propoſe a committee of both houſes, &c.

At a conference held, on this occaſion, the commons afterwards propoſed the appointing of a committee of both houſes, to conſider of the moſt proper ways and methods of proceeding on impeachments: but the lords, by another meſſage, inſiſted on " their right of appointing the day of trial, without any previous ſignification from the commons of their being ready, and complained that the commons ſhould charge them with delaying juſtice." On the other hand, the commons inſiſted as ſtrenuouſly on the nominating " a committee of both houſes, to adjuſt the neceſſary preliminaries to the trials: as whether the impeached lords ſhould appear at their trials, at their lordſhips bar, as criminals, and whether they ſhould ſit as judges, at each others trials, or vote, in their own caſes, as they found, by their lordſhips journals, they had been admited to do."

Which the lords refuſe.

The lords ſtill perſiſted to refuſe appointing any ſuch committee to conſider of the ways and methods of impeachments; and to ſhew they would not be controuled, in what they called their right, they appointed the 13th of June, for the trial of the lord Sommers: but the commons were as reſolute, on their ſide, and refuſed to appear at any trial, 'till the preliminaries were ſettled.

Reſolutions of the lords.

The lords, hereupon, came to two reſolutions, which they communicated to the commons, and were as follows: 1. " That no lord of parliament, impeached for high crimes and miſdeamenors, and coming to his trial, ſhall be without the bar. 2. That no lord, impeached of high crimes and miſdeamenors, can be precluded from voting on any occaſion, except in his own trial:" and becauſe the commons ſhould not pretend they were ſtreightned for time, " they ordered the trial of the lord Sommers to be put off to the 17th of June, and agreed to a free conference with the commons.

A free conference held.

At this conference the lord Haverſham ſaid; " one thing there is which a worthy member mentioned, tho' I cannot ſpeak to it large: becauſe I think myſelf bound up by the reſolutions of the houſes: yet it muſt have ſome anſwer; that is, as to the lords voting in their own caſe, it requires an anſwer, tho' I cannot enter into the debate of it. The commons themſelves have made this precedent. For in theſe impeachments they have allowed men, equally concerned in the

" ſame

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" ſame facts (1), to vote in their own houſe: and " we have not made this diſtinction in ours, that " ſome ſhould vote, and ſome not. The lords " had ſo high an opinion of the juſtice of the houſe " of commons, that they hope juſtice ſhall never be " made uſe of as a maſk for any deſign: and there- " fore give me leave to ſay (tho' I am not to argue " it) it is to me a plain demonſtration, that the " commons think theſe lords innocent; and I " think the propoſition is undeniable: for when " there are ſeveral lords in the ſame circumſtances " (2), in the ſame facts, there is no diſtinction: " and the commons leave ſome of theſe men at the " head of affairs, near the King's perſon, to do any " miſchief if they are inclined to it, which looks as " if they thought them all innocent." Theſe expreſſions were immediately objected to by ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, and the managers for the commons, took them to be ſuch an aſperſion on the honor of that houſe, that they immediately withdrew from the conference (3); and theſe managers being returned to their houſe, it was reſolved; " that " John lord Haverſham had, at the free conference, " uttered moſt ſcandalous reproaches and falſe ex- " preſſions highly reflecting upon the honor and " juſtice of the houſe of commons, and tending to " the making a breach in the good correſpondence " between the lords and commons, and to the inter- " rupting the public juſtice of the nation, by de- " laying the proceedings on impeachments: and " reſolved that John lord Haverſham be charged " before the lords, for the words ſpoken at the ſaid " conference; and that the lords be deſired to " proceed in juſtice againſt him, and to inflict ſuch " puniſhment on the ſaid lord, as ſo high an offenſe " againſt the commons does deſerve."

The commons reſent words ſpoken there, by the lord Haverſham.

The lords afterwards deſired that the free conference might be renewed, in order to ſet all matters right: but the commons reſolved, " that it was not " conſiſtent with their honor to renew the free con- " ference, 'till juſtice was done them on the lord " Haverſham."

Farther reſolutions of the commons.

The 16th of June, the lords ſent the commons the following rules, to be obſerved the next day, at the trial of the lord Sommers:

Rules given by the lords, for the trial of the lord Sommers.

1. " That the whole impeachment be read, and " then the anſwer; which being done, the lord- " keeper to tell the commons, that they may go " on with their evidence.

2. " If any of the peers, or the members of the " houſe of commons, who manage the evidence, or " the lord impeached, do deſire, do have any queſ- " tion aſked, they deſire the lord-keeper to aſk the " ſame.

3. " If any doubt ariſes at the trial, no debate to " be in the court, but the queſtion ſuſpended, to " be debated in this houſe.

4. " The members of the houſe of commons to " be there before the peers come.

5. " None but the peers to be covered at the " trial.

6. " Such peers, at the trial of the impeach- " ed lord, who at the inſtance of the ſaid lord, " or of the commons, ſhall be admited wit- " neſſes, are to ſworn at the clerk's table, " and the lord-keeper to adminiſter the oath, " and to deliver their evidence, in their own " places.

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7. " Thoſe witneſſes who are commoners, are to " be ſworn at the bar, by the clerk, and are to " deliver their evidence there.

8. " The impeached lords may croſs-examine wit- " neſſes, viva voce."

The commons received, the ſame day, the lord Haverſham's anſwer to their charge; in which he juſtified the expreſſions he had made uſe of, in the late conference between the two houſes; and ſtill aſſerted, " that the commons had ſhewn them- " ſelves partial, and even unjuſt, in proceeding " againſt the impeached lords, while they ſuffered " the earl of Jerſey, mr. ſecretary Vernon, ſir " Joſeph Williamſon, ſir Edward Seymour, " ſir Stephen Fox, and mr. Pelham, who were " ingaged in the ſame tranſactions, to remain un- " moleſted."

Lord Haverſham's anſwer to the charge againſt him.

The commons, on the other hand, gave ſeveral reaſons why they could not appear, at the lord Sommers's trial, of which the following were the principal.

1. " That the lords had not agreed to a commit- " tee of both houſes, for ſettling the preliminaries.

2. " That they could never appear as proſecu- " tors, before their lordſhips, 'till they had given " them ſatisfaction, that lords impeached of the " ſame crimes ſhould not ſit as judges, on each " others trials, for thoſe crimes.

3. " Becauſe the commons had yet received no " reparation for the great indignity offered them, " at the free conference, by the lord Haverſham."

Reaſons given by the commons for not appearing at the trial.

This did not hinder the lords from proceeding to the trial of the lord Sommers, the 17th, in Weſtminſter-hall; or rather to the acquiting him; for the whole proceſs was this: they cauſed the articles againſt him, with his anſwer, to be read, and the commons not having replied, and conſequently no iſſue joined, they put the following queſtion: " that John lord Sommers, be acquited of the ar- " ticles of impeachment exhibited againſt him by " the houſe of commons, and of all things therein " contained; and that the ſaid impeachment be " diſmiſſed?" which was reſolved in the affirmative.

The lord Sommers acquited.

To juſtify their proceedings, the lords ſent, on the 20th, their anſwer to the reaſons given by the commons, why they could not appear, at the trial of the impeached lords, in which their lordſhips ſaid: " they acknowleged that the houſe of com- " mons have a right of impeaching: but that the " lords have an undoubted right of doing juſtice " upon ſuch impeachments, by bringing them to " a trial, and condemning or acquiting the parties, " in a reaſonable time: that there never was an in- " ſtance of a committee of both houſes yielded to " by the lords, in caſe of impeachment for high " crimes and miſdemeanors; and they ſhould make " no new precedent on this occaſion:" and, as to the pretence the commons made to delay the trials, on account of ſome expreſſions which fell from the lord Haverſham, their lordſhips anſwered; " they " had omited nothing that might give the commons

Anſwer of the lords to the reaſons given by the commons, &c.

(1) This his lordſhip afterwards explained in print, alleging; " that the lord Hallifax was impeached, for that he, being " a commiſſioner of the treaſury, aſſented to the paſſing of diverſe grants from the crown, for ſeveral lands in Ireland; and " yet ſir Edward Seymor, ſir Stephen Fox, and mr. Pelham, who being alſo lords-commiſſioners of the treaſury did " ſeverally aſſent to the paſſing of diverſe like grants, ſtood unimpeached.

(2) This his lordſhip, likewiſe, indeavored to juſtify, by urging " that the lords Portland, Sommers, Orford and Hallifax, " were impeached for adviſing the treaty of partition, yet the earl of Jerſey, who ſigned the partition in 1699, ſir Joſeph " Williamſon, who tranſacted and ſigned the firſt treaty of partition in 1698, and mr. ſecretary Vernon, who promoted the " latter, ſtood unimpeached: and that one of the articles againſt the earl of Orford, and the lord Sommers was for procuring " a commiſſion for captain Kidd, and likewiſe a grant of the ſhips and goods of certain perſons; and yet other lords, equally " concerned in procuring the ſaid commiſſion and grant ſtood, unimpeached.

(3) When they were upon withdrawing, the lord Steward ſaid, he hoped they would not think, that lord had any authority from the houſe of lords, to uſe any ſuch expreſſions towards the commons: which however, little availed to alleviate the reſentment the commons ſhewed on this occaſion.

" all

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" all reaſonable ſatisfaction in that matter;" and obſerved farther, " that this buſineſs had no relation to the trial of the impeach'd lords, and, therefore, they could not imagine why the commons ſhould make ſatisfaction and reparation againſt the lord Haverſham, a neceſſary condition for going on with the trials."

The very ſame day, the commons, being now provoked to the higheſt degree, came to the following warm and remarkable reſolution:

Warm reſolution of the commons.

" That the lords had refuſed juſtice to the commons, upon the impeachment againſt the lord Sommers, by denying a commitee of both houſes to ſettle the preliminaries, and afterwards proceeding to a pretended trial of the ſaid lord, which could tend only to protect him from juſtice, by color of an illegal acquital: againſt which proceedings the commons did ſolemnly proteſt, as being repugnant to the rules of juſtice, and therefore null and void: that the houſe of lords, by the pretended trial of John, lord Sommers, had indeavored to over-turn the right of impeachments, lodged in the houſe of commons, by the ancient conſtitution of this kingdom, for the ſafety and protection of the commons againſt the power of great men, and had made an invaſion on the liberties of the ſubject, by laying a foundation of impunity, for the greateſt offender: that all the ill conſequences which might attend the delay of the ſupplies, given by the commons, for preſerving the public peace, and maintaining the balance of Europe, by ſupporting our allies againſt the power of France, were to be imputed to thoſe who, to procure an indemnity for their own enormous crimes, had uſed their utmoſt indeavors to make a breach between the two houſes.

A meſſage from the lords to the commons.

The ſame day, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to acquaint them: " that the commons not appearing to maintain their articles againſt the lord Sommers, they had acquited him of the articles of impeachment, and diſmiſſed the ſame: and that they had appointed the next inſuing Monday, for the trial of the earl of Orford: that from the commons ſtill preſſing for a committee of both houſes, their lordſhips inferred, that they never deſigned to bring any of their impeachments to a trial: and as to the lord Haverſham, his anſwer was before the commons, and the lords reſolved to do juſtice in that matter."

The commons, on the other hand, to ſhew their reſolutions were immoveable, ordered, " that no member ſhould preſume to appear at the pretended trial of the earl of Orford, on pain of incuring the utmoſt diſpleaſure of the houſe."

Anſwer of the lords to the reſolution of the commons.

The 23d, the lords reſolved; " that the reſolutions of the commons, of the 20th, contained moſt unjuſt reflections on the honor and juſtice of the houſe of peers, and were contrived to cover their affected and unreaſonable delays in proſecuting the impeached lords, and did manifeſtly tend to the deſtruction of the judicature of the lords; to the rendering trials and impeachments impracticable for the future; to the ſubverting the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, and therefore, whatever ill conſequences might ariſe, from the ſo long defering the ſupplies of this year's ſervice, they were to be attributed to the fatal counſel of the puting off the meeting of a parliament ſo long, and to the unneceſſary delays of the houſe of commons."

The earl of Orford acquited.

The ſame day, the lords proceeded to acquit the earl of Orford, as they had done the lord Sommers and on the 24th of June, being the laſt day of the ſeſſion, they made the following order.

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The earl of Portland, the lord Haverſham, and the ord Halliſax acquited.

" The houſe of commons not having preſented their charge which they brought up againſt John, lord Haverſham, for words ſpoken by him, at a free conference, the 13th inſtant, the ſaid charge is hereby diſmiſſed. The earl of Portland being impeached by the houſe of commons of high crimes and miſdemeanors, the firſt day of April laſt, the impeachment is hereby diſmiſſed, there being no articles exhibited againſt him. The houſe of commons having impeached Charles lord Halliſax, of high crimes and miſdemeanors on the 15th day of April laſt; and on the 14th day of this inſtant June, exhibited articles againſt him, to which he having anſwered, and there being farther proſecution the ſaid impeachment and articles are hereby diſmiſſed."

They diſmiſſed, at the ſame time, an impeachment which had been prefered by a former parliament againſt the duke of Leeds.

As I choſe to give an abſtract of the proceedings againſt the impeached lords in one connexion, I muſt now go back to take a view of ſome other tranſactions which happened during this ſeſſion of parliament, among which none made more noiſe, than the following petition or remonſtrance, which was preſented to the houſe.

The Kentiſh petition.

" We the gentlemen, juſtices of the peace, grand-jury, and other free-holders, at the general quarter-ſeſſions, at Maidſtone, in Kent, being deeply concerned at the dangerous ſtate of this kingdom, and of all Europe; and conſidering that the fate of us, and our poſterity, depends on the wiſdom of our repreſentatives in parliament, think ourſelves bound in duty humbly to lay before this honorable houſe, the conſequence, in this juncture, of your ſpeedy reſolutions, and moſt ſincere indeavors, to anſwer the great truſt repoſed in you, by your country. And in regard, from the experience of all ages, it is manifeſt, no nation can be great or happy, without union, we hope no pretenſe whatſoever ſhall be able to create a miſunderſtanding among ourſelves, or the leaſt diſtruſt of his Majeſty, whoſe great actions for this nation are written in the hearts of his ſubjects, and can never, without the blackeſt ingratitude be forgotten: we muſt humbly implore this honorable houſe to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and ſafety may be effectually provided for: that your loyal addreſſes may be turned into bills of ſupply, and that his moſt ſacred Majeſty (whoſe propitious and unblemiſhed reign over us, we pray God long to continue) may be inabled, powerfully to aſſiſt his allies before it be too late.

The petitioners impriſoned.

This petition was preſented to the houſe, the 3d of May, by David Polhill, William Colepepper, Thomas Coleppeper, Juſtinian Champney, and William Hamilton, eſqs(1); and being read, theſe gentlemen were called, when at the bar of the houſe, they owned the petition, and that they had ſigned it They were ordered thereupon to withdraw, and the houſe reſolved; " that the ſaid petition was " ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious, tending to " deſtroy the conſtitutions of parliament, and to " ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government of this king-" dom:" upon which theſe five gentlemen were ordered into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms attending that houſe: but he, ſoon after repreſenting that he was apprehenſive of a reſcue, from the mob, they were removed to a cloſer confinement in the Gate-houſe.

(1) This petition was ſubſcribed by twenty-two juſtices of the peace, and near 250 gentlemen.

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A memorial called Legion ſent to the ſpeaker.

Some days after, a memorial was ſent to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons (1), full of bitter invectives and menaces, and complaining, among other things; "of their voting the Kentiſh petition inſolent, becauſe the free-holders of England are ſuperior to the commons: of their impriſoning gentlemen who were none of their members, and who, at the command of the people, came to put them in mind of their duty; declaring that it was the undoubted right of the people of England, in caſe their repreſentatives in parliament did not proceed, according to their duty, and the people's intereſt, to inform them of their diſlike, diſown their actions, and direct them as they thought fit; of their proſecuting the crime of bribery in elections in ſome only, to ſerve a party: of their voting the treaty of partition fatal to Europe, becauſe it gave ſo much of the Spaniſh dominions to France, and not concerning themſelves to prevent their taking poſſeſſion of it all. Of their deſerting the Dutch when the French were at their doors, 'till it were almoſt too late to help them. Of addreſſing the King to diſplace his friends, upon bare ſurmiſes, before a legal trial, which was inverting the law, and making execution go before judgment: of their delaying proceedings upon capital impeachments, and ſo blaſting the reputation of the perſons, without proving the fact: of the breach of faith in neglecting to pay the nation's debts which were contracted on the ſecurity of their acts. And of their ſuffering ſaucy and indecent reproaches upon his Majeſty's perſon, to be publicly made in their houſe, without ſhewing ſuch reſentment as they ought to do." This memorial, which, tho' printed, no body durſt own, was intirely diſregarded, and taken no notice of by the commons.

Acts paſſed.

The King came to the houſe of peers, the 12th of June, and having ſent for the commons up, gave the royal aſſent; "1. To an act for the farther limitation of the crown, and better ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubjects. 2. An act for preventing the inconveniencies that might happen by privilege of parliament (2). 3. An act to continue the acts therein mentioned, for preventing theft and rapine, upon the Northern borders of England. 4. An act for appointing wardens and aſſay-maſters, for aſſaying wrought-plate in the cities of York, Exeter, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Norwich. 5. An act for continuing a former act, to prevent falſe and double returns of members to ſerve in parliament. 6. An act for the better ſettling and preſerving the library kept in the houſe at Weſtminſter, called Cotton-houſe, in the name and family of the Cotton's, for the benefit of the public." And to ſeveral other private acts.

This done, his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I return you my hearty thanks for the care you have taken to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line, and I muſt not loſe this occaſion of acquainting you, that I am likewiſe extreamly ſenſible of your repeated aſſurances of ſupporting me in ſuch alliances, as ſhall be moſt proper for the ſecurity of England and Holland. Your ready compliance with my deſires as to the ſuccors for the States-General, is alſo a very great ſatisfaction to me, as well as a great advantage to the common-cauſe; and as I have nothing ſo much at heart, as the preſervation of the liberties of Europe, and the honor and intereſt of England, ſo I make no doubt of maintaining thoſe great ends, by the bleſſing of God, and the continuance of your chearful concurrence.

My lords and gentlemen,

"The ſeaſon of the year makes it neceſſary to have a ſpeedy receſs, and the poſture of affairs abroad does abſolutely require my preſenſe, for the incouragement of the allies, and for the perfecting of ſuch alliances, as may be moſt effectual for the common intereſt, and therefore, I muſt recommend a diſpatch of the public buſineſs, eſpecially of thoſe matters that are of the greateſt importance."

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Addreſs of the commons.

This ſpeech being read in the houſe of commons, they unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs to his Majeſty, importing: "that they did, with all imaginable chearfulneſs, return their moſt humble thanks to his Majeſty, for his moſt gracious ſpeech upon the throne, wherein he was pleaſed to expreſs his royal approbation of their proceedings: and they farther unanimouſly aſſured his Majeſty, that they would be ready, on all occaſions, to aſſiſt in ſupporting him in ſuch alliances as he ſhould think fit to make, in conjunction with the Emperor and States-General, for the preſervation of the liberties of Europe, the proſperity and peace of England, and for reducing the exorbitant power of France."

The King's anſwer.

To this addreſs, his Majeſty replied; "it would be a great incouragement to his allies to find the ſenſe of the kingdom ſo fully expreſſed on this occaſion, and would contribute moſt effectually to the obtaining the ends they had mentioned."

Differences about the bill for ſtating the public accounts.

As I have given a particular account of the affair of the impeached lords, I muſt not wholly paſs by another tranſaction, which likewiſe occaſioned a difference between the two houſes. The commons having paſſed a bill for appointing commiſſioners to take, ſtate and examine the public accounts, and the lords having made ſome amendments to it, the former would, by no means, allow of them, and drew up reaſons to be offered to their lordſhips, for their diſagreement, importing:

"That the firſt amendment of the lords would prevent the accounting for many millions of mony given for the uſe of the public: that by the ſecond mr. Parkhurſt and mr. Paſchal, commiſſioners of prizes, were exempted from giving an account of the great ſums of mony ariſing therefrom: that they could not agree to a clauſe ſent down by the lords, whereby the commiſſioners were directed to allow a pretended debt to colonel Baldwin Leighton, becauſe the diſpoſition of mony ever belonged to the commons as well as granting it: that they would not allow of the fourth amendment, becauſe mr. Whitacre, ſolliciter to the admiralty, mentioned in the rider, having received 25,000 l. and upwards, of the public mony, unaccounted for, was left out by their lordſhips: and laſtly, that by ſuch amendments of their lordſhips, the ſupplies provided by the commons, for paying the arrears due to

(1) This memorial (as it was intitled) from the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the county of ——— in behalf of themſelves and many thouſands of the good people of England, was ſigned, Legion, and incloſed in a letter wherein they charged and commanded the ſpeaker, in the name of 200,000 Engliſh men, to deliver it to the houſe.

(2) This bill indeared both houſes very much to the people, and went near to attone for the late remiſſneſs of the commons, in ſuccoring the Dutch, and other important affairs. The exemptions of their perſons, eſtates and ſervants, from arreſts, executions and ſuits, was a privilege that had belonged to them above 100 years, indiſputably: but it having been the misfortune of latter times, to ſee men crowd, by indirect means, into the lower houſe, to protect themſelves from the payment of juſt debts, and ſome of them to make ſale of other men's properties to redeem their own fortune, this parliament took off that privilege, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the buſineſs of the nation. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 3. p. 488.

the

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" the army, muſt of neceſſity be ineffectual, 'till " another ſeſſion of parliament.

The King found there would be no other m ns to interrupt theſe fatal diſputes, between both houſes, than to put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament: therefore, all other bills being now ready, his Majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the commons, the ſpeaker, on preſenting the mony-bills, made the following ſpeech:

Sir,

The ſpeaker's ſpeech to his Majeſty.

" It is with great joy and ſatisfaction, that I attend your Majeſty at this time, ſince your commons have complied with all your Majeſty was pleaſed to deſire at their meeting. They have paſſed the bill of ſucceſſion, which has ſettled the crown in a Proteſtant line, and continued the liberty of England, which your Majeſty has ſettled and preſerved: they have paſſed a bill for taking away thoſe privileges, which might have proved burthenſome, and oppreſſive to your ſubjects: they have given your Majeſty thoſe ſupplies, which are more than ever were given in a time of peace, to inable your Majeſty, when you are abroad, to ſupport your allies, procure either a laſting peace, or to preſerve the liberties of Europe by a neceſſary war."

Acts paſſed.

His Majeſty then gave his royal aſſent to the following acts, viz. 1. " An act for granting to his " Majeſty an aid for defraying the expenſe of his " navy, guards and gariſons, for one year, and " for other neceſſary occaſions. 2. An act for " granting to his Majeſty ſeveral duties upon low " wines, or ſpirits of the firſt extraction, and continuing ſeveral additional duties upon coffee, tea, " chocolate, ſpices and pictures, and certain impoſitions upon hawkers, pedlers, and petty chapmen; and the duty of 15 per cent. upon muſlins; " and for improving the duties upon jappaned and " lacquered goods; and for continuing the coinage-" duties, for the ſeveral terms and purpoſes therein " mentioned. 3. An act for appropriating 3,700 l. " weekly, out of certain branches of exciſe, for " public uſes, and for making a proviſion for the " ſervice of his Majeſty's houſhold, and family, " and other his neceſſary occaſions;" and to ſeveral other private acts.

Theſe bills being paſſed, his Majeſty was pleaſed to deliver himſelf to both houſes, in the following ſpeech:

My lords and gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" The ſeſſion being now come to a concluſion, I " muſt return you my hearty thanks, for the great " zeal you have expreſſed for the public ſervice; " and your ready compliance with thoſe things " which I recommended to you, at the opening of " the ſeſſion; and I muſt thank you gentlemen of " the houſe of commons in particular, both for " your diſpatches of thoſe neceſſary ſupplies you " have granted for the public occaſions, and for " the incouragement you have given me to enter " into alliances, for the preſervation of the peace of " Europe, and the ſupport of the confederacy; " in which, as it ſhall be my care not to put the " nation to any unneceſſary expenſe, ſo I make no " doubt, that whatſoever ſhall be done, during " your receſs, for the advantage of the common " cauſe, in this matter, will have your approba-" tion, at your meeting again in winter."

Preferments.

Towards the latter end of March, the King appointed the earl of Pembroke, lord preſident of the council, to be firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, in the room of the earl of Bridgwater deceaſed. At the ſame time, mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer, was admited into the privy-council, and mr. Thomas Pelham was made one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury. The 26th of April, the King appointed ſir George Rooke, to be admiral and commander in chief of his fleet, this ſummer. The 1ſt of June, the King declared the earl of Marlborough, general of the foot, and commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces in Holland. The 18th, his Highneſs, the elector of Hannover, and the duke of Queenſborough, were elected knights of the Garter. The 19th, the earl of Lindſey, lord great chamberlain of England, and the earl of Carliſle, earl-marſhal of England (during the minority of the duke of Norfolk, hereditary earl-marſhal) were both ſworn members of the privy-council. The 28th, his Majeſty appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the keeper of the great ſeal of England, the lord preſident of the council, the dukes of Devonſhire and Sommerſet, the earl of Jerſey, lord chamberlain, and the lord Godolphin, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, to be lords-juſtices of England, for the adminiſtration of the government, during his abſenſe. The ſame day the duke of Sommerſet was ſworn of his Majeſty's privy-council, and the earl of Marlborough, beſide his other imployments, had the character of his Majeſty's embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Holland, confered on him. Edward Southwell, Chriſtopher Muſgrave, and James Vernon, junior, eſqs, were conſtituted commiſſioners to execute the office of keeper of the privy ſeal, vacant by the death of the earl of Tankerville. Sir Thomas Trevor, the attorney-general, was made lord chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, in the room of ſir George Treby, deceaſed: and Edward Northey, eſq; appointed to be attorny-general. The ſame day, the lord-mayor and court of aldermen of London, waited on the King at Hampton-court, and, in a moſt humble manner, took leave of his Majeſty. The 1ſt of July, the King imbarked at Margate for Holland, and happily landed there the 14th of July, N. S. He received the next morning, the compliments of all the forein miniſters at the Hague, of the ſeveral courts of juſtice, &c. and then going to the aſſembly of the States General, he told that illuſtrious aſſembly:

The King goes to Holland.

His ſpeech to the aſſembly of the States-General.

" That he always came into that country with " joy; but eſpecially in this dangerous conjuncture, " becauſe he foreſaw his preſenſe would be neceſſary " for the ſervice of the ſtate: he hoped to have " paſſed the reſt of his days in repoſe and peace, " and left that ſtate in a quiet flouriſhing condition: " but there had happened ſuch great alterations " in the affairs of Europe, that they knew not what " the Divine Providence would determine concern-" ing them. However, he could aſſure their " High-mightineſſes, that whether things were ac-" commodated amicably, or whether they ſhould " be obliged to take up arms, he perſiſted in the ſame " zeal he ever had for their ſervice and proſperity. " He was overjoyed to find things ſtill quiet, which, " next to the bleſſing of GOD, was to be aſcribed " to their reſolution of puting themſelves in a poſture " of defenſe, and he was perſuaded their confede-" rates would contribute vigorouſly towards it: he " would aſſure them the whole Engliſh nation were " ready to aſſiſt the State, and ſtrongly to contri-" bute towards their defenſe, and to whatever " might tend to the common ſecurity. This was " what their High mightineſſes might depend on; " and he hoped GOD would ſo far bleſs their indea-" vors, that they ſhould attain their ends, either by " a negociation or by force of arms.

Anſwer of the States.

In anſwer to this ſpeech, the preſident of the aſſembly told his Majeſty; " that they could not " omit thanking him for his aſſurances, not only " in his own name, but in the name of the Engliſh " nation, in favor of themſelves, and of the com-" mon cauſe; well knowing how much they might " rely upon a people, whoſe courage had gained " ſo much reputation in the world; and were al-

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" always of opinion, that their intereſts were inſe-
" parable from thoſe of England.

His Majeſty began now viſibly to decline in his health, however, as much as the ſtate of it would allow, he imployed his hours for the public good: to this end, he in perſon reviewed the frontier-gariſons of Holland; and having viſited Bergen-op-zoom, Sluis, Fort-Philippina, and ſeveral other places, he returned to the Hague. The French embaſſador, monſ. d'Avaux, had, in the mean time, deliver'd a letter from the French King to the States, to notify his being recall'd. This letter was accompanied by a memorial, in which he alledged: " That he was in hopes their lordſhips
" would have had that confidence in his maſter's
" affection and deſires of peace, as would have
" diſſipated thoſe vain fears, which the advance-
" ment of his grandſon to the throne of Spain, had
" infuſed into them; and this hope was confirm'd
" by their acknowledging that King, and congra-
" tulating his acceſſion, till the propoſals made by
" their High-mightineſſes, and the King of Eng-
" land's envoy, gave occaſion to judge, that war,
" rather than peace, would be the fruit of that
" ſtrict union, which the conformity of the pro-
" poſals diſcover'd there was between that Prince,
" and their High-mightineſſes. That if he had
" oppoſed, for ſome time, the admiſſion of the
" King of England's envoy into the conferences,
" it was out of his ſincere deſire to remove all
" obſtacles, which the enemies to peace were
" continually laying in the way: that his maſter
" did not believe their lordſhips would eaſily
" have inſiſted upon the pretended ſatisfaction
" to be given to the Emperor, confounding the
" intereſt of other Princes, with their own, and
" ſeting themſelves up for arbitrators, between
" the houſes of France and Auſtria. That the
" treaties between their lordſhips and the King of
" England were too ſtrict, and had too well made
" known their blind ſubmiſſion to the ſentiments
" of that Monarch; and no doubt but after the
" Engliſh envoy had declared, that his maſter
" would never depart from the intereſt of the
" Emperor, their lordſhips had already taken a
" reſolution, to make the ſame declaration, to the
" moſt Chriſtian King's embaſſador: concluding,
" that his Majeſty had taken up arms in the de-
" fenſe of his grandſon only; and if it had been
" his deſign to make new conqueſts, he might have
" done it when his forces, upon the frontiers of
" their republic, afforded him the means to have
" made an advantage of their weakneſs: and
" wiſh'd that their lordſhips, convinced of the
" ſincerity of his Majeſty's intentions, would, in
" time, take ſuch reſolutions, as might be agree-
" able to their true intereſts ".

Monſ. d'Avaux memorial to the States.

The ſubſtance of the anſwer of the States, to this memorial, was a follows:

The anſwer of the States.

" That they could not comprehend, how they
" ſhould obſtruct the conferences, either by the
" intervention of the King of Britain, who was
" one of the parties concern'd in the treaty of par-
" tition, or of any other Potentate, who had any
" intereſt in preſerving the general peace: that they
" had given a convincing proof of their deſiring
" peace by acknowledging the new King of Spain:
" but that they had not thereby owned the juſtice
" or injuſtice of a third party, nor ſeparated their
" intereſt from any that were concerned in the
" general peace; and therefore, the delays and diffi-
" culties raiſed, about admiting the Engliſh envoy,
" were not chargeable upon them, but upon the
" count d'Avaux. That the French King had
" reaſon to think they would inſiſt on ſatisfaction
" to the Emperor, ſince that was the firſt of their
" propoſals, which he himſelf thought juſt and
" neceſſary. That they did not ſet up as umpires
" between France and the houſe of Auſtria; but
" deſired his Majeſty to remember, that he him-
" ſelf, as well as the King of Great-Britain, and the
" States, thought a war would be unavoidable, if,
" upon the death of the late King of Spain, either
" he, or the Emperor, ſhould inſiſt upon the pre-
" tenſions of their families to the ſucceſſion, and it
" was, therefore, they entered into the treaty of
" partition. That their owning the King of Spain
" did not hinder giving a reaſonable ſatisfaction to
" the Emperor. That they had done nothing, which
" could be conſtrued a breach of the treaty, which
" confirmed and ſealed their ſovereignty. That
" their provinces were always free and ſovereign;
" and as their anceſtors ſpent their lives and fortunes
" to aſſert their freedom, ſo they were reſolved
" to do the like. That the States did not blindly
" follow the King of Great Britain's ſentiments, but
" had a great deference, for his advice, becauſe
" they were perſuaded he was inclined to preſerve
" the peace, and convinced he ſought nothing but
" the welfare of their republic. That if the con-
" ferences were ſuſpended, upon that account, they
" ſhould be ſorry for it; but if the French King
" had thought fit to let them continue, and to allow
" ſatisfaction to the Emperor, they had hopes of
" a good concluſion. Laſtly, they alledged the
" reaſons they had to arm, from the jealouſy given
" them by France and Spain; and concluded, that
" if, contrary to their inclinations, they muſt enter
" into a war, they had no cauſe to blame themſelves
" for it, and, therefore, hop'd that God would
" protect them ".

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By this anſwer, the French King might plainly ſee the confederates would not be contented with leſs than his yielding part of the Spaniſh territories, at leaſt, to the Emperor, and granting a barrier to the Dutch; and it is highly probable, tho' Lewis XIV did not think fit to declare himſelf yet, he was determined to hazard a war, rather than do either.

During theſe tranſactions, Prince Eugene of Savoy, at the head of 40,000 Imperialiſts paſs'd the Alps, and penetrated into Italy, in order to recover the Milaneſe, from the French, the Emperor laying claim to it, as a fief of the Empire: and it is not to be doubted, but King William, and the States had promiſed his Imperial Majeſty to ſupport his pretenſions. The brave Prince Eugene had the good fortune to make himſelf maſter of Caſtiglione, in the month of Auguſt; and, the 1ſt of November, he gained an advantage of the French at Cherry: after which, continuing in the field 'till near Chriſtmas, he recover'd almoſt all the Mantuan, from the enemy.

Prince Eugene penetrates into Italy.

Another war was carrying on, at the ſame time, in the north, which, tho' it did not ſo nearly affect us, deſerves our notice here, becauſe I ſhall have occaſion to mention it hereafter. A confederacy had been formed by the Kings of Denmark and Poland, the Czar of Muſcovy, the Elector of Brandenburg, and ſome other Princes of Germany, againſt Charles XII, King of Sweden, then not above 18 years of age. This young hero had (as I have already related) by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh and Dutch fleet, compel'd the Danes to ſue for peace, and to deſert their allies. After this, he tranſported his troops into Livonia, to relieve Riga, which was inveſted by the Poles, and raiſed the ſiege. He then march'd his army to Narva, which was beſieged by above 80,000 Ruſſians, whom he intirely defeated, with about a tenth part of the number, and in a ſhort time cleared that province both of the Poles and Muſcovites: but to return to our own affairs.

A war in the north.

The conferences at the Hague being intirely broke off, the States continued to augment their troops;

WILL' III. troops; as the French did, on their ſide, in forti-
AN' 1701. fying their lines, from the Scheld, near Antwerp, to the Maeſe, and from Antwerp to Oſtend: and thus I ſhall leave both parties preparing for a war, to give a brief account of what was doing, in the mean time, at ſea.

Maritime affairs.

Tho' it was not believed, at the begining of this year, that a war with France would ſo immediately break out; yet there was a ſuſpicion, that the French had a deſign, to cover a tranſport, ſome time in March, with a ſquadron from Dunkirk, and that they would land forces in this kingdom; orders were, therefore, ſent to rear-admiral Bembow, who commanded in the Downs, to uſe his utmoſt diligence, to fruſtrate any ſuch deſign; and, in the month of February, the flag-officers were diſpatched to the ſeveral ports, to haſten out the ſhips, and to ſend them to the rendezvous in the Downs. But, if the French really had any ſuch intention, they did not think it convenient, at this time, to put it in execution.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel arrived, at Spithead, the fifteenth of April, with ſix and forty Engliſh and ten Dutch ſhips, including ſmall frigats and fire-ſhips, from whence there were ſquadrons ſent to Ireland, for conducting troops from thence to Holland, and cruiſers into the Soundings, and elſewhere, for ſecurity of the trade, while others were imployed for intelligence: for the French, accoring to the beſt advices, were making all imaginable diſpatch in fiting out, and maning their ſhips, at Breſt, and the ports in that bay.

Sir George Rooke, admiral of the fleet, went on board the Triumph, in the Downs, the ſecond of July (at which time his Majeſty was convoyed to Holland by vice admiral Hopſon) and arriving at Spithead, the fourth, received directions to follow the King's orders. A few days after, he was joined by rear-admiral Mundy, with two third-rates, ſix fourth-rates, and one fifth-rate; and then he formed his line of battle.

This line of battle conſiſted of two ſhips of ninety guns, ſix of eighty, thirteen of ſeventy, eleven of ſixty, and ſixteen of fifty, together eight and forty, beſide ſmall frigats, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, &c. Engliſh: and of the Dutch, one ſhip of ninety-two, one of ninety, two of ſeventy-two, four of ſixty-four, one of fifty-two, and ſix of fifty guns, together fifteen, beſide frigats, and other ſmall craft. The Engliſh flag-officers were, the admiral himſelf; ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, admiral of the blue; ſir Thomas Hopſon, vice-admiral of the red; John Bembow, eſq; vice-admiral of the blue, and ſir John Mundy, rear-admiral of the red. The Dutch flag-officers were, lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, vice-admiral Vandergoes, and rear-admiral Waſſenaer.

For want of proviſions and other neceſſaries, the fleet was detained at St. Helens, 'till the middle of Auguſt, when the admiral ſailed, and got his paſſage to Torbay, where he was forced to anchor, the twenty-firſt. Some days after, he ſailed again; but he was no ſooner got clear of the land, than a ſtorm, in which his ſhips got ſome damage in their top-maſts and ſails, obliged him to return to Torbay.

The admiral weigh'd again the twenty-ninth, and reached off of the Fourn-head, near the Iſle of Uſhant, the firſt of September, where he cruiſed, till near the middle of that month, and then, leaving that ſtation, he beat ſeveral days, between the Start and Plymouth, and arrived at St. Helens the twentieth, where he received orders to come with the great ſhips to the Downs, the Dutch being already got to Spithead. WILL' III. AN' 1701.

While the admiral was on his ſtation, he received orders from the lords-juſtices of the kingdom, in the King's abſenſe, to detach ſix third-rates, nine fourth-rates, one fifth-rate, one ſixth-rate, two fire-ſhips, a ſtore-ſhip, and an hoſpital, of the Engliſh, under the command of ſir John Mundy, and ten Dutch ſhips, beſide fire-ſhips and ſmall frigats, commanded by baron Waſſenaer, to ſee the ſquadron bound to the Weſt-Indies well into ſea; which was done accordingly.

Tho' nothing was attempted by the confederate fleet, this ſummer, yet its being at ſea was of great ſervice, as it ſtruck amazement and terror into moſt of our neighbors. Even the Portugueſe, tho' yet in friendſhip with England, were not altogether free from apprehenſions, having reaſon to dread King William's reſentment, for the alliance they had lately made with France and Spain; the latter of which kingdoms, being unarmed, and the coaſts unguarded, might juſtly fear an attempt from our fleet, which they had refuſed the uſe of their harbors, when inſiſted upon, by the Dutch, before they ſet ſail. But matters were not yet ſo ripe; and all the motions of this fleet was but a politic amuſement, to detach a ſtrong ſquadron, without giving any previous ſuſpicion, to the Weſt-Indies: of the ſucceſs of which, I ſhall give an account in the inſuing reign.

Preparations for war.

We left the confederates and the French both imployed in their preparations, as well to ſuſtain, as to begin a war. The fortifications of Nimeguen, which, by the acquiſitions of the French, was now become a frontier town, were carried on with great diligence, and King William went himſelf to view them, as well as to muſter a body of troops that were drawn up on the Mocker-Hyde, near that place. Freſh recruits were daily ſent over from England, and got together from other parts: and to omit nothing that might tend to the ſecurity of the United-provinces, which ſeemed to be in the moſt immediate danger, his Majeſty indeavored to bring over the Elector of Cologne, to the intereſt of the Empire, England and Holland. The earl of Galway was imployed in this important negociation: but tho' he was ſupported by the chapter, he was not able to ſhake that Prince's reſolution, who, at the inſtigation of his brother, the Elector of Bavaria, was already entered into ingagements with France. The war ſeemed now only to be defer'd, 'till each ſide could form their alliances; but it might not probably have broke out ſo ſoon, had not an accident happen'd, which brought matters to a criſis, I mean the death of King James II, who, being ſeized with a vomiting of blood, departed this life, at St. Germains, on the 6th of September, O.S. (1)

Death of K. James II.

Lewis XIV proclaims the Pretender.

The French King took hereupon the impolitic ſtep (as it was generally thought to be, at that time) to declare the young pretended Prince of Wales to be King of England, Scotland and Ireland; by which he drew upon himſelf immediately, that ſwarm of enemies, which, ſoon after, compos'd the grand alliance, and which he ſhould rather have indeavor'd to keep at bay, 'till the duke d'Anjou was fix'd more firmly on the throne of Spain (2).

(1) His corpſe was carried to Paris, and depoſited in the church of the Engliſh Benedictines, in the ſuburbs of St. James's; where he yet lies not intered, but in a hearſe, together with the body of a Princeſs, which his Queen bore him, after his abdication, but who died before him: and were probably not buried, in hopes ſome favorable opportunity might offer for tranſporting them to England.

(2) This proclamation was performed by order of the court of France. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the earl of Mancheſter told him, the Prince of Wales's own court was going about it: but a difficulty, propoſed by the earl of Middleton, put a ſtop to it: he apprehended, that it would look very ſtrange, and might provoke the court of France, if, among his titles, he ſhould be called King of France, and might diſguſt their party in England, if it was omited; ſo that piece of ceremony was not performed.

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It was ſuppoſed, that Lewis XIV had ſolemnly promiſed King James, during King William's laſt indiſpoſition, that in caſe the latter died, he would revive his abſolute title: but King James happening to dy firſt, he reſolved to fulfill, in the ſon, the promiſe he had made to the father, that at leaſt, he might thereby keep up the Jacobite party in England. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty communicated his intentions to his great council, which conſiſted of twenty-three perſons, of whom all but ſeven were againſt this ſtep; alleging, that a Prince of ſuch ſpirit and intereſt, as King William, could not but highly reſent it, as the Engliſh nation infallibly would, eſpecially at this juncture, when they had juſt ſettled the ſucceſſion in a Proteſtant line. The Dauphin, being the laſt who was to ſpeak, roſe up with ſome warmth, and ſaid, "it would be unworthy the crown of France to abandon a Prince of their own blood, and one who was ſo dear to them, as the ſon of King James: that for his part, he was reſolved not only to hazard his life, but all that was dear to him, for his reſtoration:" the King, and all the Princes of the blood, were of the ſame opinion with the Dauphin, whereupon he was publicly proclaimed, as I have ſaid above (1).

The Dauphin's ſpeech on this occaſion.

This haſty and unexpected proceeding of France was ſo reſented by King William, that he immediately ſent an expreſs to the lord Manchester, his embaſſador in France, to come directly away, without taking his leave (2); and his lordſhip, having received theſe orders, ſent the following letter to mr. de Torcy, ſecretary of ſtate for forein affairs.

The Engliſh embaſſador in France recalled.

My lord,

"The King my maſter, being informed, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has acknowleged another King of Great-Britain, thinks that his glory and honor permits him no more to have an embaſſador near the King, your maſter, and has ſent me orders to depart immediately; whereof I do myſelf the honor to acquaint you, by this letter; and withall to aſſure you that I am, &c."

His letter to mr. de Torcy.

The French King, who was then at Fontainbleau, tho' he could reaſonably expect no other proceeding on King William's ſide, ſeemed ſurprized at this ſudden reſolution; he aſſembled his council, and was two or three days deliberating, before M. de Torcy ſent the embaſſador any anſwer; but then he received the following:

My lord,

"I have nothing more to add, to what I had the honor to tell you, eight days ago, of the ſincere deſire the King has always had, to preſerve, with the King your maſter, the peace confirmed by the treaty of Ryſwick. I pray you only, as to me in particular, to be perſuaded, that in what place ſoever you be, you will have none that ſhall be with more ſincerity, than I ſhall be, all my life time, &c."(3)

Mr. de Torcy's anſwer.

The lord Manchester having, hereupon, obtained his paſs-ports, made haſte to leave that intriguing court, and, before the twenty-third of September, notice was given, by his Majeſty's command, to monſ. Pouſſin, the French ſecretary here, that he ſhould immediately leave the kingdom. Much about the ſame time, that this beggarly Frenchman (as the author of the compleat hiſtory of Europe calls him) departed, there was a ſcandalous paper printed, as it was ſuppoſed, by his orders, intitled, the French King's reaſons for owning the pretended Prince of Wales, for King of England (4).

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The French ſecretary ordered to depart England.

The nation, in the mean time, was highly inraged at this indignity offered by France, and ſhewed their reſentment, in the numerous addreſſes directed, on this occaſion, to the throne, from all parts of the kingdom, full of expreſſions of loyalty and affection.

The indignity offered by France reſented by the nation.

That from the city of London, which ſet the firſt example, may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the reſt, and was as follows:

Great Sir,

"We are deeply ſenſible, how much we are in duty bound, highly to reſent that great indignity and affront, offered to your moſt ſacred Majeſty, by the French King, in giving the title of King of England, Scotland and Ireland, to the pretended Prince of Wales, contrary to your Majeſty's moſt juſt and lawful title, and to the ſeveral acts of parliament for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown in the Proteſtant line.

Addreſs of the city of London.

"By this it is apparent, he deſigns, as much as in him in lies, to dethrone your Majeſty, to extirpate the Proteſtant religion out of theſe your Majeſty's kingdoms, and to invade our liberties and properties; for the maintaining whereof, your Majeſty hath ſignalized your zeal, by the often hazarding your precious life.

"We, therefore, your Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects, do ſincerely, unanimouſly and chearfully, aſſure your Majeſty, that we will, at at all times, and upon all occaſions, exert the utmoſt of our abilities, and contribute whatever lies in our power for the preſervation of your perſon (which GOD long preſerve) and the defenſe of your juſt rights, in oppoſition to all invaders of your crown and dignity."

This addreſs having been tranſmited to the King to Holland, his Majeſty gave ſpecial directions to the lords-juſtices, to acquaint his loyal city of London, with the great ſatisfaction he had upon receiving it.

The King all this while, beſtowed his application to perfect the alliances he was negociating abroad, and particularly that between the Emperor, England and Holland, which was concluded in September. This treaty was framed in the nature of propoſals upon which France might come in, and accordingly the ſame were communicated to the Spaniſh embaſſador.

Treaty between the Emperor, England and Holland.

(1) The author of the continuation of Rapin, in French, ſays, King James's Queen got Madame de Maintenon on her ſide, and that ſhe prevailed upon the King and the Dauphin to take theſe ſteps; and the ſame author, under the pretext of fairly ſtating the arguments, which have been made uſe of to juſtify the French King's conduct, plainly ſhews his partiality and attachment to that Monarch and his intereſt.

(2) His Majeſty, likewiſe, immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryſwick, to give him an account of this manifeſt violation of that treaty.

(3) By this evaſive anſwer, it is plain, the French King was ſenſible his proceeding would not bear a diſcuſſion: but his mentioning the peace of Ryſwick, and his maſter's inclination to preſerve the peace confirmed by it, is a maſter-piece of aſſurance; for could any thing be more contrary to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſolemn ingagements, at that treaty, than his quickly after promiſing the late King James, on his death-bed, never to abandon the Pretender; but always to acknowlege and entertain him, as a King of England, and declaring, that he hoped to ſee him treated, after the ſame manner, by the whole world.

(4) Beſide the publiſhing of theſe reaſons, which were ſuppreſſed by order of the government, monſ. Pouſſin made himſelf talked of, beyond the ſmallneſs of his character, by being found at ſupper, in a public tavern, with three parliament-men, who were known to be no friends to the court: but whether this was a ſet appointment, to diſcourſe on matters of ſtate, or meerly as a common civility, which mr. Tredenham, one of thoſe members, ſhewed to monſ. Pouſſin on account of the familiarity they had contracted, by lodging in one houſe, I ſhall leave undetermined. Be this as it will, the court gave this meeting a very ſiniſter interpretation; and many of the country-party, were thereupon branded by the name of Pouſſineers, in a paper called the Black Liſt.

But

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But as this treaty, uſually called the grand alliance, becauſe ſeveral other Princes afterwards acceeded to it, was the baſis of the long and bloody war which ſoon after inſued, the reader may probably be deſirous of knowing the tenor of it, which was as follows:

Articles of the grand alliance.

I. "That there ſhall be a ſtrict alliance between "the Emperor, the King of England, and the "States-General.

II. "That as for ſettling the peace and tranquility of Europe, which is their chief aim, they "have thought nothing could conduce more thereunto than to procure ſatisfaction to the Emperor, "for his pretenſions upon Spain, and ſecurity for "England and Holland, for their dominions and "commerce.

III. "That they ſhall imploy their good offices, "for two months together, after the ratification, "in order to obtain that end, in an amicable "way.

IV. "That if they cannot ſucceed therein, "they ſhall aſſiſt each other, with all their forces.

V. "That they ſhall indeavor to conquer the "Spaniſh Netherlands, that they may ſerve as a "barrier, for the ſecuring the States-General; to "conquer the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the "Empire, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, "and the iſlands and places on the coaſt of Tuſcany, which may be advantageous to the navigation and trade of the Engliſh and Dutch.

VI. "That for the better ſecurity of the navigation of the Engliſh and Dutch, it ſhall be lawful "for them to attack and poſſeſs the countries and "towns belonging to Spain in the Indies; and that "they ſhall keep for themſelves the countries and "towns conquered by them.

VII. "That if they are neceſſitated to enter "into a war, they ſhall ſincerely communicate "to each other every thing relating to their intereſts.

VIII. "That none of the parties ſhall make "peace without the conſent of the other, and be"fore they have obtained a convenient ſatisfaction "for the Emperor, and a ſecurity for the dominions "and trade of the Engliſh and Dutch, and pro"cured that the crowns of France and Spain be never "re-united, under the ſame Prince; and in parti"cular, that the French be never maſters of the "Indies ſubmited to Spain, or that they be per"mited to trade into that country, directly or "indirectly; nor before they have obtained, for "the Engliſh and Dutch, thoſe rights, privile"leges and franchiſes for their trade in Spain and the "Mediterranean, which they injoyed under King "Charles II, by virtue of treaties, cuſtoms, or any "other title whatſoever.

IX. "They ſhall agree, at the ſame time, that "the peace ſhall be treated of on the means for ſe"curing the commerce of both nations, and the "barrier.

X. "They ſhall agree about the differences that "may relate to the exerciſe of religion, in the "countries they hope to conquer.

XI. "If the moſt Chriſtian King attacks any of "them, by reaſon of this treaty, they ſhall aſſiſt "each other, with all their forces.

XII. "The defenſive alliance ſhall ſubſiſt be"tween the ſaid parties, after the concluſion of the "peace, for the guarantee of the treaty.

XIII. "All Princes and States, who ſhall be "willing to come into this alliance, ſhall be ad"mited; and the States of the Empire ſhall be "particularly invited to come into the ſame, as "being concerned in the recovery of the Impe"rial fiefs.

XIV. "This treaty, which was ſigned the "7th of December, ſhall be ratified within ſeven "weeks after.

The court of France was, in the mean time, ſo very far from having any thoughts of making advances towards an accommodation, that they prohibited all ſorts of goods and merchandizes of the growth and manufacture of England, Scotland and Ireland, except ſome upon which they laid ſuch exceſſive duties, as were almoſt equal to a prohibition.

France prohibits the manufactures of England.

King William having been detained in Holland, partly by the ill ſtate of his health, and in part by contrary winds, imbarked, at length, the begining of November, landed the 4th of that month, at Margate, and came, the next day, to Kenſington, in a very declining condition (1). Two days after the King's arrival, the parliament was prorogued to the 13th of November: but the 11th of that month, a proclamation was iſſued out for diſſolving it, and ſummoning another, to meet at Weſtminſter, the 30th of December (2). Never were elections attended with more heats and animoſities, than at this time, and in ſeveral places, particularly in the city of London and the borough of Southwark, after they were over, the electors thought fit to give their repreſentatives inſtructions for their conduct, in the inſuing ſeſſion, which run chiefly, that they ſhould vigorouſly aſſiſt his Majeſty, in maintaining his title to the crown, to make good his alliances, and reduce the power of France, recommending, above all things, an union between the two houſes.

The King returns to England.

A new parliament called:

The parliament meeting, according to the writs of ſummons, the 30th of December, the commons were directed to chuſe a ſpeaker. The candidates were Robert Harley, eſq; and ſir Thomas Littleton, the firſt of whom carried it, 216 votes againſt 212. He was preſented and approved, the next day, when his Majeſty addreſſed himſelf to both houſes, in the following memorable words;

And meets.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I promiſe myſelf you are met together, full of "that juſt ſenſe of the common danger of Europe, and "the reſentment of the late proceedings of the "French King, which has been ſo fully and univerſally expreſſed in the loyal and ſeaſonable addreſſes of my people.

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"The owning and ſeting up of the pretended "Prince of Wales, for King of England, is not "only the higheſt indignity offered to me, and the "nation, but does ſo nearly concern every man, "who has a regard for the Proteſtant religion, or "the preſent and future quiet and happineſs of his "country, that I need not preſs you to lay that ſeriouſly to heart, and to conſider what farther "effectual means may be uſed, for ſecuring the "ſucceſſion of the crown, in the Proteſtant line, "and extinguiſhing the hopes of all pretenders, "and their open and ſecret abettors.

"By the French King's placing his grandſon on "the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppreſs "the reſt of Europe, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual "meaſures be taken. Under this pretenſe, he is be-

(1) He is ſaid to have told the earl of Portland, not long after his arrival in England, "he found himſelf ſo weak, that he "did not expect to live another ſummer:" but, at the ſame time, charged his lordſhip, "to take no notice of what he had ſaid, 'till "he was dead."

(2) The reaſon alleged for this ſtep was, "that his Majeſty might have the ſenſe of the nation, in this extraordinary "conjuncture:" two illuſtrious peers are ſaid to have alleged in council; "that the preſent parliament would neither do his "Majeſty's buſineſs, nor that of the nation." But it is highly probable, that nothing was of greater weight with his Majeſty, at this time, than the conſideration, "that if the differences between the two houſes were not prevented, the ſupplies neceſſary "for the approaching war would be delayed.

"come

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" come the real maſter of the whole Spaniſh monarchy; he has made it to be intirely depending " on France, and diſpoſes of it, as of his own " dominions, and by that means, he has ſurrounded his neighbors, in ſuch a manner, that tho' " the name of peace be ſaid to continue, yet they " are put to the expenſe and inconveniencies of a " war.

" This muſt affect England in the neareſt and " moſt ſenſible manner, in reſpect to our trade, " which will ſoon become precarious, in all the " valuable branches of it; in reſpect to our peace " and ſafety at home, which we cannot hope ſhould " long continue; and in reſpect to that part, which " England ought to take, in the preſervation of the " liberty of Europe.

" In order to obviate the general calamity, with " which the reſt of Chriſtendom is threatned, by " this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded ſeveral alliances, according to the incouragement given me by both houſes of parliament, " which I will direct ſhall be laid before you, and " which I doubt not, you will inable me to make " good.

" There are ſome other treaties ſtill depending, " that ſhall be likewiſe communicated to you, as " ſoon as they are perfected.

" It is fit, I ſhould tell you, that the eyes of " all Europe are upon this parliament; all matters " are at a ſtand, 'till your reſolutions are known, " and therefore no time ought to be loſt.

" You have yet an opportunity, by God's bleſſing, to ſecure to you, and your poſterity, the " quiet injoyment of your religion and liberties, " if you are not wanting to yourſelves, or will " exert the ancient vigor of the Engliſh nation: but " I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not " lay hold on this occaſion, you have no reaſon to " hope for another.

" In order to do your part, it will be neceſſary " to have a great ſtrength at ſea, and to provide " for the ſecurity of our ſhips in harbor, and alſo " that there be ſuch a force at land, as is expected, " in proportion to the forces of our allies.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I recommend theſe matters to you, with that " concern and earneſtneſs, which their importance " requires; at the ſame time, I cannot but preſs " you, to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preſerved but by keeping ſacred the maxim, " that they ſhall never be looſers, who truſt to a " parliamentary ſecurity.

" It is always with regret when I aſk aids of " my people; but you will obſerve, that I deſire " nothing which relates to any perſonal expenſe of " mine; I am only preſſing you to do all you can, " for your own ſafety and honor, at ſo critical and " dangerous a time, and am willing that what is " given ſhould be wholly appropriated to the purpoſes for which it is intended.

" And ſince I am ſpeaking on this head, I think " it proper to put you in mind, that during the " late war, I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly " before the parliament, and alſo gave my aſſent " to ſeveral bills for taking the public accounts, " that my ſubjects might have ſatisfaction how the " mony given for the war was applied; and I am " willing that matter be put in any farther way of " examination, that it may appear whether there " were any miſapplications and miſmanagements, " or whether the debt that remains upon us, has " really ariſen from the ſhortneſs of the ſupplies, or " the deficiencies of the funds.

" I have already told you how neceſſary diſpatch " will be for carrying on that great public buſineſs, " whereon our ſafety, and all that is valuable to us, " depends; I hope what time can be ſpared will " be imployed about thoſe other very deſirable " things, which I have ſo often recommended from " the throne, I mean the forming ſome good bills " for imploying the poor, for incouraging trade, " and the farther ſuppreſſing of vice.

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My lords and gentlemen,

" I hope you are come together determined to " avoid all manner of diſputes and differences; reſolved to act with a general and hearty concurrence for promoting the common cauſe, which " alone can make this a happy ſeſſion.

" I ſhould think it as great a bleſſing as could befal " England, if I could obſerve you as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy fatal animoſities, " which divide and weaken you, as I am diſpoſed " to make all my ſubjects ſafe and eaſy, as to " any, even the higheſt offenſes commited againſt " me.

" Let me conjure you to diſappoint the only hopes " of our enemies, by your unanimity. I have ſhewn, " and will always ſhew, how deſirous I am to be " the common father of my people: do you in like " manner lay aſide parties and diviſions; let there " be no other diſtinction heard of among us, for " the future, than of thoſe who are for the Proteſtant religion, and the preſent eſtabliſhment, and " of thoſe who mean a Popiſh Prince, and a French " government.

" I will only add this, if you do, in good earneſt, deſire to ſee England hold the balance of " Europe, and to be indeed, at the head of the " Proteſtant intereſt, it will appear by the preſent " opportunity.

An' 1702.

This excellent ſpeech could not fail of having a very good influence upon thoſe to whom it was addreſſed; even tho' they had been leſs inclined to comply with his Majeſty's deſires, than they appeared to be, by their addreſs of the next day, in which they ſhewed their juſt reſentment of the French King's proceedings, in owning and ſeting up the pretended Prince of Wales, &c.

Addreſs of the commons.

The 5th of January, the commons " returned " their moſt humble and hearty thanks to his Majeſty, for his moſt gracious ſpeech, and aſſured " him, that they would ſupport and defend his lawful and rightful title to the crown of theſe realms, " againſt the pretended Prince of Wales, and all his " open and ſecret adherents, and all other his Majeſty's enemies: that they would inable his Majeſty, " to ſhew his juſt reſentment of the affront and indignity offered him and this nation, by the " French King, in taking upon him to declare the " pretended Prince of Wales, King of England, " Scotland and Ireland: and that they were firmly " and unanimouſly reſolved to maintain and ſupport " the ſucceſſion to the Imperial crown of this realm, " and the dominions thereunto belonging, in the " Proteſtant line, as the ſame was ſettled by two acts " of parliament: and that for the better effecting " the ſame, they would, to the utmoſt of their " power, inable his Majeſty to make good all thoſe " alliances his Majeſty had made, or ſhould " make, purſuant to the addreſſes and advice of his " moſt dutiful and loyal commons of the laſt parliament, for the better preſerving the liberties " of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power " of France."

To this addreſs his Majeſty anſwered:

Gentlemen,

The King's anſwer.

" I give you my hearty thanks for this addreſs, " which I look upon as a good omen for the ſeſſion, " and the unanimity with which it paſs'd, adds " greatly to the ſatisfaction I receive from it: ſo " good a ſtep, at your firſt entrance upon buſineſs, " cannot but raiſe the hopes of all who wiſh well " to England and to the common cauſe. I can deſire no more of you, than to proceed as you have " begun,

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" begun, and I depend upon it: for when I con-
" ſider, how chearfully and univerſally you con-
" cur'd in this addreſs, I cannot doubt but every
" one of you will ſincerely indeavor to make it
" effectual, in all its parts".

The lords, likewiſe, preſented another addreſs, the next day, to his Majeſty, more particularly on the preſent juncture of affairs. All things going thus to his Majeſty's ſatisfaction, in both houſes of parliament, he was pleaſed to make ſome new advancements and removes. The firſt of January, the earl of Radnor was admited into the privy-council, as was the earl of Burlington a week afterwards. The fourth of the ſame month, the earl of Mancheſter was made one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, in the room of ſir Charles Hedges. The eighteenth, the earl of Pembroke was declared lord-high-admiral of England and Ireland, and, on the twenty-ninth, the duke of Sommerſet was appointed lord-preſident of his Majeſty's privy-council.

Preferments.

A lord high-admiral being appointed, all poſſible expedition was uſed in equiping a fleet to ſea, and a proclamation was iſſued to incourage ſeamen to enter into the ſervice of the navy-royal: the commons having reſolved, that 40,000 ſeamen ſhould be raiſed for the ſervice of the year; and that the like number of land-forces ſhould be the proportion to act in conjunction with thoſe of the allies (1). While both houſes of parliament were thus purſuing the important affairs recommended to them in his Majeſty's ſpeech, with great zeal, unanimity and diſpatch, and were making preparations to ſecond the efforts of the Emperor againſt France, the Germans in Italy were not idle.

Forces for the ſea and land ſervices.

The Marſhal de Villeroy ſurpriz'd at Cremona.

It was near Chriſtmas before they went into winter-quarters, and, towards the latter end of January they were in motion again, having form'd a deſign to ſurprize Cremona, the head-quarters of the French, by ſtratagem. Prince Eugene, holding a correſpondence with ſome of the inhabitants of that place, they admited a party of his men, at midnight, thro' an ancient aqueduct. Theſe men, being got into the town, fell upon the guards, at one of the gates, threw it open, and made way for a greater body, commanded by the Prince himſelf, to enter. By this means, the French general, monſ. de Villeroy, with ſeveral of his officers, were ſurprized in their beds: but ſome Iriſh regiments, which were in the town, making a reſiſtance beyond what was expected, and a body of Germans, who were to have ſupported Prince Eugene, miſtaking their way, in the night, and not arriving in time, he thought it moſt adviſable to abandon the town, leſt his retreat ſhould be cut off, by the garriſons the enemy had in the neighborhood: however, he carried off the marſhal de Villeroy, and the reſt of his priſoners, and got to his quarters again, with very little loſs.

Act for examining the public accounts.

The tenth of February, King William came to the houſe of lords, and, the commons being preſent, gave the royal aſſent to " an act for reviving
" and continuing the act for ſtating and examining
" the public accounts".

The affair of the Kentiſh petition revived.

The commons then took into conſideration the conduct of the Kentiſh petitioners, towards the concluſion of the laſt parliament; and there happening to be a controverted election, for the borough of Maidſtone, in that county, between Thomas Bliſſe and Thomas Colepepper, eſqrs (the latter of whom was one of the Kentiſh petitioners) they reſolved,

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" that the ſaid Thomas Colepepper, eſq; had been
" guilty of corrupt, ſcandalous, and indirect prac-
" tices, in indeavoring to procure himſelf elected
" a burgeſs for that town; and that he had pro-
" moted that ſcandalous and ſeditious petition, to
" the laſt houſe of commons, generally call'd the
" Kentiſh petition, containing groundleſs reflections
" on the houſe of commons, by aſperſing the
" members with receiving French mony; and
" being in the intereſt of France, for which offenſes
" he ſhould be commited to Newgate, and the
" attorney-general ſhould proſecute him, for the
" ſaid crimes.

The twenty-ſixth they came to the following reſolutions: viz.

Reſolutions of the houſe of commons thereupon.

1. " That to aſſert the houſe of commons
" was not the only repreſentative of the commons
" of England, tended to the ſubverſion of the
" rights and privileges of that houſe, and the
" fundamental conſtitution of the government of
" this kingdom.

2. " That to aſſert the houſe of commons have
" no power of commitment, but of their own
" members, tends to the ſubverſion of the conſtitu-
" tion of the houſe of commons.

3. " That to print or publiſh any books or
" libels, reflecting on the proceedings of the houſe
" of commons, or any member thereof, for, or
" relating to his ſervice therein, is a high violation
" of the rights and privileges of the houſe of
" commons.

4. " That it is the undoubted right of the people
" of England, to petition or addreſs the King,
" for the calling, ſiting or diſſolving of parlia-
" ments, and for the redreſſing of grievances.

5. " That it is the undoubted right of every
" ſubject of England, under any accuſation, either
" by impeachment, or otherwiſe, to be brought
" to a ſpeedy trial, in order to be acquited or
" condemned".

The King falls off his horſe.

In the mean time, his Majeſty, notwithſtanding his infirm ſtate of health, continued his uſual diverſions of hunting, and taking the air on horſeback; and riding out from Kenſington, to hunt near Hampton-court, as he was puting his horſe to the gallop, he unfortunately threw him, and broke his right collar-bone. He was carried into that palace, where the bone was ſet, and the ſame evening returned to Kenſington.

His Majeſty's meſſage to the houſe of commons.

Being, on this account, confined to his chamber, his Majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, by mr. ſecretary Vernon; importing:

" That being at preſent hindered, by an un-
" happy accident, from coming in perſon to his
" parliament, he was pleaſed to ſignify to the houſe
" of commons, by meſſage, what he deſign'd to
" have ſpoken to both houſes, from the throne;
" that his Majeſty, in the firſt year of his reign,
" had acquainted the parliament, that commiſ-

(1) Before King William left Holland ſeveral projects of great importance were formed. He had concerted with the Dutch and Pruſſian generals, the proper meaſures for the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, a place which the elector of Bavaria had put into the hands of the French. It was agreed with the elector of Hanover, that he ſhould attack and diſarm the Prince of Wolfembuttel, who had raiſed troops, with French mony, in the heart of the Empire, and ſent for a French general to command them. The King of the Romans, and Prince Lewis of Baden were to beſiege Landau: And the Emperor had ingaged to ſend a powerful ſupply into Italy, to inable the brave Prince Eugene to purſue the ſucceſs he had already had, and to attack the city of Mantua in form, the conqueſt of which place his Majeſty was ſenſible would go a great way towards defeating all the deſigns of the French in thoſe parts. But beſide all theſe grand deſigns, there was another on the anvil, more glorious in the execution, and more extenſive in the conſequences: I mean the project upon Cadiz, which was to be attempted by the Prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, and the duke of Ormond; the former of which had aſſur'd King William, that the Almirante of Caſtille, and ſeveral other grandees of Spain, with all their dependants, would, upon the taking of that place, immediately declare for the houſe of Auſtria. The ſucceſs of all theſe undertakings the reader will ſee in the ſequel.

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" ſioners were authorized in Scotland, to treat with " ſuch commiſſioners as ſhould be appointed in " England, of proper terms for uniting the two " kingdoms, and, at the ſame time, expreſs'd his " greateſt deſire of ſuch an union. That his Majeſty " was fully ſatisfied, nothing could contribute " more to the preſent and future peace, ſecurity and " happineſs of England and Scotland, than a firm " and intire union between them; and he could " not but hope, that upon a due conſideration of " their preſent circumſtances, there would be found " a general diſpoſition to that union: that his Ma- " jeſty would eſteem it a peculiar felicity, if, du- " ring his reign, ſome happy expedient might be " found for making both kingdoms one, and was " therefore extreamly deſirous, that a treaty might " be ſet on foot, to that purpoſe; and did, in the " moſt earneſt manner, recommend that affair to " the conſideration of the houſe ".

Acts paſs'd.

The firſt of March, the King found himſelf very ill, and therefore, the next day, ſign'd a commiſſion to the lord-keeper, and ſome others, for paſſing " the following bills, viz. 1. " An act for the " attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales, of " high treaſon. 2. An act for the puniſhing of " mutiny and deſertion; and 3. An act for con- " tinuing the Quakers ſolemn affirmation, inſtead " of an oath ".

The fourth, the King was taken with a ſhivering fit, after having taken a turn or two in the gallery at Kenſington: this ſhivering turned to a fever, accompanied with a vomiting and looſeneſs; upon which he was apprehended to be in a dangerous way, and ſeveral able phyſicians were on that account ſent for; but notwithſtanding they adminiſtred ſeveral remedies, which gave him great relief, his vomiting and looſeneſs was very violent. On the ſixth and ſeventh, he became ſo weak, that he was forced to have a ſtamp made, in order to ſet his name to a commiſſion for paſſing the " malt- " tax act; and an act for the farther ſecurity of his " Majeſty's perſon, and the ſucceſſion of the crown, " in the Proteſtant line, and to extinguiſh the " hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all " other pretenders, and their open and ſecret " abettors ".

More acts paſs'd

The King's death.

On Sunday, the eighth of March, early in the morning, his Majeſty, finding all the ſigns of his approaching diſſolution, received the holy ſacrament, with great devotion, from the hands of the archbiſhop of Canterbury. The lords of the privy council, with great numbers of the nobility and gentry, attended all the while, in the adjoining apartments, and ſeveral of them were called in, at times, to whom his Majeſty ſpoke a little, and then they withdrew. About eight in the morning, his Majeſty expired, ſiting on his bed, in his night-gown, and in the arms of mr. Sewel, one of the pages of the back-ſtairs, having, ſome time before, given the keys of his cloſet and eſcrutore, to the earl of Albermarle, telling him, he knew what to do with them. As ſoon as his Majeſty had breath'd his laſt, the lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were then in waiting, order'd mr. Ronjat, the ſergeant-ſurgeon, to take from the King's left arm, a black-ribbon, which tied next to his ſkin a gold-ring, with ſome hair of the late Queen Mary, an evident mark how dear her memory was to him (1).

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Thus died the great William Henry, Prince of Orange and King of Great-Britain, with that reſignation, reſolution, and compoſedneſs of mind, that had accompanied all the actions of his life, at the age of fifty-one years, four months and four days, after he had reign'd thirteen years and one month, wanting five days.

His character.

What now remains, to conclude this reign, is to give a character of our great deliverer from Popery and Tyranny: but as this has been already done, by ſo many writers, that it would be difficult to ſay any thing new, without exceeding the bounds of truth or decency, either by being too laviſh in his praiſe, or by depreciating his virtues and exagerating thoſe few faults that have been laid to his charge, I ſhall be contented with giving ſome brief extracts of the character given him by ſeveral authors, and where they differ from one another in opinion, ſet them oppoſite to each other, one in the text, and the other in the notes, and then, to continue the impartiality I hope I have all along ſhewn, ſhall leave the reader to judge for himſelf, without making any reflections, that ſhall favor either of panegyric or invective (2).

The author of the hiſtory and reign of King William III, in three volumes, octavo, after having expatiated on his character, under ſeveral general heads, ſums up the whole, in the following words (3).

" Tho' King William (ſays he) was not altoge- " ther free from faults, yet he may be rank'd " amongſt the greateſt men, and vy with the moſt " celebrated heroes of antiquity. To do him " juſtice, he was a Prince experienced in all the arts " of war, policy, and civil government; fearleſs " in dangers; conſtant in his reſolutions; moderate " in proſperity; unſhaken in adverſity; wiſe in his " councils; bold at the head of his armies; faithful " to his allies; dreadful to his enemies; maſter of

(1) The period of this glorious monarch's life was no doubt ſhortened by the great fatigues he had undergone for thirty years together, which could not but very much impair a conſtitution, at beſt but tender and infirm, and his conſtant application to buſineſs had undoubtedly exhauſted his animal ſpirits. As for the fall his Majeſty had from his horſe, it may have accelerated, but cannot have been the efficient cauſe of his death: for the ſurgeons, who were appointed by the privy-council to open him, declar'd, that they not only found his whole body emaciated, but that the right ſide of his lungs adhered to the pleura, and the left much more: from which upon ſeparation, there iſſued forth a quantity of purulent or frothy ſerum: that the upper lobe, on the left ſide of the lungs, and the part of the pleura next to it, were inflamed to a degree of mortification, and this they look'd upon as the immediate cauſe of his death.

(2) " It is true (ſays Salmon, at the begining of his character of this Prince) the great things King William has done for " this nation, particularly his delivering us from Popery and Slavery, muſt incline every grateful Engliſhman to pay a juſt regard " to his memory: but then the laws of hiſtory will not permit us to conceal all his errors and failings, and to repreſent him " rather as a God, than a mortal man; and ſhould our fondneſs for him incline us to be never ſo partial, poſterity poſſibly " will diſcover our biaſs, and conclude, there is more of fiction than truth in the relation. Vol. XXIV. p. 412.

(3) The ſame author gives the following deſcription of his perſon, and of the qualities of his mind: " as to his perſon (ſays " he) he was of a middle ſize, but ill ſhap'd, and ſomewhat round-ſhoulder'd: his face of a light-brown complexion, and hard- " featured; his noſe aquiline; his eyes exceeding good and piercing; his hands very fine and white; but his conſtitution weak " and infirm from his very youth. He ſate well on horſeback, and that poſture became him beſt, as if he had been princi- " pally formed for the field.

" What nature had denied him, as to the advantages of the body, ſhe had abundantly made up by the perfections of his mind: " He had a quick, ready, and penetrating wit, a ſound judgment, an admirable forecaſt, and a firm compoſed ſoul, amidſt " the greateſt and moſt imminent dangers.

To this Salmon adds: " He ſeems to have had no ear: for tho' he uſually commanded the confederates in perſon, neither trumpets, " hautbois, or any other muſic, was heard at his quarters; a profound ſilence reign'd there; no plays, drinking, revelling, " or even innocent diverſions, were ſeen in the royal apartments; and, except that he dined and ſupped publicly, and rode out, " once or twice a day, when he was in the camp, he was ſeen very little: the reſt of his time he was ſhut up with two or three " ſelect friends, whoſe converſation he moſt delighted in, and, when he did appear in public, ſcarce three words dropp'd from " him in an hour.

the

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" the affections of his people, by his forbearing " temper and clemency. He always aſſerted the " freedom of Europe, and declared himſelf an ene- " my to tyranny, oppreſſion and arbitrary ſway: " he preſerved his own country, and reſcued theſe " three nations, when their religion, laws and li- " berties were in moſt imminent danger, and no " other human help left to ſave them. He per- " fectly united England and Holland, two inve- " terate rivals in trade, and by teaching them to " promote their mutual intereſts, has left an effec- " tual barrier, to check the formidable and over- " grown power of France. He revived the ancient " martial ſpirit of the Engliſh, and retrieved the " honor of the nation, not only in the field (1) " but in the cabinet. He maintained the church of " England, without oppreſſing the Diſſenters, and " was ſo tender of the rights and privileges of his " ſubjects, that he ſometimes yielded from the juſt " prerogatives of the crown. Now (ſays my " author, to conclude) if his enemies ſhould aſk " to what purpoſe the nation has ſpent near ſixty " millions ſterling, to maintain him on the throne? " The anſwer is ready; to purchaſe an Engliſh " Proteſtant Queen, and a ſettlement of the ſuc- " ceſſion in the Proteſtant line: a purchaſe which " no true Engliſh-man, will ever account too " dear.

Biſhop Burnet, among other things, ſays; " King " William's behavior was ſolemn and ſerious, ſel- " dom chearful, and but with a few: he ſpoke " little, and very ſlowly, and moſt commonly " with a diſguſting dryneſs, which was his cha- " racter at all times, except in a day of battle; " for then he was all fire, tho' without paſſion. " He was then every where, and looked to every " thing. He had a memory that amazed all about " him; for it never failed him. He was an exact " obſerver of men and things. His ſtrength lay " rather in true diſcerning, and a ſound judgment, " than in imagination or invention. His deſigns " were always great and good: but, it was thought " he truſted too much to that, and that he did not " deſcend enough to the humors of his people. His " reſervedneſs grew upon him; ſo that it diſguſted " moſt of thoſe who ſerved him. He did not like " contradiction, nor to have his actions cenſured: " but he loved to imploy and favor thoſe who had " the art of complacency; yet he did not love flat- " terers. His genius lay chiefly to war, in which " his courage was more admired than his conduct: " great errors was often commited by him; but " his heroical courage ſet all things right, as it in- " flamed thoſe who were about him. He was too " laviſh of mony, on ſome occaſions, both in his " buildings and to his favorites; but too ſparing " in rewarding ſervices, or in incouraging thoſe " who brought intelligence. He was too apt to " take ill impreſſions of people, and theſe ſtuck " long with him; but he never carried them to in- " decent revenges. He gave too much way to his " own humor, almoſt in every thing. He knew " all forein affairs well, and underſtood the ſtate " of every court in Europe very particularly. " He inſtructed his own miniſters himſelf; but he did " not apply enough to affairs at home. He tried " how he could govern us, by balancing the two " parties, one againſt another.——— In his de- " portment towards all about him, he ſeemed to " make little diſtinction, between the good and the " bad; and thoſe who ſerved well, or thoſe who " ſerved him ill. He loved the Dutch, and was " much beloved among them: but the ill returns " he met from the Engliſh nation; their jealouſies " of him, and their perverſeneſs towards him, had " too much ſoured his mind, and had, in a great " meaſure, alienated him from them (2); which he " did not take care enough to conceal, tho' he ſaw " the ill effects it had upon his buſineſs. He grew, " in his laſt years, too remiſs and careleſs as to all " affairs; 'till the treacheries of France awakened " him, and the dreadful conjunction of the two " Monarchies (France and Spain) gave ſo loud " an alarm to all Europe. Few men had the " art of concealing and governing paſſion more " than he had: yet few men had ſtronger paſſions: " theſe were however, chiefly felt by his inferior " ſervants, but they were ſoon over, and he after- " wards ſhed his bounty, ſo plentifully upon them, " as might have tempted them to provoke his ſpleen " for their own advantage (3).

WILL' III AN' 1702.

The biſhop, in a ſermon preached before Queen Ann, ſoon after her acceſſion, mentioning King William, ſays; " We have a perſon raiſed up, and " long ſupported by very ſignal providences, in a " courſe of thirty years, to be the great fence, both " of liberty and religion, againſt a deluge of con- " queſt and deſtruction, that was breaking in and " carrying all before it; 'till he, young and unex- " perienced as he was, ſtood in its way, and ſtoped " its fury: he reſcued his country then, when it " was almoſt quite ſwallowed up; and after he " had reſcued and ſettled his own country, he was " called on to ſave us. I hope thoſe two great years " 72 and 88 are not, and cannot be forgoten: we " were at firſt delivered, and have been now for " thirteen years preſerved by him, in ſo unaccount- " able a manner, that, in the progreſs of a long " devouring war, one of the greateſt and longeſt " in any hiſtory, we have lived in profound " peace at home, under a juſt and merciful admi- " niſtration. His long practice in affairs; his " judgment, that was ſo exact, and of ſuch pene- " tration; the great reputation he had gained all " the world over, and the great figure the nation " made in his hands, all others centring in him,

(1) He loved war (ſays the continuator of Rapin, in French) for the ſame reaſon he loved hunting: becauſe he found exer- ciſe of body, a proper remedy for the weakneſs of his conſtitution; and, at the ſame time, while he was thus imployed, he was freed from the cares of the civil government, which he hated. His inclinations were afterwards ſtrengthened by other reaſons. He looked upon his camp, as a ſure retreat from the daily vexations he met with ſometimes from the jealouſies and perverſeneſs of the Engliſh, and at other times from their inconſtancy and irreſolution.

(2) By way of anſwer to this charge of ingratitude laid by the biſhop on the Engliſh nation, Salmon (Vol 24, of his modern hiſtory, p. 411) aſks the following queſtions: " what did the Engliſh omit to ſhew their reſpect and duty to this great " Prince? Did they not paſs by both his own Princeſs and the Princeſs of Denmark, to ſet the crown upon his head? Did " not they raiſe immenſe ſupplies, ſuch as were never known in former reigns, to ſupport him on the throne? Did they not " ſettle on him the greateſt revenue that ever any King of England injoyed before? Did they not connive at his being governed " by forein counſels, and entertaining forein favorites, and gratifying them with Engliſh poſts and Engliſh treaſure? Did " not the whole nation, as one man, reſent the French King's proclaiming the Pretender, and not only promiſe to maintain " his title with their lives and fortunes, but actually raiſed forces by ſea and land, and immediately entered into all the meaſures " propoſed by this Prince to begin a war againſt France? Does not the King, in almoſt every ſpeech, acknowlege the affection " that his ſubjects had always ſhewn for his perſon and government, and return them his hearty thanks for their confidence in " him, and the great ſupplies they granted? How is it poſſible after all this, to believe, that he thought the Engliſh ungrateful, " or that his mind was alienated from them?

(3) The biſhop farther ſays, " he had no vice, but of one ſort, in which he was very cautious and ſecret;" but as he has not thought fit to give it a name, I have omited it in the character of this Prince.

or

Will' III. An' 1702.

" or depending on him, were too viſible to ſee an " inlargement (1).

Salmon, tho' his character of this great Prince, in the whole, is far from being a panegyric, is obliged to own (and ſays the King ought to have the glory of it) " that he ſaved the church of " England from deſtruction. But at the ſame " time, obſerves, that the Epiſcopal church of " Scotland was ruined at the revolution, and that, " in one of his ſpeeches, he recommended the " taking off the penal laws and teſt in England, " that the Diſſenters might have a ſhare in all " places of truſt and profit. He likewiſe, allows, " that King William ſecured our civil rights and " liberties," and adds (I hope with ſincerity, tho' ſome pretend it has the air of a ſneer) " that " this abundantly attones for all the little irregu- " larities and miſtakes in the adminiſtration: even " his large grants (continues my author) to forein " favorites, and his reſiding every ſummer in " Holland, ought not to be remembered with re- " ſentment, when we conſider he ſecured to us " all that was valuable, and ſetled the crown in the " Proteſtant line, by which we, at this day, injoy " ſuch numerous benefits, under the happy domi- " nion of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

" I never, continues this author, could learn any " vice he was addicted to. His paſſion for his " favorites was his grand foible. Indeed, if am- " bition be a vice, he ſeems to have had a ſhare " of that (2); when he inſiſted on reigning with- " out his Queen; tho' perhaps even this may be " aſcribed to other cauſes: It is not improbable that " Queen Mary choſe to be purely paſſive in the " revolution: Her great tenderneſs for her father " might not ſuffer her to aſſume the government; " at leaſt, the King and his council might think " the nation more effectually ſecured againſt the " return of King James, by his taking the admi- " niſtration of the government upon him, than by " leaving it in the hands of the Princeſs."

The continuator of Rapin, in French, obſerves; " that King William being naturally haughty, and " fearing to be, or to appear to be govern'd, either " by his miniſters, or his favorites, he affected to " make them ſenſible, that they were not to build " too much upon their own knowlege, nor upon " his affection to them; and it was equally diſa- " greable to him, either to be adviſed or contra- " dicted: that he often acted upon the moſt im- " portant occaſions, from no other motives but " thoſe of his own caprice; and that he was there- " by deprived of many advantageous ſervices, " which he might otherwiſe have expected."

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I ſhall only add one paragraph more from the ſame continuator, with reſpect to our Monarch's religion and morality: " He ſhew'd himſelf " (ſays my author) a mortal enemy to vice and " irreligion, which he equally diſcountenanced, " by his own regular behavior, and by his rigorous " proclamations; and it is certain, that thoſe lau- " dable ſtatutes that were made in his reign, for " the advantage of religion, and the incourage- " ment of virtue, were as much owing to his " zeal as to that of his ſubjects. I may add, that " the manner in which King William performed " the exterior duties of Chriſtianity was extremely " edifying. He aſſiſted at divine-ſervice with an " exemplary aſſiduity and devotion: and one of " the occupations he moſt delighted in was reading " the holy ſcriptures. When he ſpoke of ſacred " things, it was in ſuch terms, as, at the ſame " time they denoted a profound veneration, gave " the moſt evident marks of a lively conviction. " This (continues my author) was even one of " the ſources of the intrepidity he ever ſhew'd in " the field: for, in a word, being perſuaded, " that a belief of the abſolute decrees of provi- " dence was an eſſential article of the Chriſtian " faith, he expoſed his perſon with the greater " reſolution to danger, being aſſured he ſhould " eſcape it, if his deſtiny was not fixed for that " moment (3).

(1) Salmon (Vol. 24. p. 408.) in anſwer to theſe tranſports of rapture (as he calls them) as far as regards the year 1688, and the war that followed it, ſays; " the Dutch were apprehenſive of an alliance between King James II, and the King of " France, which might prove deſtructive to their ſtate. The Prince of Orange had reaſon to believe that Popery, and an arbi- " trary government would be introduced in England; the conſequence of which would probably be the excluſion of himſelf, " and his Princeſs from that crown, to which they were nearly allied: and the Engliſh nation entertaining the ſame ſentiments, " invited him over, to protect their religion and liberties, and procure them a free parliament, that might ſettle them upon " ſuch a foundation, as ſhould preſerve them from Popery and arbitrary power; and as the Prince was ſupported and incou- " raged in this enterprize, by the States, and by the Emperor and the Princes of Germany, and was aſſured, not only of the " affections of the Engliſh, in general, but of the revolt of King James's fleet and army, on his arrival; what was there miracu- " lous, nay what was there to diſcourage a Prince of ordinary ambition and reſolution, to undertake the project? Or indeed, what " inducements were there wanting (if he had any regard for his own glory and intereſt) to incite him to undertake it? He " had a view, no doubt, to the preſervation of Holland; to the delivering England from Popery and Slavery; to the ſecuring " his own ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain, and of forming a confederacy againſt France for the preſervation of the " liberties of Europe, of which he had all the reaſon in the world to expect he ſhould be the head; and he had the happineſs " to ſee this glorious enterprize crown'd with ſucceſs: but this was ſo far from being a compenſation for the toils and hazards " he had run to ſave us (in the opinion of our judicious biſhop) that he grew weary of his ungrateful ſubjects, and every now " and then appeared ſo diſguſted, that he was upon the point of abandoning or abdicating three flouriſhing kingdoms, and " leaving us to ourſelves.

" I proceed (continues my author) in the next place, to take a view of the ſurprizing conduct of this Prince, in his wars, " after he mounted the Britiſh throne. At ſea, his fleet was once beaten, and once victorious: in Ireland, at the battle of the " Boyne, he gained a compleat victory, having a great ſuperiority of regular troops, whilſt moſt of King James's forces were " new-raiſed men, little better than militia: he attack'd the French at Steinkirk, in Flanders, anno 1692, and being miſ- " taken in the ground, did not ſucceed. The French, by ſtratagem, induced him to divide his army, anno 1693, and then " fell upon him at Landen, and gained an intire victory: they took the ſtrong towns of Mons, Namur, Charleroy, Aeth, " and others, before his face; and he took Namur from them again: but what was there ſurprizing or miraculous in all this."

(2) The author of his hiſtory (in 3 Vols. 8vo.) ſays; " he was a very ambitious Prince: but his ambition was governed " by prudence, and founded upon juſt and commendable motives: never aiming to make himſelf great, but to make others " happy at the ſame time." However there are thoſe who will not aſcribe ſo much virtue to his ambition; but will rather argue it productive of evil: " for to what elſe (ſay they, among other things) can we attribute his frequent refuſal of the royal aſſent " to bills prepared and laid before him by his parliament."

(3) King William had no iſſue either legitimate or natural.

End of the Twenty-fifth Book.

BRITISH
20 AU 75
MUSEUM

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK &c.

HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE

R. White ad vivum.

R. Sheppard Sculp.

...ast before this Reign

QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, &c. ANNE

HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE

SEMPER EADEM

G. Kneller pinx.

R. Sheppard Sculp.

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MUSEUM

BOOK XXVI.

Containing the Two Firſt Years of the Reign of Queen ANNE.

ANN, Twenty-ninth Sovereign of ENGLAND, ſince the Conqueſt.

Q. Ann, An' 1702. Queen Ann's acceſſion.

UPON the deceaſe of King William III, at Kenſington, the 8th of March 1702, about eight o'clock in the morning, both houſes of parliament (which now continued to ſit, notwithſtanding the King's demiſe, by an act made five years before) being immediately aſſembled, on this extraordinary occaſion, a meſſage was ſent by the lords to the commons, to acquaint them with his late Majeſty's death; upon which they unanimouſly voted, "an addreſs to the Queen, condoling with "her, on this ſad ſubject, and congratulating the "happy acceſſion of her Majeſty to the throne." The lords then deſiring a conference with the commons, acquainted them farther, "that it having "pleaſed ALMIGHTY GOD to take to himſelf the "late King William III, of glorious memory, "and the Princeſs being the only rightful and "lawful Queen of theſe realms, the lords had "thought fit to acquaint the commons, that or-"ders were given for proclaiming her Majeſty, at "three that afternoon."

The ſame day, the members of the privy-council being aſſembled, waited on her Majeſty in a body, at the royal palace at St. James's, where the Queen made the following ſpeech to them:

Her firſt ſpeech to the privy-council.

My lords,

"I am extremely ſenſible of the general misfor-"tune to theſe kingdoms, in the unſpeakable loſs "of the King, and of the great weight and bur-"den it brings, in particular, upon myſelf, which "nothing could incourage me to undergo, but the "great concern I have for the preſervation of our "religion, and the laws and liberties of my coun-"try: all theſe being as dear to me, as they can "be to any perſon whomſoever, you may depend "upon it, that no pains or diligence ſhall ever be "wanting, on my part, to preſerve and ſupport "them; to maintain the ſucceſſion, in the Pro-"teſtant line, and the government in church and "ſtate, as it is by law eſtabliſhed.

"I think it proper, on this occaſion of my firſt "ſpeaking to you, to declare my own opinion of "the importance of carrying on all the prepara-"tions we are making to oppoſe the great power "of France; and I ſhall loſe no time, in giving "our allies all aſſurances, that nothing ſhall be "wanting, on my part, to purſue the true inte-"reſt of England, together with theirs, for the "ſupport of the common cauſe.

Q. Ann, An' 1702.

"In order to attain theſe ends, I ſhall always be "ready to aſk the advice of my council, and of "both houſes of parliament; and deſirous to "countenance and imploy all thoſe who ſhall "heartily concur and join with me in ſupporting "and maintaining the preſent eſtabliſhment and "conſtitution, againſt all enemies and oppoſers "whatſoever" (1).

The privy-council ſworn.

Her Majeſty having made this gracious declaration of her intentions, cauſed all the lords, and others of the late King's privy-council, to take the oaths to her, in the ſame quality. At the ſame time, two proclamations were ordered to be forthwith publiſhed; one to ſignify her Majeſty's pleaſure, "that all perſons being in offices of autho-"rity or government, whether civil or military, "at the demiſe of King William, ſhould ſo con-"tinue till her Majeſty's farther directions;" the other, "for the better obſervance of the act, for "laying duties upon malt."

Proclamations iſſued.

The Queen proclaimed.

The ſame afternoon, the Queen was proclaimed, by the heralds, with the uſual ſolemnity, and the loud repeated acclamations of the people; firſt, before the gates of St. James's palace, and afterwards at Charing-croſs, Temple-bar, in Cheapſide near the end of Wood-ſtreet, and at the Royal Exchange (2).

The Queen being thus proclaimed at London, the two ſecretaries of ſtate of Scotland, and ſuch of the privy-council of that kingdom as were in town, attended her Majeſty at St. James's, where having read their claim of right, they tender'd her the coronation-oath, which ſhe took, and afterwards ſent a commiſſion to the earl of Marchmont, lord chancellor of that kingdom, to be her commiſſioner in the general aſſembly of the kirk, which was then ſiting, and then diſpatch'd the following letter to the privy-council there:

The Queen's letter to the privy council in Scotland.

ANNR.

"RIGHT truſty, &c. we greet you well. "Whereas it has pleaſed ALMIGHTY GOD, "this day, to call out of this life, to the fruition "of his eternal glory, his late Majeſty, our

(1) Her Majeſty (ſays biſhop Burnet) pronounced this her firſt ſpeech, as ſhe did all her other, afterwards, with great weight and authority, and with a ſoftneſs of voice, and ſweetneſs in the pronunciation, that added much life to all ſhe ſpoke.

(2) Notwithſtanding there appeared to be an univerſal joy at her Majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, yet it could not totally ſtifle the apprehenſions ſome were under, at this critical juncture, that the death of King William might be attended with conſequences fatal to Europe, in general, and to the proteſtant ſucceſſion of theſe kingdoms, in Particular.

Q. Ann, An' 1702.

" royal and moſt dearly beloved brother, King " William, whereby the undoubted right of the " Imperial crown of the kingdom of Scotland, con- " form to the act of ſettlement, is now devolved " upon us. And having, likewiſe (after hearing " read the petition of rights and grievances) taken " and ſigned the coronation-oath, in preſenſe of " ſeveral of our privy-council, whom we called " together, for that end, at our palace at St. " James's, have thought fit to authorize you to " continue to meet, and, in all things, to act as " our privy-council, of that our ancient kingdom, " in the ſame manner, to all intents and purpoſes, " as you were intruſted by his late Majeſty, of " glorious memory, until we ſhall ſend you a new " commiſſion for that effect, under our royal-hand. " And we do hereby alſo authorize and require " you, without any delay, in the moſt proper " methods, and with the due ſolemnities, to publiſh " the incloſed proclamation in our name, ordain- " ing all our officers of ſtate, counſellors, magi- " ſtrates, and all other officers whatſoever, both " civil and military, to act in all things, conform " to the laſt commiſſion and inſtructions, that they " had from his ſaid late Majeſty, until new com- " miſſions can be prepared, and ſent down, ſign'd " by our royal-hand: and we do, on this occaſion, at " our firſt acceſſion to the crown, give you, and " all our people, full aſſurance of our firm reſolu- " tion, during the whole courſe of our reign, to " protect them in their religion, laws and liberties, " and in the eſtabliſh'd government of the church, " and that we will do every thing in our power, " that may conduce to their happineſs and proſpe- " rity. And as we are reſolved to continue our " favor to you, ſo we expect you will alſo con- " tinue in the ſame zeal, in our ſervice, which you " have evinced in that of our ſaid moſt dear and " royal brother deceaſed; for all which this ſhall be " your warrant. And ſo we bid you heartily farewell".

Given at our court at St. James's, the eighth of March, 1702, and of our reign the firſt year.

By her Majeſty's command,

Seafield.

The ſame orders were ſent to Ireland, where the joy of the people appeared no leſs, on her Majeſty's aſcending the throne, than in England.

Addreſs of the lords.

The houſe of lords attended the Queen, the next day, in a body, with an addreſs: " condoling their " loſs, and moſt heartily congratulating her Ma- " jeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne; aſſuring " her of their zealous and firm reſolutions, to ſup- " port her undoubted right and title, and the ſuc- " ceſſion of the Proteſtant line, againſt all her ene- " mies whatſoever: being ſenſible their great loſs " was no otherwiſe to be repaired, to themſelves " and their confederates, but by a moſt ſincere and " vigorous adherence to her Majeſty and her allies, " in the proſecution of thoſe meaſures already en- " tered into, to reduce the exhorbitant power of " France. And humbly deſiring, that for the " incouragement of her Majeſty's allies, no time " might be loſt in communicating to them, her " Majeſty's reſolutions of adhering firmly to the " alliances already made, which they ſhould never " be wanting, to the utmoſt of their power, to " inable her Majeſty to maintain.

The Queen's anſwer.

Her Majeſty told them, in anſwer to this addreſs: " That ſhe received theſe aſſurances with great " ſatisfaction, and that her indeavors ſhould always " be very ſincere, to promote the true intereſt of " England, and to ſupport their common cauſe.

In the evening, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, at the head of the houſe, in a body, atttended the Queen with an addreſs, in which, after the uſual compliments of condolance and congratulation, they ſaid: " her Majeſty's zeal for their religion " and eſtabliſhment, gave them a certain proſpect " of future happineſs, moderated their grief, and " ingaged them unanimouſly to aſſure her, that " they would, to the utmoſt, aſſiſt and ſupport her " Majeſty on that throne where God had placed " her, againſt the pretended Prince of Wales, and " all her ememies: and ſince nothing could con- " duce more to the honor and ſafety of her Ma- " jeſty and her kingdoms, than maintaining in- " violably ſuch alliances, as had been, or ſhould " be made, for preſerving the liberties of Europe, " and reducing the exorbitant power of France; " they aſſured her Majeſty, that they were firmly " reſolved, to inable her Majeſty to proſecute that " glorious deſign: and that all her Majeſty's ſub- " jects might reſt, in a full aſſurance of happineſs, " under her Majeſty's reign, they would maintain " the ſucceſſion of the crown, in the Proteſtant line, " according to the limitation in the ſeveral acts of " ſettlement, and effectually provide for, and make " good, the public credit of the nation.

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Addreſs of the commons.

" Her Majeſty returned them thanks, for the " kind aſſurances, they gave her, which could not " be more agreably confirmed to her, than by " their giving diſpatch to all their preparations, " for the public ſervice, and the ſupport of the " allies. (1)

The Queen's anſwer.

The ſame day, the arch-biſhop of Canterbury, with the reſt of the biſhops then in town; and the next day, about noon, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, waited upon the Queen, with their addreſſes of condolance and congratulation; and their example was afterwards followed, by all the counties and corporations in her Majeſty's dominions.

Addreſs of the biſhops, city, &c.

The eleventh, the Queen went, the firſt time, with the uſual ſolemnity, to the houſe of peers, and the commons attending, her Majeſty addreſs'd her ſelf, to both houſes, in the following ſpeech:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's firſt ſpeech to the parliament.

" I cannot too much lament my own unhappi- " neſs, in ſucceeding to the crown ſo immediately " after the loſs of a King, who was the great ſup- " port, not only of theſe kingdoms, but of all " Europe; and I am extremely ſenſible of the " weight and difficulty it brings upon me: but " the true concern I have for our religion, for the " laws and liberties of England, for the maintain- " ing the ſucceſſion to the crown, in the Proteſtant " line, and the government in church and ſtate, as " by law eſtabliſhed, incourages me in this great " undertaking: which I promiſe myſelf will be " ſucceſsful, by the bleſſing of God, and the con- " tinuance of that fidelity and affection, of which " you have given me ſo full aſſurances.

" The preſent conjuncture of affairs requires " the greateſt application and diſpatch, and I am " very glad to find, in your ſeveral addreſſes, ſo " unanimous a concurence, in the ſame opinion " with me, that too much cannot be done, for the " incouragement of our allies, to reduce the exorbi- " tant power of France.

" I cannot but think it very neceſſary, upon this " occaſion, to deſire you to conſider of proper me- " thods towards attaining an union between Eng- " land and Scotland, which has been ſo lately re- " commended to you, as a matter that very

(1) Upon King William's death, the national funds had fallen about 15 per cent. But this good harmony between the Queen and her parliament, together with the reſolutions of the houſe of commons, about public credit, immediately raiſed them, even above their former value.

" nearly

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" nearly concerns the peace and ſecurity of both " kingdoms.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I need not put you in mind, that the revenue " for defraying the expences of the civil govern- " ment is expired.

" I rely intirely upon your affections, for the " ſupplying it in ſuch manner, as ſhall be moſt " ſuitable for the honor and dignity of the crown.

My lords and gentlemen,

" It ſhall be my conſtant indeavor to make you " the beſt return for that duty and affection you " have expreſs'd to me, by a careful and diligent " adminiſtration, for the good of all my ſubjects. " And as I know my own heart to be intirely " Engliſh, I can very ſincerely aſſure you, there " is not any thing you can expect or deſire from " me, which I ſhall not be ready to do for the " happineſs and proſperity of England, and you " ſhall always find me a ſtrict and religious " obſerver of my word. (1)

The twelfth, the commons returned their thanks for the Queen's ſpeech, by ſuch of their members as were of her Majeſty's privy-council: and, the next day, the lords, attended her Majeſty with an addreſs, importing:

Addreſs of the lords.

" That they could not ſufficiently expreſs the " great ſatisfaction they received from her moſt " gracious ſpeech, truſting in GOD it would have " the ſame effect abroad as at home, equally re- " viving the hearts of her allies and ſubjects; uni- " ting all people, and incouraging their utmoſt in- " deavors in the common cauſe. That the ſincere " concern her Majeſty had ſhewn for our religion, " the government in church and ſtate, and the " ſucceſſion to the crown in the Proteſtant line, " the hazards ſhe had expos'd herſelf to, in con- " cert with his late glorious Majeſty, for maintain- " ing the laws and liberties, as well as her moſt " gracious aſſurances, at this time, gave her ſub- " jects ſuch a confidence in her promiſe, ſuch a " dutiful affection to her perſon, ſuch a zeal for " her ſervice, as would oblige them, to make the " utmoſt efforts to ſupport her Majeſty, under the " weight and difficulties of the preſent conjuncture: " the concern (added their lordſhips) your Majeſty " expreſſes for your allies is a farther obligation " laid upon us, who are ſenſible their preſervation " is neceſſary to our own, and who are as deſirous " as ever, to ſupport the character of the crown " of England, in inabling your Majeſty to main- " tain the balance of Europe.

" We cannot make ſuitable returns to your " Majeſty, for your moſt gracious promiſes of a " careful and diligent adminiſtration for the public " good, which we think ourſelves ſufficiently ſe- " cured of, by ſo ſolemn an ingagement, under " your moſt ſacred word. Your Majeſty has been " pleaſed to aſſure us of all we could wiſh, and re- " commend to us what we ought to deſire: and, " we doubt not, your pious intentions will procure " a bleſſing from heaven; and your Majeſty may " be aſſured, that reſolutions ſo becoming a Queen " of England, cannot but make the deepeſt im- " preſſions upon all hearts that are true to the in- " tereſt of their country.

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs the Queen was pleaſed to anſwer, " That it was a great ſatisfaction to her to " find, that what ſhe had ſaid had their lordſhips " concurrence and approbation: and ſhe was wil- " ling to repeat to them, that ſhe ſhould always " hold very exactly to the aſſurances ſhe had given " them."

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Her Majeſty's earlieſt care was to cultivate the harmony and good intelligence which her glorious predeceſſor had eſtabliſhed with the States-general of the United-provinces; to which end, the third day after his deceaſe, ſhe wrote a letter to them, informing them of this melancholy event, and of her ſentiments in that critical juncture, of which, as it was the fore-runner of an embaſſy thither, I ſhall give the reader a copy.

The Queen's letter to the States-general.

High and mighty lords, our dear friends, allies, and confederates.

" It is not without a ſenſible grief, that we find " ourſelves obliged to acquaint you with the afflict- " ing news of the death of the moſt high and moſt " mighty Prince William III, King of England, " Scotland, France and Ireland, our moſt dear " brother, of glorious memory. He was ſeized, " on Wedneſday laſt, with a fever, which ſo much " increaſed the following days, that, notwith- " ſtanding all the remedies which were made uſe " of, he expired on Sunday, at eight o'clock in " the morning. This is certainly a very great loſs " to all Europe, and in particular to your State, " whoſe intereſt he always maintained with ſo " much valor, prudence, zeal and conduct: and " as it has pleaſed GOD, that we ſhould ſucceed " him in the throne of theſe kingdoms, we ſhall " alſo ſucceed him in the ſame inclination, to pre- " ſerve a conſtant union and amity with you, and " maintain all the alliances that have been made " with your State, by our ſaid moſt dear brother, and " other our predeceſſors; and likewiſe to concur " with you, in all the meaſures that ſhall be neceſ- " ſary, for the preſervation of the common liberty " of Europe, and for reducing the power of France " within due bounds. This we deſire you fully " to be aſſured of, and that we ſhall always look " upon the intereſts of England, and thoſe of your " State, as inſeparable, and united by ſuch ties as " cannot be broke, without the greateſt prejudice " to both nations. We pray GOD to keep you, " high and mighty lords, our moſt dear friends " and confederates, in his holy protection."

Given at our court at St. James's, March 10, anno domini 1702, and the firſt year of our reign.

Good effect it had in Holland.

This letter was ſent to mr. Stanhope, with new credentials, as her Majeſty's envoy extraordinary to the States-general of the United-provinces, and he immediately delivered both to their high-mightineſſes. The news of the King's death had caſt a great damp on their counſels, and occaſioned many and juſt alarms throughout all the provinces: they therefore made her Majeſty's letter public, to diſſipate the reports which had been induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, by the emiſſaries of France, that England would not proſecute the meaſures agreed upon between the late King and his confederates, to reduce the exorbitant power of France. This had, in a great meaſure, the deſired effect, in removing thoſe fears which ſome had too haſtily imbibed.

Reſolutions of the States-general.

This letter, likewiſe, made ſo lively an impreſſion on the minds of the States themſelves, and ſo far recovered their drooping ſpirits, that, on the twenty-fifth of March, N. S, the States of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland went in a body to the aſſembly of the States-General, where having condoled their irreparable loſs, they repreſented; " that in this " dangerous conjuncture, nothing could prove more " effectual, for their preſervation, than a perfect " unity, mutual confidence, and a vigorous reſolu-

(1) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that there were two paſſages in this ſpeech, which were thought not ſo well conſidered: She aſſured them, her heart was intirely Engliſh; this was deemed a reflection on the late King; ſhe alſo added, that they might depend on her word: both theſe expreſſions had been in her father's firſt ſpeech, how little ſoever they were afterwards minded by him.

" tion

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" tion, for the defenſe of their country, and by " adhering firmly to thoſe meaſures already entered " into, and ſuch as ſhould be judged farther expe- " dient for the good of the common cauſe, declaring " withal, that they were ready to perform their " part, and rather to ſacrifice all their blood and " treaſure, than to ſee their State, their liberty and " their religion deſtroyed."

This repreſentation was highly applauded by the States-General, who returned thanks to the States of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland, for their zealous reſolutions in that perilous conjuncture, and aſſured them of their hearty concurence therein, for the ſafety and welfare of the State, and ſtrenuouſly carrying on the common cauſe; and they ordered letters to be ſent to the other Provinces, to invite them to give the ſame aſſurances. The city of Amſterdam, to ſignalize themſelves more particularly on that occaſion, ſignified to the States-general, that they would not only conſent to ſuch reſolutions as ſhould be thought neceſſary, at that time, but would advance mony to thoſe provinces, which could not ſo readily furniſh out their quota's that ſhould be granted. Their high-mightineſſes, ſoon after publiſhed their reſolutions, at large, in print to the ſame effect, and concluded; " that they " were reſolved religiouſly to maintain their treaties " and alliances, entered into with their confederates; " ſtedfaſtly to purſue the contents thereof; vigorouſly " and cordially to put them in execution; to per- " ſevere in the meaſures already taken, and agree to " ſuch other meaſures as ſhould be thought conveni- " ent; and that notice ſhould be given of this their " true meaning and intention to all their allies and " confederates."

The duke of Bedford, and earl of Marlborough, made knights of the garter.

The earl made-captain general.

The 13th of March, the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Marlborough were elected knights-companions, of the moſt noble order of the Garter: and the next day, the Queen declared the earl of Marlborough, captain-general of all her forces in England, and of thoſe imployed abroad, in conjunction with her allies (1).

The earl of Marlborough ſent embaſſador and plenipotentiary to Holland.

The Queen, in the mean time, juſtly conſidering of how great importance it would be to the common cauſe, to have all apprehenſions and jealouſies intirely removed, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to Holland, which would leave no farther grounds for them. For this weighty truſt, ſhe, following the example of her great predeceſſor, thought none more proper than the earl of Marlborough, whoſe conſummate genius had already approved him as great a miniſter, as a commander; qualities rarely to be found in one and the ſame perſon. Her Majeſty, therefore ſent the earl to Holland, with the character of embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-General.

Arrives at the Hague.

His excellency arrived at the Hague, the 28th of March, N. S. and after having had ſeveral conferences with the grand-penſionary, and other miniſters, on the 31ſt, he was conducted to his public audience of the States-General, with great ſolemnity, and a numerous attendance, where he made the following ſpeech to their high-mightineſſes:

Has a pubilc audience.

His ſpeech to the States General.

High and mighty lords,

" It having pleaſed God, in his divine provi- " dence, to take to himſelf his Majeſty, King " William, of glorious memory, to the great loſs, " of his kingdom, the ſtate of your high and " mighty lordſhips, and of all Europe; the Queen, " my miſtreſs, who, as it has pleaſed the ſame pro- " vidence, ſucceeds on the throne of her anceſtors, " as your high and mighty lordſhips have been in- " formed by her Majeſty's letter, has commanded " me, at the ſame time I expreſs to your lord- " ſhips her Majeſty's great affliction upon this " ſubject, to make known to you the intereſt her " Majeſty takes in that which this great misfortune " occaſions to your lordſhips in particular.

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" The firſt of her Majeſty's care was to let your " high and mighty lordſhips underſtand her ſincere " deſire and inclination to entertain, with you, " the ſame union, friendſhip, and ſtrict correſpon- " dence, as has ſubſiſted, during the courſe of the " preceeding reign, as being perſuaded, that nothing " in the world can be more uſeful and beneficial, " for the good of both nations, whoſe intereſts " are the ſame.

" Her Majeſty has, therefore, commanded me " to acquaint your high and mighty lordſhips, that " ſhe is firmly reſolved to contribute all that lies in " her power towards the advancing and increaſing " the ſaid union, friendſhip and correſpondence, " and to make that a conſtant maxim of her " government.

" Her Majeſty has farther ordered me to aſſure " your high and mighty lordſhips, that ſhe will not " only exactly and faithfully obſerve and execute " the treaties and alliances, made between the Kings " her predeceſſors, and your high and mighty " lordſhips, but that ſhe is likewiſe ready to renew " and confirm them: as alſo to concur with you in " all the meaſures, which have been taken by the " late King, of glorious memory, in purſuance of " the ſaid alliances.

" Her Majeſty is likewiſe diſpoſed to enter into " ſuch other ſtricter alliances and ingagements, " which ſhall moſt conduce to the intereſts of both " nations, the preſervation of the liberty of Eu- " rope, and reducing, within juſt bounds, the " exhorbitant power of France.

" In the mean time, her Majeſty is ready, from " this moment, and without any delay, to concur " with your high and mighty lordſhips, and the other " allies, to this end, with all her forces, as well " by ſea as by land.

" And her Majeſty, to ſhew her zeal the more, " has been pleaſed to authorize me, to concert " with your high and mighty lordſhips, the ne- " ceſſary operations.

" Theſe motives obliged her Majeſty to order " me to depart, with all diligence, in order to " come hither, and give your high and mighty " lordſhips all poſſible aſſurances thereof, without " ſtopping at the ordinary formalities.

" And I look upon it as an extraordinary happi- " neſs, that her Majeſty has done me the honor, to " imploy me in this commiſſion, ſince it gives me " the oportunity of expreſſing to your high and " mighty lordſhips, the zeal I have for your ſervice."

To this ſpeech, monſieur Dyckvelt, preſident of the aſſembly, made an anſwer, in the name of the States; " expreſſing their great affliction for " the death of the late King, their congratulation " of her Majeſty's ſucceſſion to the throne; their " hearty thanks for the aſſurance of her friendſhip;

The preſident of the States's anſwer.

(1) It has been reported that King William, but a ſhort time before his death, in the moſt earneſt and affectionate manner, recommended the earl of Marlborough to the Princeſs of Denmark, who was to ſucceed him, as the propereſt perſon to command her armies, in the war, which was upon the very point of breaking out, but of which, he plainly foreſaw, death would prevent his having any ſhare in the glory. Some ſay the King recommended him to her Majeſty on his death-bed, as the fitteſt perſon in all her dominions to conduct her armies, and preſide in her councils; as being a man of a cool head, and a warm heart, proper to incounter the genius of France, and ſuppreſs her deſigns of ſwallowing all Europe. How far this recommendation co-operated with her Majeſty's own judgment and choice is not material; but upon her acceſſion to the throne, ſhe caſt an early eye of favor upon him.

and

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" and their own reſolution, readily to concur with " her Majeſty in a vigorous proſecution of the com- " mon intereſt: " To which he added; " that his " perſon would be highly acceptable to them, not " only for the Queen's choice of him, and for the " ſake of King William who firſt inveſted him " with that character, but for his own merit."

Intriegues of France;

The French King, being not a little ſurpriz'd at theſe proceedings of the Queen of Great-Britain, and finding that the death of King William would not have the effect he had vainly imagin'd, put all the means in agitation he could poſſible contrive, to break the growing union between England and Holland (which was the only human means left to put a ſtop to thoſe great and pernicious deſigns he had formed). Among others, the very day the earl of Marlborough had his public audience, the ſieur de Barre, who was left at the Hague, by count d'Avaux, as ſecretary of the embaſſy, to take care of the affairs of France, and had now the title of reſident, preſented a long memorial to the States, to indeavor to draw them off from their in-

Prove of no effect.

gagements with England. This memorial, however, had a contrary effect to what France hop'd from it. The States look'd, with indignation, on the contumelious inſinuations with which this memorial was ſtuff'd, as if they had acted only by the conſtraining influence of the late King, and received, with the like diſdain, the inſulting menaces contained in it, they therefore, returned an anſwer; ſo pertinent and becoming them, as daſh'd all hopes of France, on that ſide. In this memorial, they ſet forth, how exact they had been in obſerving their treaties and alliances, and juſtly retorted on the French, that if they had been really inclin'd to eſtabliſh the peace of Europe, and re-enter into their ancient amity with the republic, they would not have recali'd the count d'Avaux without at leaſt making ſome propoſals towards a peace. French writers, and particularly monſ. de Quincy, attribute this ſtedfaſtneſs of the States-general to the declaration made to them by the earl of Marlborough, in the name of the Queen, and ſay that was the cauſe of their rejecting every propoſal made by their grand Monarch.

The earl of Marlborough returns to England.

The earl of Marlborough ſtaid but few days in Holland, tho' to very good purpoſe; and having ſettled ſeveral important affairs, with the deputies of the States, eſpecially for the opening of the campain, and the intended ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, which, by his lordſhip's advice, was to be the firſt ſcene of action, he left the Hague, in order to imbark for England, where he arrived in ſafety, the 5th of April.

Proceedings of the commons.

The houſe of commons were, all this while, purſuing the affairs recommended to their conſideration, from the throne, with great zeal and unanimity. The 14th of March, they reſolved to grant a ſupply, " for the better ſupport of her Majeſty's " houſhold, and of the honor and dignity of the " crown; " and the 17th they voted farther, " that towards the ſaid ſupply, the ſame revenues " which were payable to the late King, be granted " and continued to her preſent Majeſty, during her " life, from the death of his late Majeſty." The 19th, the commons paſs'd a bill, " for taking and " ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom," and gave leave for a bill to be brought in, " for " inabling her Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners " to treat for an union between the kingdoms of " England and Scotland," and appointed ſir Rowland Gwyn, mr. ſecretary Vernon, and colonel Stanhope to prepare the ſame. The 24th, and following days, the ſpeaker, and many other members, took the oath directed in an act made this ſeſſion, " for the farther ſecurity of his Majeſty's " perſon, and the ſucceſſion of the crown, in the " Proteſtant line, and for extinguiſhing the hopes " of the pretended Prince of Wales; " according to the alterations lately agreed to by the houſe: but ſome members abſented themſelves from the houſe, as it was believed, on purpoſe to decline it.

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The 29th, a proclamation was iſſued, declaring her Majeſty's pleaſure, that the ſolemnity of her coronation ſhould be performed on the 23d of April, being St. George's day.

Acts paſs'd.

The 30th, the Queen came to the houſe of lords, with the uſual ſolemnity, and the commons being preſent, gave the royal aſſent to " an act for the bet- " ter ſupport of her Majeſty's houſhold, and of the " honor and dignity of the crown; " and to ſeveral other public and private bills. After which the Queen made a ſpeech to both houſes; " returning " thanks to the commons, in particular, for con- " tinuing to her the ſame revenue they had granted " to the late King; and aſſuring them, that while

An inſtance of the Queen's generoſity.

" her ſubjects remained under the burden of ſuch " great taxes, ſhe would ſtreighten herſelf, in her " own expences, rather than not contribute all ſhe " could to their eaſe and relief, with a juſt regard " to the ſupport of the honor and dignity of the " crown: and that, tho' the revenue might fall " very ſhort of what it had formerly produc'd, " ſhe would give directions, that 100,000l. be " applied to the public ſervice in this year, out of the " revenue they had ſo unanimouſly given her (1). "

Compliments made by forein miniſters.

The 11th, of April, baron Spanheim, embaſſador extraordinary from the King of Pruſſia, and baron Schutz, envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover, had private audiences of the Queen, and of his royal highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, to condole the death of the late King, and congratulate her Majeſty's acceſſion to the crown; as had, likewiſe, at different times, count Wratiſlaw, envoy extraordinary, and mr. Hoffman, reſident from the Emperor, with ſeveral other forein miniſters.

King William's funeral.

The 12th at night, the funeral obſequies of his deceaſed Majeſty, William III, of glorious memory, were ſolemnized in the collegiate church of Weſtminſter. The proceſſion began from Kenſington, whence the royal corps was carried in an open chariot, attended by a numerous train of the ſervants of the royal family, the judges, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the great officers in their coaches. The pall was ſupported by ſix dukes, his royal higneſs, Prince George, was chief mourner, ſupported by two dukes, and followed by ſixteen of the firſt earls of England, as aſſiſtants, and after them, the gentlemen and grooms of the bed-chamber. During the time of divine ſervice, the body was depoſited in Henry VII's chapel, and afterwards interr'd, with the uſual ſolemnities, in the ſame vault, with King Charles II, and Queen Mary, his royal conſort.

Preferments.

The 14th, the duke of Devon was conſtituted lord-ſteward of the houſhold, the earl of Jerſey, lord-chamberlain, the earl of Bradford, treaſurer of the houſhold, ſir Edward Seymour, comptroler, and Peregrine Bertie, eſq; vice-chamberlain. The 17th, ſir Edward Seymour was admited into the privy-council, and, the ſame day, her Majeſty there declared his royal highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, generaliſſimo of all her forces, by ſea and land: and, on the 20th, the duke of Ormond was appointed commander in chief of all her Majeſty's land-forces on board the fleet. The next day,

(1) By this unexpected act of generoſity her Majeſty very much indear'd herſelf to all her people, and both houſes of parliament acknowledg'd it by addreſſes, to which her Majeſty returned moſt gracious anſwers.

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her Majeſty cauſed the name of the lords Sommers and Hallifax, with ſeveral others (1), to be left out of the liſt of her privy-council, and their places to be fill'd up, with the marquis of Normanby, the earl of Abingdon, ſir John Leviſon Gower, and John How, eſq. At the ſame time, the Queen deliver'd the privy-ſeal to the marquis of Normanby (2), and the ſeal of the duchy of Lancaſter, to ſir John Leviſon Gower.

East and West-Jerſey ſurrender'd to the crown.

The 17th of April, ſir Thomas Lane, and William Dockwra, eſq; with the reſt of the proprietors of the provinces of Eaſt and Weſt New-Jerſey, in America, preſented to her Majeſty in council, an inſtrument under their hands and ſeals, by virtue of which they ſurrendered their rights to the government of thoſe provinces; which her Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to accept of, aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that their properties ſhould be intirely preſerved, and the government of thoſe colonies brought under a due regulation, by her Majeſty's taking them under her ſpecial care and direction.

About this time, the Queen wrote a letter to the parliament of Scotland, in anſwer to one they had written to the late King, concerning their trade to Africa and the Indies, and the union with England, in which ſhe told them:

The Queen's letter to the parliament of Scotland.

"That ſhe would maintain the ſovereignty and "independency of that her ancient kingdom, and "be as tender of their rights, as of her kingdom "of England; that ſhe would govern each king-"dom according to their reſpective laws, and in-"deavor to avoid all miſunderſtandings and dif-"ferences between them; to which end ſhe would "indeavor to eſtabliſh an union between them: "that the parliament of England having ſhewn "ſuch an inclination towards an union, ſhe hoped "the parliament of Scotland would not obſtruct "the deſign: that the late King had ordered, that "none of the ſubjects of Scotland ſhould be im-"preſs'd for the Engliſh ſea-ſervice, and ſhe would "continue to protect them in this matter; ſhe "regreted their loſes and diſappointments, in their "trade to Africa and the Indies, and in ſettling a "colony in America, which was now a misfor-"tune to the whole kingdom, and ſhe would "concur in any propoſals for their reparation and "aſſiſtance; and ſhould incourage not only the "trade of that company, but of the whole, and "to the utmoſt of her power promote the welfare "of her people."

The late King's papers inſpected into.

A report having been induſtriouſly ſpread; "that a deſign had been formed (with the know-"ledge and approbation of the late King) to ex-"clude the Queen from ſucceeding to the crown, "(ſome added to impriſon the Queen and to bring "the houſe of Hanover immediately into the ſuc-"ceſſion") the lord-preſident, the lord-ſteward, the lord-chamberlain, the earl of Marlborough, and the earl of Albermarle, were authorized by her Majeſty, to inſpect the late King's papers, it having been ſaid, that ſome writings were in his ſtrong box, which would diſcover the whole ſcheme (3).

But to the honor of their late ſoverein, they ſeverally declared, to the houſe of peers, "that "among the late King's papers, they did not find "any paper or papers, in the leaſt tending to the "prejudice of her Majeſty, her ſucceſſion to "the crown, or to her prejudice in any reſpect "whatſoever, or which might give any ground "or color for ſuch report." Upon which a vote paſs'd in the houſe of lords, "that theſe reports "were groundleſs, falſe, villanous and ſcandalous; "to the diſhonor of the late King's memory, and "highly tending to the diſſervice of her preſent "Majeſty:" and it was order'd, that the matter of fact, and the reſolution of the houſe thereupon, be laid before her Majeſty, with their humble deſire, "that ſhe would be pleas'd to order mr. "Attorney-general to proſecute, with the utmoſt "ſeverity of law, the authors or publiſhers of ſuch "ſcandalous reports:" to which her Majeſty anſwered, that "ſhe was very ready to do any thing "of this kind, and would give directions accor-"dingly."

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Reſolution of the houſe of peers thereupon.

Some time after, dr. Drake was charged with inſinuating the ſame thing, in a pamphlet he publiſh'd, intitled; "the hiſtory of the laſt parliament," and was thereupon brought before the houſe of peers, where, after having taken his examination, it was reſolved, "that the ſaid pamphlet contained in-"ſinuations ſcandalous and dangerous, tending to "alienate the affections of the ſubjects from her "Majeſty, and to diſturb the peace and quiet of "the kingdom:" and they addreſs'd her Majeſty, to give orders to the attorney-general, to proſecute the ſaid dr. Drake, and all others concern'd in thoſe ſcandalous reports.

A pamphlet of dr. Drake's cenſured.

The 23d, being St. George's day, her Majeſty's coronation was perform'd with great ſplendor and pomp. Of which ſolemnity, as there had not been a coronation of a ſoverein Queen alone, ſince that of Queen Elizabeth, I ſhall give the reader a brief account.

Her Majeſty being come to Weſtminſter-hall, about eleven o'Clock, and having retired into the court of wards, the nobility, and thoſe who formed the firſt part of the proceſſion, being marſhal'd in order, by the heralds, came down into Weſtminſter-hall, where her Majeſty, being ſeated under her ſtate, the ſwords and ſpurs were preſented to her, and laid upon the table at the upper end of the hall.

Then the dean and prebendaries of Weſtminſter, having brought the crown, and other regalia, with the bible, chalice and patten, they were preſented ſeverally to her Majeſty, and quickly after were, together with the ſwords and ſpurs, delivered to the lords appointed to carry them.

The proceſſion, hereupon, began in the following manner; drums and trumpets: ſix clerks in chancery, two a-breaſt; chaplains having dignities; aldermen of London; maſters in chancery; the ſolicitor and attorney-general; the Queen's ancient ſerjeants; gentlemen of the privy-chamber; judges; children of Weſtminſter, and of the Queen's chapel; choir of Weſtminſter, and gentlemen of the chapel; prebendaries of Weſtminſter; maſter of the jewel-houſe, and privy-counſelors not peers, all in their proper habits, as uſual at coronations.

(1) This was look'd upon as a mark of her Majeſty's inclination to favor the high-church or tory-party, preferably to the low-churchmen or whigs.

(2) It is obſervable, that ſome years before the Queen was married to Prince George, the marquis of Normanby, then earl of Mulgrave, and a nobleman of ſingular accompliſhments, both of mind and perſon, and of a plentiful fortune, aſpired ſo high as to marry the lady Ann: but tho' his addreſſes to her were check'd as ſoon as diſcover'd, yet the Princeſs had ever an eſteem for him. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann p. 14.

(3) This pretended ſcheme was ſaid to be: "that the Elector of Hanover ſhould be declared King William's immediate "ſucceſſor: that, in order to effect this, the troops of Hanover and Zell were to file off towards the ſea-coaſt of Holland: "that ſoon a ter the King's return from thence, a ſham-inſurection was to be excited, either in Scotland or Ireland, to give the "King a colorable pretenſe, for inviting over the Hanoverian troops, with their Prince to command them, and that ſeveral "peers, who were privy to this deſign, were to be made lords-lieutenants of counties, in order to influence the elections for "members of a new parliament. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann. p. 18.

Then

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Then two purſuivants of arms; baroneſſes and barons, in crimſon-velvet robes, with their coronets in their hands, two a-breaſt (as all the peers and peereſſes went); biſhops: two purſuivants of arms; viſcounteſſes and viſcounts; two heralds of arms; counteſſes and earls; two heralds of arms; marchioneſſes; heralds of arms; ducheſſes and dukes; two kings of arms with their coronets; the lord privy-ſeal, archbiſhop of York, lord keeper, archbiſhop of Canterbury, two perſons repreſenting the dukes of Acquitain and Normandy, and his royal highneſs, Prince George, his train born.

Next the lords who bore the regalia; viz. the earl of Dorſet, St. Edward's ſtaff; the lord viſcount Longueville, the ſpurs; the earl of Huntingdon, the ſcepter with the croſs; the earls of Pembroke, Derby, and Kent, the three ſwords; then the deputy-garter, king of arms, with his coronet, between the uſher of the black-rod and the lord-mayor of London; the lord great chamberlain ſingle (preceeded by the vice-chamberlain;) the earl of Oxford, with the ſword of ſtate, between the duke of Bedford, high conſtable for that day, and the earl of Carliſle, earl-marſhal; the duke of Devonſhire, lord-high-ſteward, on that occaſion, with the crown, between the duke of Richmond, bearing the ſcepter with the dove, and the duke of Somerſet, lord-preſident, with the orb; the biſhop of Worceſter with the bible, between the biſhop of Sarum, with the patten, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, dean of Weſtminſter, with the chalice.

The Queen, with her royal robes of crimſon velvet, wearing the collar of the order of the garter (as all the knights of the order did) and, on her head, a rich circlet of gold and diamonds, ſupported by the biſhops of Durham and Exeter, under a canopy born by twelve barons of the Cinque-ports, her train born by the ducheſs of Somerſet, aſſiſted by the lady Elizabeth Seymour, the lady Mary Pierpoint, the lady Mary Hyde, and mrs. Bridget Oſborn; and by the earl of Jerſey, lord-chamberlain; the ſerjeants at arms, and gentlemen penſioners, going on each ſide of the regalia and canopy.

Next followed the captain of her Majeſty's guard, between the captain of the yeomen of the guard, and the captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners, with the firſt lady of the bed-chamber, and two of her Majeſty's women.

Thus the whole proceſſion march'd on foot (1), upon blue cloath, to Weſtminſter-abby, the houſes, on each ſide, being crouded with vaſt numbers of ſpectators, expreſſing their great joy and ſatisfaction, by loud and repeated acclamations.

Being entered the church, and all duly ſeated and placed, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who perform'd this grand ſolemnity, began with the recognition, which ended with a great ſhout, from each ſide of the theatre: then her Majeſty made her firſt oblation, and the lords who bore the regalia preſented them at the altar. The litany was ſung on the eaſt ſide of the theatre, by the biſhops of Litchfield and Lincoln; and, after the epiſtle, goſpel, and Nicene creed, the archbiſhop of York preached on the following text; viz. Iſaiah xlix, 23. "Kings ſhall be thy nurſing fathers, and Queens "thy nurſing mothers.

The ſermon being ended, the Queen repeated and ſigned the declaration or teſt eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, then took the coronation-oath, and, in King Edward's chair, placed in the middle of the area, before the altar, was anointed and preſented with the ſpurs, girt with the ſword, and veſted with her purple robes; and, having received the ring, the orb and ſcepters, was ſolemnly crown'd, about four o'clock, with loud acclamations, the drums beating, trumpets ſounding, and the great guns being diſcharged: whereupon the peers, peereſſes, &c. put on their coronets, and the biſhops their caps. Q. ANN, AN' 1702.

Then the holy bible was preſented to her Majeſty, and ſhe vouchſafed to kiſs the biſhops; and, being inthroned, firſt his royal highneſs, Prince George, then the archbiſhops and biſhops, and laſtly the temperal lords, did her homage, and ſeemingly kiſs'd her Majeſty's left cheek, and afterwards touch'd the crown, while the treaſurer of the houſhold threw about the coronation medals.

Her Majeſty then made her ſecond oblation, and received the holy communion, and, after the final prayers, retired into King Edward's chapel, where ſhe was veſted in her robes of purple velvet. The whole proceſſion being hereupon again put in order, her Majeſty returned to Weſtminſter-hall, wearing her crown of ſtate, and the peers and peereſſes, and kings of arms their coronets.

The Queen dined at a table at the upper end of the hall, with his royal highneſs, Prince George, on her left hand, and the nobility, with other perſons of quality, were ſeated at their reſpective tables, which were all ready furniſhed before their coming in. The hot meat, or firſt courſe, for her Majeſty's table, for which ſpace was left, was ſerved up with the proper ceremony, being preceded by the officers, &c. of the board of green-cloth, and by the lord high-ſteward, between the lord-high-conſtable, and earl-marſhal, on horſe-back. Juſt before the ſecond courſe, Charles Dymmock, eſq; her Majeſty's champion, in compleat armor, between the lord high-conſtable and earl marſhal aforementioned, performed the challenge: after which the kings of arms and heralds proclaimed her Majeſty's ſtile in Latin, French and Engliſh. The parliament being then ſiting, the houſe of commons were ſeated in the gallery, on the eaſt ſide of Weſtminſter-hall, and in the north croſs of the abby, and were entertained at dinner, in the exchequer-chamber.

The dinner being ended, and every thing performed, as uſual, on the like occaſions, with great ſplendor and magnifience, her Majeſty returned to St. James's, between eight and nine in the evening. The day concluded with bonfires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and other demonſtrations of a general ſatisfaction and joy.

The Queen forms her miniſtry.

The ceremony of the coronation being over, the Queen, ſoon after, ſet about to form her miniſtry: in the late reign ſhe had not been made acquainted with public affairs; nor did the miniſtry take much care to oblige thoſe who were about her. The earl of Marlborough was the only perſon near her, for whom the court ſhew'd any great regard. Her Majeſty's court, as Princeſs, was then very thin; ſhe lived in a due abſtraction from buſineſs; ſo that ſhe neither gave jealouſy, nor incouraged faction: yet theſe things (ſays biſhop Burnet) had made thoſe impreſſions on her, that had, at firſt, ill effects, which were ſoon obſerved and remedied. I ſhall not enter into a particular detail of all the alterations the Queen made, nor of the motives which may probably have induced her to ſome things; but ſhall confine myſelf to what more immediately concerns the moſt material parts of this hiſtory. Among other changes, the lord Godolphin was made lord-treaſurer, at which he ſhewed an uneaſineſs, and long reſiſted the acceptance of it; but the earl of Marlborough preſs'd it, in ſo poſi-

The lord Godolphin made lord-treaſurer.

(1) Her Majeſty only, not being well enough to walk, was carried in a low open chair.

tive

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tive a manner, that he inſiſted upon it, he could not go beyond ſea, to command the army, unleſs the treaſury was in his hands; by which he might be ſure that remittances would be punctually made him.

The Prince of Denmark ſaid to deſign commanding the army.

I have already ſaid, that the earl of Marlborough was declared captain-general; but the Prince had the title of generaliſſimo of all the Queen's forces, by ſea or land, and ſoon after was made lord-high-admiral; and the duke of Ormond was appointed to command in chief a land-army, which was to be put on board the fleet. It was for ſome time, reported, that the Prince would command the armies of the allies, in perſon; but this ſoon fell away, and it was ſaid, on the contrary, that the Dutch were not willing to truſt their forces to the command of a Prince, who might be above being limited by their inſtruction, or bound to obey their commands.

The Dutch againſt it.

The Queen made the earl of Nottingham, and ſir Charles Hedges, her principal ſecretaries of ſtate, in the room of the earl of Mancheſter and mr. Vernon, the later of whom, however, was made one of the tellers of the Exchequer. This was again interpreted as a mark of her Majeſty's inclination to favor the high-church party: but what inſued, as plainly evinced ſhe was then, at leaſt, biaſſed by no party, but was reſolved to extend her favor to men of merit in both: for ſhe continued moſt of the great officers of the houſhold, all the judges, except two, and moſt of the lords-lieutenants of counties; nor did ſhe make any change in the forein miniſtry. It was generally thought, that the earl of Rocheſter (1), (who was continued lord-lieutenant of Ireland) and his party, were for ſevere methods, and for a more intire change, to be carried quite thro' all ſubaltern imployments; but that the earl of Marlborough, and the lord Godolphin, were for more moderate proceedings. And hence probably inſued that diviſion, which, at this time aroſe among the courtiers, and the rivalſhip about the Queen's favor, between the earls of Rocheſter and Marlborough, the latter of which ſoon got the aſcendant. The earl of Rocheſter, who was the Queen's maternal uncle, had great expectations of being prime-miniſter on her Majeſty's acceſſion, not only on account of his being ſo nearly related to her, but as he was a nobleman of great capacity and well verſed in affairs of ſtate: but this he could never expect to poſſeſs, if the earl of Marlborough was general of the confederate army abroad, and the treaſury was put into the hands of the lord Godolphin (whoſe only ſon had married the earl's eldeſt daughter) and if (which was ſtill a greater bar to his expectations) the counteſs of Marlborough, the Queen's greateſt favorite, ſhould ſtill continue to have her ear, and a great influence in admiting or excluding whom ſhe pleaſed from her preſenſe; it is no wonder, therefore, that we find the earl of Rocheſter oppoſing the ſchemes formed by the earl of Marlborough.

It was natural, on the other hand, for the earl of Marlborough to take ſuch meaſures as he thought moſt conducive to his deſign of diſmiſſing the earl of Rocheſter from public affairs; and it was, beyond all doubt, for this reaſon, that he obtain'd an early promiſe of the Queen, to make the earl of Godolphin, lord-treaſurer, the very poſt the earl of Rocheſter expected, and which is uſually confer'd on the prime miniſter. By this ſtep the earl of Marlborough not only prevented this important poſt from falling into the hands of his antagoniſt, but, as he probably foreſaw, it ſo diſguſted him, that he retired from court, the very thing he had to wiſh. A farther advantage the earl of Marlborough had by puting the ſtaff into the earl of Godolphin's hand, was, that he was ſure of a friend, who, with the counteſs, would be able to preſerve his intereſt with the Queen, in his abſenſe, and, what was more than all, he was thereby certain of punctual remitances for the payment of the army under his command, and to promote all his deſigns for the public good, and the honor and advantage of the nation.

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Debates, in council, about declaring war.

But to return to other affairs: the ſecond of May, it was moved, in council, to declare war againſt France and Spain. Some members of that illuſtrious body repreſented the inconveniences which would attend it, and moved, that it would be ſafer for the Engliſh, to act in this conjuncture, as auxiliaries only. But the dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, and the earls of Marlborough and Pembroke, maintained the contrary ſtrenuouſly, and ſhewed, not only that it was beſeeming the honor of the nation, to make good the late King's alliances; but that France would never be reduced, within due bounds, unleſs the Engliſh acted as principals in the war; and they at length brought the majority of the board to their opinion; upon which, her Majeſty gave order, for drawing up a declaration of war againſt France and Spain. The management and operations of the war was, likewiſe, warmly debated the ſame day: the grand queſtion was; whether we ſhould make our chief effort in Flanders, and our general have the command of the confederate army there; or if we ſhould only furniſh the Dutch with our quota of troops, and ſerve them to defend their country, who were more immediately concerned in it; while we carried on the war by ſea, and made deſcents on the coaſts of France and Spain, and in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, as was done in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the nation almoſt paid the charges of the war by the captures they made, and the plunder they took, in the Spaniſh-towns in Europe and America.

And about the operation of it.

It was obſerved by the earls of Rocheſter, Nottingham, and ſome others, that, in the late war, the Emperor, and ſeveral other powers ingaged in the confederacy, had been very deficient in furniſhing their quotas of troops, whereby many advantages had been loſt. That the deficiences in their troops were afterwards ſupplied by the Engliſh, and the burden of the whole war, in a manner, thrown upon them. The Engliſh, like men of honor, but very weak politicians, anticipated their revenues, and mortgaged their country for ages in the quarrel, tho' they were more remotely concerned, in the event of the war, than any of the allies; only it had been repreſented, that as the King of England was at the head of the confederate army, we muſt ſupport him, let the deficiences of the reſt of the allies be never ſo great, leſt his Majeſty's, and the nation's honor ſhould ſuffer any diminution; and the caſe would probably be the ſame again, if an Engliſh general ſhould command the confederate army in Flanders: beſide, the attacking the French King, on that ſide, had been, long ſince, reſembled to the taking a bull by the horns: ſo ſoon as one town was taken, another fortreſs, roſe up within a mile or two, and it muſt require a war of many years to penetrate into the heart of his country: that it might be attack'd in any other part with more hopes of ſucceſs: that all the Spaniſh coaſts, in Europe and America, lay open to us, and might be inſulted and plunder'd by our naval force,

(1) The continuator of Rapin, in French, ſays, that the firſt time this nobleman deſired to be admited to her Majeſty's preſence, after her acceſſion to the crown, ſhe anſwer'd: " I will not ſee him, 'till he has altered his mind, and renounced his " principles; but if he will comply with that, I promiſe him a favorable reception. B. 26. p. 449.

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with a ſmall land-army on board; and this would oblige the enemy to keep up numerous bodies, to defend countries of ſo vaſt an extent: and there was this farther reaſon for carrying on the war at ſea, rather than land; that the mony would all circulate among us, that was laid out on a ſea-war; whereas that which was ſent to Flanders never returned. Beſide, by the treaty of alliance, all the places we could take, in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, were to fall to the ſhare of the Engliſh; but we were to gain nothing by a war in the Netherlands, how ſucceſsful ſoever we might be. It was farther urged, that, by keeping a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies, we might probably interrupt their plate-fleets, or, at leaſt, prevent their coming to Europe, and cut off thoſe treaſures the French King principally relied on, to carry on the war; which would ſoon oblige him to come to our own terms.

The earl of Marlborough, the lord Godolphin, and ſeveral more, urged, on the other hand; that tho' we might haraſs the French and Spaniſh coaſts, put them to a great expence, and make ſome profitable captures, yet this would never bring the war to a concluſion: whereas a victory or two obtained in Flanders, would bring the French King upon his knees at once: that the Dutch were a cautious people, and, if they had the direction of the war, on that ſide, they would probably content themſelves, with taking ſome towns on the frontiers, and ſo ſecure themſelves a barrier againſt France, but would not eaſily be brought to venture a battle, and conſequently we muſt expect a lingring war; whereas, if our general commanded in chief in Flanders, and we furniſh'd them with ſuch forces as would render them abundantly ſuperior to the enemy, they might be brought to conſent to hazard a general battle, and a good peace obtained in a little time. Theſe reaſons had a plauſible appearance, and were not without grounds, on both ſides, as the ſequel, which is the beſt illuſtration that can be given of them, will ſhew: tho' it is hard to determine, even after having ſeen the events, whether the meaſures that were taken, or thoſe which were rejected, were the moſt reaſonable. The former went a great way, and would, infallibly have gain'd the point aimed at, had they not been cut ſhort: but whether the latter might not have obtained the ſame, in leſs time, and at a leſs expence, can only be the ſubject of conjecture.

Her Majeſty was, however, graciouſly pleaſed, notwithſtanding the reſolutions taken in council, to communicate her intention to both houſes of parliament, together with a convention between her Majeſty, the Emperor, and the States-general, concerning the intended meaſures for a war: this convention, which was laid before the commons, the 2d of May, being read, they unanimouſly reſolved to addreſs the Queen, "to return her Majeſty thanks for "communicating to them her intentions of de-"claring war, in conjunction with her allies, againſt "the French King, and his grandſon: and to "aſſure her, that they would, to the utmoſt, ſup-"port and aſſiſt her Majeſty, in carrying on the "war" (1); and the lords likewiſe addreſs'd the Queen on the ſame account.

The war approved by parliament.

The Queen, being thus aſſured of the concurence and ſupport of the commons, cauſed the declaration, which ſhe had before given directions to be drawn up, to be ſolemnly proclaimed, the fourth, before the gate of the royal-palace of St. James, at Chancery-lane-end, and at the Royal-exchange; of which declaration, as it ſhews the motives which induced her Majeſty to enter into this war, it will be neceſſary to give the reader a copy.

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Her Majeſty's declaration of war, againſt France and Spain.

ANN, R.

"WHEREAS it has pleaſed Almighty "God, to call us to the government of "theſe realms, at a time, when our late dear bro-"ther, William III, of glorious memory, had, "in purſuance of repeated advices of the par-"liament of this kingdom, enter'd into ſolemn "treaties of alliance with the Emperor of Ger-"many, the States-general of the United-provinces, "and other Princes and Potentates, for preſerving "the liberty and ballance of Europe, and for re-"ducing the exorbitant power of France; which "treaties are grounded upon the unjuſt uſurpations "and incroachments of the French King, who "had taken, and ſtill keeps poſſeſſion of a great "part of the Spaniſh dominions, exerciſing an ab-"ſolute authority over all that Monarchy, having "ſeized Milan, and the Spaniſh Low-countries, by "his armies, and made himſelf maſter of Cadiz, "of the entrance into the Mediterranean, and of the "ports in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, by his fleets, "every where deſigning to invade the liberties of "Europe, and to obſtruct the freedom of naviga-"tion and commerce: And it being provided, by "the third and fourth articles of the foremention'd "alliance; that if, in the ſpace of two months, "which are ſome time ſince expired, the injuries "complained of were not remedied, the parties "concerned ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other, "with their whole ſtrength: and whereas, inſtead "of giving the ſatisfaction that ought juſtly to be "expected, the French King has not only proceeded "to farther violences, but has added thereunto a "great affront and indignity to us, and our king-"doms, in taking upon him to declare the pretend-"ed Prince of Wales, King of England, Scotland "and Ireland, and has alſo influenced Spain, to "concur in the ſame affront and indignity, as well "as in his other oppreſſions; we find ourſelves ob-"liged, for maintaining the public faith, for vin-"dicating the honor of our crown, and for pre-"venting the miſchiefs which all Europe is threat-"ned with, to declare, and we do, hereby, accor-"dingly declare war, againſt France and Spain. "And placing our intire confidence in the help of "Almighty God, in ſo juſt and neceſſary an "undertaking, we will, in conjunction with our "allies, vigorouſly proſecute the ſame, by ſea and "land, being aſſured of the ready concurence and "aſſiſtance of our ſubjects, in a cauſe they have ſo "openly and ſo heartily eſpouſed. And we do "hereby will and require our lord-high-admiral "of England, our general of our forces, our lieute-"nants of our ſeveral counties, governors of our "forts and gariſons, and all other officers and "ſoldiers under them, by ſea and land, to do and "execute all acts of hoſtility, in proſecution of this "war, againſt France and Spain, their vaſſals and "ſubjects, and to oppoſe their attempts; willing "and requiring all our ſubjects to take notice of the "ſame, whom we henceforth ſtrictly forbid to hold "any correſpondence or communication, with France "or Spain, or their ſubjects. But becauſe there are "remaining in our kingdoms many of the ſubjects "of France and Spain, we do declare our royal in-"tention to be, that all the ſubjects of France or "Spain, who ſhall demean themſelves dutifully to-"wards us, ſhall be ſafe, in their perſons and eſtates.

Given at our court at St. James's, the fourth day of May, 1702, in the firſt year of our reign.

(1) On this occaſion a motion was made for an addreſs: "that no perſon be an officer in England or Ireland, in her Ma-"jeſty's new raiſed forces, but ſuch as were born in England, Scotland or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, or of "Engliſh parents, unleſs they were before in half-pay"; this motion being however ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, when the queſtion was put, it paſs'd in the negative.

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The Emperor and the States-general publiſh'd their declarations of war, the ſame day: but the French King did not publiſh his till two months after however, I ſhall inſert the latter; here, that the reader may, at once, ſee the allegations on both ſides.

The Emperor and the Dutch proclaim war againſt France and Spain.

The French King's declaration of war.

By the King,

" Altho' the treaty concluded at Ryſwick, in " a time when the King, by the ſuperiority of his " forces, was in a condition to have given laws to " the neighboring Princes that were jealous of his " power, was a certain proof of the ſincere deſire " that his Majeſty had, always to give peace to his " ſubjects, and to reſtore peace to Europe: his " Majeſty, nevertheleſs, finds that the Emperor, " without any lawful right to the Spaniſh monarchy, " has put himſelf in a condition, by the augmen- " tation of his troops, by treaties and alliances with " ſeveral Princes, and particularly with England, " and the States-general of the United-provinces, " to trouble the repoſe of Europe, by a new war, " as unjuſt as it is ill-grounded. They have begun " hoſtilites on all ſides, againſt, and contrary to " the treaties ſo ſolemnly ſworn to. All Europe " is witneſs of his Majeſty's moderation. He has " ſeen places attack'd, advantageous poſts ſeiz'd, " convoys ſtopped, and priſoners taken, before any " declaration of war, and at a time when his Ma- " jeſty was indeavoring by his embaſſadors and " envoys to preſerve the peace. All theſe ſteps " being ſo contrary to ſincere dealing, and their " own intereſts, and the manifeſto's and declarations " of war of the Emperor, England, and the States- " general having been publiſhed, his Majeſty finds " himſelf under an indiſpenſable neceſſity, in order " to preſerve his own, and the King, his grandſon's " dominions, to arm on his ſide, and to make " levies ſufficient to oppoſe the undertakings of the " common enemies. And for that end, his Ma- " jeſty, is reſolved to imploy all his forces, by " land and ſea; and, by the help of divine protec- " tion, which he implores, on the juſtice of his cauſe, " to declare war againſt the Emperor, England, " and the States-general of the United-provinces, " and the Princes their allies. His Majeſty orders " and commands all his ſubjects, vaſſals and ſer- " vants, to cruiſe upon the ſubjects of the Emperor, " England and Holland, and on the ſubjects of " their allies; and ſtrictly forbids his ſubjects to " have henceforth any communication, commerce " and intelligence with them, on pain of death: and, " therefore, his Majeſty has revoked, and does revoke " by theſe preſents, all permiſſions, paſſports, " ſafe-guards, and ſafe-conducts, which may have " been granted by him, or his lieutenant-generals, " and other his officers, contrary to theſe preſents; " and has declared, and does declare them to be " void and of no effect and force: forbiding all " perſons whatſoever to have any regard unto them. " His Majeſty orders and commands, the admiral, " marſhals of France, governors and lieutenant- " generals for his Majeſty, in his provinces and " armies, marſhals de camp, colonels, camp-maſters, " captains, chiefs, and leaders of his Majeſty's " ſoldiers, both horſe and foot, French and ſtrangers, " and all his other officers to whom it may pertain, " what is herein contained, to cauſe execute, each " in his office, within their towns and juriſdictions. " For ſuch is his Majeſty's will and pleaſure, that " theſe preſents be publiſhed in all the maritime, and " other towns, and in all ports, havens, and other " places of the kingdom and land, under his obe- " dience, where need ſhall be. To the end that " none may pretend ignorance".

Given at Marly, July 3, 1702.

Sign'd Lewis.

Underneath Chamillard.

The 5th of May, the commons reſolved to preſent an addreſs to her Majeſty; " returning the " thanks of their houſe, for her great zeal for the " ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant-line, ex- " preſs'd in her Majeſty's late order in council, di- " recting the Princeſs Sophia to be prayed for". And the lords addreſs'd the Queen on the ſame account.

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The Princeſs Sophia ord'r'd to be pray'd for.

The 6th her Majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent: " 1. to the land-tax-act " for 4 s. in the pound: 2. to an act for making " good deficiences, and preſerving the public " credit: 3. to an act for inabling her Majeſty to " appoint commiſſioners to treat of an union, be- " tween the kingdoms of England and Scotland;" and to ſome other acts.

Acts paſs'd.

War being declared, a proclamation was iſſued, the 15th, " for recalling all Engliſh ſeamen, that were " abroad, and requiring them not enter into forein " ſervice". The ſame day, another proclamation was publiſh'd " for obſerving a general faſt on the " 10th of June, for the ſucceſs of the war".

Proclamations.

The 21ſt, both houſes joined in an addreſs to the Queen, in which they repreſented; " that nothing " would more contribute to the effectual carrying " on the war, and reducing her enemies to the " greateſt ſtreights, than an intire prohibition of all " correſpondence with France and Spain, on the " part of the allies; and therefore, they humbly " adviſed her Majeſty, to ingage the Emperor, " the States-general, and her other allies, to join " with her, in prohibiting all intercourſe, between " the ſubjects of her Majeſty and her allies, and the " ſubjects of France and Spain; and alſo to con- " cert ſuch methods with the States-general, as " might moſt effectually ſecure the trade of her " ſubjects and her allies". To all which, her Majeſty readily promiſed to comply: adding, that ſhe was too much concerned for the public welfare, to omit any neceſſary precautions for the protection of our trade. But notwithſtanding this matter was, afterwards, ſtrenuouſly urg'd by the earl of Marlborough, the Dutch were too ſelf-intereſted to ingage in a total prohibition of commerce and correſpondence with France and Spain.

An addreſs of both houſes of parliament.

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

The lords having, on the 23d, made ſome amendments to a bill paſſed by the commons, for the incouragement of privateers, to which amendments the commons had refuſed their concurrence, their lordſhips preſented an addreſs to the Queen, in which, they returned her Majeſty their humble thanks, for her gracious anſwer to the addreſs of both houſes, particularly for the aſſurance, that ſhe would not omit any neceſſary precautions for the protection of trade. And they beg'd leave to repreſent to her Majeſty, that the ſea-preparations of her Majeſty's enemies being ſuch, as ſeemed not to be intended for incountering and fighting her royal navy, but rather for making a piratical war, to the interruption of the commerce of the ſubjects of her Majeſty, and her allies; it was, in their opinion, highly requiſite for the public ſervice, that her Majeſty would be pleaſed to give all poſſible incouragement to her ſubjects, to arm, and ſet out private men of war.

Addreſs of the lords about privateers.

And whereas (continued they) by the ſixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague, between his Majeſty, of glorious memory, the Emperor, and the States-general, your Majeſty is at liberty to take and ſeize lands and cities belonging to the Spaniſh dominions, in the Indies, and retain the ſame as your own; to the end your Majeſty, and your ſubjects may have a real and effectual advantage of the ſaid article, and that perſons may be incouraged to become adventurers, in order to the taking and gaining cities, ports, countries or places in the Indies, from your Majeſty's enemies; We humbly offer our

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our advice to your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to grant commissions or charters, under the great-seal of England, with such powers, privileges and advantages, and under such limitations and restrictions, as your Majesty, in your royal wisdom, shall think needful and convenient, to all persons, bodies politic or corporate, who shall make applications to your Majesty, and are willing to be adventurers in making such acquisitions in the Indies, or shall contribute there to, or by aiding or assisting therein, subject nevertheless, to such terms and conditions, as your Majesty shall judge most expedient for the good of your kingdoms.

The Queen's answer.

To this address her Majesty answered; she would take all the care in it she could.

Acts pass'd.

The 25th, the Queen went in state to the house of peers, and, the commons being sent for up, her Majesty gave the royal assent, 1. "to an act for preventing frauds in the duties upon salt, and for "better payment of debentures at the custom-house: "2. an act to declare the alterations in the oath "appointed to be taken, by the act intitled, an act "for the farther security of his Majesty's person, "and the succession of the crown in the Protestant "line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the "pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pre-"tenders, and their open and secret abetors, and "for declaring the association to be determined: "3. an act for continuing the present sheriffs, in "England and Wales, until the first day of Hilary-"term, unless her Majesty should think fit to deter-"mine them sooner: 4. an act for importing into "England thrown silk, of the growth of Italy, "from the port of Leghorn, in Italy: 5. an "act for raising the militia, in 1702: 6. an "act for continuing the imprisonment of several "conspirators against the late King's life: 7. an "act for relief of poor prisoners for debt: 8. an "act to oblige the Jews to maintain and provide "for their Protestant children: 9. an act for the "relief of the masters of the hoys and other ves-"sels, carrying corn, and other inland provi-"sions, "within the port of London: 10. an "act for making more effectual the provision out "of the forfeited estates, in Ireland, for the build-"ing of churches, and augmenting small vi-"carages in Ireland: and 11. an act for the re-"lief of Protestant purchasers of the forfeited "estates in Ireland:" after which her Majesty made the following speech to both houses:

The Queen's speech to both houses.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot conclude this session, without repeat-"ing my hearty thanks to you all for your great "care of the public, and the many marks you "have given of your duty and affection to me.

"And I must thank you, gentlemen of the "house of commons, in particular, both for the "supplies you have given to support me, in this "necessary war, and the provisions you have made "for the debts contracted in the former: your great "justice in making good those deficiencies will be "a lasting honor and credit to the nation: I wish "the difficulties they have brought upon us may be "a warning to prevent such inconveniencies for the "future. Q. ANN, AN' 1702.

"I must recommend to you all, in your several "countries, the preservation of the public peace, "and a due execution of the laws.

"I shall always wish, that no difference of opi-"nion, among those that are equally affected to "my service; may be the occasion of heats and "animosities among themselves; I shall be very "careful to preserve and maintain the act of tole-"ration, and to set the minds of all my people at "quiet: my own principles must always keep me "intirely firm to the interest and religion of the "church of England, and will incline me to coun-"tenance those who have the truest zeal to support "it."

The parliament prorogued.

Then the lord-keeper, by her Majesty's command, prorogued the parliament to the 7th day of July next insuing.

Preferments.

Having thus finish'd my account of the proceedings of this session of parliament, it will be necessary, before I proceed to the affairs of more distant parts, to mention some domestic occurences. About the middle of May, the Queen was pleased to appoint sir George Rooke, vice-admiral and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the navy and seas of this kingdom; and, on the 21st of the same month, her Majesty declared, in council, that she had constituted his royal highness, Prince George of Denmark, lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, and of all other her dominions, beyond the seas (1): and on the 23d, Prince George apoointed sir George Rooke, sir David Mitchel, George Churchill, esq; admiral of the blue squadron, and Richard Hill, esq; to be his council, as lord high-admiral (2). The 21st, George, earl of Northampton, was sworn of the privy-council; and, on the 27th, the earl of Abingdon was constituted constable of the Tower, and lieutenant general Churchill, lieutenant of the same.

The 2d of June, the Queen appointed Simon Harcourt, esq; to be her solicitor-general, and confer'd the honor of knighthood both on him, and on Edward Northey, esq, attorney-general, having the day before, renew'd the commission for the management of the customs. The 5th her Majesty returned from Windsor, whether she had retired for a few days, and then applied herself to appoint the lords-lieutenants, the commissioners of trade, for prizes, stamp and salt-duties, and generals of her land-forces; to give audience to several forein ministers, and to dispose of many places and imployments: among the rest, the earl of Marlborough was made master of the ordnance; the honorable John Granville, esq; lieutenant-general; William Bridges, esq; master surveyor, and Christopher Musgrave, esq; clerk of the same; and Edward Southwell, esq; was appointed her Majesty's principal secretary of state, in Ireland, on the resignation of that office by sir Robert Southwell. To conclude my account of preferments, I shall

(1) Towards the conclusion of the foregoing reign I took notice, that his late Majesty had revoked the letters-patent, to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and had appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, a nobleman, who had before, at the begining, and towards the conclusion of the last war, presided at the board of admiralty, when it was in commission, in which, as well as in several other honorable posts, he gave many remarkable instances of his zeal for the public service. This noble lord, tho' he was not easily brought to accept of this high post, foreseing the heavy load it would draw upon him, no sooner entered upon the important trust, than he diligently applied himself to the execution of it, and had the good fortune to give a general satisfaction. Upon the Queen's accession to the throne, he resolved to command the fleet in person, and took great pains to put things in such order that it might be early ready. A land-army was design'd to go with the fleet, the command of which was given to the duke of Ormond, as I observed above: but upon new measures, the earl of Pembroke was first sent to, not to go to sea in person, and, soon after, he was dismiss'd from his post, with the offer of a large pension, which he very generously refused, tho' the state of his affairs and family seemed to require it. Lediard's naval history, vol. 3. p. 740.

(2) The legality of this council was very much questioned: for it was a new court, which could not be authorized to act but by an act of parliament: yet the respect paid the Queen prevented any public inquiry being made concerning it, and so the objections to it never went farther, than a secret murmer. Lediard's naval history, vol. 2. p. 740.

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only add, that, on the 14th the Prince of Denmark was conſtituted conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and lord-warden of the Cinque-ports; by virtue of which poſt his royal highneſs appointed Charles, earl of Winchelſea, lieutenant of Dover-Caſtle.

Other domeſtic occurrences.

The 20th of May, William Fuller, who had ſo often abuſed the patience both of the lords and commons, on pretenſe of making ſome notable diſcoveries concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, was brought to his trial, at the King's-bench-bar, upon an information, for contriving and publiſhing ſeveral ſcandalous libels, eſpecially one falſe, ſcandalous, and defamatory libel, intitled, "Original letters of the late King James, "&c," of which he was found guilty, and condemn'd to ſtand three times in the pillory, to be afterwards ſent to the houſe of correction, there to be whip'd, and kept to hard labor, till the 24th of October following; to pay a fine of 1000 marks, and to remain in priſon till paid: which ſentenſe was executed upon him accordingly.

The firſt of June, the Queen out of a juſt regard to the laws of nations, iſſued out her royal proclamation, ordering all ſhips, ſtopped before the declaration of war, to be diſcharged, and cauſed another proclamation to be publiſh'd, for the incouragement of her ſhips of war and privateers.

Affairs of Scotland.

I have already taken notice, that the Queen, on her acceſſion, ſent a letter to the privy-council of Scotland, to continue to act as her council of that kingdom, till farther orders: and that her Majeſty, not long after, thought fit to ſend them another letter, in anſwer to one the late King had received from them a little before his death. I proceed now to give a farther brief account of the affairs of that kingdom.

Debates about the exiſtence of the parliament.

At the begining of this reign, warm debates aroſe in Scotland, concerning the parliament then in being, which conſiſted of the ſame body of men who aſſembled at the revolution: for tho', by their ancient conſtitution, they ſhould have had a parliament every year, there was none but this called during the whole preceding reign. Duke Hamilton was now at the head of a very conſiderable party, who were of opinion, that this parliament was actually diſſolved by the late King's demiſe, and applied themſelves to her Majeſty, to call a new one: but the duke of Queenſborough, and his party, were for continuing the preſent parliament, repreſenting that the calling another, at this juncture, might occaſion tumults in the kingdom: nor could it be called time enough for her Majeſty's ſervice, which required immediate ſupplies of them, and mony for the war; and this party, tho' ſome doubted their real ſuperiority, carried their point.

The parliament aſſembles.

The duke of Queenſborough was, hereupon, conſtituted her Majeſty's high commiſſioner, and ordered to aſſemble the parliament of Scotland, the 9th of June: when, being accordingly aſſembled, duke Hamilton deſired to be heard, before the Queen's commiſſion was read. This being granted, he ſaid, in behalf of himſelf, and the other members who adhered to him; Duke Hamilton's ſpeech.

"that they were all "heartily glad at her Majeſty's happy acceſſion to "the throne of that kingdom, not meerly on ac-"count that it was her undoubted right by deſcent, "but likewiſe becauſe of the many perſonal virtues, "and royal qualities, her Majeſty was indowed "with, which gave them grounds to hope, that "they ſhould injoy, under her auſpicious reign, all "the bleſſings that could attend a nation, which "had a gracious and loving ſoverein, united "with a dutiful and obedient people. That they "were reſolved to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes, "in defenſe of her Majeſty's right, againſt all her "enemies whomſoever: but that, at the ſame time, "as they acknowledged their ſubmiſſion to her "Majeſty's authority, they thought themſelves "bound in duty, by virtue of the obedience they "owed to the ſtanding laws of the nation, and be-"cauſe of the regard they ought to have for the "rights and liberties of their fellow-ſubjects, to "declare their opinion, as to the legality of that "meeting: that they did not think themſelves "warranted by law, to ſit and act any longer as a "parliament; and that, by ſo doing, they ſhould "incur the hazard of their lives and fortunes, if "ever their proceedings ſhould come to be que-"ſtion'd by a ſubſequent parliament."

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His grace then read a paper, containing the following words:

His proteſt.

"Foraſmuch as, by the fundamental laws and "conſtitution of this kingdom, all parliaments do "diſſolve, by the death of the King or Queen, "except ſo far as innovated, by the ſeventeenth act, "in the ſixth ſeſſion of King William's parliament, "impowering the parliament laſt in being, at his "Majeſty's death, to meet and act what ſhould be "needful, for the defenſe of the true Proteſtant "religion, as now by law eſtabliſh'd, and main-"taining the ſucceſſion to the crown, as ſettled by "the claim of right, and for preſerving and ſe-"curing the peace, and ſafety of the kingdom; and "now ſeeing that the ſaid ends are fully ſatisfied, "by her Majeſty's ſucceſſion to the throne, where-"by the religion and peace of the kingdom is ſe-"cured; we conceive ourſelves not warranted by "this law to meet, ſit, or act; therefore do diſſent "from all that ſhall be done, and thereupon take "inſtruments." The duke, having taken inſtruments accordingly, went out of the houſe, with the clerk-regiſter, and ſeventy-nine other members, who likewiſe took inſtruments, but without giving in the paper the duke had read.

He withdraws with ſeventy-nine members.

Notwithſtanding this, the duke of Queenſborough's commiſſion was read, and her Majeſty's letter to the parliament was preſented by the lord-commiſſioner, importing: "that it would have "been a great ſatisfaction to her, at her acceſſion, "to have met them in perſon, but the multiplicity "of weighty affairs deprived her of that oppor-"tunity. However, ſhe gave them full aſſurance, "that ſhe was firmly reſolved to maintain and "protect them, in the full poſſeſſion of their re-"ligion, laws and liberties, and of the Preſby-"terian government of the kirk: that ſhe had "been obliged, in purſuance of an expreſs article "of treaty, enter'd into by the late King and her "allies, to declare war againſt France and Spain, "wherein ſhe expected their hearty concurence "and aſſiſtance, not doubting but they were af-"fected with the ſame ſenſe of the wrongs and "indignities offered by the enemy, and other juſt "cauſes of the war, as appeared in the many "loyal addreſſes of her ſubjects on that occaſion; "and recommended their providing competent "ſupplies for the forces it would be neceſſary to "have on foot." She alſo recommended to them, "the entring on a treaty of union with England," concluding with the uſual popular topics of "in-"couraging piety and virtue, ſuppreſſing vice and "immorality, advancing trade, and providing for "the poor."

The Queen's letter.

The lord high commiſſioner's ſpeech.

The Queen's letter being read, the high commiſſioner made a ſpeech; wherein, "he bewailed "their great loſs, in the death of King William, "but congratulated them, on her Majeſty's hap-"py acceſſion to the throne; ſaid it was a great "bleſſing, that they had a Queen of ſuch prin-"ciples, of the royal blood, and line of Scotland, "a Princeſs, who had been amongſt them, (when "the duke of York, her father, reſided there) "and had a particular regard for them, and, having "inlarg'd upon the articles mention'd in her

"Majeſty's

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" Majeſty's letter, concluded with recommending an " union, between the two kingdoms, there appear- " ing a greater diſpoſition in the Engliſh, towards " an union, than he had obſerved in any preceed- " ing time :" the ſame heads were, likewiſe, in- forced by a ſpeech of the earl of Marchmont's the lord-chancellor.

Acts paſſed.

This aſſembly having, in the firſt place, voted themſelves (and afterwards confirm'd their vote by an act) to be, a free and legal parliament, and declared, that purſuant to their ancient laws, it was high treaſon to impugn their authority, were about paſſing an act for ſecuring the true Proteſtant reli- gion, and Preſbyterian kirk-government ; but this latter occaſion'd great debates, and ſeveral warm ſpeeches ; among which ſir Alexander Bruce made one, in favor of epiſcopacy, wherein, among other things, he aſſerted, that " Preſbytery, was incon- " ſiſtent with Monarchy," which gave great of- fence, and for which he was expell'd the houſe ; and notwithſtanding all the oppoſition thoſe of the Epiſ- copal communion could make, the act paſs'd, as did, likewiſe, a third, for recognizing her Majeſty's authority, and a fourth impowering commiſſioners to treat of an union with England.

The parliament's anſwer to the Queen's letter.

The parliament then wrote a dutiful anſwer to the Queen's letter, and, among other things, told her Majeſty, " they ſhould be wanting to themſelves, " if they did not provide ſupplies for their defenſe ; " aſſured her, that they would promote the union " of the two kingdoms, and acquainted her with " the ſteps that had been taken by duke Hamilton, " and his adherents."

The Queen's ſecond letter.

The duke, and his party, had, in the mean time, prepar'd an addreſs to the Queen, to juſtify their withdrawing themſelves ; but her Majeſty, not only refuſed to receive it, but, in a ſecond letter to the parliament, ſhewed her diſapprobation thereof, and declared, for their better incouragement, " that " they might proceed vigorouſly in their work, " for the defenſe of the true Proteſtant religion, " the maintaining of the ſucceſſion to the crown, " and for the preſerving and ſecuring the peace " and ſafety of the kingdom."

The Scots refuſe to ſettle the Hanover ſucceſſion.

However, it being propos'd, to ſettle the ſucceſ- ſion of the crown in the houſe of Hanover, as had been done in England, a majority appeared againſt it at this time (being probably willing to ſee firſt what terms the Engliſh would afford them on a treaty of union) and the debates running very high, the lord high-commiſſioner thought fit to adjourn them, on the 30th of June, having firſt commended their chearfulneſs and unanimity in diſpatching the buſineſs they had gone thro' (1). As ſoon as the parliament was adjourned, the leading men of the different parties haſtened to London, to make their ſeveral repreſentations of things to the Queen, and her Engliſh miniſters.

The parliament adjourned.

Commiſſioners to treat of an union.

The Queen being impower'd by acts of parlia- ment of both kingdoms, to nominate commiſſioners, for treating about an union, between England and Scotland, appointed, accordingly, twenty-three of the moſt able and conſiderable men of the kingdom for England, and twenty for Scotland, with a ſecre- tary for each.

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Their proceedings.

Their firſt meeting was on the 22d of October, at the Cockpit ; where, after the reading o fboth commiſſions, ſir Nathan Wright, lord-keeper of the great ſeal of England, made a ſpeech to the aſſembly, on the part of England, which was an- ſwered by the duke of Queenſborough, on the part of Scotland : in which they both profeſs'd their ſincere intentions to advance this great deſign.

There not being a quorum of the Scotiſh com- miſſioners arrived in town, their meeting was ad- journed, by a letter from the Queen. At their next meeting, which was on or about the 20th of November, ſome previous objections were made by the lord-keeper, againſt the validity of the Scotiſh commiſſion, notwithſtanding which they fully adjuſt- ed the preliminaries, of which, one of the moſt con- ſiderable was ; " that nothing agreed on among " themſelves ſhould be binding, except it be ra- " tified by her Majeſty, and the reſpective parlia- " ments of both nations ; and that except all the " heads propoſed for the treaty were agreed to, " no particular thing agreed on ſhould be bind- " ing."

The lord-keeper then propoſed, on the part of the Engliſh, " that the two kingdoms ſhould be inſe- " parably united into one Monarchy, under her Ma- " jeſty, her heirs and ſucceſſors, and under the ſame " limitations, according to the acts of ſettlement :" and the duke of Queenſborough propoſed, on the part of the Scots ; " that both nations ſhould be " united in one Monarchy, and one parliament, " with a mutual communication of trade and pri- " vileges." The propoſal of the Engliſh was eaſily agreed to, and the Queen, to make things go on with more eaſe and unanimity, was pleaſed, on the 14th of December, to make the following ſpeech to the commiſſioners of both nations :

The Queen's ſpeech to the commiſ- ſioners.

My lords,

" I am ſo fully perſuaded, that the union of " my two kingdoms will prove the happineſs of " both, and render this iſland more formidable " than it has been in ages paſt ; that I wiſh this " treaty may be brought to a good and ſpeedy " concluſion. I am come to know what progreſs " you have made in it, and I do aſſure you, no- " thing ſhall be wanting on my part, to bring it " to perfection."

After reading the procedures the Queen retired.

The lords-commiſſioners for Scotland had, five days before, deliver'd in ſix propoſals ; upon which, the lords-commiſſioners for England deliver'd to the former, on the 16th of December, ſome conſide- rations, to be a ſubject-matter of debate : but as the progreſs of the treaty was thereupon ſtopp'd, I ſhall not detain the reader with a repetition of either : for the Scotiſh commiſſioners having, at the ſame time, deliver'd in their propoſals, for preſerving the rights and privileges of their com- pany trading to Africa, and the Indies, that put a ſtop to the farther progreſs of the treaty, at this time (2).

The progreſs of the treaty ſtopp'd.

(1) It may (ſays a Scotiſh writer) be thought ſtrange, that this act for ſettling the ſucceſſion did not paſs currently in ſuch a made-up meeting, and when ſuch eminently zealous revolutioners were at the helm of affairs, and acted without controul. I pre- ſume (adds he) the reaſons were ; Firſt, the commiſſioners had no inſtructions therein. Second, the uncertainty how affairs would go in England, the Queen being but newly come to the crown, and not well fix'd in the throne ; and they foreſaw they might expect little thanks, if ſhe afterwards ſhould favor the intereſt of the diſtreſſed royal family. And I have reaſon to believe, that the Queen and her Engliſh miniſtry, were then inclined to keep the ſucceſſion open, as a check and awe upon the Whigs, and family of Hanover : and laſtly (as they pretended afterwards in England) that parliament's title to act being controverted, and having ſo little authority in the nation, it was not thought fit to venture upon a matter of ſo great impor- tance. Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, p. 16.

(2) It may ſeem ſtrange, that there was no mention made, all this while, about religion, the main point that divided the two nations, and the rock on which the project of uniting them had formerly ſplit : but the commiſſioners, like wiſe negociators, were willing to feel one anothers pulſes, in ſmall matters, before they touch'd the grand difficulty. The Scotiſh epiſcopal clergy were not ſo cautious ; for taking this to be a favorable juncture, to get into their livings again, they preſented addreſſes to the Queen, which, however, proved of no ſervice to them.

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I return now to the warlike tranſactions of this ſummer, by ſea and land; but firſt of thoſe by land: it was not determined by the arguments of either ſide, in council (of which I have given the reader an account above) whether the war at land or at ſea ſhould be the moſt attended: tho' it ſoon after appeared, that the earl of Marlborough's prevailing intereſt carried it for the former; yet was not the latter wholly neglected this ſummer, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

As the earl of Marlborough was, however, detained ſome weeks in England, in concerting the neceſſary meaſures with the miniſtry, before he could croſs the ſea, to take upon him the command of the confederate army, I ſhall be obliged to give a brief account what was doing abroad, in the mean time, that the reader may thereby form a more accurate idea of the ſtate of the campain, when his lordſhip arrived at the army.

Defection of ſome of the German Princes.

The French King being ſenſible what a formidable alliance was making againſt him, left no ſtone unturn'd to draw over ſome of the German Princes to his intereſt; and, in this attempt, he ſucceeded not only with the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn, but with the two dukes of Wolfenbuttle, Rudolph and Anthony, who held the regency together, to raiſe forces in the Empire, in his favor. The duke of Zell was, hereupon, directed, by the Emperor, to make an incurſion into their country, and to oblige them, by force of arms, to abandon the intereſt of France.

This had its deſired effect; for after the duke of Zell had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong holds, in the ſaid Principality, and block'd up the capital of Wolfenbuttle it ſelf, Rudolph reſolv'd, notwithſtanding the obſtinacy of his brother, to come to an accommodation; and, whether terrified by the impending danger, or deſirous of having the regency ſolely in his own hands, ſet a treaty on foot. This treaty ended in an agreement, between the Elector of Hanover, and the duke of Zell, on one ſide, and Rudolph of Wolfenbuttle, on the other, that Anthony ſhould be excluded the regency, which Rudolph, upon quiting all his ingagements with France, ſhould take into his own hands; and that the Elector and duke ſhould take into their ſervice 1000 horſe, and 2400 foot, of the Wolfenbuttle troops, which were raiſed with French money, and ſhould thereupon withdraw their forces out of that principality.

State of affairs before the earl of Marlborough headed the confederate army.

All Germany was now united, in favor of the Emperor, excepting the electors of Bavaria and Cologn, the latter of whom had put Liege, and all the places he had on the Rhine, excepting Bonn, (which afterwards followed) into the hands of the French. Among theſe was the ſtrong town of Keyſerſwaert, which, while in the hands of the enemy, expoſed not only the circle of Weſtphalia, but the dominions of the States-general: for their places on the Wahl, not being in the beſt condition of defence, were laid open to the excurſions of that gariſon.

Diſadvantages under which the confederates begun the war.

It may not be improper to remark here, under what diſadvantages the confederates begun this war; as it inhances the glory of thoſe heroes, who, not withſtanding ſo many difficulties, carried it on with great ſucceſs and zeal benefit In the former war, not only Spain, but the united force of the whole Empire, and, for a conſiderable time, the duke of Savoy, acted in concert with England and Holland, againſt the common enemy. On the contrary, now a Prince of the houſe of Bourbon ſat on the Spaniſh throne, a French army had over-run the ſtate of Milan, and, to this army, the duke of Savoy (who was allied to France, by the double marriage of his two daughters) had join'd his forces. Of the nine principal members of the Empire, two, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn had declar'd for France, and the latter, as I have ſaid above, had admited French forces into all his fortified towns, under the ſpecious name of troops of the circle of Burgundy. A third, the Elector of Saxony, King of Poland, was at war with Sweden and the diſaffected Poles, for his tottering crown, and could not, therefore, ſend his full proportion of troops againſt France. The Emperor had ſent his veteran forces, under the command of Prince Eugene, to keep the French at a bay in Italy; and all the Spaniſh towns, on the frontiers of Holland, were gariſon'd with French troops: but, notwithſtanding all theſe viſible diſadvantages, by the wiſe and ſteady counſels of England; the prudent management of her Majeſty's treaſury; the juſt meaſures concerted by the earl of Marlborough, with forein powers; the valor and reſolution of the confederate troops, and the experience and good conduct of their commanders, it was ſoon concluded, by all who were judges of theſe matters, that the allies would, in the end, be an over-match for France.

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Diviſion and diſpoſition of the confederate army.

Towards the latter end of April, the Dutch formed three armies: one commanded by the Prince of Naſſau Saarbruck, which undertook the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert (1), in the name of the Elector-palatine, for the Emperor; under whom the Dutch ſerved as auxiliaries, they having not yet declared war againſt France and Spain. Another army was formed under the earl of Athlone, which lay in the duchy of Cleves, to cover that ſiege: and a third, conſiſting of 10,000 men, under the command of general Cohorn, which broke into Flanders, forced and demoliſh'd the lines, between the two forts of St. Donat and Iſabella, which the enemy had been many months raiſing, with great labor and expence, and laid the greateſt part of the Chatelenie of Bruges under contribution: 'tho he was afterwards obliged, upon the approach of a ſuperior French army, under the marquis de Bedmar, and the count de la Motte, to retire under the walls of Sluys, having firſt laid the country under water, and forced the Spaniards to retire towards Ghent (2).

Motions of the French army.

In the mean time, the marſhall de Bouflers drew his army together, and, having laid up great magazines, in Ruremond and Venlo, paſs'd the Maeſe, with his whole army. The duke of Burgundy (the preſent King of France's father) being

(1) Keyſerſwaert is a little town, ſituate on the north banks of the Rhine, about two leagues below Duſſeldorp, belonging, to the elector of Cologn. It is an oblong of one ſtreet only, defended, on the land-ſide, by three baſtions, and four ravelins, and, towards the Rhine, by two baſtions. The extremity or point of an iſland, below the place, may either be of advantage or prejudice to it, according to the uſe that is made of it. The French poſſeſs'd themſelves of this place by cardinal Furſtemburg, in 1688, but the Elector of Brandenburg retook it, in 1689, and deliver'd it to the Elector of Cologn, who received a French gariſon into it, in 1701. The iſland I mention'd was firſt poſſeſs'd by the French and fortified, but was taken afterwards by the Pruſſians. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. 1. p. 159.

(2) The marquis de Quincy gives a particular relation of a deſign general Cohorn had form'd of ſurpriſing the caſtle of Namur, by means of a gentleman in the neighborhood, whom he had brought over to his purpoſe, and who having a relation, an officer, in the place, by means of him, and two of the burghers, who ingaged in the deſign, an agreement was made with a Spaniſh captain of the gariſon, who, in conſideration of 10,000 piſtols, a conſiderable part of which he actually receiv'd, and the command of a regiment, promis'd him, undertook to deliver the caſtle into the hands of the Dutch troops; but after having got as much mony as he could, he betray'd the deſign to the governor, which put an end to the attempt. Hiſt. mil. de Louis le Grand tome. III. p. 539.

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come poſt to the army, to make his firſt campain, as commander in chief, tho' under the direction of the marſhal de Bouflers, put the Dutch under apprehenſions that ſo great a Prince would undertake ſomething worthy of himſelf, and believing the deſign might be upon Maeſticht, they threw 12,000 men into that place. This, with the want of the auxiliary-troops from Germany, who did not come ſo ſoon as was expected, and of a good part of the Engliſh forces, which were ſtopp'd by contrary winds, ſo weaken'd their army, that the earl of Athlone did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to enter into action with the marſhal de Bouflers. He, therefore incamp'd at Clarenbeck, between Nimeguen and Cleve, to watch his motions; while the marſhal lay incamp'd at Santen, near Cleve. While they lay here, there was an action between 1000 horſe of the Dutch, and 600 French horſe, the latter of which were totally defeated.

A French party defeated.

Siege of Keyſerſwaert.

All this while, the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert went on but ſlowly. The trenches were open'd the 18th of April, with little loſs; and, the 20th, the beſiegers did great execution, by the vaſt number of bombs, which they threw into the town; but the enemy made a vigorous ſally, and tho' they were twice repuls'd, with great bravery, the Dutch, not being ſuccor'd in time, and being inferior to the enemy, in number, were forced to quit their poſt, and make a retreating fight; 'till, at length, the cavalry coming up, the enemy were, in their turn, conſtrain'd to retire, with great precipitation. The 21ſt and 22d, the enemy made two ſallies more; but with much the ſame ſucceſs: and, in the latter, were purſued to the counterſcarp. I ſhall not continue to give the farther circumſtances of this ſiege; but only, in general, obſerve, that tho' the beſiegers propoſed, at firſt, to be maſters of the place, in three weeks, they were miſtaken in their calculation, the gariſon having made a vigorous defence, for about two months: and it had like to have proved but a bad begining of a new war, and the firſt campain; however, at length, the place being reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, and the out-works batter'd, with forty-eight large cannon, and thirty mortars, the confederates reſolved, on the 9th of June, N. S. to make a general attack on the counterſcarp and ravelin, which they executed with unparallel'd bravery. The conflict was very bloody and obſtinate, for two hours together; during which time, nothing was to be ſeen but fire and ſmoak, and many brave officers loſt their lives, on both ſides. The beſieged, in the end, were obliged to give ground, and leave the aſſailants maſters of both, and they lodged themſelves accordingly. Among the officers, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves on this occaſion, none behaved with more remarkable conduct and bravery, than the Prince of Naſſau-Saarbrug, who commanded, and who perform'd prodigies of bravery, giving his orders, with great contempt of danger, and wonderful preſenſe of mind: and the earl of Huntington, who gave no leſs proofs of his valor, tho' but a volunteer, was dangerouſly wounded: nor did they alone diſtinguiſh themſelves; for all the other officers, and even the common ſoldiers, behaved, in this action, beyond expectation. This advantage coſt the confederates, however, very dear; for they had above 2500 men killed or wounded in the action; but it, likewiſe, ſo much weaken'd the gariſon, that they were forced to capitulate, the 15th. They obtain'd honorable terms, and march'd out the 17th, after a ſiege of two months: and the place was razed according to agreement (1).

The counterſcarp taken by ſtorm;

And the town by capitulation.

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Count Tallard, who, with a ſeparate body, had hitherto been of great ſervice to the beſieged, now joined the grand army, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, which by the calling in of all their other detachments, was greatly ſuperior to that of the confederates, under the earl of Athlone. They had, for ſometime before, boaſted of a grand deſign they had in view, and they, therefore, thought this the propereſt time to put it in execution, which they did, in the following manner.

A bold attempt of the marſhal de Bouflers.

The duke of Burgundy's army having been reinforced, as I have obſerved above, by ſeveral detachments, and particularly by the troops of the French King's houſhold, the marſhal de Bouflers decamp'd from Santen, the 10th of June, N. S. about eight o'clock in the morning, without ſound of trumpet, or beat of drum, and directed his march thro' the plains of Gock, ſeeming to incline towards the Mocker-heyde, cloſe by Nimeguen, as if his deſign was to get between the confederate army, under the command of the earl of Athlone, and Nimeguen, and by that means to cut them off from their proviſions, ammunition and forage, which would have very much expoſed that city, as well as ſeveral other neighboring towns.

Diſpoſition of the confederate army thereupon.

The earl of Athlone, having timely notice of the enemy's march, and rightly judging what their deſign was, called a council of the general officers, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the confederates ſhould begin their march, about eight the ſame evening, in the following order. The baggage was ſent away to Nimeguen, leaving Cranenburg, on the right; and four battalions were detached to Grave; the firſt line marched in one column, between the woods, at the head of the confederate camp, at Cranenburg; in which woods, the French had, by that time, poſted a numerous body of foot and dragoons; while the ſecond line march'd between the firſt line and Cranenburg, leaving the town on the right hand. The Prince of Wirtemburg was detach'd, with a great body of horſe, upon the left of the confederate's march; and colonel Frederick Hamilton, with three batalions of Engliſh, under the lord Cutts, was likewiſe detach'd, to ſecure the Prince's retreat, and to take care of the highway of Norgina, by which the enemy might otherwiſe, have eaſily fallen on the confederates, in their march, which two detachments both rejoined the earl, upon his entrance into the Mocker-heyde. About day-break, the earl made a halt, and receiving farther intelligence of the ſtrength of the enemy, it was reſolved, that the cavalry ſhould be drawn up, in order of battle, to cover the march of the infantry, which, at the ſame time, was directed to keep along the riſing grounds, making halts, and puting themſelves in battle-array, from time to time, as the generals who led them, ſhould think fit, and keeping always in ſight of the horſe, that they might be ready to ſupport them, if they ſhould be attack'd. About eleven, in the morning, the foot had gained the narrow paſſes, and lined the hedges; and the French horſe advancing, in great numbers, with the troops of the houſhold, at their head, preſs'd hard upon the earl, who was at the head of the horſe, and behav'd with great reſolution. However, he made his retreat in good order, paſſing thro' the lane, along which the foot were poſted, and keep-

(1) If we will believe F. Daniel, the marquis de Quincy, and other French writers, this place coſt the Allies more men, than they might probably have loſt in a pitch'd battle, the number of the ſlain amounting, according to them, to 7 or 8000 men. It is certain the beſiegers loſt a great many men, conſidering the ſmallneſs of the place; but I never found that the number a mounted to half what the French hiſtorians would make us believe.

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ing, at the ſame time, as broad a front, as the ground would permit. In the mean time, a conſiderable body of horſe was ordered to the riſing ground on the right-hand; whereupon, the troops of the French King's houſhold, charging ſome of the Dutch ſquadrons, juſt as they were wheeling, in purſuance of their orders, puſh'd them upon the foot, and put two or three battalions into confuſion; but, by the conduct of the general officers, no farther miſchief inſued, and the enemy were ſoon repulſed. On the other ſide, there happened a rude encounter, between ſome of the ſquadrons of the French houſhold, and ſome Daniſh horſe, and ſome of the earl's carabineers, who ſo vigorouſly maintained their ground, that the French were beaten back, tho' with equal loſs; and the French themſelves were oblig'd to own, that they could not enough admire the courage of theſe troops. By this time, the confederates were got under the cannon of Nimeguen, which, ſoon after, began to play upon the enemy; and the burghers of that city ſignaliz'd themſelves, on this occaſion, in an extraordinary manner; for tho' they had not a gunner in the town, they manag'd their artillery with a ſurprizing ſucceſs.

The design fruſtrated.

The Engliſh, who had the honor to cloſe the retreat, maintained their poſt, in excellent order, being aſſiſted by the Prince of Wirtemberg, who put a ſtop to the troops of the houſhold, which were advanced very near them, and preparing to charge them, towards the end of their march. Twenty battalions of foot were thereupon poſted in the out-works of Nimeguen, and the whole army was under arms, all that night, as the enemy was likewiſe.

The next morning, a great body of French horſe and foot advanced towards the allies, as if they intended to attack them; but this they did only to cover the march of their own army, which filed off towards Cleves, venting their rage at their diſappointment, upon the defenſeleſs country, which they rifled and laid waſte; deſtroying the park, and all the delicious walks and avenues to that charming place. And if we will give credit to the marquis de Quincy, the French made a booty, upon this occaſion, of the value of above 500,000 crowns, and near 20,000 oxen. Thus was the important city of Nimeguen (which, if taken, would have offered the French an opportunity to penetrate into the very heart of the United Provinces) almoſt miraculouſly preſerved, being but in an indifferent condition, and the enemy miſſing but half an hour of arriving in the outworks, before the earl of Athlone. The deſign was well laid, and, as we ſee, wanted very little of being as well executed. It muſt have had fatal eeffects had it ſucceeded; for the French would either have got into Nimeguen, or have forced the earl of Athlone to fight at a great diſadvantage; but the earl ſo carefully watched their motions, that he got before them; tho', by this means, as we have ſeen, he was obliged to abandon Cleves, to the fury of the enemy. The burghers, ſeeing their imminent danger, did wonders, upon this occaſion, it being they themſelves, who, at the firſt approach of the enemy, broke open the doors of the arſenal, and bringing out the cannon, bullets and ammunition, haul'd the ſame, without horſes, and planted them on the ramparts and outworks; ſo that, in a little time, they fired upon the enemy with 160 pieces. Q. Ann, An' 1702.

I have not found any certain account, what was the loſs, on either ſide, in this action. If we will believe the marquis de Quincy, the French loſt, at moſt, but 150 men, and fifty horſes, and the allies, at leaſt, eleven or twelve hundred, but, all circumſtances conſidered, this computation is too extravagant to gain credit.

Prudent conduct of the earl of Athlone.

The prudent conduct of the earl of Athlone, on this occaſion, raiſed his credit, as much as it ſunk that of Bouflers, who, tho' he had a ſuperior army, animated by the preſenſe of ſo great a Prince; yet was able to do nothing. Whatever he undertook was unſucceſsful, and his parties, which ingaged with thoſe of the earl of Athlone's army, were almoſt always beaten.

The earl of Marlborough arrives at the Hague.

Thus was the ſtate of the campain, in theſe parts, before the earl of Marlborough left England, from whence he departed, the 12th of May. Upon his arrival, with the character of embaſſador, as well as captain-general, he had ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States, in which he gave them all imaginable aſſurances of her Majeſty's affection, and reſolution to ſupport them, in all emergencies. On the other hand, the States, to ſhew their gratitude to her Majeſty, and the particular confidence they placed in the earl, declared him generaliſſimo of all their forces, and gave orders to all their generals and other officers, to obey him (1).

Is declared generaliſſimo of the Dutch forces.

Takes the command of the army.

Having regulated every thing that was neceſſary with the deputies of the States, his lordſhip left the Hague, the 30th of June, N. S. and came to the army at Nimeguen the 2d of July. He formed his camp at Duckemberg, conſiſting of 76 battalions of foot, and 120 ſquadrons of horſe, making together about 60,000 men. The 8th, he call'd a council of war, of all the general officers, to concert the farther occupations of the campain; and finding his force, if not ſuperior, in number, to that of the duke of Burgundy, yet juſtly ſo in other advantages; he therefore, march'd his army, the 16th, over the Maeſe, and incamp'd at Over-Aſſelt, near Grave, within two miles and a half of the enemy, who lay intrench'd between Goch and Gennep. (2)

Purſues the French.

The 26th the confederate army repaſs'd the Maeſe, and march'd in purſuit of the enemy; in their way, the lord Cuts, with a detachment under his command, took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Gravenbroeck, after a ſhort reſiſtance, and obliged the French garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The French retreat before him.

The 2d of Auguſt, they advanced to Petit Brugel, following the French (who retreated as they advanced) ſo cloſe, that they were obliged, to abandon the Spaniſh Guelderland, which was thereby left to the diſcretion of the confederates. The earl of Marlborough was for hazarding a deciſive battle; for which end, the whole army was ordered to their arms, the next morning early. But the Dutch would not conſent to it. (3)

(1) Biſhop Burnet ſays; The earl of Athlone was ſet on by the other Dutch generals, to inſiſt on his quality of velt-marſhal, and as ſuch to ſhare the command, with the earl of Marlborough, by turns: the States, however, obliged him to yield up his pretenſions, and the earl of Marlborough behaved in ſo courteous and obliging a manner to him, as made amends for the diſappointment he met with, in loſing his ſhare of the command. Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 324.

(2) Upon this occaſion, he is reported to have ſaid to the field-deputies of the States-general, that the French ſhould be no longer their bad neighbours, and that he would oblige them to march farther off from that country, with a witneſs: whether our hero did give the deputies this aſſurance, I ſhall not pretend to determine, and the leſs, becauſe it ſeems, in ſome meaſure to exceed the bounds of his accuſtomed modeſty; but that he perform'd what is there inſinuated we ſhall ſoon ſee. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 169.

(3) It was believed by thoſe who thought themſelves judges, that if the earl of Marlborough's advice had been followed, matters might have been brought, at once, to a happy deciſion; and the more, as it afterwards appeared, that not above half of the French army was got to their camp, greatly fatigued by an almoſt contiuual march of two days and two nights, and in the greateſt conſternation. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 171.

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Farther motions of the confederate army.

From Petit-Brugel, the army march'd, in order to demoliſh the walls of Peer and Bray, in the biſhopric of Liege, two ſmall towns, which had been of great ſervice to the enemy, in ſecuring their convoys. The 12th, the confederate army incamp'd at Everbeck; and, on the 22d, at Holchteren, where they found the French, ſeemingly preparing to receive them, being very advantageouſly poſted, and having received diverſe re-inforcements, making about 18 or 20,000 men: ſo that they were now in a condition, if courage had not been wanting, to venture an ingagement. The earl of Marlborough rang'd his troops in order of battle, and, in that manner, continued his march. The duke of Burgundy, and the French generals, ranged their army, likewiſe, in order of battle; tho' they very well knew there could be no action; the two armies being ſeparated by marſhes and defilees, in ſuch manner, that it was impoſſible for either to attack the other, without a very great hazard.

In this poſture, both armies remained two days, cannonading each other, and expecting which would begin the attack: but at length the French, not willing to run the riſk of a battle, tho' they were ſo well ſecured, decamp'd ſilently in the night, and took poſt at Berringhen. Brigadier Roſs, with ſome ſquadrons, fell in with their rear, and charged them, in their flight, for upwards of a league (1), but without any conſiderable advantage, with ſuch precipitation they fled before him: a great number of the enemy's troops took, however, this occaſion to deſert (2).

Father ſucceſs of the confederate army.

The earl of Marlborough continued the purſuit, taking, in his way, ſeveral places which made little or no reſiſtance: but finding, at length, that the French were not to be brought to an ingagement, on equal terms, and the deputies of the States-general, who followed the army, having repreſented to him, that it was much more for the advantage of Holland to diſpoſſeſs the enemy of the places they yet held in the Spaniſh Guelderland, whereby the navigation of the Maeſe was interrupted, and the important town of Maeſtricht in a manner block'd up; he therefore diſpoſed all things for the ſiege of Venlo: and, in the mean time, general Schultz, with a ſmall detachment, took the town and caſtle of Wert, which capitulated, after a ſhort reſiſtance.

Siege of Venlo.

The 29th, the town of Venlo (3) was inveſted by monſ. Opdam, with a detachment of Engliſh and Dutch, commanded, under him, by the lord Cuts, on one ſide of the Maeſe, by fort St. Michael; and by the margrave of Brandenburg, the late King of Pruſſia's brother, with his Pruſſian Majeſty's forces, commanded, under him, by the baron de Heyde, on the other. General Cohorn had the direction of the attacks, and the Prince of Naſſau Saarburg had the command of the ſiege. Upon this the duke of Burgundy returned to Paris, not to be an eye witneſs of the taking of that place (4).

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The troops imployed in this ſiege, at both attacks, conſiſted of 32 battalions, and 36 ſquadrons, with 64 cannons, 24 mortars and hawbitzers, and a great number of Cohorn-mortars. The town and fort were commanded by the count de Varo, major-general L'Abadie, and two brigadiers, having under their command ſix battalions of foot, and two ſquadrons of horſe, with 38 cannon, and 12 mortars mounted, and great ſtore of ammunition.

The trenches open'd.

The 7th of September, N. S. the trenches were opened on both ſides the Maeſe, without any loſs, the confederates having caſt up ſuch high works, as almoſt covered them, before they were perceived by the enemy. The eighth, the beſiegers were re-inforced, by a body of Munſter troops, conſiſting of 2000 foot, and 500 horſe, and the following days, the attacks were carried on with great vigor: but the moſt memorable action, which happened, during this ſiege, was performed by the lord Cutts, in the following manner:

Fort St. Michael attack'd by the lord Cuts and the Engliſh.

On the eighteenth, his lordſhip was commanded to attack fort St. Michael, between the baſtion, which is next the plain, and the ravelin, which lies on the north-ſide of it, having under his command brigadier-general Hamilton, with the royal-regiment of Ireland, and general Hukelom's regiment, and a lieutenant-colonel, with 172 grenadiers, and 100 fuſileers (ſome accounts ſay 200 of the former and 150 of the latter) moſt Engliſh, under a lieutenant-colonel; as alſo 300 workmen, with a competent number of ingineers, under colonel Blood. His lordſhip's orders were to make a lodgment, from the point of the ravelin to the baſtion, leaving him at liberty to proceed farther, if he found it practicable; and, at the ſame time, the Prince of Anhalt, with the ſame number of troops, was to make an attack, between the baſtion and the ravelin, on the north-ſide, with the like diſcretionary orders, either to lodge himſelf, or to advance as he ſhould ſee occaſion. The ſignal for both attacks, which was to be the blowing up a barrel of powder, and the diſcharge of all the batteries of the beſiegers, both cannon and mortars, was accordingly made, a little before ſix in the evening.

Prudent management of the lord Cuts.

The lord Cuts, who, at firſt, had no thoughts of taking the main fort, gave orders, on his attack, to the officers who led the grenadiers, firſt to clear the covered-way of the enemy; and, if they ſaw it practicable, when that was done, to attack the ravelin, ſword in hand, aſſuring them, in the

(1) The French to do ſome honor at leaſt to the duke of Burgundy, for this his firſt campain, pretended it was the allies, who declined the battle. "The enemy (ſays monſ. de Quincy) continued in order of battle, during the whole time the two "armies cannonaded one another, and if they had but advanced never ſo little towards us, an ingagement would have inſued; "but they would not come out of their advantageous camp. The duke of Burgundy took a view of their ſituation, the next "morning, at break of day: but he found it impoſſible to attack them. The enemy having, however, made a motion "the 24th, we were in hopes then we ſhould have been able to have attack'd them: but having intelligence, by ſeveral ways, "that they had, on their left, a moraſs that was unpaſſable, and a water on the right; ſo that it would have been very diffi-"cult to come at them; it was determin'd to retreat, in order to ſecure a convoy, which was expected to join the army."

The continuator of Rapin in French, who blames the duke of Burgundy for neglecting an advantage, which (according to him) he might have taken of the confederates in this ſituation, lays the whole fault upon the marſhal de Bouflers, who upon returning from recognizing the confederate cavalry, reported that it was impoſſible to attack them, and thereby put a ſtop to the count de Tallard, and the duke of Berwick, who were upon the point of begining the attack: but (adds he) had the duke of Burgundy poſſeſſed the ſoul of the great Condé, he would never have ſubmited to ſuch remonſtrances. B. 26. p. 466.

(2) The Dutch who were in the deepeſt conſternation, but a few weeks before, on the retreat of their army, under the cannon of Nimeguen (before the earl of Marlborough arrived) had now the pleaſure to ſee the enemy flee in their turn; and thus were the United-Provinces preſerved, by the earl's prudence and vigilance, while the duke of Burgundy, who, as I have ſaid above, came to the army to be taught how to fight, learned nothing from the marſhal de Bouflers, but how to avoid an ingagement.

(3) Venlo is a very ſtrong town in the Low-countries, in the territory of Ruremond, in Spaniſh-Guelderland. It ſtands on the river Maeſe, near the biſhopric of Juliers, ten miles ſouth-weſt of Gueldres, and eleven north of Ruremond.

(4) The French, however pretend, that the reaſon of the duke of Burgundy's leaving the camp was, becauſe he had been oblig'd to make detachments, to re-inforce all the gariſons of the Spaniſh-Netherlands, the biſhoprick of Liege, and electorate of Cologne, which had ſo weakned his army, that there were no more laurels to be gather'd this campain. But it would be very difficult to ſay where he gather'd any before.

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hearing of all the grenadiers, that as ſoon as he ſaw fifty of the latter, upon the top of the ravelin, he would ſacrifice himſelf, and his troops, rather than not ſuſtain them; and that, therefore, they might go on with undauntedneſs, if they found it poſſible to paſs; his lordſhip heightening their courage and alacrity, by promiſing rewards, in her Majeſty's name, to all who ſhould ſignalize themſelves. His lordſhip's orders were executed, with inexpreſſible vigor and chearfulneſs, and as ſoon as the grenadiers, whom his lordſhip, with diſtinguiſh'd intrepidity, and admirable preſenſe of mind, ſuſtained with freſh numbers, had cleared the counterſcarp with their fire, and avoided a mine, which was unſucceſsfully ſprung by the enemy, they boldly attack'd the ravelin, ſword in hand, incouraging and aſſiſting one another upon the aſſurance of being ſeconded.

His bravery.

The lord Cuts, perceiving this, according to his promiſe, march'd, with all his forces, ingaged the enemy, and was ſoon maſter of the ravelin. The French then made a great fire upon the Engliſh, from the rampart of the fort, upon which the lord Cuts ſent orders to the officers, who were at the head of the grenadiers, to throw in their grenadoes, and attack the fort, ſword in hand, if it were poſſible to find a paſſage; which they did, by charging and following the enemy ſo cloſe, that they had not time to break the bridge, tho' it was hotly diſputed by fire and puſh of pike, eſpecially by the enemy's grenadiers, from the flank of one of their baſtions. But the bravery of the Engliſh grenadiers ſurmounted all difficulties, by following the example of their officers, and ſome brave Engliſh and other volunteers of diſtinction (1).

Bravery of the earl of Huntington.

The earl of Huntington, in particular, call'd to the ſoldiers, who had got over the palliſadoes, to help him over likewiſe and promiſed them all the mony he had about him, which he accordingly gave them very generouſly, and led them on with much bravery and ſucceſs. The enemy continued to defend themſelves, till the Engliſh poured in ſo faſt upon them, that they were no longer able to reſiſt.

The fort taken.

The lord Cuts perceiving this, check'd the fury of the ſoldiers, and put a ſtop to the ſlaughter. The Engliſh took about 200 priſoners, of whom 30 were officers, with a brigadier-general, and the governor; but all the reſt, that were in the fort, to the number of 600, were killed or drowned in indeavoring to eſcape, except twelve (the French ſay eighty) who paſs'd the Maeſe, in ſmall boats (2).

When the lord Cuts found himſelf intirely in poſſeſſion of the forts, having left 400 men in the outworks, he poſted a guard, at the great port, towards the town, and a ſmall guard at each ſally-port; ſeized the magazines, ſent out a hundred grenadiers to diſcover, on the ſide of the Maeſe, if any of the enemy were there; drew up the reſt of his troops upon the rampart, towards the town; turned the enemy's cannon upon themſelves; made a diſcharge, to give notice to the camp, that all was well, and continued under arms all night. In the magazine of the fort, and round the rampart were found 30 fine braſs cannon, ſix mortars, and a large quantity of powder, ball, corn, meal, brandy, and other proviſions (3). Q. Ann, An' 1702.

Never was more bravery ſhewn than on this occaſion, by all, both officers and ſoldiers, of the reſpective nations under his lordſhip's command, but eſpecially the Engliſh. Among the reſt, the Prince of Hanover, a voluntier at this ſiege, paſs'd the night before the attack in the trenches, with the lord Cuts, behaved himſelf with a great deal of gallantry, and ſtood moſt of the night with his lordſhip in the fort. Colonel Blood, who acted as firſt ingineer under general Cohorn, and was to have made the lodgment, when he ſaw that the lord Cuts had quited that deſign, to puſh on farther, as we have ſeen, ſhew'd the part of a brave officer, charging with the men, ſword in hand, and killing an officer of the enemy's grenadiers, who made a vigorous oppoſition with his party; and monſ. de la Martinerie, a French Proteſtant ingineer, lately ſent from England by his royal highneſs, was alſo very ſerviceable in this action, as well by his bravery as his ſkill. For it was partly thro' his advice, that the lord Cuts reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the fort; rightly conjecturing, that if the enemy made a vigorous reſiſtance at the ravelin, and were beaten off, as, indeed, they were, they would be ſo fatigued as not to be able to hold out long in the fort; and it happened ſo accordingly. This was a bold and glorious action, chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of the lord Cuts, who himſelf behaved in ſo gallant a manner, as juſtly deſerved, a general applauſe.

Bravery of the late duke of York.

And of colonel Blood.

Bravery and ſkill of monſ. de la Martinere.

While theſe glorious actions were performing, on the ſide of the lord Cuts's attack, the Prince of Anhalt behaved himſelf with a gallantry ſuitable to his birth; and his troops, incouraged by his example, attack'd the enemy with all imaginable vigor, and carried the ravelin on their ſide, ſword in hand; but the French having broke the bridge between that ravelin and the fort, tho' ſome of the Pruſſians leap'd into the ditch and ſwam over, it was impoſſible for the reſt of their troops to paſs.

Gallant conduct of the Prince of Anhalt.

The beſiegers imployed the four following days in firing furiouſly from their batteries upon the wall of the town, in order to widen the breaches; and all other neceſſary preparations were made for a general aſſault to which the ſoldiers ſhew'd an eager deſire. The twenty-third, the confederates, having received advice of the ſurrender of Landau, expreſs'd their joy for the news, in order of battle, with the triple diſcharge of all their cannon and ſmall arms. This the beſieged, as it was reported, took to be a ſignal for the approaching ſtorm on the town; becauſe the attack of fort St. Michael, which had very much intimidated the gariſon, began in the ſame manner. They, therefore, immediately beat a parly, and ſurrender'd the place, on the twenty-fifth (4). Purſuant to the capitulation, they were conducted to Antwerp, with their arms and baggage; but without any cannon or mortars, as they at firſt inſiſted on, and which the Prince of

Venlo ſurrenders.

(1) Among others were the late duke of York, the earl of Huntington, the lord Lorn (now duke of Argile,) the lord Mark Ker, the Prince d'Avergne; ſir Richard Temple, baronet, (now lord viſcount Cobham) colonel Webb, and mr. Dalrimple.

(2) The French, to depreciate the honor gain'd by the allies, and more particularly by the Engliſh, in this action, pretend, that being ſenſible of the weakneſs of the gariſon of the fort, orders had been given them, that morning, to abandon the cover'd-way and the half-moons; to cut off the draw-bridges, and to make what fire they could from the body of the place; that they were juſt about executing theſe orders, when the allies attack'd the cover'd way of the fort; and that the whole gariſon conſiſted only of , juſt come out of the hoſpitals of Ruremond and Venlo, not perfectly recover'd. De Quincy, Hiſt. Mil. de Louis le gr. Tome, III. p. 566.

(3) Of the Engliſh, in this action, two captains were wounded, two lieutenants and one enſign killed, and three wounded; one ſerjeant killed, and three wounded; one hundred and thirty men kill'd, and a hundred and thirty two wounded; and the lord Cuts's aid de camp, captain Bolas, with mr. Eley, an Engliſh volunteer, killed on the ſpot. The loſs of the Dutch was no leſs than that of the Engliſh.

(4) French writers themſelves allow, that the great motions they obſerv'd in the camp of the beſiegers, the 23d in the evening, which they apprehended was in order to a general aſſault, determin'd them to beat a parly, and deſire to capitulate.

Naſſau-

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Naſſau-Saarbruck would, upon no account allow them. During this ſiege, which laſted four weeks, the beſieged are computed to have loſt as many men, and more commiſſion'd officers, than the beſiegers.

Ruremond,

The earl of Marlborough was no ſooner informed of the ſurrender of Venlo, than his active genius put him upon making the beſt of the remainder of the ſeaſon, and puſhing on to new conqueſts. He, therefore, ordered thoſe Engliſh, Dutch and Pruſſian forces, which had taken Venlo, to inveſt Ruremond (or Roermond) another town of Spaniſh Guelderland (1), of equal, or more conſiderable importance, tho' not ſo well fortified as Venlo. The town was inveſted, the twenty-ninth of September, N. S. and the confederates, as ſoon as the trenches were open'd, attacking it with a more than common vigor, or rather fury, the gariſon, conſiſting of four battalions of foot, commanded by the Prince de Hoorn, found it was to no purpoſe to attempt a long reſiſtance. They, therefore, beat a parly, the ſixth of October, and, the next day, ſurrender'd the town upon articles, the gariſon being conducted to Louvain.

And Stevenſwaert, beſieged and taken.

During this ſhort ſiege, Stevenſwaert, a ſmall but very ſtrong town, or rather fortreſs, ſeated on a little iſland in the middle of the Maeſe, about five miles to the ſouth of Ruremond, defended by a colonel, with 400 men, being likewiſe vigorouſly attack'd, by general Schultz, with a detachment, and taken by capitulation, the navigation of the Maeſe was thereby opened, and made free, between Maeſtricht and Holland: and all this while, the marſhal de Bouflers ſate ſtill, without making any motion for the relief of theſe important places, or even ſo much as to aim at offering the allies any diverſion.

The ſiege of Liege reſolved upon.

With theſe conſiderable conqueſts, the deputies of the States would very willingly have ſate down contented; but the earl of Marlborough, wiſely foreſeing how valuable a conqueſt the fine and noble city of Liege would be, and how highly it would redound to the reputation of the confederate arms, and, beſide, the great importance of it, as he might put a great part of his army, in winter-quarters there, reſolved to attempt it, and thereby put a glorious end to the campain (2).

The marſhal de Bouflers retreats with precipitation.

The marſhal de Bouflers, who ſoon ſuſpected the earl's deſign, being rouſed from his lethargy, thought it now high time to do ſomething for the ſecurity of that important place. He therefore viſited the moſt conſiderable poſts between that city and Maeſtricht, making a ſhew as if his deſign was to incamp thereabouts. He likewiſe, went twice, with the duke of Maine, and ſeveral ingineers, to view the fortifications of the citadel. However, he was no ſooner informed of the march of the confederate army towards Liege, than he retreated to Tongren, with great precipitation, and intrench'd himſelf there: but ſoon after, not thinking himſelf ſafe enough even there, he decamp'd and march'd towards Brabant.

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Farther motions of the two armies.

During theſe marches, ſeveral inſtances occur'd to ſhew the ſuperior conduct of the earl of Marlborough to that of the marſhal de Bouflers, how much better intelligence he had, and how active he was in circumventing all the marſhal's deſign (3).

The confederates come before Liege.

Nor was the earl's vigilance leſs conſpicious, in the extraordinary march he made from his camp at Soutendale to Liege, before which place he ſate down with his army, the 12th of October N. S. (4). The 13th, the whole army decamp'd, and advanced a little nearer the city. At their approach, they found the ſuburb of St. Walburg ſet on fire by the French gariſon; and the governor, with eight battalions, retired into the great citadel, having put the remainder of his troops, in the ſmaller citadel call'd the Chartreuſe. The chapter and magiſtracy had, the evening before, ſent commiſſioners to the earl of Marlborough, deſiring to treat, and their requeſt being readily granted, this day, three of the chapter, and as many of the magiſtracy, came out again, and the articles being agreed on, they were ſigned by the earl, by the deputies of the States-general, and by the commiſſioners from the chapter and magiſtracy. In purſuance to theſe articles, one of the gates of the city was delivered up to the confederates, the ſame night, at ten o'clock; and, on the fourteenth, they took poſſeſſion of the whole town, with three Engliſh regiments of horſe, and as many battalions of foot, under the command of the lord Cuts.

The city ſurrenders.

The great citadel beſieged.

The eighteenth of October, N. S. in the evening, the trenches were opened before the great citadel, by four Engliſh battalions, on the right, commanded by lieutenant-general Sommerſelt, and the like number of Dutch on the left, commanded by lieutenant-general Fagel. The very ſame evening, the allies attacked an intrenchment of the enemy's, which occaſioned a great fire on both ſides; but at length the French were beaten off, and, having attempted to regain that poſt, were repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

The 20th, at ſun-riſing, the batteries of the beſiegers being all erected and compleat, and mounted with forty-four cannon and twelve mortars, they began to play againſt the citadel with great fury, and thereby blew up a magazine of the enemy's, with upwards of 1000 loaded bombs and grenadoes, and ſeveral barrels of powder.

The 21ſt, the beſiegers continued to cannonade the citadel more furiouſly than the day before, and diſmounted all the enemy's batteries, two pieces of cannon and two mortars excepted.

The ſame evening, the confederates throwing

(1) This place is generally reckoned the ſecond city of Guelderland, and ſtands on the Maeſe, at the confluence of that river, and the Roer; eleven miles ſouth of Venlo, and twenty-one ſouth of Guelders. It has ſeveral ſtately monaſteries, among which that of the Carthuſians is the moſt conſiderable.

(2) This place, which is number'd among the great cities of Europe, has, within the town and ſuburbs, above one hundred churches, eight of which are collegiate, and thirty-two parochial, and is beſide very rich and populous: and has a famous univerſity, indow'd with large eccleſiaſtical revenues. It is ſeated in a pleaſant vally, ſurrounded with hills, the river Maeſe entering it, in two branches, accompanied with ſeveral ſmaller ſtreams, which form a great number of delightful iſlands. On the brow of a hill, that hangs over it, is a citadel of great ſtrength, which commands it: and it has beſide another ſmaller citadel call'd the Chartreuſe. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. 1. p. 185.

(3) Of this, among others, we have the following memorable inſtance: the earl having notice where the marſhal deſign'd to be, one day, at noon, marched ſo early, and was ſo poſted, that Bouflers, with his army, came within ſhot of the confederate troops, before he knew where he was, and might probably have been intirely cut off, if the too cautious Dutch could have been prevailed upon to venture a battle: but that being prevented, the marſhal ſtole out of the trap, by favor of the dark night. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. 1. p. 186.

(4) The duke decamp'd, with the grand army, about one in the morning, and march'd, in two columns, towards that important place. He croſs'd the Jecker, a little above Maeſtricht, leaving the Maeſe to the left. About four, in the afternoon, he came within cannon ſhot of the citadel; and, about ſun-ſetting, both columns joining, the camp was form'd along the hill, near it, on the north-ſide; by which means, the city, citadel and lower-fort, were, in a manner, all block'd up. The governor, and commander in chief, was lieutenant-general Violaine, who had twelve battalions of foot under his command, and had, in the two citadels, near 50 pieces of cannon and mortars mounted, with great ſtore of ammunition, and all other neceſſaries. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. 1. p. 187.

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ſome bombs into the place, ſet another of the enemy's magazines on fire, in which were 6000 grenadoes ready filled, and a great quantity of powder. The attack was carried on that night with great ſucceſs; and, the next day, two more magazines were ſet on fire by their bombs. The ſame evening, their ſmall mortars for grenadoes (an invention aſcribed to monſ. Cohorn, and called by his name) being ready, all the batteries began to play, with great order, diſpatch and ſucceſs.

The 23d, a conſiderable breach being made, and four other magazines of the enemy's being blown up, it was reſolved to attack the counterſcarp that evening: accordingly, four battalions of 500 grenadiers, on the right, commanded by lieutenant-general Sommersfelt, and a like number, on the left, under the command of lieutenant-general Fagel, were appointed for the attack.

The counterſcarp ſtormed.

About four in the afternoon, the ſignal being given, the confederates advanced, with great intrepidity, towards the enemy: ſuch ſtrict order was likewiſe obſerved, that not a muſket was fired, tho' the French more than enough provoked them, by a continual fire from the town. Being advanced to a convenient nearneſs, they attacked the counterſcarp with ſo much fury, that the French could not defend their poſt, but ſoon abandon'd it. The allies, in the mean time, inſtead of lodging themſelves upon it, got into the covered-way, paſſed the ditch, mounted the breach at once, and took the place by dint of ſword.

In the heat of action, the lord Cuts, who was in the city with ten battalions, detached 1200 men to the aſſiſtance of the aſſailants; theſe ruſh'd ſuddenly and unexpectedly into the citadel, on that ſide next the city, which contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of the attack; for the enemy were ſo ſurprized and daunted to find themſelves fallen upon in this manner, on every ſide, that they quited the breach much ſooner than there was otherwiſe reaſon to expect they would have done.

Monſ. de Violaine, the governor, (who, but five days before, upon a ſummons ſent him to ſurrender, returned the earl of Marlborough this haughty anſwer, "that it would be time enough to think of "that ſix weeks after") was ſo ſurprized at this vigorous attack and unexpected boldneſs, that he immediately beat a parly; but the victorious allies, being already in the place, would hear nothing of it, and had killed all they met, if the French had not thrown down their arms and beg'd quarter, which was readily granted (1).

The citadel being thus taken, after an obſtinate fight of about three quarters of an hour, the victory of the confederates was, ſoon after, compleated, by the ſurrender of the Chartreuſe, which they deſigned to have attack'd two days ſooner, had not the ſtormy weather, which happened the 26th and 27th, damaged their bridge of boats.

The Chartreuſe ſurrenders.

On the 29th, about ten in the morning, their mortars began to play, which having ſet the greateſt part of the building in flames, and about two in the afternoon, the cannon of the beſiegers having begun to play, and batter the place, the garriſon immediately deſired to capitulate. Hoſtages being, hereupon, exchanged, it was agreed, that one of the gates ſhould be delivered to the confederates, in the morning, and that the gariſon, which inſiſted to go directly to Namur, ſhould march out, the 31ſt, in the evening, with their arms, colors flying, drums beating, and two ſmall pieces of cannon, and be conducted by Tongres, Vogelſanck, and Herenthal, to Antwerp.

The confederate army ſeparates.

The 3d of November, N. S. the confederate army ſeparated near Liege, and thereby put an end to a campain, glorious beyond expectation, in which a great number of places were taken, with an inconſiderable loſs, and in which the earl of Marlborough laid the ground-work, to the great ſucceſs and reputation he afterwards gained during this war (2).

The earl of Marlborough taken by a French party.

This campain, however happy, was ſucceeded by an accident, which had almoſt, at once, loſt the honor and advantage of it. The day the army ſeparated, the earl of Marlborough went to Maeſtricht, where he imbarked, the very ſame evening, on the Maeſe, for Holland. He had a detachment of twenty-five ſoldiers, commanded by a lieutenant, in the boat with him, to ſerve as a convoy. The next morning, he joined monſ. Cohorn, and they continued their paſſage together, having a company of ſixty men, in a larger boat before them. A troop of horſe, of ſixty men, was likewiſe ordered to ride along the banks of the river. The great boat, in which general Cohorn was, happen'd to out ſail the other in the night, and the troopers on ſhoar, at the ſame time, miſtook their way. The French had yet the town of Guelder in their hands; and a party of thirty-five men from thence, were lurking on the banks of the river, near three leagues below Venlo, waiting for an adventure. It was now between eleven and twelve o'clock, and the company being all aſleep, theſe men ſeized the rope by which the boat was towed, and hauled it to the ſhoar: they then made an immediate diſcharge of their ſmall arms and threw ſeveral grenadoes into the boat, by which ſome ſoldiers were wounded: this done, they enter'd and ſeiz'd the boat, and thoſe who were in it, before they could recover themſelves to make oppoſition.

But gets out of their hands again.

The earl's brother had taken a paſſport, which not being made uſe of, it remained in the hands of his ſecretary, and which now ſerved the earl. The date indeed was expired; but the calm and wonderful preſenſe of mind with which he produced it, together with the hurry they were in, favored by the night, happily prevented that from being diſcovered. They therefore only rifled the boat, ſearched the trunks and baggage, emptied them of what plate and other things of value they found, and took preſents from thoſe whom they believed were protected by their paſſes; and then, after having detained them ſeveral hours, and taken

(1) At the concluſion of this glorious action, a ſmall miſtake happen'd, which was fatal to ſome of the victors, who, firing ſome ſmall arms after they were in poſſeſſion of the place, gave occaſion to thoſe who were in the batteries to believe, that the enemy had rallied again, on the farther ſide of the citadel; upon which they poured in a whole ſhower of bombs, at random, which falling among friends and foes, did ſome damage before the miſtake was diſcovered.

The troops, and more particularly the Engliſh, all behaved with great bravery, and, beſide an immortal honor, got a very conſiderable booty, in gold and ſilver, notes upon ſubſtantial merchants in Liege (which were as good as mony) and plate. The loſs of the Engliſh (beſide mr. Wentworth, brother to the lord Raby, who went as volunteer) was one lieutenant-colonel, one major, three captains, and ſix ſubalterns ſlain, twenty-four officers wounded, 143 private ſoldiers killed, and 360 wounded. The enemy was computed to have had double that number kill'd and wounded, and beſide the loſs of thirty-ſix pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of arms and amunition, the governor and the duke of Charoſt, with the remainder of eight battalions, that were in the citadel, were made priſoners at diſcretion. Lediard's Life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 191.

(2) When the earl took the command of the army, he found it flying before the enemy; and hardly thought ſecure, tho' under the cannon of a conſiderable fortreſs: but no ſooner had he taken that command, than the pale-faced goddeſs, Fear, took up her abode with the enemy. They were as aſſiduous to avoid a battle, as he to ſeek it. They even neglected advantages they might have taken, and ſuffered him to undertake and execute juſt what he himſelf would. Lediard's Life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 195.

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their guard of foot-priſoners, they let them go, and ſo happily eſcaped the danger.

The governor of Venlo having early notice of his excellency's being taken, but not being informed of the circumſtances which followed, preſumed he was carried priſoner to Guelder; he therefore, with his whole gariſon, marched immediately to inveſt that place. This news coming likewiſe to the Hague, in the ſame imperfect manner, put the States under no ſmall conſternation. They immediately aſſembled, and reſolved to ſend orders to all their forces, to march immediately to Guelder, to threaten the gariſon with the utmoſt extremities, unleſs they ſhould deliver the priſoners, and never to leave the place till either they had taken it, or the general were ſet free. But, before theſe orders could be diſpatch'd, the earl of Marlborough came to the Hague, where he was received with inexpreſſible joy, not only by the States, but by the inhabitants, who began to look upon him as their guardian-angel, and upon that occaſion, ſo crouded the ſtreets, to give his excellency a hearty welcome, that it was not without great difficulty, he could get thro' them to his lodgings, to ſuch a degree was he beloved, and of ſo high eſteem was the name of Marlborough, with people of every condition.

Conſternation of the Dutch on this occaſion;

Removed by his arrival at the Hague.

The grand penſionary Heinſius, when he complimented him, in the name of the States, on his happy eſcape; ſaid, "that his captivity had well-nigh "inſlaved not only their provinces, but put it in "the power of France, to have extended her uncon-"troulable dominion over all Europe, by detaining "his perſon, whom they could not but look upon "as deſtined by providence, to be its inſtrument, in aſcertaining the liberty of the better part "of the Chriſtian world". To which his excellency made the following modeſt anſwer; "that "he ſhould always take pride in being ſerviceable "to the common cauſe, and their High-mightineſſes in particular; but he thought what had "been applied to him, in juſtice belonged to the "Queen, his miſtreſs, who, by God's aſſiſtance, "might be the inſtrument of the divine will; but "as for his part, it was glory ſufficient for him, "to be her Majeſty's agent."

The grand penſionary's compliment to the earl.

His modeſt anſwer.

Affairs of the Empire.

Prince Lewis of Baden, who commanded the Imperial army, in Germany, finding himſelf ſuperior to the enemy, laid ſiege to Landau, the ninth of June: but the place being ſtrong (1), and defended by a numerous gariſon, held out 'till the begining of September; when the Prince having informed the King of the Romans, that the town was upon the point of ſurrendring, his Majeſty came into the Imperial army, and was preſent when the gariſon beat a parly, the 10th of that month, and conſequently had the honor of the conqueſt.

Landau taken by the Imperialiſts.

To counterbalance this advantage, a few days before that place ſurrendered, the Elector of Bavaria, who had been a long time ſuſpected by the allies of being in the intereſt of France, ſurpriſed and took Ulm, a large and ſtrong Imperial city, the capital of the circle of Suabia (2); declared openly againſt the confederates, threatned the circles of Suabia and Franconia, in caſe they did not obſerve an exact neutrality, and, by his actions and declarations, ſtruck terror and amazement throughout the whole Empire. It appear'd alſo by ſome intercepted letters, that the Bavarians intended to penetrate into the Briſgow, with 10,000 men, and to have poſted themſelves on the Rhine, near Hunninghen, in order to join the French. However, by the diligence and valor of Prince Lewis of Baden, and the other Imperial generals, eſpecially at the bloody and unequal battle of Friedlingen, where the French were routed (3), all the indeavors of the French and Bavarians, to join each each other, were fruſtrated for this winter, and the former obliged to paſs the Rhine.

The elector of Bavaria ſeizes Ulm.

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The diet of the Empire was ſo incens'd at the treachery of the Elector of Bavaria, in ſeizing Ulm, that, after a warm debate thereupon, it was reſolved, by a plurality of voices, to declare war againſt the French King, and the duke d'Anjou, which was done accordingly; and a memorial was order'd to be drawn up, requeſting his Imperial Majeſty, to proceed againſt the Elector, according to the conſtitutions of the Empire. The miniſters of the Elector of Bavaria and Cologn were, hereupon, forbid appearing any more in the general diet; notwithſtanding which, the Elector of Bavaria proteſted againſt theſe proceedings of the general diet, and particularly againſt their declaration of war (4); but no regard was had to this proteſt: and for the Empire's declaration of war, it was publiſh'd and notified to the cardinal of Lamberg, the Emperor's commiſſioner, on the 30th of September, N. S. by the direction of the Elector of Mentz, in the name of the diet of Ratiſbon (5).

The Empire declares war againſt the French King, and the duke d'Anjou.

And now, the Empire having declared war againſt France, the diet came to a reſolution to maintain an army of 120,000 men; but how miſerably they fell ſhort of their quota, almoſt every year, the ſequel will too evidently ſhew.

The quota of the Empire.

Before I quit Germany, I muſt take notice, that towards the latter end of the year, count Tallard took the ſtrong caſtle of Traerbach, upon the river Moſel, after a ſtout reſiſtance; and, on the other ſide, the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel took Zinch, Lintz, Brizich and Audernach, all ſmall places which the French had poſſeſſed themſelves of upon the Rhine. Thus ſtood matters, at this time, in Germany.

The duke of Bavaria's declaring for France, ſo extreamly imbaraſs'd the Emperor, that he could not ſend the re-inforcements into Italy, which he had promiſed Prince Eugene, tho' he ſtood in great need of them: for King Philip of Spain, having firſt viſited his kingdom of Naples, afterwards joined the duke de Vendôme, in Lombardy. How-

Affairs of Italy.

(1) Landau is a ſmall but ſtrong city of Germany, in the lower circle and palatinate of the Rhine, once Imperial, but ſubject to the French after the treaty of Munſter. It ſtands on the river Queich, about eight miles ſouth of Neuſtadt, about thirteen weſt of Philipſburg, and about ſixteen ſouth-weſt of Spiers.

(2) This city, which is rich and populous, as well as large and ſtrong, is adorned with many ſtately edifices, and particularly with a cathedral reckoned the fineſt in Germany. It ſtands on the rivers Danube and Iller, near forty miles weſt of Augſburg, about fifty almoſt ſouth-weſt of Stutgard, and near ſixty almoſt north-eaſt of Conſtance.

(3) According to the account publiſh'd by the Imperialiſts, which they grounded upon the Prince of Baden's having gain'd his point, to prevent the conjunction of the Elector with the French. But monſ. de Villars, likewiſe, laid claim to the victory, becauſe he took Friedlingen the next day; and he was afterwards rewarded for it with a marſhal's ſtaff.

(4) The elector alledged, "that an offenſive war, like this, ought to be reſolved upon by common conſent, and not by "plurality of voices". To which it was anſwered, "that the King of France had attack'd the Empire, by invading, not "only in his own name, but in the name of the duke d'Anjou, his grandſon, ſeveral fiefs o the Empire in Italy, the archbiſhop-"rick of Cologn, and the dioceſe of Liege, as alſo by diſturbing the trade of the Rhine, and commiting ſeveral other hoſti-"lities which rendered this war defenſive, and not offenſive, on the ſide of the Empire. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 29.

(5) The occaſion of this defection of the electors of Bavaria and Cologn has been very differently reported: but the continuator of Rapin, in French, gives us one ſo very ſingular, that I cannot forbear mentioning it. He not only ſuppoſes it to proceed from a diſcontent at the crown of Spain's being loſt to their family, by the death of the Prince of Bavaria; but inſinuates, as if they thought there was ſomething myſterious in that Prince's premature death, and imagined foul play in the caſe, to make way for the houſe of Auſtria; and that they thereupon conceived ſuch a prejudice againſt the Imperial family. Book 26. p. 477.

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ever, Prince Eugene was not diſcouraged from attacking them, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of 40,000 of the enemy, againſt 25,000 of his troops. This he did the 15th of Auguſt, and, according to the German account, obtain'd the victory: but as the French gave out, that their army was victorious, and ſung Te Deum for it, as well as the Germans, I ſhall, for the ſatisfaction of the reader, give both their accounts.

The account given by the Imperialiſts of the battle of Luzara.

The battle of Luzara.

Upon ſeveral advices which we received, that the enemy advanced towards us, with their whole army, Prince Eugene ordered the trumpets to ſound to horſe, the 15th in the morning, and about ten o'clock he ordered the whole army to march towards Luzara.

Never were men ſeen to march with ſuch a zealous alacrity: both officers and ſoldiers, over-joyed, advanced with ſo much ſpeed, that our right wing ingaged before four in the afternoon, with the enemy's left, which they met near the Po. We fired ſo thick upon them, with our cannon, that we forced the enemy's army to make a halt, which gave our left wing time to advance, and range themſelves in order of battle.

About ſix o'clock, our right wing fell on, with an undaunted and wonderful courage, and was received very briſkly by the enemy. Both the one and the other fought with an extraordinary obſtinacy, neither of the parties being willing to loſe a foot of ground; 'till our left wing being ingaged, we overthrew the King's gens d'arms, and the Iriſh regiments, which ſo increaſed the courage of our men, that they forced the enemy to retreat 700 paces, leaving the field of battle, and their dead, in our poſſeſſion; tho' they were much ſuperior to us in number, and advantageouſly poſted. Their firing, which was extreamly thick and violent, laſted about two hours: but, at length, night parted the two armies, and put an end to the combat. Ours remained maſters of the field of battle, and poſted themſelves upon it, and the enemy retreated ſeveral hundreds of paces.

We may judge, by the enemy's loſs, which, as all the deſerters acknowledge, amounts to 10,000 men, with what courage both the armies fought. Our loſs is about 3000 killed and wounded. We lament extreamly the loſs of the Prince of Commerci, who, in the firſt onſet, was ſhot thro' the body, and fell down dead: the marquis Davia, who was abroad, with a party, returned in the heat of the combat, and took his opportunity ſo well, that he fell upon the enemy's baggage, on the other ſide of the army, and carried off, to Guaſtalla, as many horſes, mules, oxen and waggons, as poſſibly he could.

The account given by the French of the battle of Luzara.

French account of this battle.

The 15th of this month, about one o'clock in the morning, the army decamp'd from Teſta, without beating a march, or ſounding to horſe. The King of Spain was in the right wing, the count de Theſſe led the left, which made the van-guard, and the duke de Vendôme march'd before, with twenty-four companies of grenadiers, and two regiments of dragoons. He march'd with ſo much ſpeed, that by eight o'clock in the morning he arrived at Luzara, which the enemy had re-inforced the night before, for the ſecurity of their magazines. He ſummoned the commander to ſurrender, but he returned his anſwer in muſket-ſhot, by one of which the count de Seſane, was wounded in the arm; by which the duke de Vendôme judged, that the enemy was not far off, and, therefore, reſolved to incamp in that place. About noon, being ranging his men as they arrived, they ſaw the enemy drawn up in battle-array, with their cannon in front, and marching againſt our left wing, which extended it ſelf as far as the Po, in that part where they had a deſign to have built a bridge of communication. The duke de Vendôme ordered the brigades of Piemont, the marines, the regiment of Perche, and the brigades of Grancy and Sault, to advance; and the ſieur Albergotti, who was intruſted to poſt them, ordered they ſhould intrench themſelves forthwith, by the favor of a ſmall wood, and a mound upon the banks of the river Po: but the ground not permiting a ſecond line, the ſieur de Beſons drew up the regiments of cavalry of colonel-general de Montperoux, d'Uſez, du Borge, d'Anjou, Cavaillac, the dragoons of Savoy, and ſome other regiments, behind the ſaid infantry, to ſupport it. The dragoons of Senectaire, and a ſquadron of dragoons of Spain, were placed near the brigade of Piemont. The duke de Vendôme ſent cannon, which were placed on the mound, between the right and the left wing. In the mean time, the marquis de Crequi, lieutenant-general for the day, ranged the right wing in battle-array, according to the orders of the King of Spain, and the duke de Vendôme, who were in continual motion, commanding every where. About five o'clock, the enemy's whole army being arrived, their infantry in two lines, ſuſtained by their cavalry, march'd againſt our left wing, who tarried for them, without diſcharging one ſhot, 'till they came half as far as a fuſee would carry. The nature of the ground was ſuch, that, advancing, they laid their flank open to the regiment of Piemont, and the marine brigade, who fired continually on them, with ſo much vigor, that they were repulſed, leaving the ground covered with the ſlain. Within half an hour, they returned to the charge, and were ſtill repulſed. Then they brought on freſh troops, and charged the third time with the ſame ſucceſs. At length, the fourth time, they forc'd the Iriſh, and the regiments of Perche and Sault, to give a little ground; but the count de Beſons cauſing the regiments of the colonel-general Montperoux and of Bourbon, to march againſt the enemy, and which he led on ſeveral times to the charge, put a ſtop to their career. The regiment of Piemont preſerved their poſt, notwithſtanding the efforts of the enemy, who demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms, to recover the dead body of ſome perſon of quality, whoſe name we knew not. At the ſame time, almoſt, the fight began in our right wing, where the enemy were received with no leſs vigor and intrepidity, tho' all the troops, that were to have compoſed it were not yet arrived. The marquis de Crequi was mortally wounded, in the firſt charge, and died yeſterday, lamented by the whole army. The count d'Eſtrades, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, took a ſtandard from the enemy. The dragoons of the Dauphin, of Lautruch, and Languedoc gained two pieces of cannon. The battle continued, in this manner, 'till an hour before night, with ſuch an extraordinary firing of the ſmall ſhot, that the oldeſt officers in the army acknowledged they had never ſeen the like. At length, the enemy retired to the banks of the Zero, where they incamp'd: they had between 5 and 6000 men, or more, killed or wounded, on this occaſion, and ſeveral of their principal officers, which is confirm'd by the report of all their deſerters. In the confederate army, there were about 2500 kill'd or wounded, with ſeveral other officers of quality. The marquis de Montandre, colonel of the marine regiment, the count de Ronel, a reformed colonel, the ſieur de Vandeville, and the ſieur d'Arenes, brother to the major-general, were ſlain. The duke de Leſdiguiers, the marquis de Mongon, de Grancy, de Montperoux, de Liguerac, and the lieutenant-colonel of Piemont were wounded, and the count de Theſſe received a contuſion. All the

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the general officers ſignalized themſelves, by their conduct and by their reſolution. The King of Spain, being willing to incourage the ſoldiers, by his preſenſe, expoſed himſelf, ſeveral times, to the fire of the cannon and ſmall ſhot, and remained all this day and yeſterday, almoſt forty hours together, without ſleeping, or hardly eating. The duke de Vendôme, who was preſent every where, performed all the duties of a general, being always in the greateſt danger. It was thought, the enemy's deſign was to ſave their magazines in Luzara, to make themſelves maſters of a particular part of the river, where, by the conveniency of an iſland, a bridge might be made, by the French, to preſerve their communication with the army of the Prince de Vaudemont, and to make the beſt of the advantage which the ground afforded them, covered with trees, and inter-cut with ditches, cauſe-ways and hedges. But the conduct of the duke de Vendôme, and the valor of the ſoldiers, broke all their meaſures. We are now at work, without interruption, upon cutting off the bridges, that preſerve their communication with Berſello. Yeſterday the gariſon of Luzara, conſiſting of 400 foot, and 150 horſe; ſurrender'd at diſcretion, &c.

Notwithſtanding both ſides, we ſee, boaſted of the victory; the Germans, as they ſay, becauſe they remained upon the field of battle, the French having retreated ſome hundred paces; and the French becauſe they made themſelves maſters of Luzara, the next day, being intrench'd between that place and Prince Eugene's army: neither of them thought fit to renew the ingagement, but contented themſelves with the honor they had gained: and the truth ſeems to be, that night put an end to the battle, and the French thought fit to retreat under favor of it. Prince Eugence certainly did far more than could be expected from him, all circumſtances conſidered; for he was ſtrangely neglected by the court of Vienna; and the French and Spaniards, notwithſtanding this battle, continuing much more numerous, diſlodged the Imperialiſts, afterwards, from ſeveral ſmall places; with which the campain in Italy ended. I come now to maritime affairs, which were, this year, pretty conſiderable.

Maritime affairs.

Towards the concluſion of the foregoing book, I gave the reader an account, that ſir George Rooke had detach'd ſir John Munden, with a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, to ſee the ſquadron, bound to the Weſt-Indies, well into ſea. This Weſt-India-ſquadron was commanded by vice-admiral Bembow, and conſiſted of two third and eight fourth-rates. He left ſir George Rooke off of Scilly, the ſecond of September 1701, and, on the twenty-eighth, made St. Maries, one of the Azores, or Weſtern-iſlands, where, calling the flag-officers and captains on board, he communicated his inſtructions to them.

Vice-admiral Bembow's expedition to the Weſt-Indies.

Not to follow the vice-admiral, in his voyage to ſeveral parts of the Weſt-indies, where no action of note happened, I ſhall only briefly obſerve; that ſir John Munden, with his ſquadron, left him, the tenth of October, and made the beſt of his way for England; that towards the latter end of January 1702, he was joined, at Jamaica, by one fourth, one fifth, and one ſixth-rate, a bomb-veſſel, a hulk, a fire-ſhip, and three veſſels with naval ordnance-ſtores, to which two fire-ſhips were added, by the governor and council of Jamaica; that in May he was joined by rear-admiral Whetſton; and that ſeveral of his detach'd ſhips, and ſquadrons, took a good number of prizes from the enemy. Having premiſed this, I come now to the only memorable action which happened during this expedition, I mean the vice-admiral's ingagement with monſ. du Caſſe's ſquadron.

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The eleventh of July, the vice-admiral ſet ſail from Port-royal, with two third-rates, ſix fourth-rates, one fire-ſhip, a bomb-veſſel, a tender and a ſloop, deſigning to join the rear-admiral, who was ſent out before, on the cruiſe: but geting advice, by the Colcheſter and Pendennis, that monſ. du Caſſe was expected at Logane, he made for that port; where arriving, the twenty-ſeventh, he ſaw ſeveral ſhips at anchor near the town, and one, which was under ſail, was taken by his boat. He purſued a man of war, of fifty guns, but with thirty only mounted, which ran a ſhore and blew up. The next morning, three other French ſhips were taken, which, together with a ſloop, were ſent to Port-royal, with the Colcheſter: a fourth, of ſixteen guns was ſunk, and a ſhip of eighteen guns being haul'd under a fort, which had twelve guns mounted, the boats were ſent in, and had not only the good fortune to burn her down to the ground, but brought off ſeveral other ſhips, laden with wine, brandy and other merchandizes.

He goes in purſuit of monſ. du-Caſſe's ſquadron.

He arrived, not long after, in a bay of cape Donna Maria, on the weſt end of Hiſpaniola, where he was informed, that monſ. du Caſſe was gone to Carthagena, and was bound from thence to Puerto Bello. He reſolved, therefore, to ſail to that coaſt, with two third-rates, and four fourth-rates; rear-admiral Whetſtone (who had taken a French man of war of eighteen guns, and two ſloops) being returned to Jamaica, with inſtructions, for the ſafety of that iſland. The tenth of Auguſt, he ſet ſail, and ſtretching over towards Santa-martha, on the nineteenth, in the afternoon, he diſcovered ten ſail, near that place, ſteering weſtward along ſhoar, under their top-ſails: four of them were from ſixty to ſeventy guns, one a great Dutch-built ſhip, of about thirty or forty, another full of ſoldiers, three ſmall veſſels, and a ſloop. The vice-admiral coming up with them, about four the ingagement began. He had diſpoſed his line of battle in the following manner, viz. the Defiance, Pendennis, Windſor, Breda, Greenwich, Ruby, and Falmouth; but two of theſe ſhips, the Defiance and Windſor, did not ſtand above two or three broadſides, before they looſ'd out of gun-ſhot; ſo that the two ſternmoſt ſhips of the enemy lay on the admiral, and gall'd him very much; nor did the ſhips in the rear come up to his aſſiſtance, with the diligence they ought to have done. The fight laſted, however, till dark, and tho' the firing then ceaſed, the vice-admiral kept them company all night (1). The next morning, at break of day, he was near the French ſhips, but none of his ſquadron, excepting the Ruby, were with him; the reſt being three, four, or five miles a-ſtern, notwithſtanding which the French did not fire a gun at the vice-admiral, tho' he was within their reach. At two in the afternoon, the French drew into a line; tho', at the ſame time, they made what ſail they could to avoid fighting. However, the vice-admiral and the Ruby kept them company, all night, plying their chaſe-guns.

The enemy's ſquadron diſcovered.

The ingagement begins.

Cowardice or treachery of ſome captains.

Thus the vice-admiral continued purſuing, and, at times, ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, for four days more; but was never duly ſeconded by ſeveral of the ſhips of his ſquadron.

The French purſued.

(1) The admiral believing, that if he led himſelf, on all tacks (perceiving the French would decline fighting if they could) that thoſe captains, for ſhame, would not fail to follow a good example, he ordered the following line of battle: The Breda, of ſeventy-guns, vice-admiral Bembow and captain Fogg; Defiance, of ſixty-four, captain Richard Kirby; Windſor, of ſixty, captain John Conſtable; Greenwich, of fifty-four, captain Cooper Wade; Ruby, of forty-eight, captain George Walton: Pendennis, of forty-eight, captain Thomas Hudſon: and the Falmouth, of forty-eight, captain Samuel Vincent.

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The twenty-third, about noon, the admiral took from them a ſmall Engliſh ſhip, called the Anngally, which they had taken off of Liſbon; and the Ruby being diſabled he ordered her to Port-royal. About eight at night, the whole ſquadron was up with the vice-admiral, and the enemy not two miles off. There was now a proſpect of doing ſomething, and the vice-admiral made the beſt of his way after them; but his whole ſquadron, except the Falmouth, fell a-ſtern again. At two in the morning, the twenty-fourth, the vice-admiral came up with the enemy's ſternmoſt ſhip, and fired his broadſide, which was returned by the French ſhip, very briſkly; and, about three, the vice-admiral's right leg was broken to pieces by a chain-ſhot. He was carried down; but ſoon after ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck; and the fight was continued till day-light, when one of the enemy's-ſhips, of ſeventy guns, was diſcerned to be very much diſabled; her main-yard being down, and ſhot to pieces; her fore-top-ſail-yard ſhot away, her mizzen-maſt ſhot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her ſides bored to pieces, with our double-headed ſhot. In this fight not a ſhip ſtood by the admiral but the Falmouth, the Ruby being ſent away, as I have ſaid above. And when day appeared, the French bearing towards our ſquadron, with a ſtrong eaſterly wind, the cowardly or treacherous captains behaved as ſhamefully, ſuffering the French to tow off their diſabled ſhip, when the vice-admiral, who was within half gun-ſhot of her, might, with a little of their aſſiſtance, eaſily have carried her off.

The vice admiral's leg broke.

Shameful behavior of ſome captains.

The vice-admiral, being very uneaſy at theſe ſhameful proceedings, ordered the captains on board: but finding he had no reaſon to hope any better behavior from them (1), he thought it high time to return to Jamaica, where he ſoon after joined the reſt of his ſquadron, with rear-admiral Whetſtone.

The vice-admiral returns to Jamaica.

The 20th of September, the York and the Norwich arrived at Jamaica, with a ſupply of ſtores and proviſions; and the neceſſary preparations being made, the captains, who had failed ſo ſcandalouſly in the performance of their duty, were brought to their trials, on the 6th of October, at a court-marſhal, in which, rear-admiral Whetſtone preſided; and, after ſeveral days ſpent in examining witneſſes, and hearing what they could alledge, in their juſtification, ſentence was pronounced againſt them, according to their deſerts (2).

The captains tried before a court-martial.

And condemned.

The fourth of November, the vice-admiral died, upon which the command of the ſquadron devolved on rear-admiral Whetſtone, who having made what diſpatch he could, in refiting the ſhips, left part of them at Jamaica, for the ſecurity of the iſland, and with the remainder cruiſed on the north and ſouth ſides of Hiſpaniola; where we ſhall leave him, to take a view of tranſactions nearer home.

In the month of April, information was given to the earl of Nottingham, one of her Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, that about 2000 men were raiſed in Spain, and deſign'd for the Weſt-indies, with the duke of Albuquerque who was going vice-roy to Mexico, and that it was determined, he ſhould be at the Groyne, on or about the 8th of May, N. S. where the ſoldiers were to imbark, when the French ſhips, deſign'd for that purpoſe, arrived. The intercepting of thoſe ſhips and troops being deemed an important piece of ſervice, the earl of Pembroke (purſuant to a reſolution of the cabinet-council) ſent orders to ſir John Munden, rear-admiral of the red, on the 5th of May, to take eight third-rate ſhips, at Spithead, together with two fire-ſhips, and to man them immediately out of other ſhips there and at Portſmouth, that they might be fit for ſervice. This done, he was ordered, with the firſt fair wind, to repair to ſuch a ſtation off of the Groyne, where he might receive intelligence of the enemy.

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Sir John Munden's attempt to deſtroy ſome French ſhips at the Groyne.

The 12th of May, ſir John got clear of the land, with eight third-rates, a fourth-rate, called the Saliſbury, and two ſmall frigats, and then he firſt communicated to the ſeveral captains, the ſervice they were going upon. He no ſooner made the land of Galicia, than he ſent the Saliſbury and Dolphin into the ſhoar, for intelligence, and the next day he came to the appointed rendezvous, about fifteen leagues, N. W. from Cape-Prior, from whence, according to a reſolution taken with the captains, they ſtood ſo near in, that they might plainly ſee the Groyne, which was about four in the afternoon, and then ſtood off again for the rendezvous.

The Dolphin and Saliſbury not coming back, as ſoon as was expected, a council of war was held, the 18th.

The 25th, at night, the vice-admiral ſent in a ſmack, with the Saliſbury and the Dolphin, who, the next morning, brought off a Spaniſh boat, together with a French bark, and ſeveral priſoners, from whom they got intelligence, that there were thirteen French men of war bound from Rochel to the Groyne.

Intelligence of the enemy.

Upon this advice, ſir John carried a preſs'd ſail, to get to the windward, in order to intercept them, before they could harbor themſelves; and, on the 27th, he communicated his deſign to the captains, that they might prepare for battle. The next morning early, he diſcovered fourteen ſail, between Cape-Prior and Cape-Ortegal, to which he immediately gave chaſe; but they were too nimble for him, and got into the Groyne, before he could poſſibly come up to attack them; upon which, he called the captains together, who having taken all circumſtances into conſideration, and finding it impracticable to attack the French ſhips, in the harbor of the Groyne; and, beſide, their water being near ſpent, and the ſhips having received damage by bad weather, it was reſolved, the 29th of June, to repair into port, to refit, eſpecially, as the nine ſhips of the line of battle wanted three fifths of the number of men, they ſhould have had, according to the then eſtabliſhment.

They are purſued in vain.

The ſquadron returns to England.

(1) The captain of the Defiance, in a very odd manner, indeavored to diſſuade him from renewing the ingagement, ſince he had (as he alledged) tried the enemy's ſtrength with ſo little ſucceſs, for ſix days together; and moſt of the other captains gave it as their opinion, that it was not adviſeable to continue the fight, tho' they were then, on the enemy's broad-ſides, with the faireſt opportunity of ſucceſs that had yet offered. And beſide, our ſtrength was then one ſhip of ſeventy-guns, one of ſixty-four, one of ſixty, one of fifty-four, and two of forty-eight, with their maſts, yards, and every thing elſe, in as good a condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ſhip. Nor was there any want of ammunition: whereas the enemy had no more than four ſhips of force, from ſixty to ſeventy-guns, one of which was diſabled, and in tow. Lediard's Nav. Hiſt. Vol. 2. p. 745.

(2) Kirby and Wade, captains of the Defiance and Greenwich, were ſentenced to be ſhot to death, which was executed, at their return, on board the Briſtol man of war, at Plymouth, without their being ſuffered to land: captain Conſtable, of the Windſor, was caſhiered, and ſentenced to be impriſoned, during her Majeſty's pleaſure; captain Hudſon of the Pendennis, died ſome days before he was to have been brought on his trial: and the vice-admiral's own captain, Fogg, with captain Vincent, of the Falmouth, were ſuſpended: but the ſuſpenſion was ſoon taken off, by orders from the lord high-admiral. Annals of Queen Ann.

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A great clamor on that account.

The return of this ſquadron, without having effected any thing, occaſion'd a great clamor; for tho' the rear-admiral, and all the captains in his ſquadron, did unanimouſly conclude, that at leaſt twelve of the fourteen ſhips, which they chaſed into the Groyne, were men of war; yet it was afterwards known, that there were no more than eight ſhips of force, and the reſt tranſports for the ſoldiers. It was, therefore, thought neceſſary to have this matter thoroughly examined into, by a court marſhal. Accordingly his royal highneſs (who was now entered on the office of lord high admiral) iſſued his orders for that purpoſe, to ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, admiral of the white, who ſummoning a court at Spithead, the 13th of July, they came to ſeveral reſolutions (1), after having taken the articles exhibited againſt ſir John Munden under examination, in the preſence of nineteen captains; by which reſolutions ſir John was fully acquitted.

The affair examined by a court-martial.

Sir John acquited.

I come now to the principal maritime tranſactions of this year, the unſucceſsful expedition to Cadiz, which, however, was followed by the more ſucceſsful attack of the Spaniſh gallions at Vigo.

The expedition to Cadiz.

No ſooner was war declared againſt France and Spain, than all poſſible diligence was uſed to fit out a formidable fleet: and as it was known, that the French were preparing for hoſtilities, it was reſolved, if poſſible, to be beforehand with them, and to ſend a conſiderable ſquadron on an expedition to Cadiz, in conjunction with the Dutch. The conduct of this expedition was deſign'd for the earl of Pembroke (as lord high-admiral,) had not his royal highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, been appointed to that office, as I have ſaid above, but it was now commited to ſir George Rooke (2), who, beſide the command of the fleet, was appointed vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the fleets, and ſeas of this kingdom; and the duke of Ormond, as I have ſaid before, general of the land-forces, which conſiſted according to ſome, of 7000 Engliſh and 5000 Dutch, all very well appointed: tho' ſome accounts make them but 10,000 in all (3).

Sir George Rook admiral;

Arrives with the great ſhips at Spithead.

The 30th of May, the admiral, on board the Royal-Sovereign, having the union-flag on the maintop maſt-head, came to Spithead, together with ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, on board the Queen, and the great ſhips that lay at the Nore. At the ſame time, rear-admiral Fairborn arrived there from Ireland, with a ſquadron of men of war, having on board four regiments of foot, being part of the land-forces abovementioned.

The fleet proceeds to ſea.

The firſt of June, the duke of Ormond, with admiral Churchill and ſir Henry Bellaſis, arrived at Portſmouth; where his royal highneſs the Prince came the next day, and the day following, reviev'd the forces which lay incamp'd in the Iſle of Wight. The 4th he took a view of the whole fleet, and honor'd ſir George Rooke, with his preſenſe at dinner, on board the Royal-Sovereign. The 19th, the fleet weigh'd from Spithead, and came to an anchor, at St. Helens. The 22d, rear-admiral Fairborn and rear-admiral Graydon were detach'd, with thirty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, firſt to look into the Groyne, and if they ſaw any ſquadron of French ſhips there to block them up; but if they found none, to cruize off of Cape Finiſterre, at ten or twelve leagues diſtance north-weſt; but the body of the fleet did not reach the Start, till the 21ſt of July (4).

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The next day, they got off of the Deadman, from whence continuing their courſe croſs the bay of Biſcay, with little wind, northerly, they reached the ſtation for joining rear-admiral Fairborn, on the 30th. The laſt of July, the Lime-frigate was ſent to the Groyne in queſt of admiral Fairborn, and returned the 3d of Auguſt, with advice, that neither he, nor any of the French fleet, were in the Groyne, he having been driven from Cape Finiſterre, by contrary winds, and was working up to it again. Sir George hereupon made a ſignal for all the flag and land general-officers, to come on board him to a council, in which it was agreed, to bear away towards Liſbon, to meet him.

Arrives on the coaſt of Portugal.

About one, in the afternoon, they bore away, and, about two, the Plymouth came into the fleet, with advice, that admiral Fairborn, with his ſquadron, was about nine leagnes, S. W. from thence, and that captain Norris, in the Orford, had taken three French prizes, and the Dutch two. The 7th, the admiral made the ſignal for all the cruiſers to come in, and ſent off the Lime-frigate for intelligence. The next morning, the Orford came into the fleet, from admiral Fairborn, as the admiral himſelf did, with his ſquadron, about noon, after having been reduced to great ſtreights for want of proviſions. Soon after, the whole fleet made the rock of Liſbon, towards which place ſir George ſent the Kent and Pembroke frigats. On the 9th they return'd, and the admiral and general having received all the advice they could from mr. Methuen, her Majeſty's envoy at Liſbon, and the Prince of Heſſe, concerning the ſtate of Cadiz, a council of war, of land and ſea-officers was held, the 11th, in which it was determined to put, that night, a detachment of grenadiers, on board two or three frigats, to be ſet on ſhoar near Rota, on a diſcovery. The 12th, in the morning, ſir George made his ſignal to draw up in a line of battle, and ſteer'd away for Cadiz, which, by noon, he had about ſix leagues diſtant. About five, the ſame afternoon, the fleet anchored in the bay of Bulls, about two leagues from Cadiz, Rota bearing N. by E. and Cadiz, E. N. E. (5). The French men of war, and the

Several French prizes taken.

Admiral Fairborn's ſquadron joins the fleet.

The fleet arrives at Cadiz.

(1) Biſhop Burnet (having before ſuppoſed him faulty) ſays, they acquited him, indeed, ſome excuſing themſelves, by ſaying that if they had condemned him the puniſhment was death; whereas, they thought his errors flowed from a want of ſenſe; ſo that it would have been hard to condemn him, for a defect of that which nature had not given him. Thoſe who recommended him to the imployment (continues the biſhop, who had before ſaid it was ſir George Rooke) ſeemed to be more in fault. This acquital raiſed ſuch an outcry, that the Queen ordered him to be broke. Hiſtory of his own times,

(2) Biſhop Burnet, who ſeems to have been no very great friend of ſir George's, ſays, he ſpoke ſo coldly of the deſign he went upon, before he ſailed, that thoſe who converſed with him were apt to infer, that he intended to do the enemy as little harm as poſſible. To divert the deſign (ſays the biſhop) ſir George himſelf was to go upon, he wrote up, from St. Helen's, that the Dutch fleet was victual'd only to the middle of September; ſo they being then in July, no great deſign could be undertaken, when ſo large a part of the fleet was ſo ill provided. When the Dutch admiral heard of this, he ſent to their embaſſador, to complain to the Queen, of this miſ-information; for he was victual'd till the middle of December. Hiſt. of his own times.

(3) By a particular liſt, which the reader will find in the appendix to the firſt volume of the annals of Queen Ann, it appears that the Engliſh were, including officers, nine thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſixty-three; and the Dutch three thouſand, nine hundred and twenty-four, excluſive of officers; and therefore together, thirteen thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven, without the Dutch officers.

(4) They were, for ſome time (ſays biſhop Burnet) ſtopp'd by contrary winds, accidents, and pretenſes, many of which were thought to be ſtrained and ſought for. Hiſt. of his own times,

(5) Biſhop Burnet ſays, ſir George Rooke had laid no diſpoſition beforehand how to proceed upon his coming thither: that ſome days were loſt on pretenſe of ſeeking for intelligence; that it was certain our court had a falſe account of the ſtate the place was in, both with relation to the gariſon and fortifications: and that the gariſon was much ſtronger, and the fortifications were in better caſe than was repreſented: however, by the account given ſir George by mr. Methuen from Liſbon, the deſign might very probably have ſucceeded, had the attempt been immediately made, in the firſt ſurprize, upon the arrival of the confederate-fleet. Hiſt. of his own times

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gallies, which lay in the bay, retired within the Puntals: and if we may believe biſhop Burnet, it had been an eaſy matter, to have followed them, in the ſurprize, and to have taken or burnt them; "which (adds my author) Fairborn offered to "execute; but Rooke and the reſt of this crea-"tures, did not approve of it.

The 13th, an hour before day, the duke of Ormond ſent ſir Thomas Smith, quarter-maſter-general, with ſeveral ingineers, and officers to view the backſide of the iſland of Leon, to ſound the ſhoar, and to find out the moſt convenient place to make a deſcent, between the iſland of St. Pedro, and the town of Cadiz: and ſir Thomas brought his grace the report; that there was one large and two ſmaller bays, very proper to make a deſcent (1).

A council of war, of the flag and general-officers, was hereupon held, in which his grace the duke of Ormond, was of opinion, to land immediately in the iſland of Leon, the better to take advantage of the fright and diſorder into which the ſudden arrival of the confederate fleet had caſt the city of Cadiz. In this council of war (ſays biſhop Burnet) in which their inſtructions were read, it was propoſed to conſider, how they ſhould put them in execution. O Haro, one of the general-officers, made a long ſpeech againſt landing: he ſhewed how deſperate an attempt it would prove, and how different they found the ſtate of the place, from the repreſentation made of it in England. The greater number agreed with him, and all that the duke of Ormond could ſay, to the contrary, was of no effect. Rook (continues the biſhop) ſeemed to be of the ſame mind with the duke, but all his dependents were of another opinion, ſo this was thought to be a piece of craft in him. In concluſion, the council of war came to a reſolution, not to make a deſcent on the iſland of Cadiz; and without any regard had to the report made by ſir Thomas Smith, they adhered to this reſolution, nor were there any orders given for bombarding the town. The ſea was, for the moſt part, very high while they lay there, but it was ſo calm for one day, that the ingineers believed they could have done much miſchief, had they had orders for it: and, indeed (ſays Burnet) it appeared very evidently, that they intended to do nothing but rob St. Mary's. A landing on the continent was, as I have ſaid, reſolved on; and, the ſame afternoon a boat was ſent to Cadiz, from the admiral, with a flag of truce, and ſome declarations. The duke of Ormond wrote a letter, at the ſame time, to the governor of that place, with whom he had been acquainted in the late wars in Flanders, to invite him to ſurrender, whoſe anſwer, however, gave no great proſpect of it. At five, the fleet weigh'd and came to an anchor in ten fathom water, Rota bearing N. by E. and St. Sebaſtians, S. E. by S. about three miles off ſhoar. That evening, ſir George Rooke made a ſignal for a general-council of war; and, on the 15th, the forces began to land.

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Objections made againſt landing.

Reſolved not to land on the iſle of Cadiz;

But on the continent.

The Spaniards oppoſed the landing of our troops, with a body of horſe: but the lieutenant-general, who commanded them, being kill'd in the action, ſome of them were taken priſoners, and the reſt put to flight (2). The landing proved, however, very difficult, the wind being high, and the ſea beating on the ſhoar with ſuch violence that thirty boats were overſet, and ſeveral men drown'd, while others were oblig'd to ſwim on ſhoar, or wade up to the neck. The Dutch likewiſe received ſome damage from their fort, St. Katherine's; but the Lenox, one of the third-rate men of war, commanded by captain Jumper, bringing her broad-ſide to bear, ſoon obliged them to retire. Our ſmall frigats, in the mean time, driving them from their batteries on the left, the Dutch poſſeſs'd themſelves of the cannon mounted upon them.

The 16th, the forces marched towards Rota, which ſurrendered without ſtriking a blow, and the general taking his quarters, in the caſtle, the army incamped before the place. The town of Rota taken.

While theſe things were doing on ſhoar, a council of war of flag-officers was held on board the Liberty, to conſult how the bombardment of Cadiz might be moſt effectually put in execution. The field-pieces, with four mortars, and proper ammunition, as alſo the dragoons and train-horſes being put on ſhoar, between the 17th and the 19th, the next day, the army marched to port St. Mary's, which they found deſerted by the inhabitants, but full of riches (3); with which the ſoldiers made very free, and had their ſwing of plunder for ſeveral days; the plenty of wine found there, having, as it was ſaid, in juſtification of the officers, render'd them ungovernable (4). Port St. Mary's plunder'd.

The 22d, a party was ſent back, under the command of colonel Pierce, from port St. Mary's, to St. Katherine's fort, which ſurrender'd after ſome oppoſition. No farther action happen'd, but a fruit- St. Katherine's fort taken.

(1) While this was doing (ſays biſhop Burnet) the officers, by the taking of ſome boats, came to know, that thoſe of Cadiz had ſent over the beſt of their goods, and other effects, to the port of St. Mary's, an open town, over againſt it, on the continent of Spain; ſo that here was good plunder to be had eaſily; whereas the landing on the iſle of Cadiz, was like to prove dangerous, and, as ſome made them believe, impracticable. Hiſt. of his own times.

(2) A grenadier of the Engliſh-guard who killed the Spaniſh-general, being afterwards admited to the duke of Ormond's preſenſe, offer'd his grace the ring, which the Spaniard wore on his finger: but he not only returned it to the ſoldier, and bid him keep it; but, pulling ſome pieces of gold out of his pocket, gave them him as a farther incouragement. Life of Queen Ann, Vol. I. p. 105.

(3) Both officers and ſoldiers (ſays biſhop Burnet) ſet themſelves with great courage againſt this tempting but harmleſs enemy. Some of the general officers ſet a very ill example to all the reſt; chiefly O. Haro and Bellaſis. The duke of Ormond tried to hinder it; but did not exert his authority. Hiſt. of his own times.

The firſt night was ſpent by the half famiſh'd and thirſty ſoldiers in the cellars of rich wines they had found out. The next day, their licentiouſneſs being heighten'd by the fumes of their liquor, they proceeded to rifle and pillage the houſes, in a moſt outrageous manner, not contenting themſelves to take moveables, but breaking and ſpoiling what they could not carry away. And as this booty would have been of no uſe to them, unleſs they could ſecure it on board the fleet, they called the ſeamen to their aſſiſtance, who from ſeconds ſoon became principals, and pilfered whatever they could lay hands on, with more eagerneſs, than the others. Nor did the plundering ſtop here. For the officers of the army themſelves thought it prudence, to ſhare the ſweetneſs and profit of a miſdemeanor, which they could not hinder: nay, ſome went ſo far as to think themſelves intitled by their eminent ſtations, to ingroſs the greater part of the booty. For which purpoſe, they ſet guards on the avenues, and ſtop'd all the meaner ſort, that were carrying goods to the fleet, with which they ſtored their own magazines, and afterwards retailed them for ready mony. Some churches fared no better than private houſes, being deſpoiled of their moſt precious ornaments. Inſomuch that the damage done the enemy was computed at three millions ſterling. The duke of Ormond (who had ſtrictly forbid plundering) ſo highly reſented the breach of his commands, that ſir Henry Bellaſis, and ſir Charles O Haro were afterwards put under arreſt for it. Annals of Queen Ann.

(4) It has been farther ſaid in extenuation of the irregularities commited there, that the duke of Ormond having ſent a letter to the governor of port St. Mary's, he returned a rude and unbecoming anſwer, in a paper unſealed, and no name ſubſcribed to it, in theſe words: Nos otros eſpanoles, no mudamos de religion, ni de Rey. (We Spaniards never change either our religion or our King.) Lediard's Naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 751.

leſs

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leſs attempt of baron Spar's on the Matagorda, an inconſiderable fort over againſt the Puntals (1); ſo the forces being all re-imbark'd, it was reſolved, in a general council, of ſea and land-officers, that the fleet ſhould take the firſt opportunity of returning for England (2). From which reſolution none diſſented but the duke of Ormond and baron Spar.

The deſign abandon'd.

The fleet ſails.

The 18th of September, the admiral made a ſignal to weigh, having a fine land-breeze: but (if we may give credit to biſhop Burnet) ſome of the ſhips-crews were ſo imployed, in bringing on board and beſtowing the plunder, that they did not take the neceſſary care to furniſh themſelves with freſh water (3). The wind ſlackening, the fleet did not ſail till the 19th, having, the ſame day, ſent a flag of truce to Port St. Mary's, with all the French and Spaniſh priſoners, which were unredeemed, to the number of 230, for which the Spaniards returned thirty-two men, which they had of the confederates. They plied ſome days, with an eaſy and variable wind, during which time, two letters were ſent from mr. Methuen, his Majeſty's envoy at Liſbon, one to the duke of Ormond, the other to ſir George Rooke, by which he aſſured them, that the King of Portugal would willingly aſſiſt in any thing that ſhould be deſired, not only in that port, but in any other ports of his dominions. A general council was thereupon called, the 22d, but it was reſolved to adhere to their former reſolution (4). The 23d, the diſpoſition was made for the ſquadron to be ſent to the Weſt-Indies, which being compleated, on the 24th, the admiral made his ſignal for them to depart. This ſquadron conſiſted of ſix men of war, and twelve tranſports, having four regiments on board, and was commanded by captain Walker, in the Burford.

A ſquadron detach'd to the Weſt-Indies.

The ſame day, being off of Cape St. Vincent, the Engliſh flag-officers took into conſideration ſeveral clauſes in her Majeſty's inſtructions (5), relating to the wintering of ſeveral of the great ſhips abroad; but it was concluded not to be adviſeable for ſeveral reaſons.

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Sir George Rook, with the fleet, being on their paſſage to England, ſent, the 21ſt of September, the Eagle, the Sterling-caſtle, and the Pembroke, with ſome tranſports, to water in Lagos-bay. They arrived there, the next day, and the land-officers, who were on board the Pembroke, going immediately on ſhoar, they got intelligence, that the Spaniſh plate-fleet, with a good convoy of French-men of war, had put in at Vigo, a port in Gallicia (6). This intelligence being made known to captain Hardy (afterwards ſir Thomas, and a flag-officer, commander of the Pembroke) he communicated it to captain Wiſhart, commander of the Eagle, and of the whole ſquadron. There was immediately a conſultation of captains held, in which it was reſolved, that this news being of ſuch vaſt importance, a ſhip ſhould be ſent to acquaint the admiral with it, and as captain Hardy's was the beſt ſailer, and he was maſter of the intelligence, he was pitch'd upon to ſail a-head, to find out the fleet: which, after having ſurmounted inexpreſſible difficulties, he had the good fortune to do, the 6th (or as ſome accounts ſay the 7th) of October The admiral was no ſooner informed of the news, than he imparted it to the Dutch admiral, and having declared it to be his opinion, that the fleet ſhould directly ſail for Vigo, he readily concurr'd: and, the next day, it was agreed, in a council of flag-officers, that in regard the attempting and deſtroying the French and Spaniſh ſhips, at Vigo, would be of great advantage to her Majeſty, and no leſs honorable to her and her allies, as alſo tend, in a great meaſure, to reduce the exorbitant power of France, the fleet ſhould make the beſt of their way to that port, and fall upon them immediately, with the whole line, if there were room ſufficient for it, otherwiſe attack the enemy with ſuch detachments, as might render the enterprize moſt effectual and ſucceſsful.

Intelligence of the Spaniſh plate-fleet.

It is reſolved to attempt them.

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(1) The diſappointment of the nation's hopes from this expedition was certainly, in a great meaſure, owing to the miſmanagement and want of diſcipline, at port St. Mary's. To fall upon a people (ſays the author of the life of Queen Ann) in that manner, whom they ſhould have treated as friends, to raviſh the nuns, plunder private houſes, and even churches, was ſuch an effectual method of provoking that bigoted people, that no ſucceſs was to be expected afterwards, but what was to be obtained by downright force. Vol. I. p. 113.

(2) The reaſons alledg'd, for this reſolution, were the oppoſition and obſtinacy of the Spaniards, in Andaluſia, againſt the houſe of Auſtria; the difficulties which might be expected from the ſeaſon of the year; the averſion that they might reaſonably expect to find from the people of any other part of Spain (which by the by, their behavior at port St. Mary's had raiſed) the want of intelligence, which the army had been wholly deſtitute of, from the time they landed; a ſcarcity of proviſions for the Dutch troops, which they pretended could not be ſupplied from their ſhips, longer than a month; the leſſening of the army, by the detachment which was to be ſent to the Weſt-Indies, with captain Walker, and the inconvenience which might ariſe from ſickneſs; theſe, I ſay, were the pretended motive, for abandoning this deſign in a manner that gave occaſion to much cenſure. Lediard's Naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 752.

(3) As we are now come to a concluſion of this unſucceſsful expedition, let us hear what the French and Spaniards ſay of it. The confederate fleets of England and Holland (ſays F. Daniel) made an attempt, this year, upon Cadiz; but, after having been at a very great expence, in the preparations for this enterprize, were repulſed, with a conſiderable loſs. The Marquis de Villadarias, general of the coaſts, behaved, on this occaſion, with great courage and prudence. The French gallies ſtood by him gallantly, in defence of the Fort of Matagorda, where the Conde Hernando Nunez, captain-general, and commander of the gallies of France and Spain, performed his duty, with a ſingular conduct. The enemy were forced to deſiſt from their undertaking, after having loſt near two thouſand men in the expedition.

The marquis de Villadarias, in his letter, of the twenty-ſeventh of September, to the court of Madrid, ſays;

Nothing has been omited on my ſide, whereby I could merit the good opinion his Majeſty has of me. As the King was, ſo was I convinced the enemy could never pretend to beſiege Cadiz with ſo ſmall a number of men. Had the city ſent me the troops I required, I could have intirely defeated the enemy's forces when they re-embark'd. All the veſſels, both ſhips and gallies, did whatever could be expected from the valor and experience of their commander. The advantage we had at Matagorda was owing to the fire from the gallies. (Here we ſee the ill conduct of not ſending in our fleet at firſt, before the entrance into the harbor was rendered impracticable). The conſequence of that action, was their being forced to leave port St. Mary's, and the diſappointment of the whole undertaking (to the public, indeed, but not to thoſe who took care to inrich themſelves with the plunder both of friend and foe).

(4) The Queen, in the mean time, upon information, that monſ. Chateau-Renaud was got into the harbor of Vigo, with the French fleet and Spaniſh gallions, immediately diſpatch'd away two expreſſes, one to ſir George Rooke, with poſitive orders to attempt the taking or deſtroying them, and another to ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, to ſail with his ſquadron, to re-inforce the grand confederate fleet: but ſir George received the intelligence by another channel. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p 732.

(5) Biſhop Burnet ſays, that Rooke, without proſecuting his other inſtructions, in caſe the deſign on Cadiz miſcarried, gave orders only for a ſquadron, to ſail to the Weſt-indies, with ſome land forces; and tho' he had a fleet of victualers, that had proviſions to the middle of December, he ordered them to ſail home, by which means, the men of war were ſo ſcantily furniſhed, that the ſailors were ſoon forced to be put on ſhort allowance. Nor did Rooke ſend advice boats, either to the ports of Algarve, or to Liſbon, to ſee what orders or advices might be lying for him, but ſailed in a direct courſe for England. Hiſtory of his own times.

(6) The diſcovery was more particularly made, by mr. Beauvoir, a gentleman of Jerſey, and chaplain of the Pembroke, who, going aſhore, with theſe officers, pump'd the ſecret out of the French conſul, and a gentleman he met there, who was going from Liſbon on board the fleet. Appendix to Harris's Coll.

Purſuant

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Purſuant to this reſolution, the whole fleet ſteer'd their courſe for Vigo, and the admiral having diſpatch'd two frigats, for intelligence, they return'd, the 9th at night, with a confirmation of captain Hardy's account, adding, that the enemy's ſhips lay up the river, in Redondella-harbor: and a ſhip of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel's ſquadron, coming into the fleet the next morning, with advice, that the admiral was off of Cape-Finiſterre, orders were ſent him to join the grand fleet. The 11th, in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor, at Vigo, the weather having proved ſo haſy, that they were not diſcovered, till they were juſt upon the town, and tho' they then fired very thick upon them, the confederates took no notice of it. The French admiral, monſ. Chateau-Renaud, had taken all human precautions to ſecure his fleet (1).

Diſpoſitions for the attack.

The confederate fleet was no ſooner come to an anchor, than the admiral called a general council of land and ſea-officers, where it was reſolved to attempt the forcing of the harbor, the next morning: and, as the whole fleet could not attempt the enemy's ſhips, without manifeſt danger of runing foul upon one another, a detachment of fifteen Engliſh, and ten Dutch men of war, of the line of battle, with all the fireſhips, ſhould be ſent in, with orders to uſe their beſt indeavors in deſtroying or taking the enemy's fleet, that the frigats and bomb-veſſels ſhould follow the rear of the detachment, and that the great ſhips ſhould move after them, and go in, if there ſhould be occaſion: that the army, at the ſame time, ſhould land, and attack the fort, on the ſouth of Redondella, and thence proceed on, where they might moſt effectually annoy the enemy: that becauſe it was not well known what depth of water there might be, the attempt ſhould be made with the ſmaller ſhips, and that, to give the better countenance to the ſervice, all the flag-officers ſhould go in with the ſquadron. For the better execution of theſe reſolutions, the admiral ſpent a good part of the night, in going from ſhip to ſhip, in his own boat, to give the neceſſary orders, and incourage both officers and ſeamen to their duty.

Succeſs of the land-forces.

The 12th in the morning, the duke of Ormond landed, about two leagues from Vigo, on the ſouth-ſide of the river, with between 2 and 3000 men; and, meeting with no oppoſition, his grace ordered the lord Shannon and colonel Peirce, to march, with the grenadiers, directly to the fort, that guarded the entrance into the harbor, where the boom lay, which they executed with much alacrity and and courage: and the duke himſelf, at the head of the reſt of the forces, march'd on foot, over craggy mountains, to ſuſtain the firſt detatchment: at the ſame time, there appeared about 8,000 men, between the fort and the hills; but, as the grenadiers advanced they retired; and the former, in like manner, driving another party of the enemy before them, followed them to the very fort, and bravely made themſelves maſters of the lower platform, on which they found thirty-eight pieces of cannon. Lieutenant-general Churchil's regiment advanced, hereupon, on the left, and took their poſts, as they ſaw moſt convenient. The batteries being thus taken, with a handful of men, notwithſtanding the French and Spaniards had near 20,000 men, at or not far from the place, the enemy retired into an old tower or ſtone-caſtle, and fired, from thence, for ſome time, very briſkly upon the Engliſh: but the granadiers plying them very warmly with their grenadoes and fuzees, as ſoon, as they appeared on the wall, monſ. de Sorel, a valiant captain of a French man of war, who commanded in the fort, opened the gates, and indeavored to force his way thro' the Engliſh, ſword in hand. The Engliſh grenadiers ruſhing, however, immediately into the caſtle, made themſelves maſters of it, and took near 300 French ſeamen, and fifty Spaniards, with their officers, priſoners at diſcretion: while a detachment of the Dutch ſtopp'd another ſmall party, that were eſcaping thro' the water.

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Succeſs of the fleet.

As ſoon as the land-forces were got on ſhoar, the admiral gave the ſignal to weigh; the line was formed, and the ſquadron was bearing briſkly up to the boom, but when the van was got within ſhot of the batteries, it fell calm, ſo that they were obliged to come to anchor again. A freſh gale coming up, ſoon after, vice-admiral Hopſon, in the Torbay, being next to the enemy, immediately cut his cables, clapp'd on all his ſails, and bearing up directly upon the boom, amidſt all the enemy's fire, broke thro' it, at once, caſt anchor, with great reſolution, between two French men of war, the Bourbon and l'Eſperance, which lay near the boom, and received ſeveral broad-ſides from them. The reſt of vice-admiral Hopſon's diviſion, and that of vice-admiral Vandergoes, having weigh'd, at the ſame time, ſailed abreaſt towards the boom, but, being becalmed, they all ſtuck, and were forced to cut their way thro': a freſh gale, however, blowing again, the Dutch admiral made ſuch good uſe of it, that having hit the paſſage, the valiant Hopſon had made, he boldly went in, and made himſelf maſter of the Bourbon. Admiral Hopſon was all this while, in extream danger; for being clapp'd on board by a French fire-ſhip, by which his rigging was immediately ſet on fire, he expected, every moment to be burnt: but it fortunately fell out, that the French fire-ſhip, which was only a merchant-man, laden with ſnuff, fited up in haſte, for that purpoſe, being blown up, the ſnuff help'd to extinguiſh the fire, and preſerved the Engliſh man of war: however, the vice-admiral received conſiderable damage in this action (2). At the ſame time, captain Bokenham, in the Aſſociation, of ninety guns, laid

(1) He had not only drawn them up, beyond a very narrow ſtreight, not above a muſket-ſhot broad, defended by a caſtle on the one ſide, and plat-forms on both ſides of the ſtreight, on which he had planted his beſt guns: but he had, likewiſe, laid athwart it, a very ſtrong boom, made up of maſts, yards, cables, top-chains and caſks, faſtned together with ropes, ſeveral yards in circumference, under-run with hawzers and cables, and kept ſteady by anchors caſt on both ſides of it. The top-chain, at each end, was moored to a ſhip of ſeventy-guns. Within the boom, five men of war, of ſixty and ſeventy guns each, were ſo moored, with their broad-ſides fronting the intrance of the ſtreight, that they might fire at any ſhips which came near the boom and plat-forms. The harbor itſelf is ſo ſurrounded with hills, that no circumſtance of ſituation was wanting to render it impregnable, had there been time for it.

Biſhop Burnet ſays, monſ. Chateau-Renaud had not time to finiſh what he deſigned, otherwiſe the place had been inacceſſible; but, as it was, the difficulty in forcing this port was believed to be greater than any they would have met with, if they had landed on the iſle of Cadiz. He adds, that as ſoon as the Spaniſh flota had put in at Vigo, Methuen, the Queen's miniſter at Liſbon, ſent advertiſements of it, to all the places where he thought our advice-boats might be ordered to call: Rooke had given no orders for any to call, ſo held on his courſe towards cape Finiſterre; but when he received the intelligence (in the manner I have above related) he turned his c urſe towards Vigo, very unwillingly, as was ſaid, and finding the advice was true, reſolved to force his way in. Hiſtory of his own times.

(2) Beſide his having the fore-top-maſt ſhot by the board, 115 men killed and drowned, and nine wounded, moſt of his ſails were burnt and ſcorched, his fore-yard burnt to a coal, and his lar-board-ſhrouds, fore and aft, burnt to the dead-eyes; inſomuch that, tho' he peſerved the ſhip, he was afterwards obliged to leave her, and hoiſt his flag on board the Monmouth. For this good ſervice, as well the officers as the men, when they came home, were deſervedly rewarded, ſome with medals and chains of gold, and the reſt according to their reſpective qualities. Lediard's naval hiſtory Vol. II. p. 756.

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his broad-ſide againſt a battery of ſeventeen guns, on the left-ſide of the harbor, while captain Wyvell, in the Barfleur, a ſhip of the like force, was ſent to batter the fort, on the other ſide. Thus, for a long while, there was a conſiderable firing of great and ſmall ſhot, on both ſides, 'till the French admiral, (ſeing the platform and fort in the hands of the victorious Engliſh, his fireſhip ſpent in vain, the Bourbon taken, the boom cut, and the confederate fleet pouring in upon him) ſet fire to his own ſhip, and ordered the reſt of the captains, under his command, to follow his example, which was done, in great confuſion, yet could not be ſo punctually obeyed, but ſeveral of the men of war and gallions were taken by the Engliſh and Dutch (1).

Loſs of the confederates;

To make this victory ſtill more glorious and memorable, it was obtained with a very inconſiderable loſs, on the ſide of the confederates: for, beſide the damage ſuffered by vice-admiral Hopſon, as I have already mentioned, the Kent had only her fore-maſt ſhot, and her boatſwain wounded, the Aſſociation her main-maſt ſhot, two men killed, and as many wounded. And the Mary her boltſprit ſhot. Of the land-forces, two lieutenants, and about forty ſoldiers were killed, colonel Pierce was wounded by a cannon ball, from our own men of war, in the thigh, and colonel Seymour, colonel Newton, and mr. Talmaſh, with about thirty private men were alſo wounded.

And of the French and Spaniards.

On the French ſide, the number of men killed was much the ſame, as that of the allies: but they had near 400 officers, and men taken priſoners; among whom were Don Joſepho Checon, the Spaniſh admiral, monſieur d'Aliegre, commadore of a ſquadron, the marquis de la Galliſſoniere, and ſeveral other officers of note.

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The conſequence of this victory was a vaſt booty, both of plate and other things, the value of which it would be difficult to compute (2): but tho' the duke of Ormond poſſeſs'd himſelf of Redondella (where he took a great booty, which he cauſed to be diſtributed among the officers) and would have attacked Vigo, and wintered there; admiral Rooke would not conſent to it; for which he has been ſeverely cenſured by biſhop Burnet.

Admiral Rooke returns to England.

The 16th, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, with about twenty of her Majeſty's ſhips, joined the grand fleet from England. The next day, the duke of Ormond, with the land-forces, left Redondella: and, on the 19th, the forces being imbarked, the admiral ſailed from Vigo-harbor, with nine Engliſh men of war, beſide ſome ſmaller veſſels, ſeveral Dutch men of war, and one of the gallions which was rigged (3); leaving the remainder of his fleet under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, with orders to ſee the French men of war and gallions rigged, and ſupplied with men, ſo that ſuch of them, as were our prizes, might be brought to England; and to deſtroy thoſe he could not have a proſpect of bringing home, firſt ſaving ſo much of their loading, guns and rigging, as poſſibly he could (4). With theſe ſhips ſir George Rooke arrived, the 7th of November, in the Downs, from whence the great ſhips were brought to Chatham (5).

About a week after ſir George Rooke's departure, the French men of war, and other prizes,

(1) Of thirteen gallions, which carried from twenty to upwards of thirty guns each, four were taken by the Engliſh, five by the Dutch, and the reſt were all deſtroyed. Of fifteen French men of war, five, together with two frigats, a fireſhip, and three ſcouts were burnt. The other ten men of war were taken, of which four, however, were run aſhore and bilged. How three Spaniſh men of war, which were in the harbour of Redondella fared, I do not any where ſo particularly find: but it is certain, they underwent the ſame fate, either of being burnt or taken. Some accounts make the number of the gallions more, and ſay the Engliſh, beſide the four abovemention'd, took two on the ground. Certain it is, that whether out of deſign, or by accident, the true ſtate of things was very much conceal'd.

(2) It has however been remarked; that this flota was the richeſt that ever came from the Weſt-Indies to Europe; that the ſilver and gold was computed at twenty millions of pieces of eight, of which fourteen millions only had been taken out of the gallions, and ſecured by the enemy at Lago or Lugo, about twenty-five leagues from Vigo, and the reſt was either taken, or left in the gallions, that were burnt or ſunk: and that the goods were valued at twenty millions of pieces of eight more, one fourth part of which was ſaved, near two deſtroyed, and the other taken by the confederates: beſide the ſhips already mentioned, and a great deal of plate and goods belonging to private perſons, moſt part of which was either taken or loſt. Annals of Queen Ann.

(3) Thus (ſays biſhop Burnet) ended this expedition, which was ill projected, and worſe executed. But as for the project, I muſt beg leave to differ from the biſhop. It was form'd by King William, and was worthy of ſo great a Prince: it was likewiſe, well timed, if not ſomething too late: however, the King of Spain being in Italy, the French King having occaſion for all his troops, in Flanders, Germany and Italy, and the Spaniards having neither fleet nor army, were favorable conjunctures. The duke of Ormond (adds the biſhop) told me he had not half the ammunition that was neceſſary, for the taking of Cadiz, if they had defended themſelves, tho' he believed, they would not have made any great reſiſtance, if he had landed, on his firſt arrival, and not given them time to recover from the diſorders, into which the firſt ſurprize had put them. A great deal of the treaſure taken at Vigo was imbezzel'd, and fell into private hands; one of the gallions foundered at ſea. The public was not much inrich'd by this extraordinary capture; yet the loſs our enemies had by it was a vaſt one; and to compleat the ruin of the Spaniſh merchants (and I fear a great number of ours too, who no doubt were deeply concern'd in the cargo's of this rich fleet) their King ſeized on the plate that was taken out of the ſhips, at their firſt arrival at Vigo.

(4) I ſhall conclude this relation, as I did that of the expedition to Cadiz, with an account what the French ſay of it: the confederate fleets (ſays F. Daniel) were more ſucceſsful at Vigo, than at Cadiz. The count de Chateau-Renaud was returning as convoy to the Spaniſh gallions, which were bound, very richly laden, from Mexico to Cadiz. But when he arrived within ſight of that Port, he found the fleets of England and Holland in poſſeſſion of the harbor. He offered to convoy them into ſome port of France. But to that they would not, on any account, give their conſent; ſo he was forced to go into the port of Vigo. He took all the meaſures he poſſibly could to put this poor harbor into a poſture of defence, and convey'd a great part of the gold and ſilver, out of the gallions, to Lago, within land. Not many days after, admiral Rooke appeared, and landing 2000 men, attack'd the fort and the batteries which defended the port. The fort they took, after ſome reſiſtance, and ſeized upon a battery, while the veſſels broke down the bomb which was laid before the haven. The count de Chateau-Renaud, when he found he had no hopes left, gave orders to the commanders of the ſhips and gallions to ſet fire to them, as ſoon as they had drawn out their men, while he threw a body of troops into the town and caſtle to defend them. They had time only to burn ſeven veſſels, and to run four a-ground. Fifteen gallions were likewiſe burnt, four run a-ground, and as many frigats. Five men of war, and as many gallions were taken by the enemy. This action coſt them 900 men killed or wounded. They took the Spaniſh admiral, monſieur d'Aliegre, chief of a ſquadron, the marquis de la Galiſſoniere, meſſieurs de Monbault, and la Maiſon-fort, captains of ſhips. The French loſt monſieur de la Rude, and de l'Eſcalette, lieutenants, de Pont de Veſe, an enſign, Tricambaut, captain of a ſhip, and monſieur du Pleſſis-Liencourt. Among the wounded were de Camilli, Pimont, la Tour, Landry, la Valette, Marigni, Lambourg, Chatelet, the chevalier Begon, the ſieurs de St. Victor and Hardi. The enemy attempted to make themſelves maſters of Vigo, but were repulſed by the Prince de Barbançon, governor of the province of Galicia, and by monſieur Renaud. With this agree ſeveral other French Relations, as well as that of an anonimous Spaniſh author; and they all indeavor, by a general and ſummary account only, to conceal the loſs of treaſure the Spaniards ſuſtained.

(5) He was obliged (ſays biſhop Burnet) to make all poſſible haſte home: for if the wind had turned to the eaſt, which was ordinary in that ſeaſon, a great part of our ſhips crews muſt have died of hunger. Hiſt. of his own times.

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were put into the beſt condition, for their paſſage home, that the place would admit of, and all the loading was taken out of a gallion which was aground, ſeiz'd by the Mary; as alſo of another ſhip of fifty guns, called the Dartmouth, taken from the Engliſh, the laſt war, and now made prize by captain Wyvell. There were, likewiſe, taken out of ſome French ſhips of war, which were on the ground, fifty braſs guns, which with thoſe taken from the ſhore, amounted to about 110. And the day before ſir Cloudeſly ſet ſail, he ſet fire to all the ſhips and veſſels, which he could not poſſibly bring away.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel returns with the prizes.

Sir Cloudeſly left Vigo the 25th, having then with him at leaſt ſeventy ſail of all ſorts: but, the next day, ſtanding thro' the ſouth channel, one of the gallions, which was the Monmouth's prize, ſtruck upon a hidden rock, and immediately founder'd; as did, afterwards, a rich prize from Morlaix, taken by the Naſſau. Several other ſhips ſuffered damage, and the whole fleet being ſeparated in bad weather, every one made the beſt of their way to the channel. Having thus given an account of the moſt remarkable tranſactions at ſea, this year; I return now to domeſtic affairs (1).

The parliament diſſolved.

The parliament of England being of courſe, purſuant to an act paſs'd for that end, to determine, ſix months after the demiſe of the late King, her Majeſty thought fit, on the 2d of July, to iſſue out a proclamation, "for diſſolving that parliament, "and declaring the ſpeedy calling another, to "meet at Weſtminſter, the 20th of Auguſt next." The 6th, the count de Platen, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover, had his public audience of the Queen, and the Prince of Denmark (2).

Promotions and preferments.

In this month, her Majeſty was pleaſed to make ſeveral promotions in the army, and beſtow diverſe places and preferments. Among others, the duke of Bolton was made warden of New-foreſt, and the duke of Newcaſtle governor of the town of Kingſton upon Hull. Brigadier Cholmondley was made a major-general, and governor of Tilbury-fort. The earl of Berkley was appointed conſtable of the caſtle of Brianels, in the foreſt of Dean, and cuſtos-rotulorum, of the counties of Glouceſter and Surrey. The earl of Ranelagh was made receiver and pay-maſter general of her Majeſty's forces. William Blaithwait, eſq; was made ſecretary of war; and the lord Walden, commiſſary-general of the muſters, and chief muſter-maſter of her Majeſty's forces. Major-general Earl was made governor of Portſmouth, Robert Crawford, eſq; governor of the fort of Sheerneſs; Anthony Duncomb, eſq; governor of the caſtle of Scarborough, and Henry Villars, eſq; governor of the fort of Tinmouth. The duke of Somerſet was made maſter of the horſe to her Majeſty, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, who was made preſident of the council. The lord Wharton's patent as warden and chief-juſtice in Eyre of all the foreſts, &c. on this ſide Trent, was revoked. The duke of Newcaſtle was made warden of the foreſt of Shirwood, in the county of Nottingham; and John Tucker, eſq; was made keeper and regiſter of the papers and records of ſtate.

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The elections for the inſuing parliament were carried on, in the mean time, with great warmth and contention, tho' with conſiderable advantage on the ſide of the high-church or tory-party. The 6th of Auguſt, the Queen thought fit, by proclamation, to prorogue the new parliament, which was to have met the 20th of that month, to the 8th of October, as ſhe did afterwards to prorogue it farther to the 23d of the ſame month.

The new parliament prorogued.

His royal highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, being very much indiſpoſed, this ſummer, with his uſual aſthma, was adviſed by his phyſicians, to go to the Bath, and her Majeſty, as an inſtance of her conjugal affection, reſolved to attend him thither. They ſet out accordingly, the 26th of Auguſt, from Windſor, in order to ly at Oxford, that night. They were met, at the entrance into that country by the earl of Abingdon, as lord-lieutenant, with the high-ſheriff, and a great number of gentlemen: and, at ſome diſtance from the city, by the vice-chancelor, doctors and maſters in their robes, on horſeback, and were, in that manner, attended to Chriſt-church, where they ſuped. The Queen was pleaſed to honor the univerſity, the next day, with her preſenſe, in convocation, when the univerſity-orator congratulated her arrival among them, and many of the nobility and perſons of quality, took the degree of doctor of law. From the convocation-houſe, the Queen went to the theatre, where ſhe was entertained with a concert of vocal and inſtrumentacal muſic; and ſeveral pieces of poetry were exhibited expreſſive of that honor and happineſs they injoyed by her Majeſty's preſenſe. Her Majeſty was afterwards entertain'd at dinner by the univerſity, and then ſet out, with the Prince, for Cirenceſter, where ſhe lay that night, and, the next day, reached the Bath. They were met by the high ſheriff and gentlemen on the borders of the county of Sommerſet, and, within half a mile of the city, by 200 maids, richly dreſs'd, and carrying bows and arrows like amazons. They were met, at the weſt-gate of the city, by the mayor and corporation, in their formalities, who attended them to the abby-houſe, which was prepared for their reception. The ſtreets were illuminated, that night, and all imaginable expreſſions of joy appeared at her Majeſty's arrival among them, as there had been alſo in every place thro' which ſhe paſs'd.

The Queen and Prince go to the Bath.

The 8th of October, her Majeſty, with her royal conſort, left the Bath, arrived the 10th at Windſor, and came the 15th to St. James's. The 20th the parliament met, and the Queen, being come to the houſe of lords, ſent for the commons, who being directed to chuſe a ſpeaker, unanimouſly elected Robert Harley, eſq; who had been ſpeaker of three preceeding parliaments. The next day, they preſented him to her Majeſty, who, after having ſignified her approbation of their choice, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

Return to Windſor.

The parliament meets.

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

"It is with great ſatisfaction I meet this parliament, which I have ſummoned to aſſiſt me, in "carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war, in which "we are ingaged. I have called you together as

(1) I muſt not, however, quite paſs by the ſucceſs of commadore (afterwards ſir John) Leake, in Newfoundland, where he, with a ſmall ſquadron, under his command, took, this ſummer, in the French harbors, twenty-nine ſail of ſhips, and burnt twenty-two more; deſtroying all the ſtages and ſettlements of the French, in thoſe parts. For farther particulars, I refer to Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 759.

(2) We have in Harris, of this year's date, the charter of ſettlement for the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, granted upon the agreement of the two companies; by way of abſtract. Being an indenture tripartite, dated July the 22d of this year, between the Queen, the governor, and company of merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies, and the Engliſh company trading to the Eaſt-Indies; by which the two companies were united, their ſeveral charters confirmed, and being thus join'd, they were appointed, after the performance of certain points ſtipulated in this indenture, to call themſelves: the united company of merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies.

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" early as was conſiſtent with your convenience in " coming out of your ſeveral countries; and I " aſſure my ſelf of ſuch evidences of your affections " to me, and of your zeal for our common cauſe, " as will not only give ſpirit and forwardneſs to " our own preparations, but ſuch example and " incouragement to our allies, as, by God's bleſ- " ſing, cannot fail of a good effect for the advan- " tage of the whole confederacy.

" I have met with ſo many expreſſions of joy " and ſatisfaction, in all the countries, thro' which " I have lately had occaſion to paſs, that I can- " not but look upon them, as true meaſures of " the duty and affection of the reſt of my ſub- " jects.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons.

" I muſt deſire you to grant me ſuch ſupplies " as will inable me to comply both with our par- " ticular treaties and ingagements already made, " and ſuch others as may be neceſſary, for the in- " couragement of our allies, and the proſecuting " the war where it ſhall moſt ſenſibly effect our " enemies, and be moſt effectual for diſappointing " the boundleſs ambition of France.

" And, that my ſubjects may the more cheer- " fully bear the neceſſary taxes, I deſire you to in- " ſpect the accounts of all the public receits and " payments, and, if there have been any abuſes " or miſmanagements, I hope you will detect them, " that the offenders may be puniſhed, and others " be deterr'd, by ſuch examples, from the like " practices.

" I muſt obſerve to you, with ſome concern; " that the funds given by the laſt parliament, " have, in ſome meaſure, fallen ſhort of the ſums " propoſed to be raiſed by them; and tho' I have " already paid and applied to the public ſervice, " the 100,000 l. which I promiſed to the laſt " parliament, yet it has not ſupplied that defi- " ciency.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I cannot, without much trouble, take notice " to you of the diſappointment we have had, at " Cadiz, I have not yet had a particular account of " that enterprize, nor of all the difficulties our " forces have met with there: but I have had ſuch " repreſentations of diſorders and abuſes commited " at port St. Mary's, as has obliged me to give " directions, for the ſtricteſt examination of the " matter.

" I am earneſtly deſirous, for all our ſakes, that " this may prove a ſhort ſeſſion: however, I hope " you will find time to conſider of ſome better and " more effectual method, to prevent the exportation " of wool, and to improve that manufacture, which " is of great conſequence to the whole nation; on " my part, nothing ſhall be omited for its in- " couragement.

" I am firmly perſuaded, that the love and good " affections of my ſubjects is the ſureſt pledge of " their duty and obedience, and the trueſt and " juſteſt ſupport of the throne. And as I am re- " ſolved to defend and maintain the church, as " by law eſtabliſh'd, and to protect you in the full " injoyment of all your rights and liberties, ſo I " rely upon your care of me: my intereſts and " yours are inſeparable: and my indeavors ſhall " never be wanting to make you all ſafe and " happy."

Addreſs of the lords.

In anſwer to this ſpeech, the lords preſented her Majeſty, on the 23d, an addreſs of thanks, in which " they congratulated the ſucceſs of her arms, in " conjunction with her allies, under the command " of the earl of Marlborough. As alſo the ſucceſs " of her Majeſty's allies in Germany and Italy, " and the proſperous condition of trade, which " they acknowledged to be chiefly owing to her " Majeſty's wiſdom and conduct; declaring their " readineſs to aſſiſt her in this juſt and neceſſary " war. They alſo thank'd her Majeſty for the " reſolution ſhe expreſs'd to maintain and defend " the eſtabliſh'd church, and to protect their rights " and liberties, aſſuring her, they would ſupport " and defend her royal perſon and government, " with all poſſible zeal and duty.

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The 24th the commons, likewiſe, preſented an addreſs of thanks, to her Majeſty, in which they obſerved; " that her ſubjects had already received " ſo many benefits, under the influence of her " happy government, that ſhe would have met " with the like expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction, " had ſhe viſited any other part of her dominions, " as ſhe did, in her journey to Bath. That the " late diſappointment at Cadiz did not affect them " more, as it gave her Majeſty ſo much trouble: " but this misfortune could not make them for- " get, that the protection and ſecurity of their " trade, the vigorous ſupport of her Majeſty's " allies, and the wonderful progreſs of her arms, " under the earl of Marlborough, had ſignally " retrieved (1) the ancient honor and glory of the " of the Engliſh nation.

Addreſs of the commons.

" That her Majeſty had been always a moſt il- " luſtrious ornament to this church, and expoſed " to great hazards for it; and, therefore, they " promiſed themſelves, that, in her Majeſty's reign, " they ſhould ſee it perfectly reſtored, to its due " rights and privileges, and ſecured in the ſame to " poſterity, which was only to be done, by diveſt- " ing thoſe men of the power, who had ſhewn they " wanted not will to deſtoy it.

" That her Majeſty's deſire to have the public " accounts inſpected, and the abuſes therein puniſhed, " would indear her Majeſty to her people, and in- " courage them cheerfully to aſſiſt her in carrying " on the preſent war: that ſhe might rely upon " the care of her faithful commons: the value ſhe " was pleaſed to ſet on the love of her ſubjects was " the higheſt obligation could be laid on them: " they were ſenſible her Majeſty's intereſt and " theirs were inſeparable; as they gratefully ac- " knowledged her indeavors to make them ſafe " and happy, ſo their prayers and indeavors " ſhould never be wanting to make her Majeſty's " reign more proſperous and glorious than any " of her predeceſſors."

A ſupply voted.

The ſame day the commons unanimouſly voted a ſupply, and, on the 30th, they reſolved, " that " 40,000 ſeamen be imployed for the next year's " ſervice, at four pound a man, per month, and " that 129,314 l. be allowed for the ordinary of " the navy". The ſame day, likewiſe, the lord Shannon arrived, from the confederate fleet, with advice of the ſignal victory obtained over the French and Spaniards, at Vigo, in Spain, of which the reader has already ſeen an accoont above.

The Queen dines in the city.

The twenty-ninth, being the lord mayor's-day, her Majeſty did the city the honor of her preſenſe, and accepted of an entertainment at Guild-hall, which was very ſplendid on that occaſion: at the concluſion of which, ſhe was pleaſed to confer the honor of knighthood on Gilbert Heathcote,

(1) The word retrieve, in this addreſs, occaſioned a debate in the houſe of commons, it being alledged, that it ſeemed to caſt a reflection on the memory of King William, and the word maintain was propoſed to be inſerted in the room of it; but, upon a diviſion, it was carried for retrieve, one hundered and eighty votes againſt eighty. From whence it was infer'd, that the Tory-party had a vaſt majority in the houſe.

Francis

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Francis Daſhwood, James Eyton and Francis Hoare, eſqrs (1).

Reſolution concerning the impeach'd lords.

The ſecond of November, a motion was made, and the queſtion put, in the houſe of commons: "that right had not been done the commons, upon "the impeachments before the lords, brought "againſt diverſe peers, in the thirteenth year of the "late King's reign": which was carried in the affirmative, 189 againſt 81.

The Queen's meſſage about a thankſgiving.

The 4th, mr. ſecretary Hedges, by her Majeſty's command, acquainted the houſe of commons: "that her Majeſty had appointed Thurſday, the "12th inſtant, to be obſerved in London and "Weſtminſter, as a day of public thankſgiving "to Almighty God, on occaſion of the great ſuc-"ceſſes of her Majeſty's arms, and thoſe of her "allies, and particularly that of her troops, under "the conduct of the earl of Marlborough, that of "the forces under the command of the duke of "Ormond at Vigo, and alſo for the extraordinary "ſucceſs of the fleet, under the command of ſir "George Rooke: that, for the greater ſolemnity, "on that day, her Majeſty would be pleaſed to go "to St. Paul's-church, as had been accumſtomed, in "former times, in this kingdom, to return thanks "to Almighty God, for the ſignal and great ſuc-"ceſs, in which, not only her Majeſty, but all "her ſubjects, were ſo highly concerned; and that "her Majeſty had given neceſſary orders, for pro-"viding convenient places in the ſaid cathedral, "for the members of that houſe, as well as for the "houſe of lords". For this meſſage, the commons returned their thanks to the Queen, and reſolved: "that they would attend her Majeſty, as "a houſe, to St. Paul's-church, upon the day ap-"pointed for a public thankſgiving.

Bills for preventing occaſional conformity.

The ſame day, mr. William Bromley made a motion, for bringing in "a bill to prevent occaſional "conformity," which was ordered to be brought in, accordingly, by mr. Bromley, mr. St. John (afterwards lord Bolingbrook) and mr. Anneſley (afterwards earl of Angleſey) (2). At the ſecond reading it was commited to a committee of the whole houſe; but a motion being made, and the queſtion put; "that the ſaid committee have "power to receive a clauſe for the exempting Diſ-"ſenters from ſuch offices as cannot, by law, be "executed without receiving the ſacrament, ac-"cording to the uſage of the church of England," it paſs'd in the negative. Towards the end of the ſame month, the ſaid bill paſs'd the houſe of commons, and was ſent to the lords for their concurrence, who, the 9th of September, ſent it back to the lower houſe, with ſeveral amendments (3). At the ſame time, their lordſhips being apprehenſive, that the commons would not give their concerence to the ſaid amendments, and might, as they had done, on other occaſions, tack their bill, to ſome money-bill, their lordſhips, therefore, made a vote, "that "the annexing any clauſe to a mony bill was con-"trary to the conſtitution of the Engliſh govern-"ment, and the uſage of parliament", and ordered this vote to be added to the roll of the ſtanding orders of their houſe. On the other hand, the commons having read the amendments made by the lords, agreed to ſome of them, and diſagreed to others, and, on the 12th of December, appointed a committee to draw up reaſons for this their diſagreement, to be offered to the lords at a conference. Theſe reaſons being prepared, the commons, on the 17th, deſired a conference with the lords, where their managers left them, together with the bill and amendments, with the managers for their lordſhips.

Paſſes the houſe of commons.

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Vote againſt tacking.

A farther ſupply voted.

The 6th they reſolved; "Firſt, that the propor-"tion of land-forces, to act in conjunction with "the forces of the allies, for making good the al-"liances, be 40,000 men, conſiſting of 33,000 foot, "and 7000 horſe, and dragoons. 2dly, That "the ſum of 350,000 l. be granted, for the main-"taining of guards and gariſons, for the year "1703 (including 5000 men, to ſerve on board "the fleet;) and 3dly, the ſum of 70,973 l. for "land-ſervice, to be performed by the office of "ordnance, for the year 1703". The 10th they reſolved, "to grant 833,826 l. for main-"taining the 40,000 land-forces, and 51,843 l. "for her Majeſty's ſubſidies to her allies."

The commons vote thanks to the duke of Ormond, and ſir George Rooke.

At the ſame time, the commons unanimouſly voted their thanks to the duke of Ormond, and ſir George Rooke, for the ſignal ſervices by them performed, for the nation, both by ſea and land: and ſir George, afterwards, taking his place in the houſe of commons, on the 21ſt, the ſpeaker gave him their thanks, in a ſet ſpeech, in which he obſerved: "That formerly admirals and generals "had ſucceſs againſt France or Spain ſingly: but "the action at Vigo had been a victory over them "confederated together: that he had not only "ſpoiled their enemies, but inriched his own "country; common victories brought only terror "to the conquered; but he had brought deſtruction "upon them, and additional ſtrength to England. "That France had indeavored to ſupport its "ambition, by the riches of India: but his ſuc-"ceſs had left them the burden of Spain, and "ſtripp'd them of the aſſiſtance of it: the wealth "of Spain, and the ſhips of France, were by "this victory brought over to their juſter cauſe; "that this was an action ſo glorious in the perfor-"mance, and ſo extenſive in its conſequence, that, "as all times would preſerve the memory of it, "ſo every day would more and more inform "them of the benefit. No doubt, in France, "he was writ in remarkable characters, in the "black liſt of thoſe who had taken French gold "(4); and it was a juſtice due to the duke of

The ſpeaker's ſpeech to the latter.

(1) In the month of October, of this year, her Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the earl of Peterborough governor of Jamaica; and he was declared captain-general and admiral of all her Majeſty's ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies: mr. Graydon was ordered with a ſquadron to convoy his lordſhip, and the forces he was to take with him thither. And all people concerned in the plantations were extreamly pleas'd to ſee this commiſſion in his hands. Why this nobleman did not go, tho' the Dutch admiral Vanderduſſen was actually arrived at Spithead, with a ſquadron of men of war, and land-forces on board, In order to have joined him; and why the Dutch-admiral was ordered to return home, and the expedition wholly laid aſide, are queſtions I ſhall not pretend to determine; but what was done with mr. Graydon's ſquadron, the reader ſhall ſee in the ſequel. Lediard's naval hiſtory vol. II. p, 761.

(2) The ſubſtance of this bill was: that any perſon in office, reſorting to a conventicle or diſſenting meeting, was made liable to a forfeiture of a hundred pound, and five pound for every day he ſhould continue in his office afterwards; and ſuch perſon was diſabled from holding that or any other office, till he conformed regularly for one whole year, and received the ſacrament, according to the rites of the church of England, three times within ſuch year; and, upon a ſecond offence, the penalties were doubled.

(3) By theſe amendments of their lordſhips the Jacobite meetings were included. The hundred pound penalty was reduced to twenty pound, and the whole incapacitating clauſes were left out. They alſo limited the information to ten days, and the proſecution to three months exempted Diſſenters from holding offices; for which they could not be qualified without taking the ſacrament; and provided that the act ſhould not extend to the univerſity-churches, or to the French or Dutch churches, or to the governors of hoſpitals, or to the aſſiſtants of corporations for relieving or imploying the poor.

(4) It will be neceſſary, in order to juſtify this odd expreſſion of the ſpeaker's, to acquaint the reader; that in ſome pamphlets, which were publiſh'd about that time, the names of ſir George Rooke, and ſeveral others, were put in black characters, as penſioners to France.

"Ormond's

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" Ormond's and his merit, that they would ſtand " recorded, in the regiſters of that houſe, as the " inſtruments of that glorious victory: therefore " the houſe, having come to that unanimous reſo- " lution, that the thanks of this houſe be given to " his grace the duke of Ormond, and ſir George " Rooke, for the great and ſignal ſervices per- " formed by them, to the nation, at ſea and land; " he did, by their command, return him their " thanks."

Thanks of both houſes to the duke of Ormond.

The commons ſent their thanks to the duke of Ormond, by a commitee of their own members, and his grace coming into the houſe of peers, on the 13th, the lord-keeper, in the name of the houſe, returned him thanks, for his ſignal ſervices performed at Vigo: however, they ſoon after addreſs'd her Majeſty, to order an account of his grace's and ſir George Rooke's proceedings, in the late expedition, to be laid before them; with which her Majeſty complying, the duke of Ormond, on the 16th, laid his journal before the lords (1).

The thankſgiving ſolemnized.

The 12th, being the day appointed to be ſolemnized as a thankſgiving, for the ſucceſſes of this campain, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter (as the 3d of December was, for other parts of the kingdom) her Majeſty went to St. Paul's, attended by the two houſes of parliament, which formed one of the moſt ſplendid proceſſions, this nation had ſeen. The biſhop of London read the communion-ſervice, and the biſhop of Exeter preach'd, before her Majeſty, on the 23d of Joſhua, ver. 8 and 9.

Reſolutions againſt the biſhop of Worceſter.

The 18th, the commons took under their conſideration, a complaint made by ſir John Packington, one of the repreſentatives for the county of Worceſter, againſt the biſhop of Worceſter, and mr. Lloyd, his ſon, for certain undue practices, in order to prevent ſir John's election for that county; and the houſe having examined the matter, reſolved; " That ſir John Packington had, by evidence, " fully made out the charge which he exhibited " againſt the lord biſhop of Worceſter: that it " appeared to the houſe, that the proceedings of " of William, lord biſhop of Worceſter, his ſon, " and his agents, in order to the hindering the " election of a member of the county of Wor- " ceſter, had been malicious, unchriſtian, and " arbitrary, and an high violation of the privi- " leges of the commons of England; and that " an humble addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, " that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove, " William, lord biſhop of Worceſter, from being " almoner to her Majeſty; and ordered mr. at- " torny-general to proſecute mr. Lloyd, the bi- " ſhop's ſon, for thoſe offenſes, after his privi- " lege, as a member of the lower houſe of con- " vocation, was expired (2)." On the other hand, the lords addreſs'd her Majeſty, ſhewing, " that " it was the undoubted right of every lord of par- " liament, and of every other ſubject of England, " to have an opportunity of making his defenſe, " before he ſuffer any ſort of puniſhment; and, " therefore, deſired ſhe would not remove the bi- " ſhop of Worceſter, from the place of lord-al- " moner, nor ſhew any mark of her diſpleaſure " towards him; till he was found guilty of ſome " crime by due courſe of law:" to which her Majeſty anſwered: " She agreed, that every peer " and lord of parliament, and, indeed, every o- " ther perſon, ought to have an opportunity of " being heard to any matters objected againſt " him, before he is puniſh'd: that ſhe had not " yet received any complaint againſt the biſhop of " Worceſter, but looked upon it as her un- " doubted right, to continue or diſplace any ſer- " vant, attending her own perſon, when ſhe " thought proper."

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The lords, hereupon, reſolved; " That no " lord of that houſe ought to ſuffer any ſort of " puniſhment, by any proceedings of the houſe " of commons, otherwiſe than according to the " known and ancient rules and methods of parlia- " ment." But her Majeſty being attended by ſir Edward Seymour, comptroler of the houſhold, with the reſolution and addreſs of the commons, for removing the biſhop of Worceſter, from being almoner, the Queen anſwered: " She was very " ſorry there was occaſion for this addreſs againſt " the biſhop of Worceſter; and ſhe would di- " rect, that he ſhould no longer continue to ſup- " ply that office:" for which anſwer, " the " commons returned her Majeſty their moſt hum- " ble thanks (3)."

The 21ſt, mr. ſecretary Hedges delivered a meſſage to the commons, ſigned by the Queen, importing: " That her Majeſty, conſidering, " that there was but a very ſmall proviſion made " for the Prince, her huſband, if he ſhould ſur- " vive her Majeſty; and that ſhe was reſtrained

(1) The duke of Ormond, at his firſt arrival from the expedition to Cadiz, complained very openly of Rooke's conduct, and ſeemed reſolved to carry the matter to a public accuſation: but the court found the party that prevailed in the houſe of commons, determined to juſtify Rooke; ſo, to comply with this, the Queen made him a privy-counſellor, and much pains were taken with the duke of Ormond, to ſtifle his reſentments. He was in a great meaſure ſoftned, yet he had made his complaints to ſo many lords, that they moved the houſe to examine both his inſtructions, and the journals relating to that expedition. A commitee of the houſe ſate long upon the matter. They examined all the admirals and land-officers, as well as Rooke himſelf, upon the whole progreſs of that affair. Rooke was ſo well ſupported by the court, and by his party in the houſe of commons, that he ſeemed to deſpiſe all that the lords could do; ſome, who underſtood ſea-matters, ſaid, that it appeared from every motion which he made, during the expedition, he intended to do nothing but to amuſe and make a ſhew. They alſo concluded, from the protection the miniſtry gave him, that they intended no other. He took much pains to ſhew, how improper a thing a deſcent on Cadiz was, and how fatal the attempt muſt have proved; and, in doing this, he arraigned his inſtructions, and the deſign he was ſent on, with great boldneſs, and ſhew'd little regard to the miniſters, who took more pains to bring him off, than to juſtify themſelves. The lords of the commitee prepared a report, which was hard upon Rooke, and laid it before the houſe; but ſo ſtrong a party was made, to oppoſe every thing which reflected on him, that tho' every particular in the report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his favor, juſtifying his whole conduct. The great imployment (lord-lieutenant of Ireland) given to the duke of Ormond, ſo effectually prevailed on him, that tho' the inquiry was ſet on foot, by his means, and upon his ſuggeſtions, yet he came not to the houſe, when it was brought to a concluſion. So Rooke, being but faintly puſhed by him, and moſt zealouſly ſupported by his party, was juſtified by a vote, tho' unanimouſly condemned by more impartial judges. The behavior of the miniſtry, in this matter, heightned the jealouſies, with which many were poſſeſſed; for it was infered, that they were not in earneſt, in this whole expedition; ſince the conduct, being ſo contrary to the inſtructions, their juſtifying one, was plainly condemning the other. Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times.

(2) For this regard had to the privilege of the lower houſe of convocation, the commons had afterwards their thanks, delivered, by their order, to the ſpeaker, by the prolocutor, the dean of Canterbury, archdeacon Ottley, and mr. Moor; upon which they reſolved: " That they would, upon all occaſions, aſſert the juſt rights and privileges of the lower houſe of convoca- " tion."

(3) Thus (ſays Boyer, in his reign of Queen Ann, p. 36.) this pious and learned prelate, fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the prevailing high-church party, for being too warm a ſtickler for their antagoniſts: while, on the other hand, ſir George Rooke, who was in great eſteem with the tories, was ſworn of the privy-council, and had the thanks of the houſe.

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"from increaſing the ſame, by the late act of "parliament for ſettling her revenue, thought it "neceſſary to recommend the making a farther "proviſion for the Prince to their conſideration." The commons, after having conſidered this meſſage, reſolved, on the 1ſt of December; "that "the yearly ſum of 100,000 l. be ſettled on his "royal highneſs, in caſe he ſhould ſurvive her "Majeſty."

Vice-admiral Hopſon rewarded.

The Prince having, two days before, preſented to her Majeſty, Thomas Hopſon, eſq; vice-admiral of the red, the Queen confer'd the honor of knighthood upon him, and afterwards ſettled a penſion of 500 l. a year upon him, with a reverſion of 300 l. a year for his wife, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices at Vigo.

Submiſſion of one of the Kentiſh petitioners.

About this time, Thomas Colepepper, eſq; one of the Kentiſh petitioners, who had given the houſe ſo much trouble in the late reign, preſented a petition of another nature, in which he acknowledg'd; "That he had, in the reign of his late "Majeſty, given juſt offenſe to the houſe of "commons, and thereby juſtly drawn on him-"ſelf, not only their diſpleaſure, but alſo their vote "for his proſecution by the attorny-general; and "that he was truly ſorry for all thoſe cauſes, by "which he ever offended the ſaid houſe of com-"mons, or might incur their diſpleaſure, and hum-"bly pray'd, that the houſe would be pleaſed to "interpoſe with her Majeſty, in his behalf, to give "order to her attorny-general, to ſurceaſe farther "proceedings, in the proſecution againſt him." Mr. Colepepper was, hereupon, called in, and having owned the petition, was commanded to withdraw. The houſe then ordered, that he ſhould be ask'd, whether he was ſorry for his ſeveral ſcandalous and ſeditious practices, by him acted, againſt the honor and privileges of that houſe, againſt the peace of the kingdom in general, and the quiet of his own country, in particular? and the ſame having been ask'd him accordingly, he anſwer'd, he was ſorry: and being withdrawn a ſecond time, the commons reſolved to addreſs the Queen, to ſtop the proſecution againſt him, which had been at their deſire, and ſo this matter ended.

The earl of Marlborough receives the thanks of the houſe of commons.

The 30th of November, ſir Edward Seymour, comptroler of her Majeſty's houſhold, reported, to the houſe of commons, that the commitee appointed by the houſe, had attended the earl of Marlborough with their thanks, for the great and ſignal ſervices by him performed for this nation, and that thereupon his lordſhip had expreſs'd himſelf to the following effect: viz. "that nothing "could add to the ſatisfaction he took in the Queen's "moſt gracious acceptance of his hearty and ſincere "indeavors for the public ſervice, but the obliging "and favorable ſenſe which that houſe was pleas'd "to expreſs of them, of which honor, no man could "be more truly ſenſible than himſelf. That our ſucceſs was chiefly to be imputed to God's bleſſing "upon her Majeſty's happy conduct, and the great "bravery of her own troops, and thoſe of her "allies".

His anſwer.

Upon the 2d of December, the Queen, to ſhew what a ſenſe ſhe had of the earl of Marlborough's ſervices, was pleaſed to declare, before a committee of council, that ſhe was ſo ſatisfied of the eminent ſervices of my lord Marlborough to the public, and to herſelf, both in the command of the army, and the intire confidence he had ſettled between her and the States-general, that ſhe intended to make him a duke; which ſhe did accordingly, by the title of marquis of Blandford, and duke of Marlborough: and, on the 10th, her Majeſty ſent the following meſſage to the commons in his lordſhip's favor:

The earl of Marlborough made a duke.

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Ann, R.

The Queen's meſſage to the commons in his favor.

"The earl of Marlborough's ſervices to her Ma-"jeſty, and to the public, have been ſo eminent, "both in his command of the army, and in his "having eſtabliſhed an intire confidence, and good "correſpondence, between her Majeſty and the "States-general, that ſhe has thought fit to grant the "title of a duke of this kingdom to him, and to "the heirs male of his body, and alſo a penſion "of 5000 l. per annum, upon the revenue of the "poſt-office, for the ſupport of this honor, during "her Majeſty's natural life. If it had been in her "Majeſty's power, ſhe would have granted the ſame "term in the penſion, as in the honor, and ſhe hopes "you will think it ſo reaſonable, in this caſe, as to "find ſome proper methods of doing of it".

Debates thereupon.

This meſſage having occaſioned great debates, in the houſe (1), and there being no likelihood, that the commons would comply with her Majeſty's deſire, the 15th, ſhe ſent them another meſſage, whereby ſhe acquainted them, that the duke of Marlborough had declined her Majeſty's meſſage to them. Nevertheleſs, the commons being in a grand commitee, the motion was made, the ſame day, that an addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, ſeting forth the reaſons why they could not comply with her Majeſty's firſt meſſage. This motion was agreed to, on the 16th, and a commitee appointed to draw up the addreſs, which was as follows:

A ſecond meſſage.

Moſt gracious Soverein,

The commons addreſs to the Queen about it.

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſub-"jects, the commons in parliament aſſembled, hum-"bly beg leave to declare our unanimous ſatisfaction "in the juſt eſteem your Majeſty has been pleaſed "to expreſs, of the eminent ſervices performed "by the duke of Marlborough, who has, not only "by his conduct of the army, retriev'd the ancient "honor and glory of the Engliſh nation, but, by "his negociations, eſtabliſh'd an intire confidence, "and good correſpondence, between your Majeſty "and the States-general, and therein vindicated the "gentlemen of England, who had, by the vile "practiſes of deſigning men, been traduced, "and induſtriouſly repreſented, as falſe to your "Majeſty's allies, becauſe they were true to the in-"tereſt of their country.

"It is to their inexpreſſible grief, that your "Majeſty's moſt dutiful commons, find any in-"ſtances where they are unable to comply with "what your Majeſty propoſes to them; but they "beg leave humbly to lay before your Majeſty, "the apprehenſions they have of making a prece-"dent, for the alienations of the revenue of the "crown, which has been ſo much reduced "by the exorbitant grants of the laſt reign, and "which has been ſo lately ſettled and ſecured, by "your Majeſty's unparallel'd grace and goodneſs.

"We are infinitely pleaſed to obſerve by your "Majeſty's late gracious acceptance of the duke of "Marlborough's ſervices, that the only way to ob-"tain your Majeſty's favor, is to deſerve well from "the public; and we beg leave to aſſure your "Majeſty, that whenever you ſhall think fit to "reward ſuch merit, it will be to the intire ſatiſ-"faction of your people".

This addreſs being preſented to the Queen the 21ſt of December by the whole houſe, her Majeſty was pleaſed to return this anſwer:

The Queen's anſwer.

"I ſhall always think my ſelf much concerned to

(1) The duke of Marlborough, as ſoon as he was informed thereof, waited on her Majeſty, and pray'd her, rather to forego her gracious meſſage, on his behalf, than to create any uneaſineſs on his account; ſince it might imbarraſs her affairs, and be of ill conſequence to the public.

"reward

G. Kneller Pinx.

R. Sheppard Sculp.

TEAL PERQ PIS DIEHABO

The Most High, Puissant, and Noble Prince JOHN CHURCHILL Duke and Earl of Marlborough Marquis of Blandford Baron Churchill of Sandridge and Baron of Aymouth in Scotland, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Captain General of the Forces, Master of the Ordnance, Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, one of the Privy Council, and Knight of the Garter.

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" reward thoſe who deſerve well of me, and of the " public: on this account I beſtow'd ſome favors " on the duke of Marlborough, and I am glad to " find you think they are well placed".

The 13th of December, a proclamation was iſſued for the diſcovery and recovering of all ſuch goods, plate, and other effects, as, contrary to her Majeſty's and the duke of Ormond's expreſs commands, were plundered or imbezzel'd at Port St. Mary's, or from the gallions taken at Vigo, and put on board her Majeſty's men of war, or other veſſels; her Majeſty reſerving to herſelf the power of rewarding every one who had been in thoſe ſervices.

Proceedings againſt the earl of Ranelagh.

Some time before this, the commiſſioners for taking the public accounts, having, by order of the houſe of commons, examined thoſe of the earl of Ranelagh, as pay-maſter general of the army, and drawn up a narrative, wherein they charged him with great miſmanagements: his lordſhip, on the laſt of November, preſented to the houſe, his anſwer to the ſame. On the 7th of December, after a full hearing of all parties, the commons unanimouſly reſolved:

1. " That it appeared to the houſe, that the " commiſſioners appointed, by act of parliament, " for taking, examining and ſtating the public ac- " counts of the kingdom, had very good grounds " for making the obſervations in the narrative or " repreſentat on laid before the houſe.

2. That all monies iſſued to the pay-maſter-gene- " ral of the army, ought to be applied to the uſe of " the army and forces only, and to no other uſe or " purpoſe whatſoever.

3. " That all privy-ſeals, orders of the treaſury, " or other warrants, to the pay-maſter-general of " the army, to apply the mony in his hands, to " other than the uſe of the army and forces, are il- " legal and void.

4. " That all privy-ſeals, or warrants of the " auditors of the impreſt, to paſs accounts, with- " out proper vouchers, or to make any allowances, " other than according to the law and courſe of the " exchequer, are illegal and void.

5. " That the ſaid commiſſioners had made " good the allegations in their narrative: and,

6. " That the pay-maſter-general of the army " had miſapplied ſeveral ſums of the public mony.

The earl of Ranelagh, ſeing ſo violent a torrent againſt him, which oppoſition might but have rendered yet more boiſterous, choſe rather to put a ſtop to it, by laying down his place, which was afterwards divided between ſir Stephen Fox, and John How, eſq; the firſt being for the army abroad, and the latter for the guards and gariſons at home. This, however, was but a ſalvo for a while, as we ſhall ſee below.

Acts paſs'd.

The 23d of December, the Queen went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to " an " act for granting to her Majeſty a land-tax, for " carrying on the war againſt France and Spain, " and to two private bills.

Lords-lieutenants made.

The ſame day, Hugh, lord Cholmondley, was made lord-lieutenant of the counties of Denby, Montgommery, Flint, Merioneth, Caernarvon and Angleſea: James earl of Derby, lord-lieutenant of the county of Lancaſter: and Scroop earl of Bridgewater, lord-lieutenant of the county of Bucks. The ſame day, likewiſe, the queſtion was put, whether Prince George's ſervants ſhould be capacitated to ſit in parliament, which was carried by a great majority, in the affirmative.

Motion for reſuming of grants.

After this, ſir Edward Seymour moved, that leave might be given to bring in " a bill for reſuming " all grants made in King William's reign, and ap- " plying them to the uſe of the public," which being carried by a majority of one hundred and eighty voices, againſt ſeventy-eight, mr. Walpole moved, " that all the grants made in the reign " of the late King James ſhould be reſumed like- " wiſe:" but this paſs'd in the negative. This being over, ſir John Holland made a motion, and the queſtion was put, that leave be given to bring in " a bill for the more free and impartial pro- " ceedings of parliament, by providing that no " perſon whomſoever, in office or imployment, " ſhould be capable of ſiting in parliament"; which, likewiſe paſs'd in the negative; and, inſtead thereof an order was procured, for the bringing in " a bill for the more free and impartial " proceedings of parliament, by providing that " no perſon ſhould be choſen a member of the houſe " of commons, but ſuch as have a ſufficient real " eſtate:" which done the houſe adjourn'd to the 4th of January.

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An' 1703.

The French King having given out commiſſions for conſiderable levies, in order greatly to increaſe his armies, an aditional force was, likewiſe, neceſſary, in thoſe of the allies; and the States-general thereupon made their applications to the Queen, for an augmentation of her troops: her Majeſty therefore at the firſt meeting of the houſe of commons, after new-year, ſent the following meſſage to them:

Ann, R.

Her Majeſty's letter to the commons.

" Her Majeſty having received ſeveral letters " from the States-general of the United-provinces, " as alſo ſeveral memorials from their embaſſadors, " ſeting forth the great apprehenſions they ly under, " from the extraordinary preparations of France; " to attack them early in the ſpring, and the ne- " ceſſity, as they conceived, of making an aug- " mentation of the forces of England and Holland, " as the only means to prevent the immediate ruin " which threatned their country, was pleaded, there- " upon, to propoſe ſome expedient to the States- " general, which ſhe hoped might have been of " advantage to the common intereſt, and relieved " them, in ſome meaſure, from their juſt appre- " henſions, without having recourſe to her parlia- " ment. But theſe expedients, propoſed by her " Majeſty to the States-general, not having pro- " duced the effect ſhe hoped for, and the States ha- " ving again renewed their applications to her Ma- " jeſty, with more earneſtneſs than before, to aſſiſt " them in this time of their danger, with an aug- " mentation of her forces, as the only means to " diſappoint the effect of thoſe great and early " preparations, which the French are making " againſt them; her Majeſty has commanded the " ſeveral letters and repreſentations, which " have paſſed between her, and the States-general, " upon this ſubject, to be herewith tranſmited to " you, that you may the better judge of the dan- " ger which threatens them.

" Her Majeſty conceives this matter to be of " ſuch great conſequence, as indiſpenſably obliges " her to acquaint you with the preſent ſtate of it; " that ſhe may have your advice upon it; not " doubting but you will take ſuch meaſures, upon " this occaſion, as may be moſt for the honor and " advantage of her Majeſty, the ſafety of her " kingdoms, and the neceſſary ſupport of her " allies".

The commons having taken her Majeſty's meſſage into conſideration, the next day, agreed, that 10,000 foreiners be hired, for an augmentation of the forces, to act in conjunction with the allies; but upon condition, that an immediate ſtop be put to all commerce and correſpondence with France and Spain, which they reſolved to lay before the Queen, in the following addreſs:

Moſt gracious Sovereign.

The addreſs of the houſe of commons in anſwer.

" We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal " ſubjects, the commons in parliament aſſembled, " do

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" do beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble " thanks for your Majeſty's moſt gracious condeſ- " cenſion, in communicating to your commons " the ſeveral memorials, tranſactions and letters, " that have paſſed between your Majeſty and the " States-general, for the augmentation of your " Majeſty's forces, which are to act in conjunction " with the forces of the States-general; by all " which your commons are intirely convinced of " your Majeſty's great tenderneſs of your ſubjects, " in not laying a greater burden upon them, " than the neceſſity of affairs does abſolutely re- " quire.

" And your commons do humbly aſſure your " Majeſty, that in caſe your Majeſty ſhould think " it neceſſary to enter into any farther negociation, " for increaſing the forces, which are to act in " conjunction with the forces of the States-general, " (for whoſe intereſt and preſervation we ſhall " always have the greateſt regard) your commons " will inable your Majeſty to make good the " ſame.

" And your commons do farther crave leave " humbly to beſeech your Majeſty, that you will " pleaſe to inſiſt upon it, with the States-general, " that there be an immediate ſtop of all poſts, and " of all letters, bills, and all other correſpondence, " trade and commerce with France and Spain, which " your commons are humbly of opinion is ſo abſo- " lutely neceſſary for carrying on the juſt and ne- " ceſſary war, wherein your Majeſty is ingaged, " to the interrupting the trade of your enemies, " and reducing them to the greateſt ſtreights, that " your commons do humbly deſire, that England " may not be charged with the pay of ſuch ad- " ditional troops, but from the day, when ſuch " ſtop ſhall be made by the States-general."

This addreſs having been preſented to the Queen, by the whole houſe, the 8th of January, her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer:

Gentlemen,

The Queen's anſwer.

" It is with great ſatisfaction, that I receive this " addreſs, which inables me to join with the States- " general, in augmenting our forces, according to " their deſire.

" I make no doubt, but the condition you men- " tion will be approved, ſince it is abſolutely ne- " ceſſary for the good of the whole alliance; and " I ſhall, this night, ſend directions to my mini- " ſters in Holland, to concur with the States, in " providing the troops accordingly."

The lords addreſs on the ſame occaſion.

The ſame papers having been laid, by her Majeſty's commands, before the houſe of lords, the 13th, their lordſhips preſented an addreſs to the Queen, in which they returned her Majeſty thanks for communicating the ſeveral letters and memorials of the States-general to that houſe; adding, " that having taken notice how much time had " been already ſpent in this negociation, and with " what repeated and preſſing inſtances the States- " general had repreſented the apprehenſions they " were under, from the extraordinary and forward " preparations of the French, the lords took leave " humbly to adviſe her Majeſty, that without any " farther loſs of time, ſhe would be pleaſed to agree " to the propoſals made to her Majeſty, by the " States-general, for ſuch an augmentation of " forces, as might diſappoint the great and early " preparations of France, and effectually ſupport " and defend the common cauſe; and they, far- " ther, humbly acquainted her Majeſty, that it " was the opinion of that houſe, that her Majeſty's " furniſhing her quota of the augmentation of " troops in the Low-countries, would be ineffectual, " unleſs all correſpondence with France and Spain, " by letters, or otherwiſe, be totally prohibited by " the States-general, and all other her Majeſty's " allies."

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Her Majeſty's anſwer to this addreſs was:

The Queen's anſwer.

" That no time ſhould be loſt, in relation to the " augmentation of troops, and the prohibition of " the commerce by letters, recommended in this " addreſs."

Reaſons for inſiſting on this prohibition.

Notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid, and particularly by biſhop Burnet, to make this proceeding appear too harſh and ill-natured, with regard to the Dutch, the parliament had certainly very cogent and juſtifiable reaſons for it. Among other motives which induced that illuſtrious body to inſiſt ſo ſtrenuouſly on this prohibition, the chief may probably have been the great difficulty the court of France labor'd under, at this time, to make remitances of mony, to maintain their army in Italy; and to ſend ſubſidies to the Elector of Bavaria in Germany: which the parliament of England (and indeed every one elſe) juſtly preſumed the French could not do, without the aſſiſtance of Engliſh and Dutch merchants. This opinion was likewiſe confirmed by a late diſcovery made by the earl of Nottingham, one of her Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, of an unlawful intercourſe of bills of exchange, between ſome French bankers, at Paris, and ſome citizens of London (1). But to return to the occaſional conformity bill.

Debate on the occaſional conformity bill.

The 8th of January, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to deſire a new conference, the next day, in the painted-chamber, upon the ſubject-matter of the laſt conference, on the bill intitled: " an " act for preventing occaſional conformity," which was readily granted: the managers for the commons, having met the lords at the conference, their lordſhips inſiſted upon all their amendments to the bill; which being reported to the commons by mr. Bromley, and his report taken into conſideration, on the 11th of January, the queſtion was put, " that the houſe ſhould inſiſt upon their diſagree- " ing with the lords in the ſaid amendments, and " carried in the affirmative." It was, thereupon, reſolved; that a free conference be deſired with the lords upon the ſubject-matter of the laſt conference: to which their lordſhips having readily agreed, and appointed the ſame to be on the 16th of the ſame

(1) This illicite and clandeſtine correſpondence and trade, carried on openly by the Dutch, with the common enemy, and which, notwithſtanding this notice taken of it, was, as it has been ſaid, continued during the whole war, even to the furniſhing them with arms and ammunion, was of ſo great an advantage to them, that ſome have ventured to ſay, they were gainers by the war, while we, out of an exceſs of generoſity (but too common with us) were plunging our ſelves into debts and difficulties to ſupport the common cauſe, and ſcorned to take advantage of theſe under-hand practices, to the detriment of it, tho' to our own impoveriſhment, and notwithſtanding we had the ſame right to it as they: for tho' there were perhaps, ſome few here, who underhand were concern'd in theſe unlawful practices; yet all commerce with France was ſtrictly forbid by the government, and all poſſible meaſures taken to prevent it.

Biſhop Burnet, tho' an advocate for the Dutch, in this caſe, and tho' he thinks they were treated in it very indecently, is obliged to own, that France could not have ſupplied their armies in Italy, but by the means of this ſecret trade: but he pretends the impoſing it on the Dutch, in the manner in which this was preſſed, carried in it too high a ſtrain of authority over them: but, in this, I muſt beg leave to diſſent from our prelate. It was a favor the Dutch deſired of us, for their own immediate advantage and ſecurity; and, in return, we inſiſted on no more, than what we had a right to demand, even without this conſideration: where then is the hardſhip? The argument the biſhop makes uſe of in their favor, viz. " That their country, " ſubſiſted by their trade ", will hold as good with reſpect to our nation. The States reſolved, however, to comply with England in every thing (at leaſt in ſhew) and tho' (as the biſhop ſays) they did not like the manner of demandiug this, yet they readily conſented to it: (and, if they are not wrong'd, as readily broke thro' it again.)

month,

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month in the painted-chamber, the commons order'd, that their members, who managed the laſt conference, viz. mr. Bromley, mr. St. John, mr. Finch, mr. ſolicitor-general, and ſir Thomas Powis, ſhould manage the ſaid free conference, and ſeveral others were added to them: while, on the ſide of the lords, the duke of Devonſhire, the earl of Peterborough, and the lords Sommers and Hallifax, were appointed managers (1); but all to no purpoſe; the lords perſiſting in their amendments, and the commons in diſagreeing to them; and ſo the bill was loſt (2).

The bill loſt.

While the occaſional conformity-bill was depending, Daniel de Foe, the author of the True-born Engliſhman, who himſelf was a Diſſenter, publiſh'd an anonymous libel, pretended to be in order to exaſperate the parliament againſt the Diſſenters, or rather, as it was generally believed, to turn into ridicule, what they call'd the immoderate zeal of the High-church party, and to inſinnate, that the commons were about to re-eſtabliſh ſanguinary laws, in matters of religion. This ſcandalous libel (for ſuch it is taken either way) was intitled, "The ſhorteſt way with the Diſſenters", and was fill'd with bitter invectives (3) againſt them and their principles, the tendency of which was covered

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(1) The commons, in their reaſons, alledg'd, that the intent of this bill, for preventing occaſional conformity, was only to reſtrain a very ſcandalous practice, which is a reproach to religion, gives offenſe to all Chriſtians, and to the beſt among the Diſſenters themſelves: that this bill inacted nothing new, and was only intended to make the laws in being more effectual. That thoſe laws were thought ſufficient to ſecure our eſtabliſhment, but ſince the invention and iniquity of man had found out ways to elude them, the commons could never doubt but the lords would let thoſe men ſee, they would not be wanting, on their part, to maintain and ſupport them. That this bill appear'd to the commons abſolutely neceſſary, for preventing thoſe miſchiefs, which muſt prove deſtructive to the church and monarchy; that the commons were incapable of having any deſigns they were aſhamed to own; and as they intended nothing but the preſervation of the church of England, and the Monarchy, ſo they doubted not but to meet a ready concurrence from the lords in theſe deſigns. That an eſtabliſh'd religion, and a national church, are abſolutely neceſſary, when ſo many ill men pretend to inſpiration, and when there are ſo many weak men to follow them: that if a national church be neceſſary, the only effectual way to preſerve it is by keeping the civil power in the hands of thoſe whoſe practiſes and principles are conformable to it. That when the corporation-act was made, the parliament had freſh in their minds, the confuſion and calamities that had been brought upon the nation, by ſuch as pretended to be, at the ſame time, in the true intereſt of religion and of their country. That the parliament by that act, and afterwards by the teſt-act, thought they had ſecured our eſtabliſhment, both in church and ſtate; and that they had provided a ſufficient barrier to defeat and diſappoint any attempts againſt them, by inacting, that all in offices ſhould receive the ſacrament of the Lord's-ſupper, according to the rites and uſage of the church of England, and never imagined, that a ſet of men could at any time riſe up, whoſe conſciences were too tender to obey the laws, but hardned enough to break them; that as, upon the revolution, the laſt reign begun with an act in favor of the Diſſenters, ſo the commons did deſire in the begining of her Majeſty's auſpicious reign, an act might paſs in favor of the church of England, that the laws, which had been evaded, might now be effectually inforced, and that thoſe men might be kept out of offices, who have ſhewn they never wanted the will, when they had the power, to deſtroy the church: and that nothing had been more miſ-repreſented than this bill; which did not, in any reſpect, intrench on the act of toleration, or take from the Diſſenters any one privilege they have by law, or give any one privilege to the church of England, which was not, at leaſt, intended her by the laws, as they now ſtand.

The commons, then deſcending to particulars, inſiſted on their diſagreement to an alteration the lords had made, in the preamble of the bill; where it was recited, that the laws intended all people in office ſhould be conformable to the church. They alſo diſagreed to their lordſhips amendment in relation to the penalty: they ſaid, if their lordſhips pleaſed to conſider how much greater the penalties, in other penal laws were, in many inſtances, than in this bill, they preſumed the lords could not think thoſe in this bill exceſſive: that, in laying penalties, the commons ſhall always indeavor to make them ſuch, as ſhall neither tempt to perjury, nor totally diſcourage informations and proſecutions; which, they thought this amendment of the lords would do, could the commons agree to it. As to the commons diſagreeing to their lordſhips 9th amendment, they alledg'd, that the puniſhment of incapacity, the re-capacitating, and the increaſe of puniſhment for a ſecond offenſe, are warranted by many precedents of the like nature, in other penal laws: that an incapacity, as qualified by the ſubſequent proviſo, is a very proper puniſhment: that a ſecond offenſe is a relapſe, or apoſtacy; which are circumſtances that aggravate and make it more heinous then the firſt offenſe, and therefore deſerve an increaſe of puniſhment: that he is, indeed, reduced to a very unhappy condition, who is made incapable of ſerving his Prince and country. But, in the preſent caſe, our Prince and country would be in a more unhappy condition to be ſerved by ſuch, whoſe principles are inconſiſtent with the good and welfare of our eſtabliſhment. That the commons could never imagine the lords would infer from this incapacity, the taking away the toleration. That the toleration was intended only for the eaſe of tender and ſcrupulous conſciences, and not to give a licenſe for occaſional conformity. That conforming and non-conforming are contradictions; nothing but a firm perſuaſion, that our terms of communion are ſinful and unlawful, can juſtify the one, and plainly condemns the other. Laſtly, as to the commons diſagreeing to the clauſes mark'd A B C D, their managers urged, that the exempting Proteſtant Diſſenters from ſerving offices, would rather eſtabliſh occaſional non-conformity, than prevent occaſional conformity; and therefore, increaſe, and not cure, the evil the bill was intended to remedy: that the act of uniformity, which eſtabliſhes the liturgy and practiſe of the church of England, has provided for the ſermons or lectures, preach'd or read in the univerſities. That thoſe ſermons and lectures having been in ſuch manner provided for, it was not thought neceſſary, when the acts paſs'd, in the 16th and 22d of Car. II. to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles (in both which acts conventicles are deſcribed, as in this bill) to have any particular exceptions for them, and yet they were never, by any conſtruction, taken to be conventicles. That the allowing an exemption to ſuch as ſhould be preſent, at the exerciſes in forein reformed churches, would be to open a door for the evading this law. That the places of governors in ſome hoſpitals are very conſiderable preferments, and given as ſuch to the clergy of the church of England; and the commons can never conſent, by any law, to let in the Diſſenters to the injoyment of them.

The lords, on the other hand, tho' they allow'd occaſional conformity to be a ſcandal to religion, ſaid, that this ſeemed to be a breaking in upon the toleration: that the nation had been quiet ever ſince the toleration-act had been made, and that the Diſſenters, who were not obnoxious, but well affected to the preſent government, had loſt more ground by it than the church: that the nation was ingaged in a great war, and it was not prudent to incourage animoſities in religion at ſuch a time: that the fines were exceſſive, and would induce informers to proſecute innocent men; and that every one would be expoſed to the malice of profligate villains and wicked ſervants.

To which the commons replied, that the bill eſtabliſh'd the toleration, inſtead of weakening it: that the fines were ſuited to the nature of the caſe, and that the lords could not alter a fine: that it was the practiſe of all governments, even of Holland itſelf, not to admit any Diſſenters to the eſtabliſh'd church to any ſhare in the government; and, if there was no precedent for it, the thing itſelf was ſo reaſonable, that none could oppoſe it, who had not ſome ſiniſter view; for it could never be imagined, that Diſſenters, whoſe principles led them to deſtroy the church, would not advance its intereſts, but rather ruin the church, if power was put into their hands; or that republicans, in place, would not contribute to the ſubverting the Monarchy, rather than the defending it. In ſhort, that if any government was ſo ſottiſh, to put the civil or military power into the hands of their enemies, they muſt expect to feel the ill conſequences of it; and even in a time of war, the adminiſtration would be much ſafer in the hands of its friends, than of its profeſs'd enemies.

(2) It has been obſerved upon this occaſion, that the majority of the temporal lords, were ſatisfy'd with this laſt reply of the commons; but that the biſhops made in the laſt reign fell into the oppoſite ſcale, and that, with them, one vote only loſt the bill.

(3) After many others, of the like kind, were the following: "that this was the time to pull up this heretical weed of ſedition, "that had ſo long diſturbed the peace of the church, and poiſon'd the good corn: if it ſhould be objected, that this renewing fire "and faggot would be cruelty, and accounted barbarous, he anſwered; that 'tis cruelty to kill a ſnake or a toad, in cold blood; "but the poiſon of their nature makes it a charity to our neighbors to deſtroy thoſe creatures, not for any perſonal injury "received, but for prevention; not for the evil they have done, but the evil they may do: and that as ſerpents, toads and "vipers are noxious to the body, and poiſon the ſenſitive life; ſo the Diſſenters poiſon the ſoul, corrupt our poſterity, inſnare "our children, deſtroy the vitals of our happineſs, our future felicity, and contaminate the whole maſs, and, therefore, they "are to be rooted out of this nation, if ever we would live in peace, ſerve God, and injoy our own.

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with too thin a varniſh not to be ſeen thro' ; the commons, therefore, taking theſe dangerous inſinuations under their conſideration, ordered, on the 25th of February, the pamphlet to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be proſecuted at law.

Proceedings againſt the lord Hallifax.

The commons were, in the mean time, entered upon another affair, which made a great noiſe, and very much augmented the differences which the occaſional conformity-bill had excited between the two houſes of parliament ; I mean the proceedings upon the reports of the commiſſioners of the public accounts, of which I have already made ſome mention, with regard to the earl of Ranelagh. The 26th of January, colonel Bierly, from the ſaid commiſſioners, preſented to the houſe, their report, purſuant to an order, by which they were directed to examine the auditor, and other officers of the exchequer, relating to the paſſing of the accounts of the public mony, and to lay before the houſe, what they ſhould find to be the cauſe, that the accounts were not annually and duly paſs'd, according to the laws in that caſe, and thro' whoſe default it had happened. This report, and ſeveral paragraphs of the commiſſioners obſervations, being read, the houſe reſolved :

1. " That Charles, lord Hallifax, auditor of the " receit of the exchequer, had neglected his duty, " and was guilty of a breach of truſt, in not tranſ- " miting the impreſs'd rolls, half-yearly to the " King's remembrancer, according to the late " ſtatute, made in the eight and ninth year of King " William.

2. " That the allowing accomptants the charges " of law-ſuits to determine the right of their offices, " was a miſapplication of the public mony.

3. " That the auditors of the impreſt had been " guilty of a great neglect of their duty, in not " certifying to the King's remembrancer, the " neglect of the ſeveral annual accounts, that " proceſs might go out againſt them : and,

4. That there had been a general miſmanage- " ment of the public mony, by not obliging ac- " comptants to make up their accounts, and by " continuing receivers in ſeveral counties, contrary " to law, who had neglected to make up their ac- " counts in due time, which had been a great abuſe " of the public, and another cauſe of the great debt " that lay upon the nation."

The 27th, the commons having proceeded in the farther conſideration of the obſervations of the commiſſioners of public accounts, reſolved :

1. That the mony impreſs'd out of the exche- " quer, for the ſervice of the public, ought to be " kept by the reſpective officers, in their own " cuſtody, untill the ſame ſhall be paid to the uſes " for which it was directed.

2. " That Charles, lord Hallifax, auditor of the " receit of exchequer, had been guilty of a breach of " truſt, in not examining, every three months, the " tellers-vouchers for the payments, upon the annuities " which he allowed in his weekly certificates, ac- " cording to the aforementioned act of parlia- " ment.

3. " That the reſolutions relating to the lord " Hallifax, be laid before her Majeſty ; and,

4. " That an addreſs be preſented to her Ma- " jeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to give directions, " to the attorny-general, to proſecute him, for " the ſaid offenſes."

The 7th of February, colonel Granville acquainted the houſe, that the Queen had been pleaſed to ſay : " ſhe would ſend to the attorny-general, " and give him her directions, purſuant to this " addreſs." Q. Ann, An' 1703.

The earl of Ranelagh expell'd the houſe of commons.

The ſame day, the commons reſumed the adjourned debate, upon the laſt obſervation of the commiſſioners for public accounts ; and the reſolutions of the 4th and 7th of December, relating to the earl of Ranelagh, being read, it was reſolved ; " That the ſaid earl, being guilty of a high-crime " and miſdemeanor in miſapplying ſeveral ſums of " the public mony, be expell'd the houſe ; and " that an addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, upon " the narrative, repreſentation, and obſervation of " the ſaid commiſſioners, and upon the reſolution " of the houſe of commons thereupon, and upon " the debate of the houſe " (1).

The lords examine the public accounts.

The lords, on the other hand, apprehending they had an equal right, with the commons, to examine the public accounts, and having gone thro' ſeveral papers laid before them by mr. King, ſecretary to the commiſſioners of accounts, and likewiſe appointed a commitee to conſider of the obſervations made by the ſaid commiſſioners ; which commitee, having ſat, for that purpoſe, reported to the houſe of peers ; " that tho' the commiſſioners of accounts " had notice of the commitee's ſiting, yet none of " them attended ; and, therefore, the commitee " was of opinion, that a meſſage be ſent to the " houſe of commons, that they might have leave " to attend." This meſſage was accordingly ſent, the 4th of February ; and, the next day, the commons having taken the ſame into conſideration, appointed a commitee, " to inſpect the journals, and " to ſearch precedents, relating to what had been " done upon the lords deſiring members of the " houſe of commons, to attend the houſe of lords, " and in relation to the lords inſpecting and examin- " ing accounts : " which took up ſome time : however, the lords proceeded in their examinations, and, after a farther report of their commitee made by the duke of Sommerſet, on the ſaid 5th of February, and read, in the houſe of peers, together with the examinations taken upon oath, by the commitee, and the dates and indorſements of the ſeveral impreſs'd rolls, deliver'd by mr. Barker, deputy to her Majeſty's remembrancer, the queſtion was put ; " whether this houſe would agree to the opinion of " the committee, in this report ? " which being carried in the affirmative, it was reſolved and declared, by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled ; " that Charles, lord Hallifax, " auditor of the receit of the exchequer, has per- " formed the duty of his office, in tranſmiting " the ordinary impreſs'd rolls to the Queen's re- " membrancer, according to the ancient cuſtom of " the exchequer, and the direction of the act " viii and ix. Gulielmi iii. regis, intitled ", an act for the better obſervation of the courſe anciently uſed in the receit of the exchequer ; " and that he " has not been guilty of any neglect or breach of " truſt upon that account." At the ſame time, their lordſhips ordered their proceedings in this affair, to be forthwith printed and publiſh'd.

And clear the lord Hallifax.

Difference between the two houſes thereupon.

The commons, who were by no means ſatisfied with this honorable acquital of the lord Hallifax, ordered their commitee, on the 12th, to ſearch the journals of the houſe of lords, and report their lordſhips proceedings, relating to this matter. This report being made, and, purſuant to farther orders, the ſame commitee

(1) Biſhop Burnet is very ſevere upon the houſe of commons, with regard to this addreſs, and boldly aſſerts, " that there was " not one article in all the long addreſs, the commons had made to the Queen on this ſubject (of any importance) that was not " falſe in fact " : (hiſtory of his own times.) To which, a late hiſtorian anſwers : " this is the moſt falſe and ſcandalous aſſer- " tion, upon a whole houſe of commons, that ever had a place in hiſtory ; and, if any of the biſhops friends will enter into a " fair ſcrutiny of that matter, I will be content his whole hiſtory ſhould paſs for goſpel, if I do not demonſtrate the commons " had good grounds for that addreſs. Salmon's modern hiſtory, Vol. xxv. p. 122.

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having drawn up reaſons to be offered to the lords, at a conference upon the ſubject-matter of their lordſhips meſſage of the 4th, theſe reaſons were reported, by colonel Glanville, on the 16th, and were in ſubſtance:

"That the commons could not comply with "their lordſhips deſires, contained in their meſſage "of the 4th of that month, becauſe they were "ſtill of the ſame opinion, as was delivered to "their lordſhips, in February 1691, at a free con-"ference upon the ſubject-matter of the amend-"ments made by the lords, to the additional bill, "for the appointing and inabling commiſſioners "to examine, take and ſtate the public accounts "of the kingdom, when they deſired to know the "end their lordſhips would propoſe to themſelves, "by an inquiry into the public accounts: for, ſaid "they, ſhould there appear to have been any "miſapplication of the public mony, or a default "in the diſtribution, your lordſhips cannot take "cogniſance thereof originally, or otherwiſe, even "in your judicial capacity, than at the complaint "of the commons; and, ſhould a failure, or want "of mony, appear, 'tis not in your lordſhips power "to redreſs it, for the grant of all aids is in the "commons only: or, if there be any ſurpluſage, "the commons only can apply it to the charge "of the inſuing year.

"But, ſhould the commons give leave to the "commiſſioners to attend your lordſhips, no in-"formation they can give againſt any perſon "whomſoever, can intitle your lordſhips either to "acquit or condemn: yet, ſince this meſſage, the "commons find, in your lordſhips journals, a re-"ſolution, declaring, that Charles, lord Halliſax, "auditor of the receit of the exchequer, has per-"formed the duty of his office, &c. which looks, "to the commons, as if your lordſhips pretended "to give judgment of acquital, without any accu-"ſation brought before your lordſhips, and conſe-"quently without any trial: and that which makes "your lordſhips proceedings yet more irregular, "it tends to prejudging a cauſe, which might re-"gularly have come before you, either originally, "by impeachment, or by writ of error, from the "courts below: and, therefore, the commons "can ſee no uſe of your reſolution, unleſs it be ei-"ther to intimidate the judges, or prepoſſeſs a jury. "But if your lordſhips could have judg'd, in this "matter, it does not appear by your lordſhips "journals, that you have had, under examination, "the reſpective times of tranſmiting the ſeveral "impreſs'd rolls to the Queen's remembrancer: "without which it is impoſſible to know, whether "the auditor of the receit has done his duty ac-"cording to the late act of parliament".

Theſe reaſons being approved by the houſe, a meſſenger was immediately ſent to the lords to deſire a conference; to which the lords having agreed, the 17th, the managers for the commons delivered the ſaid reaſons to their lordſhips.

The lords, who were not a little provok'd at theſe reſolutions of the commons, came, on the 18th, to the following reſolutions:

1. "That the lords have an undoubted right "(which they can never ſuffer to be conteſted) to "take congizance originally of all public accounts, "and to inquire into any miſapplication or default "in the diſtribution of public monies, or into any "other miſmanagement whatſoever.

2. "That the lords, in their inquiry into the "examination of the obſervations of the commiſ-"ſioners of accounts, in relation to Charles, lord "Halliſax, and in their reſolution, thereupon, had "proceeded according to the rules of juſtice, and "the evidence that was before them: and,

3. "That the commons, in their reaſons deli-"ver'd at the laſt conference, had uſed ſeveral ex-"preſſions and arguments, highly reflecting, and "altogether unparliamentary, tending to deſtroy all "good correſpondence between the two houſes, and "to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution."

The Queen, apprehending the conſequences of theſe differences between the two houſes, ſent a meſſage, on the 22d of February, to the lords, by the earl of Nottingham, to deſire them to make a quick diſpatch of the buſineſs before them: upon which, the commons reſolved; "that an addreſs "be preſented to her Majeſty, humbly to lay be-"fore her, that the commons had already diſ-"patch'd all the neceſſary buſineſs before them": The ſame day, their lordſhips communicated their laſt reſolutions to the commons, at a conference by them deſired and appointed.

The commons having taken theſe reſolutions into conſideration, the next day, reſolved that a free conference be deſired with the lords, upon the ſubject-matter of the two laſt: which being done, accordingly, the 25th, their lordſhips appointed the ſame immediately, in the painted-chamber, and named the lord ſteward, the earl of Carliſle, and the lords Herbert, Halliſax and Ferrer, to be their managers.

The managers for the commons, at the head of whom was the learned mr. Finch, open'd the particulars, which they had in direction to inſiſt on; and were as follows;

1. "That no cognizance the lords can take of "the public accounts, can inable them to ſupply "any deficiency, or to apply any ſurpluſage of the "public mony.

2. "That the lords can neither acquit nor con-"demn any perſon whomſoever, upon any inquiry "ariſing originally in their own houſe.

3. "That the attempt the lords have made to "acquit Charles lord Halliſax, auditor of the re-"ceit of the exchequer, is unparliamentary, and "not warranted by any precedent: and the reſo-"lution, thereupon, plainly contrary to what ap-"pears on the records themſelves.

4. "That the conference deſired by the com-"mons, was in order to preſerve a good under-"ſtanding between both houſes, by offering reaſons "to prevent the lords from proceeding in a caſe "which they had no precedent to warrant: and the "commons expreſſing the conſequences which they "apprehended might follow from that reſolution, "was neither reflecting nor unparliamentary, or "tending to deſtroy the good correſpondence be-"tween the two houſes, much leſs to the ſubver-"ſion of the conſtitution: and,

5. "That the lords delivering, at a con-"ference, their reſolutions inſtead of reaſons, in "anſwer to the reaſons of the commons, is not "agreeable to the ancient rules and methods of "parliament, obſerved in conferences between the "two houſes."

To all which, he added, "that when they ac-"quainted their lordſhips, that the expreſſing the "conſequences, which they apprehended might "follow from their lordſhips reſolutions, it was not "a charge upon their lordſhips, that they intended "that conſequence; but they would have been "very glad their lordſhips would have been plea-"ſed to have let them know, what uſe was to be "made of it, or what they intended by it: "and concluded, that if their lordſhips did con-"travert any of theſe points, they were ready to "maintain them."

The lords made no anſwer to any of theſe particulars, ſave to the matter of the reſolution relating to the lord Halliſax, upon which they acknowledged: "that they were no court of inquiry, "to form any accuſation: that their proceedings,

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" in relation to that lord, was no trial; nor was " their reſolution any judgment or acquital; but " that he might ſtill be proſecuted as before. But " what gave occaſion to that proceeding was the " reſolution of the houſe of commons, which they " found in the printed votes, reflecting upon a " member in their houſe, and whereupon they " thought fit to give their opinion, which they did " in their legiſlative authority."

The commons rejoin'd largely, and the earl of Hallifax having, to conclude, ſpoken in his own juſtification, the conference broke up; and the members being returned to their reſpective houſes, the commons ordered their managers to draw up a report of the ſaid free conference; after which, a motion was made, " that the votes of the houſe of " commons ſhould not be printed, and that this " might be a ſtanding order;" which being carried, in the affirmative, occaſioned various diſcourſes, both in the city and country. The lords, on the contrary, ordered their proceedings, in relation to the occaſional conformity bill, and the public accounts, to be forthwith printed, whereupon the commons reſolved to publiſh theirs likewiſe.

Acts paſs'd.

The 27th of February, the Queen went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent; 1. " To " the land-tax bill, of four ſhillings in the pound. " 2. To an act to inable her Majeſty to ſettle a " revenue of 100,000 l. per ann. on the Prince " of Denmark, in caſe he ſurvived her. 3. To " the malt-tax bill. 4. To an act for continuing " the duty upon coals. 5. An act for granting " an aid to her Majeſty, by the ſale of annuities " (1). 6. An act for preventing eſcapes out of " the King's-bench and fleet-priſons. 7. An act " for finiſhing and adorning the cathedral of St. " Paul's. 8. An act for the puniſhment of acceſ- " ſaries to felonies, and the receivers of ſtolen " goods. 9. An act for inlarging the time, for " taking the abjuration-oath, and for the farther " ſecuring the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, " and extinguiſhing the hopes of the Pretender. " 10. An act for ſtating and examining the pub- " lic accounts. And, 11, An act for advancing " the ſale of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland;" with ſome others.

This done, her Majeſty made the following remarkable ſpeech to both houſes:

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I return you my hearty thanks for the great " diſpatch you have given to the public affairs in " this ſeſſion, which is an advantage extreamly " material at all times, and I hope we ſhall find " the fruit of it this year, in the forwardneſs " of our preparations.

" I am to thank you, gentlemen of the houſe " of commons, in particular, for the great ſup- " plies with which you inable me to carry on " the war: it ſhall be my care, to have them " ſtrictly applied to the uſes for which you have " deſigned them, and to the beſt advantage for " the public ſervice: you have repoſed great " confidence in me, by allowing ſo unuſual a la- " titude as you have done in the clauſe of ap- " propriation. I ſhall improve all opportunities " in the uſe of it, for the honor and true intereſt " of the nation.

" I muſt farther take notice to you, that the " readineſs you have ſhewn, in the proviſion made " for the Prince, is a very ſenſible obligation " to me.

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My lords and gentlemen,

" I deſire and expect from you, that you " make it your buſineſs, in your ſeveral coun- " tries, to continue and preſerve the quiet and ſa- " tisfaction of all my ſubjects. I hope, that ſuch " of them, as have the misfortune to diſſent from " the church of England, will reſt ſecure and ſa- " tisfied in the act of toleration, which I am " firmly reſolved to maintain: and that all thoſe, " who have the happineſs and advantage to be of " our church, will conſider, that I have had my " education in it, and that I have been willing " to run great hazards for its preſervation; and, " therefore, they may be very ſure, I ſhall al- " ways make it my own particular care, to in- " courage and maintain this church, as by law " eſtabliſh'd, and every the leaſt member of it, " in all their juſt rights and privileges; and upon " all occaſions of promotions to any eccleſiaſtical " dignity, I ſhall have a very juſt regard to ſuch " as are eminent and remarkable for their piety, " learning, and conſtant zeal for the church; " that by this, and all other methods, which " ſhall be thought proper, I may tranſmit it ſe- " curely ſettled to poſterity.

" I think it might have been for the public " ſervice, to have had ſome farther laws for re- " ſtraining the great licenſe which is aſſumed of " publiſhing and ſpreading ſcandalous pamphlets " and libels; but as far as the preſent laws will " extend, I hope you will all do your duty in " your reſpective ſtations, to prevent and puniſh " ſuch pernicious practiſes.

" Above all other things, I do recommend to " you, peace and union among yourſelves, as " the moſt effectual means, that can be deviſed, " to diſcourage and defeat the deſigns of our ene- " mies.

" I muſt not conclude without acquainting " you, I have given directions, that my part of " all the prizes, which have been, or ſhall be " taken during this war, be applied intirely to " the public ſervice, and I hope my own reve- " nue will not fall ſo ſhort, but that I may be " able, as I deſire, to contribute yet farther to the " eaſe of thy people."

The parliament prorogued.

After which, the lord-keeper, by the Queen's command, prorogued the parliament to the 22d of April next inſuing (2).

The diſputes in convocation reviv'd.

The convocation having been aſſembled, at the ſame time the parliament met, the former controverſy was revived, between the upper and lower houſe, concerning the power of the lower houſe to adjourn themſelves, and ſeveral papers paſs'd between them, on that account: but all proving ineffectual, the lower houſe, in the end, propoſed, that the biſhops would join with them in an addreſs to the Queen; praying, that her Majeſty, out of her tender regard to the peace and good order of the church, would pleaſe to take this controverſy into her conſideration, and appoint ſuch perſons, as ſhe, in her wiſdom ſhould chuſe, to hear and determine it.

In anſwer to this propoſal of the lower houſe, the biſhops obſerved, that they affected to expreſs themſelves in a manner, that ſet the two houſes

(1) By this act each contributor for every 210 l. paid in, was to receive fourteen pound per ann. for ninety-nine years.

(2) Beſide what I have already mentioned, there were ſeveral other bills loſt this ſeſſion: as, an ingroſſed bill from the lords; " For the better carrying on the preſent war, both by ſea and land, in the Weſt-Indies;" which was poſtponed and loſt in the houſe of commons: a bill from the commons, " For the more free and impartial proceedings in parliament, by " providing, that no perſon ſhall be choſen a member of the houſe of commons, but ſuch as have a ſufficient real eſtate;" which was rejected by the lords: and a bill from the commons; " concerning the ſale of the hoſpital of the Savoy;" which they, likewiſe rejected.

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upon ſuch an equality, as they judg'd inconſiſtent with the epiſcopal authority, and the preſidency of the archbiſhop over the whole convocation, and to lead to ſuch an independency of preſbyters upon their biſhops, as the clergy of the lower houſe, in former times, never pretended to: that they were abundantly aſſured of her Majeſty's tender regard to the peace and good order of the church, but could not think it proper to trouble her with this controverſy, it not being in their power to part with any of thoſe rights, with which they were intruſted, by the conſtitution of the church, and the laws and cuſtoms of the realm.

Semper Eadem, the Queen's motto.

This winter, the earl of Carliſle, earl marſhal of England, gave public notice of her Majeſty's pleaſure, that whenever there ſhould be occaſion to imbroider, depict, grave, carve or paint her Majeſty's arms, the words Semper Eadem ſhould be uſed for the motto, being the ſame with that of her great predeceſſor, Queen Elizabeth.

Promotions, creations, &c.

The latter end of February, the major-generals, William Stuart and Thomas Earl, eſqs; the lords Portmore, Cuts, Lumley, Tiviot, and major-general Ramſey, were made lieutenant-generals of her Majeſty's forces: and the earl of Rocheſter having reſign'd the poſt of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the duke of Ormond was, ſome time before this, appointed to ſucceed him. The 9th of March, John Sheffield, marquis of Normanby, was created duke of the ſame name, to which the title of duke of Buckinghamſhire was afterwards added: John Granville, eſq; was made baron Granville of Potheridge, in the county of Devon; Heneage Finch, eſq; baron of Guernſey, in the county of Southampton; ſir John Leviſon Gower, baron Gower, of Sittenham, in the county of York; Francis Seymour Conway, eſq: younger ſon of ſir Edward Seymour, by a ſecond venter, baron Conway of Ragley, in the county of Warwick, with a remainder to his brother, Charles Seymour, eſq; and John Harvey, eſq; baron Harvey of Ickworth, in the county of Suffolk. The 11th, the marquis of Carmarthen, was advanced from the poſt of vice-admiral of the white, to that of vice-admiral of the red, of her Majeſty's fleet; John Graydon, eſq; from rear-admiral of the white, to vice-admiral of the ſame ſquadron, and John Leake eſq; from rear-admiral of the blue, to be vice-admiral of the ſame ſquadron. At the ſame time, George Byng, eſq; was appointed to be rear-admiral of the red, Thomas Dilkes, eſq; rear-admiral of the white, and Bazil Beaumont, eſq; rear-admiral of the blue. The 13th, three knights-companions of the moſt noble order of the garter were inſtall'd in St. George's chappel, at Windſor: viz. his moſt ſerene highneſs, the elector of Hanover, by his proxy, the lord Mohun; the duke of Bedford, in perſon, and the duke of Marlborough, by his proxy, ſir Benjamin Bathurſt. The 20th, the archbiſhop of York, the earl of Thanet, and the lord Guernſey, were called to the privy-council: the next day, Gervas Pierpoint, eſq; was created baron Pierpoint of Anglas, in the kingdom of Ireland: and, on the 24th, the earl of Rutland was made marquis of Granby, and duke of Rutland, and Edward Harley, eſq; was appointed auditor of the impreſt, in the room of Thomas Done, eſq; deceas'd, ſir John Verney, baronet: was created baron Verney, of Belturbet, and viſcount Fermanagh, in the kingdom of Ireland, and the duke of Schomberg was appointed general of the Engliſh and Dutch auxiliaries, which were to be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the King of Portugal, who came this ſpring, into the grand alliance, and his grace was ſoon after elected knight of the moſt noble order of the garter.

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Affairs of Scotland.

The convention of the ſtates, which aſſembled in Scotland at the revolution, and was afterwards turn'd into a parliament, had been continued as ſuch during all King William's reign. This was complained of, as a great grievance, without a precedent, and an invaſion on their old conſtitution, by which a parliament was to be choſen annually. Her Majeſty was therefore pleaſed, this year to gratify her people of Scotland, by calling a new parliament; which met on the 6th of May, when her Majeſty's letter was preſented to them, by the duke of Queenſborough, the lord-high commiſſioner, in which, among other things ſhe told them: "That ſhe had, on ſeveral occaſions, given "them aſſurance of her firm reſolution, to main- "tain and protect them in their religion, rights "and liberties, as eſtabliſh'd by law, and ſhould "be always ready to do every thing elſe that was "wanting, for the ſatisfaction and ſecurity of "that her ancient kingdom. She recommended "to them, the ſtate of the forces and gariſons, "and the giving ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for "carrying on the war, and for the ſafety of their "country. She alſo recommended to them the "incouragement of their trade, the promoting "religion and virtue, the ſuppreſſing vice and im- "morality, and providing for the poor. She "ſaid, ſhe had appointed the duke of Queens- "borough, her high commiſſioner, being ſatiſ- "fied his great experience and abilities would "render him acceptable to them. She ſaid, ſhe "recommended nothing to them at this their firſt "meeting, but what was for their ſecurity and wel- "fare, and confidently expected a ſuitable return, "and a cheerful concurrence in what ſhe propoſed; "and that all animoſities being laid aſide, they "would, with concord and diligence, bring mat- "ters to ſuch a happy concluſion, as ſhould eſtabliſh "a laſting union between her and her people."

A new parliament choſen.

The Queen's letter to the parliament.

This letter being read, the high commiſſioner, and the earl of Seaforth, lord chancellor, made each of them a ſpeech, to back the purport of the letter: "The duke of Hamilton then offer'd the "draught of an act for recognizing and aſſerting "her Majeſty's authority, and her undoubted "right and title, to the Imperial crown of that "kingdom;" this act being read, it was, by unanimous conſent, ordered to be read a ſecond time: and then the houſe adjourning for ſome days, they return'd to her Majeſty's palace, where the lord commiſſioner had prepared a noble entertainment (1.) The 15th, the chancellor moved for a ſecond reading of this act, in order to its being paſs'd; but, before it went to the vote, the Queen's advocate propoſed the inſerting a clauſe, "making it treaſon to quarrel her Majeſty's right "and title to the crown, or the exerciſe of the "government, from her actual entry on the ſame." This clauſe, duke Hamilton, and thoſe who adhered to him, oppoſed, alledging that the miniſtry only propoſed it, as being conſcious they had, contrary to law, been inſtrumental in adviſing her Majeſty to exerciſe ſome acts of adminiſtration, ſuch as the calling together the late parliament,

An act for acknowledging her Majeſty's title.

(1) This entertainment was very ſolemn and grand: at one end of the room was a table raiſed two or three ſteps, where his grace ſat alone, and was ſerved at table by the duke of Argyle, as maſter of the houſhold, who gave the firſt glaſs kneeling; the earl of Mar ſerved as carver; the earl of Loudon as cup-bearer; the lord Boyle as comptroler; and ſir William Erſtruther baronet, as under maſter of the houſhold. Down from the commiſſioner's table, there was a table of about 120 foot long, where the nobility, barons and burgeſſes ſat.

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which had continued during all the late reign, and promoting in it ſome commiſſions, laws and powers, which were plainly beyond thoſe limitations, which determined the being of that parliament, and circumſcrib'd its power. It was, however, carried for this clauſe, and the bill having been twice read, had the royal aſſent, the nineteenth (1).

An act of toleration rejected.

An act "for the toleration of all Proteſtants, "in the exerciſe of religious worſhip," was, likewiſe, propos'd in this parliament: upon which a repreſentation was offered againſt it, in the name, and at the appointment of the general aſſembly of the kirk; in which they inſiſted, "That there "could be no juſt ground to grant a toleration to "thoſe of the epiſcopal perſuaſion, ſince there "was no ſinful condition of communion required "of them, and difference in opinion about "church-government was not a ſufficient reaſon "for ſeparation in worſhip: and that to grant a "toleration to that party, in the preſent circum-"ſtances of that church and nation, would ſhake "the foundations of their happy conſtitution. We "therefore (ſaid they) moſt humbly beſeech, yea, "we are bold in the Lord, and in the name of the "church of God, earneſtly to obteſt his grace, "and the moſt honorable eſtates, that no ſuch "motion of any legal toleration, to thoſe of the "prelatical principle, may be entertained by the "parliament: being perſuaded, that in the pre-"ſent caſe and circumſtances of that church and "nation, to enact a toleration for thoſe of that "way (which we pray God, of his infinite mer-"cy to avert) would be to eſtabliſh iniquity by "a law, and bring upon the promoters thereof, "and upon their families, a dreadful guilt, &c." (2.) The kirk, in ſhort, ſo managed matters, that the act of toleration was drop'd.

The ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover rejected.

Some time after, it was propoſed to take the ſupply into conſideration; but the houſe inſiſted, before they went upon that buſineſs, upon paſſing an act for their ſecurity, in which it was provided, in order to ſecure their ancient independency, "that in default of iſſue of her Majeſty, the ſame "perſon ſhould, in no event, be capable to be "King or Queen both of England and Scotland, "unleſs a free communication of trade, the free-"dom of navigation, and the liberty of the "plantations, &c. was fully agreed to by the "parliament of England;" and ſeveral proviſions and limitations were alſo contained in the ſaid act, to the prejudice of the prerogative of the crown (3). The ſettling the ſucceſſion, in the houſe of Hanover, was afterwards propoſed by the earl of Marchmont; but his propoſal was rejected (4). Q. Ann' An' 1703

The act of ſecurity having been twice read, and the high commiſſioner neglecting to give it the royal aſſent, he was frequently addreſs'd to that purpoſe; 'till, at length, he told the parliament: "that he was fully impower'd to give the royal aſ-"ſent to all the acts voted this ſeſſion, except the "act of ſecurity, which, they might eaſily believe, "required her Majeſty's farther conſideration. At "the ſame time, her Majeſty expected they would "mind their own ſafety, in making the neceſſary "proviſion for the troops, and that they would "put the trade and cuſtoms upon ſuch a foot, that "the civil liſt might be ſupported:" and he intreated them to finiſh theſe matters as ſoon as poſſible.

The royal aſſent refuſed to the act of ſecurity.

Some members of the houſe began, upon this, to queſtion whether the crown had a negative or not. They ſaid, 'till of late, a negative had never been interpoſed, and that but in very few caſes; and, in the end, they peremptorily reſolved, not to go upon the ſupply, 'till the act of ſecurity had paſs'd the royal aſſent: whereupon, the lord-commiſſioner having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral other acts, on the 16th of September, the parliament was adjourned to the 12th of October (5).

The negative of the crown call'd in queſtion.

The parliament adjourned.

The duke of Ormond having been conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, as I have obſerved already, his grace held a parliament of that kingdom, which met the 21ſt of September. When his grace made a ſpeech to both houſes, importing in ſubſtance: "that what her Majeſty expected from the com-"mons at this time, was only that the public debts "be diſcharged, and the revenue made equal to "the expence of the government, which was much "increaſed by the charge of the barracks: and they "were found ſo uſeful, and ſo great an eaſe to the "country, that they ought not to be neglected: "aſſuring both houſes, that ſince the Queen had "done him the honor to place him in that ſtation, "as his duty and gratitude obliged him to ſerve "her Majeſty, with the utmoſt diligence and fide-"lity, ſo his inclination and intereſt, and the ex-"amples of his anceſtors, were indiſpenſable ob-"ligations upon him, to improve every opportu-"nity, to the advantage and proſperity of this his "native country: concluding, that ſince he had "no other deſign, than what they all aimed at, "the Queen's ſervice, and the good of their coun-"try, he only recommended to them, that they

Affairs of Ireland.

The duke of Ormond's ſpeech to the parliament.

(1) Before the royal aſſent was given, the duke of Hamilton deſired, it might be remember'd, that, at paſſing this act, it was expreſsly declared, "that the meaning of the advocate's clauſe could affect only the Queen's exerciſe of her government, and "not the actings of her miniſtry: and, therefore, that whatever challenge might be given afterwards, to the illegality of the "actings of the late parliament, might not be conſidered as a violation of this act.

(2) It may here be naturally and properly aſk'd; why it ſhould not be as laudable and innocent to tolerate Epiſcopacy in Scotland, as to tolerate Preſbytery in England, eſpecially if we conſider, that the legiſlative authority of both nations, are now of the Epiſcopal communion.

(3) The debates upon this act of ſecurity laſted, by adjournment, from time to time, three months, and were often very warm, on both ſides. Several other projects, acts and expedients were propos'd by different members, and debated, but all, at length terminated in this.

(4) His lordſhip preſented an act, intitled, "an act to ſettle the ſucceſſion on the houſe of Hanover", and deſired it might be read; but when the clerk came to that paragraph, where it ſubſtituted the Princeſs Sophia, &c. the words were no ſooner out of his mouth, than the whole houſe was in a flame. Some moved to have it burnt; others to have the earl, who offered it, called to the bar; and again others, that he might be ſent to the caſtle. But at length, after the houſe had expreſs'd a great deal of diſſatisfaction, the clerk was ſuffered to read it thro': but the earl's ſecond motion, that it might be mark'd a firſt reading, was over ruled, and ſo the act was loſt.

(5) The acts which had the royal aſſent were, 1. "An act for ſecuring the true Proteſtant religion, and Preſbyterian govern-"ment: 2 an act ratifying the turning the meeting of eſtates into a parliament: 3. an act anent leeſing-makers and ſlanderers: "4. an act anent peace and war: 5. an act anent the public accounts: 6. an act in favor of the company trading to Africa and "the Indies: 7. an act diſcharging the importation of Iriſh victual: 8. an act continuing the prohibition of exporting Eng-"liſh and Iriſh wool, till next ſeſſion of parliament: 9. an act allowing the importation of wines, and other forein liquors", and ſome private acts.

Thus ended this remarkable ſeſſion of the Scotiſh parliament, which, according to an eminent writer of that nation, "did "more for redreſſing the grievances, and reſtoring the liberties of that nation, than all the parliaments ſince 1660. Lockhart's memoirs, &c. p. 60.

With how great warmth matters were debated in this parliament, the reader may conceive by one inſtance, when upon a debate for a vote, "Liberty or ſubſidy", ſome members ſaid, "that, if there was no other way of coming at ſo natural and "undeniable a privilege of the parliament, they would demand it, with their ſwords in their hands.

"unite

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" unite and agree, in the ſame meaſures, and purſue them, with wiſdom and temper."

Addreſſes.

The firſt thing both houſes went upon, after the commons had choſen a ſpeaker, was the framing and preſenting dutiful and affectionate addreſſes both to the Queen and the lord-lieutenant: and the lords alſo wrote a letter to the Queen, returning her Majeſty thanks, " for her happy choice of James, duke of " Ormond, to be her lieutenant and chief governor " over that Kingdom: " to all which compliments, the Queen, and lord-lieutenant, returned very gracious anſwers.

The ſtate of the nation inquired into.

The 11th of October, mr. Moleſworth reported from the commitee of the whole houſe, appointed to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, that they had come to a reſolution; which was agreed to by the houſe, viz. " that an humble repreſentation be made to her Majeſty, ſeting " forth the preſent diſtreſſed condition of this kingdom: " he reported alſo, ſeveral other reſolutions, as heads of the ſaid repreſentation, which being agreed to, a commitee was appointed to prepare and bring it in. That the nation look'd upon themſelves, to ly under very great hardſhips, at this time we may ſee by the ſaid repreſentation to her Majeſty from the parliament; which they preſented to the lord-lieutenant, the 22d of October, in which they ſet forth; " that her royal predeceſſors had " always had the glory of governing a free people; " but that the conſtitution of the kingdom of Ire- " land had been of late greatly ſhaken, and the " lives, liberties and eſtates of the ſubjects called " in queſtion, and tried, in a manner unknown " to their anceſtors. That the charge they had " been put to, by the truſtees for forfeited eſtates, " in defending their juſt rights (which, after many " and expenſive delays, had been allowed by the ſaid " truſtees) exceeded the value of the current caſh " of that kingdom: that they could not, without " the greateſt grief of heart, reflect on the loſs of " their trade, and of being deprived of the means " of earning their livelyhood, and maintaining " their own manufactures, whereby their poor " were become very numerous, eſpecially the poor " induſtrious Proteſtants: that very many Proteſtant families had been forced to leave the kingdom, and remove into forein countries: that their " forein trade was under ſuch reſtrictions and diſcouragements, that it became in a manner unprofitable; that the want of frequent parliaments " had given incouragement to evil men, who minded nothing but their own gain, tho' it tended to " the ruin and oppreſſion of her Majeſty's ſubjects: " that the rapacious covetouſneſs of ſome civil " officers was inſupportable, who amaſs'd together " vaſt eſtates, in a ſhort time, in that poor country: that others reſided, for the moſt part out " of the kingdom, and neglected their duties, to " the great detriment of her Majeſty's ſubjects, " and failure of juſtice: and that it was from her " Majeſty's gracious interpoſition alone, in their " favor, that they hoped for relief from theſe their " manifeſt griefs and oppreſſions. That they did " not doubt, her Majeſty would take ſome prudent meaſures for their ſupport, either by reſtoring to them the full injoyment of their conſtitution, or by promoting a more firm and ſtrict " union with her ſubjects of England, which " would prove to the advantage of that kingdom; " nothing being more certain, than that what ever " riches Ireland ſhould acquire, muſt at laſt neceſſarily center in the ſeat of government: " they pray'd, that ſhe might long continue to be " the choiceſt bleſſing of her people, and the aſſerter of the liberties of Europe: and that they, " her poor ſubjects of Ireland, might be an eminent " inſtance of her Majeſty's having a juſt right to " that moſt glorious title; that they might join with " the reſt of mankind, in proclaiming her moſt " excellent Majeſty, not only the greateſt, but " the beſt and juſteſt Princeſs that ever reign'd".

Repreſentation of the parliament to the Queen.

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The 25th, mr. Southwell, ſecretary of ſtate, acquainted the houſe of commons: " that their repre- " ſentation was a matter of the higheſt conſequence; " and that his grace would take ſuch care of it, as " might moſt conduce to the ſervice of the nation.

They retrench ſeveral penſions.

The ſame day, the commons voted ſeveral penſions (to the value of 17,634l.) to be un-neceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment, and particularly 1200l. per annum, that was paid to the Preſbyterian miniſters in Ulſter, in the reign of King William.

A complaint having alſo been exhibited, in this parliament, againſt the noted mr. Aſgil, a member of the houſe of commons of that kingdom (as he had been of that in England) for writing a book intitled, " An argument proving, that, according " to the covenant of eternal life, revealed in the " ſcriptures, men may be tranſlated from hence to " Heaven, without paſſing thro' death, altho' the " humane nature of Christ himſelf could not be thus " tranſlated 'till he paſs'd thro' death." The houſe, on the 11th of October, after having heard mr. Aſgil, in his defence, reſolved, " that as it appear'd to " them, John Aſgil, eſq; a member of this houſe, is " author of the ſaid book, and that he be expell'd " the houſe, and for ever after incapable of " being choſen, return'd, or ſiting as a mem- " ber in any ſucceeding parliament in that king- " dom."

Proceedings on the ſupply.

The 13th, the houſe of commons took into conſideration that part of the lord-lieutenant's ſpeech as regarded the ſupply, and came to ſeveral reſolutions, which were ordered to be reported the next day. The 14th, the houſe ordered major Clayton to carry the heads of a bill (" to make it high- " treaſon, in this kingdom, by word or writing, " to impeach the ſucceſſion of the crown, as limited " by ſeveral acts of parliament", to his grace the lord-lieutenant, and deſire the ſame might be tranſmited to England in due form. Mr. Ludlow reported the reſolutions which were taken the day before, in a commitee of the whole houſe, on a ſupply, which were unanimouſly agreed to by the houſe, viz. " That the funds formerly granted by " parliament, and the revenue of the kingdom, " were ſufficient to ſupport the government, and " diſcharge the public debts, due to and for Michael- " mas 1703. That the ſupply to be granted to " her Majeſty, be a ſum ſufficient to make up the " deficiency of the revenue, to ſupport the neceſſary " branches of the eſtabliſhment, for two years, " ending at Michaelmas 1705."

Acts paſs'd.

The 16th, the lord-lieutenant came to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to three acts: 1. " For an aditional duty of exciſe upon beer, " ale, and other liquors: 2. for incouraging the " importation of iron and ſtaves; and, 3. to " prevent Popiſh prieſts from coming into the " kingdom."

A ſupply voted.

The 26th, they " granted 150,000 l. to her " Majeſty, to make good the deficiency of the ne- " ceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment, for the " ſupport of the government for two years, com- " mencing at Michaelmas 1703;" and the following days, they proceeded on ways and means to raiſe the ſame.

Heads of ſundry bills preſented.

The 30th of October, they finiſh'd the heads of " a bill, for ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject, " and for preventing of impriſonment beyond the " ſeas;" and order'd them to be carried to the lord-lieutenant. The 8th of November, the commons went thro' the heads of " a bill, for natura- " liſing all Proteſtant ſtrangers," and ordered that likewiſe to be carried to the lord-lieutenant, to be tranſmited

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tranſmited to England. The 23d, the houſe of commons, with their ſpeaker, attended his grace, and preſented him heads of "a bill, to prevent the "farther growth of Popery," and alſo heads of another bill, "to incourage the linen-manufacture "of that kingdom;" with an addreſs of the commons to her Majeſty. On this occaſion the ſpeaker made a ſpeech to the lord-lieutenant, in which he, in a more eſpecial manner, recommended the firſt of theſe bills to his favor, as of great importance to their future well-being. And the more, as they ſaid, they were well informed, and fully convinced, that great ſums of mony had been lately raiſed among them, to oppoſe the paſſing of a bill of this nature, in England. The lord-lieutenant aſſured them, "that he would take care to "tranſmit theſe two bills, which were ſo much "for the intereſt of the nation, and recommend "them in the moſt effectual manner, according to "their deſire, and do all that was in his power, "to prevent the growth of Popery."

Vote againſt Papiſts.

The 26th the houſe reſolved, "that, as it ap-"peared to them, the Papiſts of that kingdom ſtill "retained hopes of the coming in of the perſon, "who went by the name of the Prince of Wales, "in the life of the late King James, and now by "the title of James III." But, the ſame day, mr. ſecretary Southwell, by command of his grace the lord-lieutenant, acquainted the houſe, with his grace's pleaſure, that they ſhould adjourn till the 11th of January next inſuing, which was done accordingly (1).

The parliament of Ireland adjourn'd.

Maritime affairs.

I come now to give ſome account of the maritime affairs of this year, in which, as nothing very extraordinary happened, I ſhall be as ſhort as poſſible: however, before I enter upon thoſe occurrences at or near home, and in other parts of Europe, I ſhall ſay a word or two of what paſs'd in America. We left rear-admiral Whetſton cruiſing about Hiſpaniola; and I have already given the reader an account, that on the 24th of September, of the foregoing year, ſir George Rooke detach'd captain Walker, in the Burford, with five more third-rates, and ten tranſports, having four regiments on board, for the Weſt-Indies.

Vice-admiral Graydon ſent to the Weſt-Indies.

The 19th of January, of this year, vice-admiral Graydon, then of the white ſquadron, who was to have carried over the earl of Peterborough, as I have ſaid above (2), was now ordered to go without the earl, and was appointed commander in chief in the Weſt-Indies (3). He was ordered at firſt, to proceed from hence with the Reſolution, Blackwall, and Sheerneſs only: but the latter not proving fit for the voyage, it was afterwards thought proper, that the Montague of ſixty, and the Nonſuch of fifty guns, which were then at Plymouth, ſhould accompany him 150 leagues into ſea.

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Meets part of du Caſſe's ſquadron.

The 18th of March, being in the latitude of forty-ſeven degrees and thirty minutes, the vice-admiral having theſe ſhips with him, and the tranſports with brigadier Colombine's regiment, together with ſome ſtore-ſhips and merchant-men, they met with four French men of war to leeward, two of about ſixty, one of fifty, and the other of forty guns, which latter being not only the ſmalleſt, but the ſternmoſt, the Montague, commanded by captain Cleveland, bore down to and ingaged her. The vice-admiral, hereupon, made the ſignal for a line of battle, and conſequently for the Montague's coming off: but her fore-top-ſail being ſhot to pieces, ſhe could not be ſo quick in tacking, but that the other three ſhips wore, and bearing down to the ſhip that had been ingaged, each of them gave the Montague a broad-ſide, tho' without doing her much damage. The French ſhips, which were part of monſ. du Caſſe's ſquadron, that had been purſued by Bembow, and were reported to be very rich, now made the beſt of their way from ours, but were very foul (4).

But lets them eſcape.

Rear-admiral Whetſtone ſucceſsful.

Rear-admiral Whetſtone was, in the mean time, pretty ſucceſsful, in taking, ſinking, and burning ſeveral of the enemy's privateers, by which their loſs was computed at 18,000 l.

Several places in Guadelupe taken.

Captain Walker arrived, the 18th of February, at Antegoa, from whence he ſailed again the latter end of that month. And the ſquadron, with diverſe privateers, and other veſſels, and the forces under colonel Codrington, got together the 7th of the following month. They put aſhore a ſmall number of men, at the north end of Guadelupe, who burnt ſome houſes and plantations, and then came on board again. The fleet ſtood off and on, till the tenth, waiting the coming up of the Maidſtone man of war, and ſome other ſmall ſhips, which lay off of Marigalante. The 12th, by break of day, they landed colonel Byam, with his own regiment, and 200 of colonel Whetham's regiment, at a place called Les Petits Habitants, where they met with a warm reception from the French; but ſoon obliged them to retire.

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(1) This vote was occaſion'd by the repreſentation of a member, ſeting forth the great danger the Proteſtants were in, in ſome parts of Ireland, particularly in the county of Limerick, where the Iriſh were begining to form themſelves into bodies, and to plunder the Proteſtants of their arms and mony; adding, that the diſaffected there held a correſpondence with thoſe in England, and were not out of hopes of reſtoring the pretended Prince of Wales: and the ſudden adjournment, when the houſe was on a hot ſcent againſt Popery, afforded matter of ſiniſter reflections, againſt the lord-lieutenant. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 82.

(2) Biſhop Burnet ſays this project was laid aſide, upon an inſinuation, that if we attempted any of the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, it would but unite that nation more firmly with the French: tho' others think it was rather owing to the augmentation of our troops in Flanders.

(3) A ſquadron (ſays biſhop Burnet) was ſent to the Weſt-Indies, commanded by Graydon; a man brutal in his way, and not well affected to the preſent ſtate of affairs. The deſign was to gather all the forces that we had ſcattered up and down the plantations, and with that ſtrength to go and take Placentia, and ſo to drive the French out of the Newfoundland-trade: but the ſecret of this was ſo ill kept, that it was commonly talked of before he ſailed: the French had timely notice of it, and ſent a greater force to defend the place, than he could bring together to attack it. Hiſt. of his own times.

(4) As vice-admiral Graydon had more than a ſufficient force with him to have dealt with theſe French ſhips, which were foul, and could not eaſily have eſcaped him, it occaſion'd many reflections: but it has been alledg'd, in his excuſe, that he had poſitive orders, not to interrupt his paſſage, by chaſing or ſpeaking with any ſhips whatever. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 765.

His orders (ſays biſhop Burnet) were preſſing; in particular, that he ſhould not go out of his way, to purſue any of the enemy's ſhips, which he might ſee. Theſe he obſerved ſo punctually, that when he ſaw a ſquadron of four French men of war ſailing towards Breſt, that were viſibly foul, and in no condition to make any reſiſtance, he ſent indeed one of his ſhips to view them, who ingaged them; but Graydon gave the ſignal to call him off, upon which they got ſafe into Breſt. This was afterwards known to be du Caſſe's ſquadron, who was bringing treaſure home from Carthagena, and other ports of the Weſt-Indies, reported to be four millions of pieces of eight. But tho' here was a good prey loſt, yet ſo careful was the Prince's council to excuſe every thing, done by ſuch a man, that they ordered an advertiſement to be put in the Gazet, to juſtify Graydon, in which it is ſaid, that purſuant to his orders, he had not ingaged that fleet. The orders were indeed ſtrangely given, yet our admirals had never thought themſelves ſo bound down to them, but that, upon great occaſions, they might make ſtretches; eſpecially where the advantage was viſible, as it was in this caſe; for ſince they were out of the way of new orders, and new occaſions might happen, which could not be known, when their orders were given, the nature of the ſervice ſeemed to give them a greater liberty, than was fit to be allowed in the land-ſervice. Hiſt. of his own times.

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About nine, colonel Whetham landed in a bay to the northward of a town called la Bayliffe, where he, likewiſe, met with a vigorous reſiſtance of all the enemy's forces, poſted behind very advantageous breaſt-works, from whence they plied them with their great and ſmall ſhot; notwithſtanding which, the Engliſh did not fire a ſhot till they could lay the muzzles of their muſkets on the enemy's breaſt-works. About noon, they made themſelves maſters of the enemy's intrenchments, and in two hours after, of la Bayliffe, the Jacobine's church, which, they had fortified, and ten pieces of their cannon. About two, the Engliſh took a platform, with three pieces of their cannon, and a redoubt with one. At night, four hundred of the Engliſh, and the marine regiment, attack'd the Jacobine plantation and breaſt-work, all along the Jacobine's river, which the enemy left upon the firing only of two vollies of ſmall ſhot upon them: and the commadore having ordered the Chicheſter, at the ſame time, to fire upon their other batteries, they ſoon quited them, and ſuffered our men to take poſſeſſion of them all. The reſt of the ſoldiers, with 400 ſeamen, being landed, the next day, they marched without any oppoſition, but the firing of the enemy's cannon, and drove them out of the north part of the great town, called Baſſe-terre, forcing them to retire into the caſtle and fort, which they defended till the 3d of April, and then, blowing them up, retreated into the mountains.

A caſtle and fort blown up.

The country ravaged.

They had now nothing to do, but to ſend out parties to burn and deſtroy the enemy's houſes, works, ſugar-canes and proviſions, to ravage the country, and to bring in what cattle and plunder they could find; after which, they burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, took the beſt of the guns on board, and burſting the reſt, made their retreat without the loſs of a man (1). The forces being on board, the ſquadron ſet ſail, and coming off of Montſerrat, the 8th of May, they landed ſome of the ſoldiers there, and came to Mevis, the ſame night, with the reſt; who from thence were ſent to St. Chriſtophers (2).

The ſquadron returns to St. Chriſtopher's

Vice-admiral Graydon arrived, in the mean time, the 10th of April, at Madera, the 12th of May, at Barbadoes, and the 4th of June, at Jamaica, where he made himſelf remarkable for nothing but ſquabling with ſome of the chief of the iſland (3). Having put all her Majeſty's ſhips into a condition for ſailing, or returning home, purſuant to the inſtructions he had received, he left ſeven of his ſmalleſt ſhips to attend the iſland, and two others to convoy home the latter trade; and then ſet ſail, together with rear-admiral Whetſtone, and the reſt of the ſhips, on the 21ſt of June, for Bluefields, where having watered, and proceeding from thence, he fell in with cape Pine, in Newfoundland, the 2d of Auguſt. As ſoon as they were got thro' the gulph, the Trial-ſloop was ſent for intelligence to captain Richards, who commanded at St. John's, and for pilots for Placentia, the attack of which place was the principal deſign of his voyage: but a thick fog, which laſted thirty days, ſo diſperſed the ſhips, that it was the 3d of September before they could come together again. A council of war was then call'd; where all difficulties and obſtructions being maturely weigh'd, together with the good circumſtances the enemy were in, and the aſſiſtance they might have, from their privateers and other ſhips, then at Placentia, they were unanimouſly of opinion, that to make any attempt on that place, at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, was altogether impracticable, and could have no probability of ſucceſs: it was therefore reſolved, to make the beſt of their way for England. After a very bad paſſage, the vice and rear-admirals, with only one fire-ſhip, in their company, arrived, the 22d of October, in the Downs, having, made ſeveral detachments, for different places, and the other ſhips put in, one after another, in different harbors (4).

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Sir George Rooke commands the main fleet.

While theſe things were tranſacting in America, ſir George Rooke, admiral of the fleet, received orders, the 4th of April, to take under his command, that part thereof which was deſign'd for ſervice in the channel: conſiſting of five firſt, ſix ſecond, thirteen third, nine fourth, nine fifth, and one ſixth-rates, together with three bomb-veſſels, ſix fireſhips, and three hoſpital-ſhips. As alſo the ſquadron intended for the Mediterranean, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, in caſe it ſhould be found, for the advantage of the ſervice, to put a ſtop to that expedition (5).

The admiral arrived in the Downs, the 12th of April, and there got information, that her Majeſty's ſhips, the Saliſbury and Adventure had met with a ſquadron of French ſhips from Dunkirk,

(1) Father Daniel, tho' he mentions this deſcent of the Engliſh on Guadelupe, conceals all theſe circumſtances to their advantage, and pretends they were repulſed with loſs by the ſieur Auger, governor of the iſland. De Larrey ſays; that monſ. Gabaret arriving at fort St. Mary's, with two frigats, a flute, nine armed barks, and 700 men, to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, they did not think themſelves a force ſufficient to withſtand them, and therefore re-imbarked.

(2) In this expedition were killed, on our ſide, one major, two captains, ſix lieutenants, and one hundred fifty-four ſoldiers; two colonels, ſeven captains, nine lieutenants, and 211 ſoldiers were wounded; two colonels, four lieutenants, three enſigns, and ſeventy-two ſoldiers died, fifty-nine deſerted, and twelve were taken priſoners. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 766.

(3) When he came to the plantations (ſays biſhop Burnet) he acted in ſo ſavage a manner, as if he had been ſent rather to terrify, than to protect them.

(4) And this was the end of an expedition, in which no ſmall part of our navy was imployed, and ſome of it from the year 1698. An expedition which was attended with a continual and vaſt expence, and which coſt the lives of many brave officers, ſeamen and ſoldiers. The fruits of it the reader has ſeen, and what proportion they bore to the coſt and loſſes of it, I leave him to judge. Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks freer, and ſays, it ended ingloriouſly, and that many complaints of Graydon's conduct were ſent after him.

(5) Biſhop Burnet introduces his account of the ſea-expeditions of this year as follows: our operations at ſea (ſays he) were ill-deſign'd, and worſe executed: the making Prince George our lord-high-admiral proved, in many inſtances, very unhappy to the nation. Men of bad deſigns impoſed on him: he underſtood thoſe matters very little, and they ſhelter'd themſelves under his name, to which a great ſubmiſſion was paid, but the complaints roſe the higher for that. Our main fleet was ready to go out in May; but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over; ſo Rooke was ſent out to alarm the coaſts of France. He linger'd long in port, pretending ill-health; upon that Churchill was ſent to command the fleet; but Rooke's health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aſide that pretence, and went to ſea, where he continued a month: but in ſuch a ſtation, as if his deſign had been to keep far from meeting any of the French fleet, which ſailed out at that time, and to do the enemy no harm, and not ſo much as to diſturb their quiet, by coming near their coaſt. At laſt he returned without having attempted any thing. Hiſt. of his own times.

Father Daniel, however, ſays, Rooke appeared before Belle-Iſle, with 7000 men, where he landed his troops, and inveſted the fort; but met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, as ſoon obliged him to re-imbark them again; that he likewiſe attempted, at the ſame time, a deſcent, on the iſland of Grovais; but that the troops and militia gave him ſuch a reception, that his ſhallops were obliged to make towards their ſhips again, without landing a man. And that he had as little ſucceſs in ſeveral other attempts he made. Certain it is, that he was on the enemy's coaſts, and near Belle-Iſle, as well as Grovais, whether he attempted any thing or not. So that in this, at leaſt, the biſhop does ſir George wrong.

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and (as it was feared) had fallen into their hands. Two detachments were hereupon immediately made, one under rear-admiral Byng, to ly in wait, and indeavour to intercept them in their return to Dunkirk, and the other under rear-admiral Beaumont, to cruiſe off of that port, for the ſame purpoſe: but they were ſo fortunate to get in with their prizes (which they took, after the Saliſbury, commanded by captain Cotton, had made a gallant reſiſtance of two hours, againſt ſeven French ſhips) before either of theſe detachments could get up with them. The main fleet put to ſea, ſoon after, from Spithead and St. Hellen's, and joined with admiral Leake off of Plymouth, the 8th of May. They cruiſed about in the chanel, ſoundings, and off the French coaſt, till the tenth of June, without any thing remarkable happening, except the taking of a few prizes. It was then reſolved to return to St. Helens, to be ready for any neceſſary ſervice, and the fleet arrived there, accordingly, the 21ſt of the ſame month (1).

But with little ſucceſs.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel's expedition to the Mediterranean.

The 4th of May, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel received his inſtructions to proceed on an expedition to the Mediterranean, to which ſome additions were made on the 7th (2); till the 16th of June he was imploy'd in making the neceſſary preparations for the deſign, and, that day, twelve ſhips of the States-general joined him. There being no proſpect of any more ſhips coming from Holland, he was then ordered to ſet ſail with the firſt opportunity of wind and weather: however, it was thought fit, on the 29th, to re-inforce him with eight Engliſh ſhips more, and, to avoid delay, he was ordered to take them in the condition they were.

The fleet ſails.

The 1ſt of July, he ſet ſail from St. Hellens, and indeavored to beat it out of the chanel: but was forced, by contrary winds, to put into Torbay again the fifth.

Several French prizes taken.

Captain John Norris, of the Orford, who had been cruiſing with the Montague, in the Soundings, joined the admiral in Torbay, having, after an hour's diſpute, taken the Philippeaux, of ſix and thirty guns, twelve patereroes, and two hundred and forty men. Her captain behaved himſelf well, and did not ſurrender 'till he had near fifty men killed and wounded, and his ſhip much torn. The Orford had eight men wounded, ſome very deſperately; and her mizzen-maſt, fore-maſt and main-yard, being ſhot thro', were wholly diſabled. The Mountague, commanded by captain William Cleveland, had alſo the good fortune to take the ſhip ſhe had chas'd, of eighteen guns, and one hundred and ten men; but in the purſuit, the French captain threw moſt of her ordnance over board; and the Orford, ſoon after took another French ſhip, which had ſixteen guns mounted.

The 8th, they ſet ſail again for the rock of Liſbon, the place appointed for their rendezvous: in their paſſage thither, ſir Thomas Hardy, in the Bedford, took a French Weſt-India ſhip: and, about the ſame time, the Auguſte, a French ſhip of fifty-four guns, and 420 men, commanded by the chevalier de Neſmond, was taken and brought into the fleet.

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The 24th, the fleet came to anchor off of Caſcais, vice-admiral Leake having joined it with five ſhips from England, two days before, and, the very ſame evening, ſir Cloudeſly ſent ſir Stafford Fairborn, to Liſbon, to acquaint his Portugueſe Majeſty (who was now entered into the grand-alliance) with the arrival of the confederate fleet. Sir Stafford, having had audience of the King, who received him with all imaginable marks of eſteem, returned to the fleet extreamly ſatisfied with the honors done him. The 27th, the Pembroke, Monmouth, Orford, Litchfield, and Hampton-court, (which had been left behind at Plymouth, to clean) and the 29th, the Naſſau, joined the fleet, which having watered, and got wines and freſh proviſions, ſailed the 31ſt from Caſcais. Sir Thomas Hardy was ordered to go, with his own ſhip, the Bedford, Pembroke, Montague and Lizard, along the Chriſtian ſhoar, and call at Lagos, for intelligence, the governor of that place having orders to impart what he could get: and, at the ſame time, captain Norris, with four ſhips more, received orders to look into Cadiz, to diſcover what ſhips were in that harbor.

The fleet arrives at Caſcais.

Sir Stephen Fairborn ſent to Liſbon.

The grand fleet had a fair wind, till they came to the mouth of the Streights, where they met with a ſtrong Levant, which drove them along the coaſt of Barbary. Captain Norris came in with ſome Spaniſh boats, which reported, that they had but eight French gallies at Cadiz, for the ſecurity of that port: but none of their men of war on the Spaniſh coaſts: and ſir Thomas Hardy brought a ſtout Genoeſe ſhip into the fleet, who could give no account of the French.

The 9th of Auguſt, the fleet came to an anchor in Tangier-road, and, the ſame day, the Alcaid of that place ſent a compliment to ſir Cloudeſly, to offer him what refreſhments the country afforded; to which he afterwards added ſeveral preſents to him, and the chief commanders. The fleet continued here three days, during which time, the ſeamen went freely aſhore, and bought freſh proviſions.

The fleet arrives at Tangier.

The 12th, the fleet ſailed from Tangier-road, and, with a weſterly-wind, got thro' the Streights, that night: but the Levant blowing afrerwards pretty freſh they made but little way; and the fleet begining to want water, ſtretched from Cape de Gat to Cape Hony in Barbary, to get ſome water there; but the Moors not only refuſed it, but fired upon the boat ſent aſhoar, with a flag of truce for that purpoſe, killed one man, and mortally wounded the lieutenant of the Tartar. The want of water increaſing, and many men dying, thro' the exceſſive heat, which the calms had render'd more intolerable, a council of war was held, the 29th, on board the Triumph, to conſider of the moſt proper place to put into; and Altea, in the kingdom of Valencia in Spain, being reſolved upon, the Eagle, commanded by the lord Archibald Hamilton,

Gets thro' the Streights.

(1) Thus ended an expedition, from which very little advantage accrued, whatever might be expected: and, in my poor opinion (ſays mr. Burchett, whom we muſt allow to be a judge) a ſquadron of ſmall ſhips might have had much better ſucceſs.

(2) They were, in ſubſtance, to indeavor to aſſiſt the Cevennois, and to deſtroy the ſalt-works at Peccais. To indeavor to reduce the iſland of Sicily, and the kingdom of Naples, to the obedience of the houſe of Auſtria. To conſer with any perſon, whom he might find at Leghorn, appointed by Prince Eugene of Savoy, concerning the deſigns of that Prince, to which he was to be aiding and aſſiſting. To detach ſome ſhips to the coaſt of Barbary, and to authorize the conſuls of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, or other proper perſons, to treat with their governments and conclude a peace. To demand the puniſhment of the governor of Leghorn, for not obſerving a ſtrict neutrality. To take and deſtroy all the enemy's ſhips going in, or coming out at that port, and to exact ſome other conditions from the grand-duke. To demand ſatisfaction for ſome indignities offered, to the Engliſh nation by the republic of Venice, and, in caſe of refuſal, to uſe reprizals; to take care of proper convoys for the ſeveral branches of our trade: to take all opportunities of attacking Cadiz, Toulon, or any of the other enemy's towns, forts, ſhips, gallies or magazines. If proper, to ſend a detachment into the Adriatick, to ſecure the Imperial convoys for Italy; and all theſe, with many other things, mention'd in his inſtructions, he was to do within the ſpace of three months; for he was ordered to return down the Streights, ſome time in September. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 770. ſeq.

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and the Hampton-court were ſent before, but the governor fired upon them, from two guns planted on a tower; but they were ſoon ſilenced and diſmounted by the ſhot from thoſe two ſhips.

Troops landed in Spain.

The 31ſt of Auguſt, the whole fleet came in ſight of the place, and the Flamborough was ſent cloſe to the ſhoar, to cover the deſcent of the regiment of marines, who, to the number of five and twenty hundred men, landed without any manner of confuſion, and were actually drawn up in batalia, upon the ſhoar, before half the fleet was come to their anchors. Brigadier-general Seymour landed with the firſt detachment, and gave ſuch orders, that never a more regular deſcent was made in an enemy's country.

Theſe troops being thus got on ſhoar, a camp was formed, and a meſſage ſent to the governor, that they did not come as enemies, but as friends: to which he anſwer'd: "that he had a great eſteem "for the Engliſh: but, nevertheleſs, was ſorry, he "was not in a condition to oppoſe their landing. "That he would write to the vice-roy of Valen-"cia, and, if his orders ſhould be ſo, the ad-"miral muſt not take it amiſs, if he ſhould fire "upon his men." At the ſame time, the admirals Shovel and Allemonde, cauſed, in their names a ſhort manifeſto (1) to be publiſh'd and diſperſed among the Spaniards: this manifeſto had ſo far a good effect, that all manner of refreſhments and proviſions were brought to the camp, for which the Spaniards were paid read mony; and, upon this occaſion, they ſhew'd a diſpoſition for the houſe of Auſtria, and an averſion to the French. The ſhips being furniſhed, with water and proviſions, the marines return'd on board again, the 3d of September, and, the ſame evening, the whole fleet ſet ſail for Leghorn, where they arrived the 19th.

Indeavors to relieve the Cevennois.

The court of England having reſolved to give relief to the Proteſtants in the Cevennes (2) as we have already ſeen by ſir Cloudeſly's inſtructions, the better to ſucceeded in this enterpriſe, two French refugees were ſent by land into France, to acquaint the Cevennois, with the Queen's good intentions, that they might concur in rendering them effectual; and leſt theſe two perſons ſhould miſcarry, the marquis de Miremont diſpatch'd a third perſon, for the ſame purpoſe. The States of Holland had already ſent them, not only remittances of mony, but officers, which latter, however, moſt miſcarried; and of all the meſſengers ſent, either by the Engliſh or Dutch, none had the good fortune to penetrate into the Cevennes, and return from thence, but the marquis de Miremont's (3). Beſide theſe perſons ſent by land into the Cevennes, there were three French gentlemen, refugees (meſſieurs Portales, la Billiere, and Tempié) commiſſioned to go on board the Engliſh fleet, to be witneſſes of her Majeſty's good intentions.

A council of war, of all the Engliſh and Dutch flag-officers, being aſſembled, the twenty ninth of Auguſt, on board the Triumph, wherein, among other things, it was debated, how to put that enterprize in execution, monſieur Portales was ſent for into the aſſembly, and told by ſir Cloudeſly, that the ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, it would be imprudent to hazard her Majeſty's fleet on an unknown dangerous coaſt; but that he would order two men of war to go upon the attempt, with a good quantity of arms, ammunition and mony: and that if they had the good fortune to ſpeak with their friends, it would be eaſy for them to concert matters for a farther relief.

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Two men of war appointed for this ſervice.

Accordingly two men of war, the Pembroke, commanded by captain Arris, and the Tartar, by captain Cooper, were appointed for this ſervice. Theſe two ſhips ſailed a-head from the grand fleet, when they left Altea, and made towards the gulph of Narbonne, having the three French gentlemen on board, and two French pilots. The next day, being the 4th of September, they took, near Ivica, a French tartan of Agde, of about eighty ton, laden with corn, and other commodities, from the maſter of which, they got information, that their whole deſign was diſcovered, and that the French had taken care to ſecure their coaſts. This account very much ſurprized the French gentlemen, who now began to deſpair of ſucceſs. It was ſaid, that this diſcovery was unluckily made by ſome of the French refugees ſent from England to inform the Cevennois of her Majeſty's intention to aſſiſt them.

The 11th, the Pembroke and Tartar took three French tartans, and the 15th they entered the gulph of Narbonne. The 17th, they ſailed in ſight of Narbonne, Vias, and Beſiers; and when they came before Agde, fort Breſcon fired four guns, to alarm the country, which was preſently in arms. Being come before Cette; two French gallies made directly towards them, but ſoon plied their oars to get into harbor again. The ſame day, captain Arris held a conſultation on board the Tartar; and, purſuant to the reſolution there taken, that ſhip was ordered to go a-head, and advance as near the ſhoar as poſſible. The next day, ſhe ſtood in ten fathom water, and the Pembroke in thirteen, at about two miles diſtance from land, and there made the ſignals as directed; but were not anſwered. The eighteenth, two ſeveral conſultations being held on board the Pembroke, and it appearing, by ſeveral circumſtances (to the ſatiſfaction of the French gentlemen themſelves) that nothing more could be attempted, it was reſolved to make the beſt of their way to the general rendezvous, and purſuant hereunto they ſailed for Leghorn, where they arrived the 23d.

They make ſignals to the fleet.

But in vain.

They return to Leghorn.

We left the grand fleet arrived, the 19th of this month, at Leghorn-road. The next morning, the town ſaluted the admiral with five guns,

(1) The ſubſtance of this manifeſto was; that purſuant to the orders of her Majeſty of Great-Britain, and the States-general, they did not deſign to give the leaſt diſturbance to the good ſubjects of Spain, but to protect ſuch of them, who remembring their ancient obligations to the houſe of Auſtria, ſhould ſwear allegiance to their lawful ſoverein, the arch-duke Charles, and indeavor to throw of the yoke of France. And as they would give their aſſiſtance to thoſe of the Spaniſh nation, that ſhould regard their duty, and true intereſt, ſo they would deſtroy the perſons, houſes and goods of ſuch as ſhould oppoſe the effort which ſhould be made, for the deliverance of that valiant and glorious nation of Spain, from the tyranny and oppreſſion of France.

(2) The Cevennes is a mountainous country, in the ſouth part of France, three fourths of the inhabitants of which profeſſed the Proteſtant religion, before the general perſecution in 1685. And notwithſtanding their ſubmiſſion then, moſt of them had ſince ſhaken off the yoke of Popery. Their numbers, and the ſituation of their country, made the French court more jealous of them, than of all the other Proteſtants in France, and conſequently they were more oppreſs'd, to render them uncapable of recovering their liberty. Extorſions, military executions, and many horrid barbarities, made them riſe, at length, in defence of their liberties. The general concern the Engliſh nation expreſſed for the ſufferings of their Proteſtant bretheren, added to her Majeſty's natural compaſſion, moved the Queen to reſolve in council, that the fleet, which was going into the Mediterranean, ſhould indeavor to carry them a ſupply of arms, ammunition and mony.

(3) This meſſenger was mr. David Flotard, who ſtaid ſix days among the Covennois, and having delivered his meſſage acquainted them with the ſignals the Engliſh fleet would make, and how they ſhould anſwer them by other ſignals; and having viewed their troops, the chief officers gave Flotard commiſſion to ſolicit, in their name, all the Proteſtant Princes and States, in their favor, and to aſſure the marquis of Miremont, that they ſhould by glad to have him for their general,

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Of which ſir Cloudeſly took no notice, nor would he accept the uſual preſent ſent him by the governor. The latter deſiring to know the reaſon of it; he made him ſenſible of the miſtakes and, at the ſame time, ſent a meſſage to the great duke of Tuſcany, inſiſting upon a royal ſalute, as having the union-flag. After ſome diſpute, his highneſs ordered that the citadel ſhould ſalute with eleven guns, which was accordingly performed, and ſir Cloudeſly anſwered with the like: this done he was complimented by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and received the extraordinary preſents which had been prepared for the count de Thouloufe, who it ſeems was expected there with the French fleet, before the Engliſh: but he never durſt ſtir out of the harbor of Toulon, as long as ſir Cloudeſly remain'd in the Mediteranean.

Diſputes about ſalutes.

Count Lamberg, the Imperial embaſſador at Rome, having notice of the arrival of the confederate fleet, in the road of Leghorn, his excellency haſtened thither. The twenty-eighth of November, he went on board the Engliſh admiral, and acquainted him, that the arch-duke of Auſtria had been declared and proclaimed King of Spain, at Vienna, by the name of Charles III, on the twelfth of that month, N. S. upon which every one of our flag-ſhips fired twenty-one guns, and all the other ſhips in the Engliſh ſquadron fired fifteen guns each, and his Catholic Majeſty's health was drunk (1).

The arch-duke proclaimed King of Spain.

The fleet having got water, and bought what wine and proviſions they could find, ſailed from Leghorn, the ſecond of October: ſir Cloudeſly having, before he departed, wrote to the great duke, demanding ſatisfaction, in her Majeſty's name, as he was directed, who promiſed fair and performed little. The 27th he got thro' the Streights, having firſt detach'd ſquadrons to Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers, to renew treaties, and order'd convoys for the trade. The 30th, the Dutch parted with the Engliſh, to make the beſt of their way home; and, the ſame day, ſir Cloudeſly detach'd a convoy of five men of war, under the command of ſir Andrew Leake, to take up the merchant-ſhips that were ready to ſail for England, from Liſbon, Oporto, Viana, &c. After which, having a fair wind, and good weather, the fleet arrived in the Downs, the 17th of November (2).

The fleet ſails from Leghorn.

And returns to England.

The Orford, Warſpight and Litchfield, which parted from ſir Cloudeſly ſix days before, met ſoon after with a French man of war of fifty-two guns, and 500 men, coming from Newfoundland, whom they ingaged and took, after an obſtinate fight of nine hours.

A French man of war taken.

Before I conclude my account of the maritime affairs of this year, I muſt juſt mention a ſmall but ſucceſsful expedition of rear-admiral Dilkes, who being order'd, on the 22d of July, to ſail, with a ſquadron under his command, for the coaſt of Normandy, to deſtroy a ſmall fleet of French traders, ſaid to be then lying in Cancal-bay, he had the good fortune to meet with them about a league to the weſtward of Granville, being forty-five merchant-ſhips, and three men of war; of which only four eſcaped, the reſt being all either taken, burnt, or ſunk. To recompenſe this brave action, and perpetuate the memory of it, a gold medal was ſtruck, and diſtributed among thoſe who were principally concern'd.

Rear-admiral Dilkes's expedition on the coaſt of Normandy.

I come now to the affairs of the continent, and ſhall begin with the campain in the Netherlands, where we were moſt immediately concerned, with our troops under the duke of Marlborough. While his grace was buſied, in making the neceſſary preparations for the campain, he had a very heavy domeſtic affliction to incounter with, I mean the loſs of his only ſon, the marquis of Blandford, who died, the 20th of February, of the Small-pox, at Cambridge. This misfortune happening juſt as his grace was upon his departure for Holland, put a ſtop to it for ſome days; however, nothing was neglected in the mean time: for count Lottum, general of the Pruſſian troops, having block'd up Rhineburg, it ſurrendered, by capitulation, the 9th of February; after which, he block'd up Guelders.

Campain in the Netherlands, and on the lower Rhine.

Rhineburg taken.

The duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague, the 17th of March, N. S. and having held ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States, reviewed the Engliſh forces, in their reſpective gariſons, and ordered the troops near Liege to be in a readineſs to take the field, he diſpatch'd general Cohorn, to make preparations for opening the campain with a ſiege. Upon his grace's arrival, the Dutch immediately brought their armies into the field likewiſe, and, by his prudent management, the confederates were inabled to open the campain early, with the ſiege of Bonn (3). All neceſſary preparation for the expeditious carrying on of this ſiege, being made, (4) the duke ordered the place to be

The duke of Marlborough arrives in Holland.

Siege of Bonn.

(1) The count ſent a gentleman, with mr. Jourdain, one of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel's ſecretaries, to the Dutch admiral, to notify the arch-duke's acceſſion to the Spaniſh throne. He ſeem'd ſurpriſed, that the Imperial miniſter ſhould not pay him a viſit, on that account, as he had done the Engliſh admiral. However, ſome hours after, he ordered his ſhips to fire fifteen guns each: and then count Lamberg gave him the viſit. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. II. p. 778.

(2) I ſhall add to this, biſhop Burnet's ſhort account of this expedition in his own words: it was reſolved (ſays he) to ſend a ſtrong fleet into the Mediterranean: It was near the end of June, before they were ready to ſail, and they had orders to come out of the Streights, by the end of September: every thing was ſo ill laid in this expedition, as if it had been intended that nothing ſhould be done by it, beſide the convoying our merchant ſhips, which did not require the fourth part of ſuch a force. Shovel was ſent to command; when he ſaw his inſtructions, he repreſented to the miniſtry (as well he might) that nothing was to be expected from this voyage: he was ordered to go, and he obeyed his orders; he got to Leghorn, by the begining of September. His arrival ſeemed to be of great conſequence; and the allies began to take courage from it; but they were ſoon diſappointed of their hopes, when they underſtood, that, by his orders, he could only ſtay a few days there. Nor was it eaſy to imagine what the deſign of ſo great an expedition could be, or why ſo much mony was thrown away on ſuch a project, which made us deſpiſed by our enemies, while it provoked our friends; who might juſtly think they could not depend upon ſuch an ally, that managed ſo great a force, with ſo poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends.

There was alſo (ſays the Biſhop, in another place) great complaint tho' the whole fleet, of their victualing. We loſt many of our ſeamen, who, as it was ſaid, were poiſon'd by ill food: and tho' great complaints were made of the victualers, before the fleet went out, yet there was not ſuch care taken to look into it, as a matter of that conſequence deſerved. The merchants, likewiſe, complained, that they were ill ſerved with convoys, and ſo little care had been taken of the Newcaſtle-fleet, that the price of coals roſe very high. It was alſo ſaid, that there was not a due care had of our ſeamen, who were taken by the privateers. Many of them died, by reaſon of their ill uſage, while others, to deliver themſelves from that, went into the French ſervice. Thus all our marine affairs were much out of order, and theſe diſorders were charged on thoſe, who had the conduct of them. Hiſtory of his own times.

(3) Bonn is a very ancient and ſtrong city, in the circle of the Lower-Rhine, and arch-biſhopric of Cologn, formerly an Imperial city; but now ſubject to the Elector of Cologn, and the uſual reſidence of that Prince, who put it, with the reſt of his dominions, into the hands of the French, at the begining of this war. It is ſituate on the Lower-Rhine, fourteen miles almoſt ſouth of Cologn, twenty-four, S. E. of Juliers, fifty-five almoſt N. E. of Triers, and ſixty N. W. of Mentz. It was anciently a Roman colony, called Colonia Julia Bonna.

(4) Theſe early preparations, to put the confederate army in a condition to act offenſively, broke all the projects laid by the enemy, who deſign'd to have acted offenſively, on their ſide, and to have opened the campain, the 29th of April, with the ſiege of Liege, for which they actually had provided 15,000 pioneers, 3000 wagons, and other neceſſaries; not dreaming that the confederates would be ſo early ready to oppoſe them. Lediard's life of Marlborough. vol. I. p. 219.

inveſted,

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inveſted, the 24th of April; and the 3d of May the trenches were opened and carried on with great ſucceſs, and a very inconſiderable loſs. The troops appointed for the ſervice of this ſiege conſiſted of forty battallions of foot, and ſixty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, with an artillery of above 100 large cannons; and thirty-ſix mortars, beſide 500 ſmall cohorn-mortars.

When the governor ſaw the terrifying preparations which were making againſt him, by the allies, who had ſo vaſt a train of artillery, he ſent a letter to the duke of Marlborough, importing:

The governor's letter to the duke.

"That an agreement had been made, the laſt "year, between the Electors Palatine and Co- "logn, that the cities of Duſſeldorp and Bonn "ſhould not be bombarded, in order to preſerve "the churches, palaces, and other public build- "ings. The performance of which he was order'd "to requeſt from his grace: and to declare withal, "unleſs the ſame were obſerved, the elector of "Bavaria would deſtroy the city of Nieuburg, "belonging to the elector Palatine."

The duke, after having communicated this letter to the elector Palatine, and the generals, return'd this anſwer:

His grace's anſwer.

"That it was not his cuſtom nor inclination to "deſtroy cities or public buildings, out of pro- "penſe malice or deſign, provided the enemy's "conduct did not put him upon ſuch a neceſſity."

The ſiege carried on ſucceſsfully.

The very day the trenches were open'd, the batteries were raiſed, with great alacrity, and being finiſh'd by the 8th, the beſiegers began to fire with ſuch good ſucceſs, againſt both the town and fort, that, the ſame day, the chain which held the flying bridge, by means of which the fort had a communication with the town, was broken by a canon-ſhot, and the bridge, which was ſtaved to pieces, carried away by the ſtream.

The fort taken.

The next day, the battery which played upon the fort, having made a large breach, and the beſiegers being informed, that the gariſon was not numerous, it was reſolved to ſtorm it in the evening, which was done with great intrepidity, and the wiſh'd for ſucceſs; the commander, with thirty of his men being made priſoners, and all the reſt either kill'd or wounded. Being now maſters of the fort, a great battery was raiſed in it, which, on the 12th, began to play on the town, from ſeventy pieces of heavy cannon, and eighteen mortars, in order to make two breaches, that the place might be ſtormed (1).

An unſucceſsful ſally.

The next day, about noon, the beſieged, with about 1000 foot, ſupported by all their horſe and dragoons, made a ſally upon general Dedem's attack. The beſiegers, in the trenches, were, at firſt, put into ſome diſorder; but ſoon recovering themſelves, they repuls'd the French, with the loſs of about one hundred men kill'd, and as many wounded, beſide a major, and three captains taken priſoners: whereas the loſs, on the ſide of the allies, did not amount to half the number (2).

All things being now in a readineſs to aſſault the counterſcarp, and covered way, on the ſide of the Prince of Heſſe's attack, the onſet began about eight o'clock the ſame night, under the command of major-general Tettau, and brigadier Palandt; and the Prince, being there in perſon, animated the ſoldiers with ſo much courage and reſolution, that being ſeconded by the continued fire, both from the cannon and mortars of ſeveral attacks, they forced their way forwards, drove the beſieged from their works, and in leſs than an hour's time lodg'd themſelves there. In this warm action, general Tettau was wounded, with about ten other officers, and 150 ſoldiers killed and wounded, together with the ingineer, who commanded in the works. The French pretend the allies had 300 men kill'd, and 200 wounded, in this action.

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The counterſcarp taken.

The confederate troops ſhewed, upon this occaſion, ſo much bravery, and ſuch an aſtoniſhing tempeſt of artificial fire was poured in upon the beſieged, that rather than ſtand another attack, the next day, they beat a parly, and, on the 15th of May, N. S. ſurrendered the place, on honorable terms, which were ſign'd by the duke of Marlborough, and the French governor, monſieur d'Alegre (3).

The city ſurrenders.

During this ſiege, the French marſhals de Villeroy and Bouflers, who commanded in Flanders, imbracing the opportunity of the duke's being imployed there, thought to have ſurprized the confederates, who lay diſperſed about Maeſtricht, and, after having bombarded that place to have fallen upon Liege.

A deſign of meſſieurs de Villeroy and Bouflers fruſtrated.

To this end, they advanced, the 9th of May, N. S. at night, unexpectedly, into the neighborhood of Tongeren (4), with an army of about 40,000 men, part, on the one ſide, under the marſhal de Villeroy, and part, on the other, under the marſhal de Bouflers, which obliged the confederate troops, who deſign'd to poſt themſelves there, to retreat under the canon of Maeſtricht; while the enemy fell upon Tongeren, which they took after a ſtout reſiſtance of twenty-eight hours. This time gave however opportunity to the confederates to draw together before Maeſtricht; ſo that, when the enemy advanced, to attack them, they found, to their great ſurprize and diſappointment, the confederate army, under general d'Auverquerque, drawn up, in order of battle, advantageouſly poſted, and ready to ingage them, tho' much inferior in number (5). About ten, in the morning, they made a general motion of all their troops, and came nearer towards the confederates; but when they were within reach of cannon, they made a halt. In this poſture both armies ſtood gazing on one another, till three in the afternoon: but then the two marſhals, finding their attempt was to no purpoſe, and not daring to attack the confederates, march'd back, the ſame way they came, to Tongeren, leaving the whole honor of the day, to general d'Auverquerque; who, by his

(1) The marquis de Quincy pretends, that, after the taking of the fort, the allies raiſed batteries for thirty pieces of cannon, forty mortars, and one hundred hand-grenado-mortars, at the attack, at the Lower-Rhine only.

(2) French accounts pretend to a great advantage, on their ſide, in this ſally: of which the marquis de Quincy, in particular, gives the following account: "About two, in the afternoon, the marquis d'Alegre made a ſally, with 1200 men "infantry, and 400 horſe, at general Dedem's attack. They at firſt did very conſiderable damage to the works, and kill'd all "before them; but the allies having caus'd a great number of troops to advance, they retir'd in very good order, having loſt "but thirty men, a captain of the royal grenadiers, and an aid-major of the crown: monſieur de Polaſtron, colonel of that "regiment, with ſome other officers, being wounded. They nail'd up ten of the beſiegers canon, and ſix of their mortars, "kill'd fourſcore of their men, wounded 160, and took colonel Malsburg, and ſeveral other officers priſoners: in ſhort (con- "tinues my author) more than 400 rods of their works were deſtroy'd." Hiſt. Mil. de Louis le Gr. Tom. IV. p. 14.

(3) According to father Daniel's account, monſieur d'Alegre defended the place, till the town and all the works were demoliſh'd by the dreadful artillery of the confederates, and the whole circumference was no more than one continued breach.

(4) Monſieur de Quincy ſays, the two marſhals had the whole French army with them, excepting one man out of every company, and all the guards, which they left behind to ſecure their camp.

(5) The continator of Rapin, in French, pretends, however, that the confederates were, at leaſt, equal in number, to the French (that is, forty eight batalions, and 120 ſquadrons) and, for that reaſon, accuſes the marſhal de Villeroy of great imprudence in the attempt. B. XXVI. p. 521.

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prudence, experience and valor, prevented the total ruin of this part of the confederate army.

The duke of Marlborough rejoins the confederate army.

Bonn being ſoon after taken, as I have already related, the duke of Marlborough re-joined the army of the confederates, which now conſiſted of 136 ſquadrons, and ſixty-ſix battalions, (or, as ſome accounts ſay, of but 130 of the former, and fifty-nine of the latter) and march'd them towards Liege, with a deſign not only to ſecure that place, but to oblige the enemy to decamp from Tongeren, where their army, which was computed to conſiſt of about ſeventy batalions, and one hundred ſquadrons (tho', if we will believe their accounts, they were no more, than ſixty batalions, and little more than one hundred ſquadrons) ſemeed to be poſted in a very advantageous ſituation.

The 25th of May, the duke march'd from Hocke near Maeſtricht, and, having paſs'd the river Jecker, advanced to Hautin, where the enemy deſigned to have foraged that morning; but, upon notice of the duke's approach, they removed to a greater diſtance, and continued upon their arms that night. However, the next day, when the confederates advanced to Nieudorp, they retreated, with great precipitation, to Bockworn, not daring to hazard a battle; and the duke of Berwick, after having blown up the walls and tower of Tongeren, where he commanded, quited that place likewiſe.

The French abandon Tongeren again.

Retire before the confederate army;

The duke followed them, and advanced within half a league of their camp; but the Jecker parted the two armies, and the French had ſecured all the bridges and paſſes of that river; notwithſtanding which, they were far from thinking themſelves ſecure 'till they got to Hannuye. Upon the duke's advancing to Thys and Lamyn, they did indeed drew up in order of battle, and ſent away their baggage, as if they were reſolved to try their fortune in a battle; but their courage again failed them, and they thought it their ſafeſt courſe to retire within their lines.

And ſhelter themſelves within their lines.

Reſolution to attack their intrenchments:

Thus was ſpent the beſt part of the month of June, the duke indeavoring to draw the enemy to a battle, and they as carefully avoiding it. At length, his grace, finding it was to no purpoſe to think of bringing them to an ingagement, on equal terms, took the reſolution to attack them in their intrenchments. The execution of this deſign was intruſted to general Cohorn and baron Spar, who performed it ſucceſsfully, in the country of Waes: while general Opdam (with another part of the army) ſtaid on this ſide the Scheld, in order to make an attempt on the lines before Antwerp. The French, at that time, had two flying camps, one commanded by the marquis de Bedmar, and the other, which hovered about Bruges, by the count de la Motte. The attack was undertaken in two different places: that under the command of general Cohorn, was at a place call'd Hoeck van Callo, where he made himſelf maſter of a reboubt called St. Anthony's Hoeck, and of the Pearl-fort, with little reſiſtance, and an inconſiderable loſs.

Executed by general Cohorn and baron Spar.

The other attack, commanded by baron Spar, was made near the village of Steeken. The baron perceiving, that the count de la Motte obſerved him diligently, fein'd a march towards Bruges, in order to deceive him: but, returning, march'd directly towards the lines, where a vigorious oppoſition was made, by eight battalions of regular foot, and 6000 of the country-people, who made a ſtouter defenſe than the diſciplined-troops, and by their fire, from the houſes of that village, very much gauled the confederates, after they were maſters of the lines: which obliged baron Spar to give orders, that no quarters ſhould be given them. This warm action coſt baron Spar 1200 men of his detachment, killed and wounded, ſeveral of whom were officers of note; in particular two brigadier-generals were wounded, and monſ. de Vaſſy, governor of Sas van Ghent, killed. What number of ſlain the enemy had I do not find, but about eighty of their common ſoldiers were taken priſoners. This action happen'd the 27th of June.

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The duke's deſign was, after the forcing of the lines, to make himſelf maſter of Antwerp, which was gariſon'd by ſome Spaniſh troops, under the command of the marquis de Bedmar: and the firſt ſucceſs made every one, as well at the Hague, as in the confederate army, ſo ſanguine upon it, that it was hardly doubted but that important place would ſoon fall into the hands of the allies: but as nothing is more precarious than the events of war, they ſoon found themſelves deceived in their expectations. The grand army of the confederates, under the command of his grace, and of monſ. d'Auverquerque, was to attack the lines, on the ſide of Louvain and Mechlin; monſ. de Cohorn, with his flying camp, was on the right of the Scheld, towards Dutch-Flanders, to draw the attention of the marquis de Bedmar, on that ſide; while baron Opdam, with another detatchment of the army, of about 10 or 12,000 (ſome accounts and particularly the French ſay 15,000) men, went to incamp between Eckeren and Capelle, near Antwerp; deſigning to act, on that ſide, againſt the lines, which were guarded by the Spaniards. This deſign was excellently well concerted, and would probably have been as well executed, had it not been diſcovered by (or as the continuator of Rapin, in French ſays, betrayed to) the two French generals, who thereupon imagined there would be no other means to fruſtrate this project, but by attacking the body of troops under monſ. Opdam, and, if poſſible, cuting of his retreat. To conceal this deſign, the marſhal de Villeroy made a motion, with the army of the two crowns, and advanced towards Dieſte, upon the intelligence he had of the duke's marching towards Antwerp.

The duke of Marlborough forms a deſign on Antwerp;

Which is fruſtrated by the vigilance of the enemy.

His grace was no ſooner advis'd of this, than he held a council of war, which was unanimouſly of opinion, that the confederate camp at Eckeren, conſiſting only of thirteen battalions, and twenty-ſix ſquadrons, which were hardly cover'd on the right, and it being eaſy for the enemy, with a ſuperior force, not only to cut off their communication with Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, but likewiſe that with Lillo, the beſt thing they could do, would be to ſend (as they did the very ſame night) their heavy baggage to Bergen-op-Zoom, and, upon the firſt intelligence they ſhould have of the motion of the enemy, to change the ſituation of their camp, and retire nearer towards Lillo: which was accordingly done, upon advice that the enemy were come out of their lines, the 30th of June, with a very conſiderable body of troops, and it was not long before the van guard of their left wing perceived them (1). Theſe motions brought on the famous battle of Eckeren: which being a very remarkable as well as a brave action, and redounding much to the honor of the allies, I ſhall give the reader a tranſlation of general Schlangenberg's letter to the States, writen the day after the battle (as we find it in Rouſſet's hiſtoire militaire, &c. tome II. p. 88.)

Reſolutions of a council of war.

Motions preceeding the battle of Eckeren.

(1) This body of troops, as it afterwards appear'd, conſiſted of thirty-three battalions, thirty-two ſquadrons, and forty-ſeven companies of grenadiers, under the command of the marquis de Bedmar, who was afterwards joined and aſſiſted by monſ. de Boufflers, and prince Tierclaes, with thirty ſquadrons, and thirty companies of grenadiers from the marſhal de Villeroys grand camp. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. I. p. 238.

wherein

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wherein we have the most exact account of it I have seen.

General Schlangenberg's account of the battle of Eckeren.

High and mighty lords,

" After that, by order of your highnesses, the " army commanded by general Opdam was lessen- " ed to thirteen battalions, and twenty-six squadrons, " and that it was found good, that this small " army should march from Stabroeck towards " Eckeren, count Tilly and I represented the bad " constitution of that camp, with so small a num- " ber of troops, within three quarters of a league " of the enemy's lines, who, according to general " Cohorn's report, could assemble fifty battalions, " from Lier to Ostend, and that, beside, they " could be re-inforced from their great army; " whereas we could expect no assistance in time, " nay, not from general Cohorn. Beside, I and " count Tilly remonstrated, that the enemy, be- " ing superior in number, might always cut off " our retreat; and that we understood, that the " enemy were stronger in their lines, than we were " in our army, and that our great army had passed " the Jecker, and that of the enemy advanced as " far as Tirlemont; and beside, that we had ad- " vice, that the enemy expected more troops in " their lines. Nevertheless, we could obtain nothing " by our remonstrance, but only a resolution to " send our heavy baggage to Bergen-op-zoom. " This we did, at the same time, when monsr. de " Boufflers arrived in the French lines, with a con- " siderable body of horse and dragoons, and, as " prisoners say, with seventy companies of grena- " diers, and, without loss of time, sent all their " troops out of their lines, with the marquis of " Bedmar, Prince T'serclaes, monsr. Villeroy's son, " and many other general officers; and having " march'd, with incredible diligence, they posted an " ambuscade of their dragoons before our left, and " advanced, with the main of their army, to " Cappelle, behind our camp, before we had the " least advice of their design or march: nor had we " been informed then, before we had been incom- " pass'd, but that I, and count Tilly, with some " of our major-generals, making the tour of our " camp, met their ambuscade of dragoons, about " one o'clock, near our grand horse-guard. Having " thus discovered this ambuscade, we judged the " enemy designed to attack us, and immediately " put our troops in arms, and acquainted general " Opdam, with what we had done. One of our " guards, on the steeple of the church of Eckeren, " acquainted us, at the same time, that the enemy " came with a great body of troops, towards " Capelle, and advanced continually; upon which " general Opdam resolved to retire under Lillo, " and ordered two squadrons of dragoons to posses " themselves of the post of Houwen, to cover the " march of our army.

" While general Opdam was busy ordering " their march, we understood, that the enemy was " advanced to Houwen, and had repuls'd those " two squadrons of dragoons, whereby the road " to Lillo was stopp'd. Brigadier Schulemberg " was detach'd at first to post himself at Muisbrock, " and Getting, below Houwen to cover our re- " treat; but when he came there, he found that " post well guarded, by French dragoons and gre- " nadiers; whereupon he began to charge them; " but, they being much superior in number, he " judged a retreat necessary, and tried to seize the " port of Houteren, but he found the enemy also " possessed of that. This obliged him to draw " up at Watering, betwixt Houteren and Muis- " broek, and it was resolved to attack the French " there, and to make them retire, if possible; " but they were so advantageously posted, that it " was impracticable. On the other hand, the enemy " advanced upon us, made a vigorous charge on " the troops of Munster, and began a sharp battle, " with the foot, about three o'clock.

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" Perceiving the enemy to be much superior in " number, we were obliged to change our de- " sign, and to indure a terrible fire of their muskets. " General Opdam, and count Tilly, who were " upon the road, with the horse, upon the dike " that goes to Willemerdonck, tried to continue " their march opposite to Houteren, along the " dikes of the Scheld, to Lillo, and, when they " arrived, found the enemy possessed of Houteren, " but were afterwards chased from thence by our " troops. Mean while the foot continued the fight, " betwixt Houwen and Eckeren, with a terrible " fire, on both sides, till eight at night, especially " about and upon the dike between Eckeren and " Willemerdonck, where lieutenant-general Fagel, " and the major-generals Friesheim and Elberfield " gave such proofs of their conduct and valor, " as cannot be enough admired. Lieutenant-gene- " ral Fagel being wounded in the head and foot, " we not being able to sustain his regiment, and the " enemy perceiving we wanted foot, took the op- " portunity to force our troops at Houteren to " retire, and posted themselves there, and at some " sluices betwixt that village and fort la Croix, " and, by that means we were incompass'd on all " sides, having the enemy's lines and Antwerp, " on our rear, and fort Philippine, and the Scheld, " on our left, which obliged me to send to general " Opdam and count Tilly, for their advice, how " to get out of that labyrinth. Word was brought " me, that general Opdam had not been seen for " some time, and count Tilly said, he believed " him either to be killed or taken.

" Upon this, we resolved to try all courses with " the utmost vigor. Count Tilly detached some ca- " valry, under general Hompesch, to sustain the foot, " who maintained a bloody fight, for a long time, " upon the dike. The French also sent horse to " sustain their foot, on this occasion. General " Hompesch, led on his horse, with so much con- " duct and courage, that he broke several French " squadrons, took some of their standards and " drums, routed several battalions of their foot, " and drove the enemy back a quarter of a league.

" Brigadier Wyke, and the other brigadiers and " colonels, having spent all their powder and lead, " ordered their men to put their bayonets on their " muskets, and pursue the enemy, and the battle " being sharp and bloody, the dike was covered " with the slain and wounded.

" I had then taken post on the key of a canal " that joined the dike, where I placed two batta- " lions, and the cavalry behind them, to maintain " that post to the last extremity, if our first troops " happened to be broke, and for the security of " the rest of the regiments, that we expected in the " night; but the enemy was so disordered, that " they had no mind to renew the fight, in that " post. They indeavored, during the heat of the " charge above-mentioned to fall upon our rear, " having, for that end, charged us with four batta- " lions from Antwerp and fort la Croix, along the " village, and another dike of Willemerdonck; " but found that post well guarded, and their men " were forced to retire, by the dreadful fire of our " troops. Night coming on, and finding our " selves still incompass'd on all sides, we were " forced to open a passage by dint of sword. The " French had seized the post of Houteren, and " several others towards the sluices, which cut off " our communication with Lillo, upon which " count Tilly, monsr. Hop, and I, resolved to at- " tack that post, with utmost vigor, and, our in- " fantry wanting powder and lead, we ordered

" them

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" them to advance with their bayonets on their " muſkets.

" Major-general Frieſheim and brigadier Dona " were detached, with four battalions, and march- " ing through a ground full of ditches, waded " up to their middle, to attack the enemy, in that " poſt, on flank and rear. We marched alſo ſome " regiments along the dike, and count Tilly ad- " vanced with ſome dragoons, and after firing ſome " cannon, on that poſt, we attack'd the enemy, " in flank, front and rear, chaſed them from Hou- " teren, took their cannon, and beat them from " the ſluices, where they were intrench'd. We " purſued them fighting, as far as fort la Croix, " which opened our paſſage along the dikes to " Lillo, where we arrived this morning, and are " now incamp'd.

" I can aſſure your highneſſes, that all your " troops, horſe, foot and dragoons, fought with " a ſurpizing valor, and that lieutenant-general " Fagel, and all the other generals, majors and " brigadiers, behaved themſelves in this dangerous " action, with admirable conduct, being only ſorry " that we have loſt ſo many brave men. There " are ſome taken priſoners, and many wounded, " of whom I cannot ſend a liſt till the next. We " have taken ſome ſtandards, drums and colors, " and my regiment has taken one piece of cannon " and a color. I hope your highneſſes will con- " ſider the ſmall number of our troops: that the " enemy was twice as ſtrong as we; that their " loſs is much greater than ours; and that almoſt " all of them retired in confuſion, and left us the " field of battle: whereas we came hither in good " order. It was my opinion, as well as count " Tilly's, and all the generals who were preſent, " that we ought never to have expoſed our ſelves in " ſuch a diſadvantageous camp; however, I hope " it will be no ſmall ſatisfaction to your high- " neſſes, and this action will certainly advance the " reputation of your troops.

" I forgot to tell you, that the count of Eaſt " Friezland, and count vander Nat, diſtinguiſhed " themſelves, on this occaſion, and that colonel " Ivois aſſiſted me with his care, valor and good " advice; ſo that, I doubt not but your high- " neſſes will conſider his merit. General " Fagel is imbarked to day, to have his wounds " better look'd after. General Cohorn came to " Lillo in the night with ſome regiments, after the " battle; but ſent them back immediately, under " major-general Dedem. All our regiments eſ- " pecially the foot, are extreamly weaken'd, ſo " that they cannot act in a body, except your " highneſſes change thoſe, that ſuffered moſt, with " others that are in gariſons. This poſt is not " ſafe, except the ſluices of fort Frederick Henry " be opened, which cannot be while we are here, " becauſe the ſalt water would occaſion diſeaſes. " Monſ. Opdam not being preſent, I have taken " upon me the general command, till I receive " your highneſſes order.

Lillo, July. 2, 1703. (1).

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The States received the firſt account of this action by an expreſs from general Opdam, acquainting them; " That the French, near Antwerp, " having received a conſiderable re-inforcement, " from their main army, came out of their lines, " the 30th of June, N. S. and ſurrounded the " body of the confederate forces, under his com- " mand; which they had intirely routed, and that " he had eſcaped to Breda, with only thirty horſe, " and could give no farther account of thoſe " troops."

The truth was, general Opdam had the misfortune to be cut off from the reſt of his army, at the begining of the ingagement, and fled to Breda, looking upon the army as loſt: and tho' that general had ſerved his country above thirty years, without any imputation on his courage, and his being cut off from his army, was purely an accident, yet he could never afterward recover any tolerable reputation in the army (2).

Upon the arrival of general Opdam's expreſs, all the Hague was in the utmoſt confuſion: but a meſſenger diſpatch'd by monſ. Hop, the deputy of the States in that army, arriving ſoon after, with a quite different account, revived their ſpirits: and, upon the receit of general Schlangenburg's letter, the States came to a reſolution, that thanks ſhould be given to him and the whole army, for the great conduct, zeal, and courage they had ſhewn in the battle of Eckeren (3).

The

(1) According to the beſt computation, the Dutch loſt, in this ingagement, 717 men kill'd, 1003 wounded, 694 priſoners or deſerted, and 376 horſes: whereas the French had near 1600 men kill'd and wounded, beſide 150 officers: and, notwithſtanding monſ. Opdam went off in the midſt of the action, yet the other Dutch generals maintain'd the fight, with ſuch admirable preſenſe of mind, that the enemy were obliged to abandon the field of battle, and march off by night, without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet, towards their lines, The marſhal de Bouflers had, at leaſt 30,000 men under his command; the greateſt part of their choſen troops, a great many general officers, and young French lords accompanied him. The firſt to aſſiſt him and the latter to acquire glory, and ſignalize themſelves: whereas the confederate army did not exceed 10,000 men. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. 1. p. 248.

(2) There ſeems to be a hardſhip, in this gentleman's caſe, which deſerves compaſſion: it is certain, that he ſerved his country above thirty years, with unblemiſh'd fidelity, zeal and courage, nor does their ſeem to have been a want of either, in this laſt action, if the circumſtances he relates, in a juſtification by him publiſh'd, be true; and I never yet found they were contradicted. If he was really cut off by the enemy, and not able to regain his troops, what better courſe could he take, than to keep out of the enemy's power? If he had been ſlain or taken, one of which muſt have been the alternative, what benefit could the allies have reaped by it? What a tickliſh thing is honor, how hardly obtained, and how eaſily forfeited, in the eye of the world! That the merit of thirty years painful ſervice ſhould be ſunk in one error of judgment, by which no one was ſufferer! it is the misfortune of great men, that their actions ly open to the cenſures of the meaneſt, and are but too often judg'd of, not by their true motive, but by the ſucceſs of them. However, it was not general Opdam's fate alone to ſuffer in his reputation on account of this action. Marſhal Bouflers's conduct was juſtly cenſured, and it was thought this finiſh'd his diſgrace: nor was the duke of Marlborough without ſome ſhare of cenſure on this occaſion: for it was pretended, that he ought to have ſent a force to ſupport Opdam, or have made an attempt on Villeroy's army, when it was weakned by the detachment ſent with Bouflers. But mr. Hop, in his letter to the States, allows, that the duke of Marlborough had wrote to him, two days before the battle, to adviſe them to be upon their guard, and that his grace had reaſon to expect from theſe brave commanders, when forewarned, all that men could do, the very circumſtances of this action themſelves ſufficiently evince. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 254.

(3) The French court, to make this action appear with the luſtre of a compleat victory, did not ſcruple to affirm, that the allies were ſuperior in infantry, and advantageouſly poſted, and yet were obliged to abandon the field of battle, as alſo their wounded, tents, baggage, ſix pieces of canon, forty-four mortars (cohorn perhaps) their ammunition, proviſions, 150 artillery waggons, ſeveral colors and drums, with the loſs of 4000 men on the ſpot, and 500 taken priſoners.

F. Daniel goes yet farther, and not only poſitively avers, that the marſhal de Bouflers, and the marquis de Bedmar, defeated the army under general Opdam, but makes the loſs of the allies conſiderably greater than that of the two crowns. The confederates (ſays he) by their own confeſſion, had 1200 ſoldiers killed or wounded, eight colonels, as many lieutenant-colonels, ſix majors, ſeven and thirty captains, and 166 ſubalterns; 700 were made priſoners, ſix pieces of cannon taken, two large mortars, forty ſmall ones, all their tents, and abundance of military furniture. To all this, the marquis de Quincy adds, 300 artillery and baggage waggons, with a pretty large quantity of plate and coin. And to the priſoners he adds, madam

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Motions of the confederate army.

The allies being willing to repair the diſadvantages they had lain under by the action at Eckeren (1) join'd all their forces together, with the intent to come to an ingagement with the marſhal de Villeroy, who, incamping near St. Job, rang'd all his forces, in order of battle, and gave out, that he reſolved to ſtay there for the duke of Marlborough. His grace, and monſieur d'Auverquerque, hoping he would be as good as his word, march'd with the army under their command, in ſeveral columns, to Hoogſtraat, within half a league of the enemy's camp, who, to all appearance, were making great preparations for a vigorous action. General Schlangenburg, decamping from Lillo, march'd all night, and arrived early in the morning, between Eckeren and Capella, to attack them, on that ſide; and the duke of Marlborough, with his army, advanc'd in a great plain, over againſt the enemy, and cauſed four pieces of cannon to be diſcharged, for a ſignal to general Schlangenburg, in order for him to begin the attack; but, as he advanced, the marſhal declined the ingagement, and, having ſet fire to his camp, order'd his army to retire within their lines; which they accordingly did with great precipitation. By this means they cover'd the city of Antwerp, which was exactly in their rear, and thereby fruſtrated the duke's deſign.

The duke of Marlborough views the French lines.

The duke failing thus in his hopes of bringing the enemy to an ingagement, being attended by ſeveral general officers, and a guard of 4000 horſe and dragoons, went, the 27th of July, to view the enemy's lines. Lieutenant Benſon, of the Engliſh royal regiment of dragoons, with about thirty Engliſh, being detach'd, fell in with one of the enemy's out-guards of forty horſe, who, after one diſcharge, retired, and were chaſed, by the Engliſh, to the very barrier of their intrenchments, which gave the confederate generals an opportunity to view them, within muſket ſhot; and from that day the duke laid a ſcheme to force them: but the execution of that project was induſtriouſly put off, from time to time, by the deputies of the States-general.

Huy beſieg'd.

The 16th of Auguſt, N. S. the count de Noyelles, with a detachment from the grand army, arrived before Huy; upon whoſe approach, the governor with his gariſon, retired into the caſtle and forts, which were inveſted, and the trenches opened the 17th and 18th. The attack againſt fort St. Joſeph was commanded by the Prince of Anhalt, and that againſt fort Picard, by colonel Frederick Hamilton. The approaches were continued with ſuch ſucceſs, and the batteries, which began to play the 21ſt, did ſuch execution, that, the next day, the gariſons of the forts, would have retired into the caſtle; but, being refuſed admittance, were obliged to come to the town, where they were ſeized and diſarmed. The batteries being then removed againſt the caſtle, and play'd with great fury, they had ſo good effect, that, the 27th, the gariſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. During this whole ſiege, the confederates had not above twenty men kill'd, and thirty-five wounded: but the loſs of the enemy was much more conſiderable.

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And taken.

The duke of Marlborough and ſeveral generals are for forcing the lines.

Three days before, a grand council of war was held at the confederate camp, at Val Notre Dame, in which were preſent, the duke of Marlborough, the deputies of the States-general, monſieur d'Auverquerque, monſieur Schlangenburg, the lieutenant-generals, and ſeveral major-generals. The queſtion in debate was, what they ſhould next undertake, after Huy ſhould be ſurrender'd? and, the ſiege of Limburg being propoſed, the duke of Marlborough, who (as I have obſerved above) had, with great care and diligence, informed himſelf of the condition of the enemy's lines, and got the beſt intelligence he could, where they might be forc'd, with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs, was againſt the propoſal; and he, together with ſome of the other generals, gave their ſentiments rather for attacking the enemy's lines, between the Mehaigne and Leuwe, as an enterprize that would contribute much more to the glory and advantage of the arms of the high allies: being alſo of opinion, that Limburg might be attack'd, by a detachment, when the ſeaſon was more advanced.

But the Dutch oppoſe it.

The deputies of the States, and the Dutch generals, on the other hand, would by no means conſent to hazard their troops, in what they called a deſperate action, which they ſaid, was, at beſt, very dubious, and which, if attended with ſucceſs, would yield no farther advantage than to find the enemy retired into their fortified towns; whereas, on the contrary, ſhould the French get the victory, the United-provinces would remain expoſed to their incurſions. However, the arguments offered by the duke and his party were very cogent, and beſide theſe, the duke had his private reaſons, founded upon very good intelligence, which he had by his ſpies, of which, an officer who ſerved under him, has aver'd, he had no leſs than three introduced to him in one night (after the fatigue of a hard day's march) in his tent, the officer of his guard having orders to wake him when they came.

The ſiege of Limburg reſolved on.

The project of attacking the lines being thus laid aſide, the reſolution was taken to beſiege Limburg (2); and, to that end, the 5th of September, by break of day, the grand army, under the command of the duke, and with him, monſieur d'Auverquerque, march'd from the neighborhood of Huy, and pitch'd their camp at Hanuye, within about two leagues of the French grand army, which then conſiſted of ſeventy-four battalions, and 140 ſquadrons, with upwards of 120 pieces of cannon, and twenty-four mortars, all mounted on their intrenchments and lines in front. The confe-

madam de Tilly, who came, that day, to dine with her huſband. The French (according to both) had but 500 ſlain, and 840 wounded. The allies were purſued in their retreat, till eleven at night, and retired in confuſion under the fort of Lillo.

Theſe circumſtances are not only contradicted by general Schlangenburg's account, but by many others: monſieur Rouſſet ſays, the enemy took four pieces of cannon at firſt, but were oblig'd to abandon them again with one of their own, ſome ammunition, ſeveral pair of kettle-drums, two ſtandards of the gens d'arms, ſeveral colors, and a good number of priſoners. The army continued in the field of battle all night, under their arms, and march'd the next morning, from Houteren to Lillo, without any diſturbance or attempt from the enemy. The French King was, however, made to believe, that his troops got the victory, and cauſed Te Deum to be ſung in the cathedral church of Paris: and that upon the bare and only circumſtance of the retreat of general Opdam.

(1) The States, in the mean time, tho' their troops gain'd great honor, in this action, had the mortification to loſe the future ſervices of two brave generals by it: that of general Opdam, for the reaſons already aſſign'd; and that of general Schlangenburg, becauſe, having given offenſe to the duke of Marlborough, by being to free of his cenſure on this occaſion, they were obliged, ſoon after, to diſpenſe with his ſervice, rather than diſoblige his grace, whoſe ſervice they ſtood more in need of: thus this brave officer, who certainly behaved gallantly in this action, loſt by his tongue, the advantnge he had gained by the ſword. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 254.

(2) Limburg is a very ſtrong, tho' not large city, the capital of the duchy and territory of that name, ſituate on a rock, among ſhady woods, on the river Weſdret. It is ſixteen miles, S. E. of Aix la Chapelle, nineteen almoſt E. of Liege, forty three almoſt S.W. of Cologn, fifty-four N. of Luxemburg, and ſeventy almoſt Eaſt of Bruſſels.

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derate army then consisted of eighty battalions, and 142 squadrons. The duke with several other generals, with a guard of forty squadrons, advanced out of the front of the camp, within almost cannon-shot of the enemy's lines, to view their situation, which put them in so great a consternation, that they expected nothing less than being immediately attack'd. But how earnestly soever his grace might desire it, his hands were tied. He, therefore returned, in the evening, to the camp.

Limburg invested.

The 6th, the army incamp'd at St. Tron, from whence, on the 8th, the duke detach'd lieutenant-general Bulau, with a body of troops towards Limburg, which place he invested the 10th, with twenty-four squadrons of horse and dragoons. The garison in the town and castle, consisted of four battalions, and they had twelve pieces of cannon and four mortars mounted (1). The 14th, the duke of Marlborough arrived to command the siege in person. Till the 25th, was imployed in making

The trenches opened.

the necessary preparations for opening the trenches, and finishing the batteries, which then playing night and day, with twenty-four pieces of cannon and eight mortars, upon the upper-town, the breach was so wide by the 27th, that the confederates were preparing to give a general assault; but the French, perceiving it, beat a parly. The duke would, however, grant them no other conditions, than, "that the garison should surrender "prisoners of war; that the officers and soldiers "might keep what was their own, and that the "officers should be allowed twelve wagons to "carry their bagage, provided they delivered up "one of their gates, within half an hour after this "agreement."

The garison surrenders prisoners of war.

This being consented to by the besieged, and the garison having laid down their arms, and being march'd out, the besiegers took possession of the place (2).

Thus ended the campain in the Netherlands; which proved glorious to the allies, and particularly to the duke of Marlborough: but it might have been much more so had his grace been allow'd to pursue his own reasonable and well-grounded measures; especially as he had the superior army (3).

Affairs of Germany.

The French, and their new confederates, the Bavarians, had, the whole summer, miserably harrass'd the Emperor and the Empire. The French, on their side, took Fort-Kehl, Old-Brisac (4), and Landau, all considerable fortresses, on the Upper-Rhine, and defeated the Dutch and Germans, under the command of the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, at the battle of Spirebach, where they surprized the German camp, while the officers were celebrating the festival of St. Leopold, in honor to the Emperor, in mirth and jollitry. And the Bavarians, on the other hand, having been joined, in the spring, by the marshal de Villars, possess'd himself (tho' not without great difficulty) of Ratisbon (5).

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The elector of Bavaria takes possession of Ratisbon.

The Emperor having not only refused to consent to the neutrality of Ratisbon, proposed by the Elector of Bavaria, but, instead of that, required the soverein Princes, and States of Germany, to furnish their quota's, and to inable him to prevent the mischiefs that threatned the Empire; their deputies at the diet, who were, indeed, no better than the Elector of Bavaria's prisoners, insisted upon their securities, alleging, that the Imperial court's refusal was out of season, and prejudicial to the authority of the Princes and States of the Empire.

The Queen of England, and the States-general of the United-provinces, press'd, with all possible earnestness, that unweildy and lethargic body, by their ministers, to take effectual measures, to prevent the fatal consequences of the conjunction of the French and Bavarians. But when some of the deputies would have taken into present consideration, the ways and means for every circle to furnish out their shares of men, artillery, and ammunition, for the army of 120,000 men, which the diet had, the year before, resolved to set on foot for the defense of the Empire, others replied, that the consideration of these things was too late for this campain, and too soon for the next.

This supine negligence of the diet, the cause of all the succeeding distractions of the Empire, incourag'd the Elector of Bavaria, to publish a manifesto, wherein he complains, in the first place,

The Elector of Bavaria's manifesto.

"against the Emperor and his allies, accusing them "of exorbitant plundering, extorting contributions, "and burning his country, from thence insinuating, "that he took up lawful arms, in his own defense. "He denies his having had any design (as the house "of Austria gives out) of joining with France to

(1) The officer, who commanded in the place, had orders to abandon it at the approach of the allies, but first to blow up the castle. However, being surprized, he was obliged to make some defense, for his honor's sake. F. Daniel.

(2) By the taking of this place, the allies not only became intire masters of the duchy of Limburg, but secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologn, from the incursions of the French; and before the conclusion of the year, they were likewise masters of the whole Spanish Guelderland, by the surrender of the city of Guelders, on the 17th of December, after it had been long blockaded and bombarded by the Prussian general Lottum, and was reduced almost to a heap of ruins. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 270.

(3) The French make it a merit in their generals, and heap applauses upon them, for having, with so much conduct, prevented the allies from making any farther conquests this campain; and pretend, notwithstanding what they had attempted at the opening of it, that they never design'd any thing more than to be on the defensive, in Flanders, that they might act with the greater vigor in Germany and Italy. De Quincy, hist. mil. de Louis le Gr. Tom. IV. p. 43.

The continuator of Rapin in French, who is very ready upon all occasions to depreciate the actions of the duke of Marlborough, will hardly allow this campain to be glorious: one might, says he, reasonably have expected something more from such a superiority of force as the intrigues of the English general, supported by the re-iterated sollicitations of the State-general had procured. Without this augmentation, he would have been in a condition to have besieged and taken the three places which fell this campains into his hand: B. xxvi. p. 525. But all this while our author conceals the real reasons why nothing more was done, the non-compliance of the Dutch with the duke's measures.

(4) This place, tho very strong before, was rendered so much the more so, by the fortifications which the famous monsr. de Vauban added during the last war, that it was rendered almost inpregnable: yet the French were masters of it in fourteen days after they opened the trenches. The Emperor, to shew his resentment, caused the count d'Arco, who was governor, to be beheaded, and the deputy-governor, count Marsigli to be degraded with dishonor: and yet (says my author) they could do no more than they did, the place not being provided with necessaries for a defence (a thing very common with the Emperor and the Empire) and beside, the French general having made a feint of besieging Friburg, they had been oblig'd to detach ten men out of every company of the garison, for the security of that place. But the Emperor was obliged to do something, to excuse his own negligence to his allies. Contin' of Rapin in French. B. xxvi. p. 526.

(5) Ratisbon is a very large, rich, and strong city of Germany, in the circle and dukedom of Bavaria; and bishopric of the same name, under the archbishop of Saltsburg; it is famous for the general diets of the Empire, which have been held there ever since the year 1662. It was formerly the capital of Bavaria, and afterwards the residence of the Franconian Emperors; but was, at length, taken from the Bavarians by Emperor Frederick I, in the year 1180, and made a free Imperial city, as it now remains. It has a very fine stone-bridge over the Dannbe, 1091 foot long, and 32 broad, supported by pillars, and adorn'd with three towers. It has, likewise, a magnificent old cathedral, and a stately castle, where the Imperial diets are generally held. The river, Regen, which falls into the Danube, on one side of it, has given it the name of Regenspurg, by which alone it is known in Germany. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 273.

"attack

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" attack the Empire: and avers, that he left the " Netherlands, and retired to his own country, " meerly to keep himſelf out of this new war, " and to join his indeavors, with thoſe of the cir- " cles of Suabia and Franconia, firmly to eſtabliſh " the peace obtain'd by the treaty of Ryſwick. " He adds, that the miniſters of the crown of " France, having not only by memorials, but " verbally, repreſented to the diet at Ratiſbon, " and the circles of the Empire, that their maſter " was diſpoſed to keep the treaty of Ryſwick in- " violably, and the circles, in their anſwers, ex- " preſſing a like inclination, he had conformably " declar'd, on the ſide of France, and entered " into a treaty with that crown; that he wiſhed, " that the Imperial court, when they began the " war in Italy, for the ſucceſſion to the Spaniſh " Monarchy, had had the conſent of the Empire, " at leaſt of the Electoral college: as alſo, when " they declared againſt the dukes of Savoy and " Mantua, and againſt the Elector of Cologn, " whoſe only crime was, that he would not be " ſubſervient to the deſigns of the houſe of Auſtria. " That his Electoral Highneſs had cauſe ſufficient " to complain of ſuch proceedings of the Imperial " council, but ſmother'd his reſentments, out of " reſpect to the Emperor; but when the circles of " Auſtria, Suabia and Franconia, without wait- " ing for the reſolutions of the diet of the Empire, " entered into the war, and conſequently became " unqualified to give an impartial vote in the " diet, his Electoral highneſs, finding his coun- " try left naked and expoſed, his enemy grown " more formidable, and the houſe of Bavaria in " danger of being oppreſſed, he judg'd it high " time, for his own ſecurity, and for the preſer- " vation of his country, to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome " advantageous poſts, particularly Ulm and Mem- " mingen, to prevent being cruſh'd by the Monar- " chical adminiſtration, till now unheard of in the " Empire." This manifeſto was preſented to the diet at Ratiſbon, by the Bavarian miniſter, with another writing, importing; " that the Elector would " think himſelf no longer oblig'd to evacuate that " town, tho' the Emperor's ratification of the " reſolve of the diet, for a neutrality, ſhould be " ſign'd by his Imperial Majeſty; however, he " aſſur'd the public miniſters reſiding there, that " they ſhould injoy all freedom and ſecurity in the " ſaid place, with which aſſurance he hoped they " would reſt contented, and demand nothing far- " ther."

He invades Tirol.

Marſhal Villars then remain'd on the Danube, while the elector of Bavaria invaded Tirol, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of Inſpruck, and other places, with ſuch rapidity, as amazed all Germany, and very much alarmed the court of Vienna. He made his publick entry into Inſpruck, from which he demanded homage, and a monthly contribution of 120,000 florins, beſide a great quantity of ammunition and proviſions.

In the mean time, the Emperor's force was ſo broken into ſmall armies, in different places, that he had not one good any where; and in Tirol he had none at all. All that the Prince of Baden could do, was to watch the motions of the marſhal de Villars. The duke de Vendôme had orders to march from the Milaneſe to Tirol, in order to join the Elector of Bavaria, which, if he had effected, would have reduced the houſe of Auſtria to the loweſt extremity: but the boors of Tirol riſing, attack'd the Elector's forces with ſo much reſolution, that he was forced to retire out of the country, with conſiderable loſs, before the duke could join him, who was, thereupon, likewiſe obliged by the boors to return back without effecting any thing.

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But is obliged to quit it.

The Elector, afterwards, rejoined the marſhal de Villars, and deſign'd immediately to have ſeized on Augſburg, but was prevented by Prince Lewis of Baden; however the French and Bavarians having defeated count Stirum, with a conſiderable body of Germans, near Hochſtadt, the Prince, could no longer keep that place out of the Elector's hands, who was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of it, than he delivered it up to the French (1).

He takes Augſburg.

The Elector, not long after this, turned eaſtward, took Paſſaw, march'd into Auſtria, and made himſelf maſter of Lintz, a very conſiderable city, and capital of the Upper-Auſtria. He even threatned to join Ragotzki, and the Hungarian rebels, who ravaged Auſtria, Stiria, and Moravia, and made incurſions almoſt to the very gates of Vienna, his Imperial Majeſty's ſeat and capital. To this fatal dilemma was the houſe of Auſtria at that time brought; and what would have been the end of it, if the duke of Marlborough had not come to their relief, the inſuing campain, as we ſhall ſee below, is eaſy to gueſs.

Great diſtreſs of the houſe of Auſtria.

The duke of Savoy comes into the grand alliance.

It was ſome alleviation of the loſs which the allies ſuſtained, by theſe misfortunes that befell the houſe of Auſtria, that the King of Portugal (as I have ſaid above) and the duke of Savoy, acceeded this year, to the grand alliance. The French King having ſome intimation of the latter, before hand, commanded the duke de Vendôme, to ſeize and diſarm the troops of Savoy, that were in his army. The duke of Savoy, by way of repriſal, commanded ſeveral French officers, who were in Turin, and the French embaſſador himſelf, to be put under arreſt. The duke de Vendôme was hereupon commanded, immediately to invade the frontiers of Savoy, and to tranſmit the following letter to his royal highneſs.

Sir,

" Since neither religion, honor, intereſt, alliance, " nor even your own hand-writing, are of any force " between us, I ſend my couſin, the duke de " Vendôme, at the head of my armies, to make " known to you my intentions; he will allow you " but twenty-four hours to reſolve what you have " to do. Lewis.

The duke of Savoy, however, continued firm to the allies, and publiſhed a manifeſto, ſeting forth the neceſſity and juſtice of his proceedings, and ſent expreſſes to the Emperor, and the reſt of the confederated powers, to ſollicit their aſſiſtance to inable him to weather the impending ſtorm. (2)

(1) Augſburg (the Auguſta Vindelicorum of the Ancients) is a very large, populous, and rich city, one of the moſt celebrated of Germany, and a free Imperial city, adorn'd with magnificent churches, palaces, magazines excedingly well furniſhed, and ſeveral excellent hoſpitals. It is famous for ſeveral Imperial diets held there, and particularly, in the 16th century, after the reformation in Germany by Luther. Here likewiſe, the then King of the Romans, Joſeph (afterwards Emperor) was elected and crown'd in 1689. It is ſituate at the confluence of the river Lech and Wertach, near the borders of Bavaria. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 278.

(2) The Emperor had his ſhare in theſe negociations, but England and Holland much more. The vaſt ſums which were laviſh'd away, on the duke of Savoy, certainly never came out of the Emperor's coffers. He promiſed him nothing more than the inveſtiture of Montferrat; but left him the care of geting poſſeſſion of it. It muſt have been ſomething more than promiſes, that could determine this Prince to give up 30,000 crowns a month, which he received of France and Spain, for the ſmall aid they had from him. Queen Ann made a liberal uſe of the power given her by parliament, to ſpare nothing in procuring ſuch new alliances, as ſhe might judge advantageous and neceſſary for the common cauſe: Cont. of Rapin in Fr. B. xxvi. p. 528.

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The duke of Marlborough visits the King of Spain.

The duke of Marlborough, after having given the neceſſary orders for the diſpoſition of the troops, was informed, juſt as he was preparing to return to England, that the archduke Charles of Auſtria, with the title of Charles III King of Spain, was arrived at Duſſeldorp, in his way thro' Holland and England, for that kingdom; his grace, therefore, went thither, to congratulate his Majeſty, on his acceſſion to the Spaniſh throne, in the name of the Queen of Great-Britain (1). The King having had notice of the duke's coming, put on, the day he expected his viſit, a fine rich ſword, that he deſign'd to make a preſent of to his grace, which he did, in the following polite manner: while they were diſcourſing together, his Majeſty took it from his ſide, and giving it into the duke's hand, with a graceful air, My lord (ſaid he, in French) I am not aſhamed to ſay I am but a poor Prince (Je n'ai que la Cape et l' Epée) I have only my cloak and my ſword (alluding to his being a younger brother) the latter may be of uſe to your grace, and I hope you will not think it the worſe for my wearing it one day. So far from it (replied the duke) that it ſhall always put me in mind of your Majeſty's juſt right and title, and of the obligations I ly under to hazard my life, and all that's dear to me, to make you the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendon. And we ſhall find, in the ſequel, his grace was ever mindful of his promiſe, as far as in him lay. His grace accompanied his Majeſty to the Hague, where he arrived the ſecond of November, N. S. and the duke, after ſome ſtay there, to concert proper meaſures for the inſuing campain, went over to England, where he arrived the 30th of October O. S.

He makes the duke a noble preſent.

Rebellion in Hungary.

Before I return to England, it may not be improper to mention, that, as another addition to the Emperor's ill fortune, about the ſame time, the Hungarians, under the famous Prince Ragotzki, broke out into open rebellion, and, poſſeſſing themſelves of ſeveral places, advanced within two leagues of Preſburg, whither count Schlick, the Imperial general, who was ſent againſt them, was obliged to retire: and it was even reported, that count Caroli and count Berezeni, having joined their forces, to the number of 20,000 men, had march'd by Preſburg, and were advancing to beſiege Vienna, which occaſioned a general conſternation there. The 12th of December, Prince Eugene of Savoy ſat out for Preſburg, to give the neceſſary orders for the ſecurity of that place, and other frontiers, and to indeavor to bring the male-contents to an accommodation. About the ſame time, Prince Ragotzki, and his adherents, publiſh'd a manifeſto, proteſting; "That they "did not intend to withdraw themſelves from "the allegiance they owed to the Emperor, pro- "vided they might have the free injoyment of "their religion, liberties, eſtates and privileges, "and that the government of Hungary be in the "hands of the natives of that country." However, the Emperor did not ſhew any diſpoſition to grant them theſe terms.

The parliament meets.

The 9th of November, the parliament of England met, at Weſtminſter, and the Queen open'd the ſeſſion, with the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I have call'd you together, as ſoon as I thought "you could conveniently come out of your coun- "tries, that no time might be loſt in making "our preparations for carrying on the preſent war, "in which I do not doubt of your cheerful con- "currence, ſince you cannot but be ſenſible that "on the ſucceſs of it depends our own ſafety and "happineſs, and that of all Europe.

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"I hope I have improved the confidence you "repoſed in me laſt year, to your ſatisfaction, and "the advantage of us and our allies, by the treaty "with the King of Portugal, and the declara- "tion of the duke of Savoy, which, in great mea- "ſure, may be imputed to the cheerfulneſs with "which you ſupported me in this war, and the "aſſurance with which you truſted me in the con- "duct of it: and we cannot ſufficiently acknow- "ledge the goodneſs of Almighty God, who "is pleaſed to afford us ſo fair a proſpect, as we "now have, of bringing it to a glorious and ſpeedy "concluſion.

"I muſt therefore deſire you, gentlemen of the "houſe of commons, to grant me ſuch ſupplies "as ſhall be requiſite, to defray the neceſſary charge "of the war, in the next year, with regard not "only to all our former ingagements, but parti- "cularly to our alliance lately made with the "King of Portugal, for recovering the Monarchy "of Spain from the houſe of Bourbon, and re- "ſtoring it to the houſe of Auſtria; which treaty "being in it ſelf of the higheſt importance imagi- "nable, and requiring all poſſible diſpatch in the "execution of it, has neceſſarily occaſioned a great "expence, even in this preſent year, tho' not ſo "much as it will require, and for which, I hope, "we ſhall be amply recompenced in the next.

"The ſubſidies which will now be immediately "required, for the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy, "will likewiſe occaſion a farther neceſſary charge.

"I muſt take notice to you, that no particular "proviſion was made, in the laſt ſeſſion, either "for the charge of our preſent expedition to Por- "tugal, or for that of the augmentation-troops "deſired by the States-general; yet the funds given "by parliament have held out ſo well, and the "product of the prizes has proved ſo conſiderable, "that you will find the public will not be in "debt, by reaſon of either of theſe additional ſer- "vices.

"I may farther obſerve to you, that tho' the "funds for the civil government are diminiſhed "by the war, I have, in conjunction with the "States-general, contributed out of my own re- "venue towards ſome public ſervices, and parti- "cularly the ſupport of the circle of Suabia, whoſe "firm adherence to the intereſt of the allies, "under the greateſt preſſures, did very well de- "ſerve our ſeaſonable aſſiſtance. And I ſhall ſtill "be careful not to ingage myſelf in any unne- "ceſſary expence of my own, that I may have "the more to ſpare towards the eaſe of my ſub- "jects.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I heartily wiſh ſome eaſy and leſs chargeable "method could be found, for the ſpeedy and "effectual maning of the fleet.

"I muſt alſo recommend to you, to make ſome "regulation for preventing the exceſſive price of "coals: I have examined this matter, and taken "particular care to appoint convoys for that ſer- "vice: but the price has not been in the leaſt "abated, notwithſtanding a very conſiderable quan- "tity has been imported ſince that time. This "gives great ground of ſuſpicion, there may be "a combination of ſome perſons to inrich them- "ſelves, by a general oppreſſion of others, and "and particularly the poor. It will deſerve your "conſideration how to remedy this inconvenience.

"And in all your affairs, I muſt recommend

(1) The duke, among other things, told him: "he was juſt come from puting his Majeſty in poſſeſſion of Limburg;" to which the young Monarch anſwer'd: "that he hoped to be much more indebted to his grace's valor, in the reduction of other "places and territories to his obedience." Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 279.

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" to you, as much diſpatch as the nature of them " will admit. This is neceſſary to make our " preparations early; on which, in great mea- " ſure, depends the good ſucceſs of all our enter- " prizes.

" I want words to expreſs to you my earneſt de- " ſire of ſeeing all my ſubjects in perfect peace and " union among themſelves. I have nothing ſo " much at heart as their general wellfare and hap- " pineſs. Let me therefore deſire you all, that " you would carefully avoid any heats or diviſions, " which may diſappoint me of that ſatisfaction, " and give incouragement to the common enemies " of our church and ſtate".

Addreſs of the commons.

The 11th, the commons attended the Queen with an addreſs, in anſwer to her ſpeech, in which, they returned her Majeſty thanks " for ingaging the " King of Portugal, and the duke of Savoy, in " her alliance; for contributing out of her own " revenue to the public ſervice; and for her aſſiſt- " ance to the circle of Suabia: they aſſured her " that they would ſupport her Majeſty in her " alliances, and inable her to carry on the war " with vigor; and, finally, that, according to " her deſire, they would carefully avoid any heats " or diviſions, that might give incouragement " to the common enemies of the church and " ſtate."

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs, the Queen anſwered; " that " ſhe was very well pleaſed with their aſſurance of " ſupporting her in the preſent war, and their " kind acknowlegements of her indeavors to bring " it to a happy concluſion: and that they might " aſſure themſelves, ſhe ſhould always purſue the " true intereſt of the kingdom, and omit nothing " that might promote the general welfare of her " people."

Addreſs of the lords.

The 12th, the lords likewiſe attended her Majeſty with an addreſs; in which, they ſaid, " they ſaw " with the greateſt ſatisfaction, the zeal with which " her Majeſty eſpouſed the public intereſt, even " beyond the obligations of her treaties: that ſhe " might depend upon ſecurity at home, in the love " of her people, and might, therefore, with the " greater ſafety and glory, ſend her fleets and " armies abroad, in defenſe of her allies.

" That the happy declaration of the duke of " Savoy, for the common intereſt, gave her Ma- " jeſty a ſeaſonable opportunity, to ſhew her com- " paſſion and concern, for thoſe Proteſtants in the " ſouth of France, who ly under the heavieſt per- " ſecution and oppreſſion.

" That they ſhould willingly pay their propor- " tion of taxes, incouraged by her royal generoſity, " for the eaſe of her people, and by the frugal " management of what was given. That her Ma- " jeſty might expect a ready compliance with all " her deſires, and aſſured her they ſhould oppoſe " whatever might tend to create any diſquiet or " diſunion among her ſubjects: that they ſhould " not be wanting in their duty to ſupport her Ma- " jeſty's honor, and her allies, not doubting but " GOD would proſper her arms, ſo glorioufly " imployed, to protect all thoſe whom the am- " bition of the French King would oppreſs."

To which her Majeſty returned the following anſwer.

My lords,

The Queen's anſwer.

" I am extreamly ſenſible of the particular con- " cern you expreſs for me, in this addreſs, and of " your great zeal for the common cauſe of Europe. " I rely very much upon the aſſurance you give me " of your duty and affection, and ſhall alwaye uſe " my beſt indeavors, to eſtabliſh the ſafety and " happineſs of the kingdom."

The 19th, mr. ſecretary Hedges laid before the commons, the copies and tranſlations of ſuch treaties as were not laid before them the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, among which was the defenſive and offenſive treaty with Portugal. Theſe treaties having been examined, in a commitee of the whole houſe, it was reſolved, the 27th, " that the 40,000 men, " which were raiſed, to act in conjunction with " the forces of the allies, and the additional troops, " conſiſting of 10,000 men, ſhould be continued " for the year 1704. That the proportion of " land-forces to act in conjunction with the forces " of Portugal, ſhould be 8000 men, conſiſting of " 1000 horſe and dragoons, and 7000 foot: and " that the ſum of 1,801,006 l. 15 s. be granted " for maintaining the ſaid forces, and the guards " and gariſons of this kingdom, the payment of " invalids, and diſcharging the ſubſidies payable " to her Majeſty's allies." The commons had, two days before, reſolved; " that 40,000 men, in- " cluding 5000 marines, be imployed for ſea ſer- " vice for the year 1704, and that a ſum of 4 l. " per man, per month, for thirteen months, be al- " lowed for maintaining the ſaid 40,000 men, " including the ordnance for ſea-ſervice."

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A ſupply granted.

Addreſſes of the commons.

The 30th, mr. ſecretary Hedges acquainted the houſe, that an addreſs they had made to her Majeſty, relating to the continuance of the ſtop of all correſpondence with France and Spain, having been preſented to the Queen, her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer; " that ſhe thought the continuance of " the ſtop of all poſts, letters, trade, and all other " correſpondence with the enemies, ſo neceſſary for " the public good, that ſhe would forthwith give " orders to her miniſter at the Hague, to inſiſt " upon it, with the States-general, as the commons " deſired." The ſame day, the commons voted an addreſs to her Majeſty, aſſuring her; " that " they would provide for the making good ſuch " alliances, as her Majeſty had made, or ſhould " make with the duke of Savoy."

A violent ſtorm of wind.

The 26th of this month was fatal to England for the moſt violent ſtorm that ever was known in this kingdom, in the memory of any man living, or recorded in hiſtory. It began between eleven and twelve at night, the wind was at W. S. W. and was attended with a roaring noiſe, like thunder at a diſtance, followed by great flaſhes of lightning, continuing with almoſt unrelenting fury, till ſeven in the morning. It blew down a multitude of chimnies, tops of houſes, and even ſome whole buildings; tore up a great number of trees in St. James's park, the inns of court, Moorfields, and other places, by the roots, and broke off others in the middle; beat down ſeveral ſpires off of ſteeples; roll'd up great quantities of lead, like ſcrowls of parchment, and blew them off of churches, halls and houſes. Several people were killed in their beds, particularly the biſhop of Bath and Wells and his lady; ſeveral others were wounded; but far more almoſt miraculouſly preſerved. A great number of veſſels, barges and boats were ſunk in the river of Thames, and the arches of London-bridge were ſtopp'd with the wrecks of them. The damage done in London and Weſtminſter was conjectured to amount to one million ſterling, and that of the city of Briſtol to little leſs than 150,000 l. It would be endleſs to enumerate the loſſes to private perſons, and more particularly at ſea; where the royal navy, which was return'd but a few days before from the Streights, and many of the ſhips not yet got into harbor, had a great ſhare in the misfortune: thirteen of her Majeſty's ſhips, viz. one ſecond-rate, four third-rates, three fourth, four fifth, and one ſixth-rate, were caſt away, and 1519 ſeamen drowned; beſide many more ſhips damaged in ſeveral parts of England and Holland. It was remarkable, however, that the northern parts of this iſland felt but little of the effects of this violent tempeſt.

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On this melancholy occaſion, the houſe of commons unanimouſly reſolved; "that an addreſs be "preſented to her Majeſty, expreſſing the great "ſenſe the houſe had of the calamity fallen upon "the kingdom, by the late violent ſtorm; and "that they could not ſee any diminution of her "Majeſty's navy, without making proviſion to re-"pair the ſame: they therefore beſought her Ma-"jeſty, that ſhe would immediately give direction "for repairing this loſs, and for building ſuch ca-"pital ſhips as her Majeſty ſhould think fit; and "to aſſure her Majeſty, that, at their next meet-"ing, the houſe would effectually make good "that expence, and would give diſpatch in "raiſing the ſupplies alread voted, for making "good her Majeſty's treaties with the King of "Portugal, and all her Majeſty's allies, and would "conſider of effectuat ways for promoting trade, "for managing her Majeſty's navy royal, and for "incouraging ſeamen."

Addreſs of the commons on this occaſion.

A public faſt appointed.

This addreſs being preſented, accordingly, her Majeſty gave a ſuitable anſwer; and, ſoon after, ordered her royal proclamation to be iſſued, "that "a general and public faſt ſhould be obſerved, "throughout all England, on the 19th of Ja-"nuary next inſuing, to deprecate the divine ven-"geance, avert the like judgments for the future, "and obtain the heavenly bleſſing on the forces "of her Majeſty and her allies, both by ſea and "land".

The King of Spain comes to England.

We left Charles III, the new King of Spain, at the Hague, concerting matters with the States-general (1) and preparing for his voyage to England, in order to go to Liſbon, with a fleet of Engliſh and Dutch men of war, which were appointed to convoy him thither. Sir George Rooke, being nominated, by her Majeſty, to command this fleet, ſet ſail with a ſmall ſquadron for Holland, and arrived in the Maeſe the 16th of October.

The troops being imbarked the begining of November, and the King of Spain on board, the admiral ſailed; but the wind being contrary, and blowing hard, his Majeſty thought fit to go on ſhoar, the eleventh, and went, with a ſmall part of his retinue, to the Hague. While he was on ſhoar, happened the great ſtorm of wind, of which I have given an account above, and which very much retarded his Majeſty's voyage, by the damage ſome of our ſhips ſuſtained. When every thing was in a readineſs, their ſailing was, for ſome time, prevented, by fogs and calms; but, at length, the admiral got out, and joined rear-admiral Vanderduſſen, with five Dutch ſhips of war, having four fourth-rates, and one fifth of ours, with which he arrived ſafe at Spithead. There came out but thirteen tranſport-ſhips, the reſt being left behind, the admiral having her Majeſty's expreſs orders, to ſail, with the firſt fair wind, taking with him ſuch of thoſe veſſels as ſhould then be ready.

The King of Spain landed, at Portſmouth, the twenty-ſixth of December: the duke of Somerſet was ſent by the Queen, to receive him, and to bring him to an interview, which was to be at Windſor: Prince George met him on the way, and he was treated with great magnificence. The court was very ſplendid, and much throng'd; the Queen's behavior to him was very noble and obliging; the young King charmed all that were there. He had a gravity beyond his age, tempered with much modeſty. His behavior was, in all points, ſo exact, that there was not a circumſtance in his whole deportment, that was liable to cenſure. He paid an extraordinary reſpect to the Queen, and yet maintained a due greatneſs in it. He had an art of ſeeming well pleaſed with every thing, without ſo much as once ſmiling, all the while he was at court, which was only three days. He ſpoke but little, and all he ſaid was judicious and obliging. He took leave of her Majeſty, the evening before his departure, having made ſeveral preſents to ſeveral ladies attending her Majeſty's perſon, and particularly to the ducheſs of Marlborough, to whom he, in a polite manner, gave his ring from his finger, ſaid to be valued at a thouſand pound; but theſe largeſſes were ſufficiently retaliated, by the preſent, it is ſaid, her Majeſty made him of fifty-thouſand pounds. To conclude, his Majeſty approved himſelf a moſt accompliſhed Prince, to a moſt diſcerning and polite court.

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The occaſional conformity bill again rejected.

The parliament had not ſat long, before the bill for preventing occaſional conformity, which had miſcarried in the former ſeſſion, was again ſet on foot in the houſe of commons, where it met with an eaſy paſſage, on the 7th of December: but when it came to the lords, it was rejected, at the ſecond reading, by a majority of twelve or thirteen votes. The reaſons for and againſt this bill, at this time, being much the ſame as they were in the preceeding ſeſſion, I ſhall not detain the reader by repeating them.

The 17th of December, the Queen came to the houſe of lords, and having given the royal aſſent to the land-tax-bill, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech concerning the Scotiſh plot.

"I think proper, upon this occaſion, to acquaint "you, that I have had unqueſtionable information "of very ill practices and deſigns carried on in "Scotland, by the emiſſaries of France, which "might have proved extreamly dangerous to the "peace of theſe kingdoms, as you will ſee by the "particulars, which ſhall be laid before you as "ſoon as the ſeveral informations relating to this "matter can be fully perfected and made pub-"lic, without prejudice. In the mean time, I "make no doubt, but by this ſeaſonable diſcovery, "I ſhall be able to give ſuch directions for our "ſecurity, as will effectually prevent any ill conſe-"quences from their pernicious deſigns.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I am very ſenſible of your great readineſs and "affection for the public ſervice, by preſenting me "ſo early in the ſeſſion, with a conſiderable part "of your ſupplies. I depend intirely upon your "continuing, with the ſame zeal, to diſpatch the "remainder of them, that ſo we may be prepared "to give the readieſt aſſiſtance to our allies, and "to defeat the malicious deſigns of the enemy "who cannot be more induſtrious to contrive the "ruin of this kingdom, and of the Proteſtant re-"ligion, than I ſhall always be vigilant and care-"ful, both for their preſent preſervation, and for "their future ſecurity."

The grounds of this matter.

The foundation of this matter was in ſubſtance as follows: upon the refuſal of the Scots, either to ſettle the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, or to grant the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of the war, as well the French King as the Pretender, entertained great hopes, that

(1) Before this Prince departed from the Hague, his Majeſty repreſented to the States-general; "That being lawful heir of "the Spaniſh monarchy, and the province of Limburg, belonging to that crown, he deſired the States would deliver up to "him the civil government thereof, as a confirmation of their owning his title, and of their real intention to perform their "ſolemn treaties." The States, and their allies, having granted his demand, his Catholic Majeſty appointed count Sinzendorff to take poſſeſſion of the town and duchy of Limburg, in his name; which he did accordingly. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 100.

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the latter might be reſtored to the crown of Scotland; and, thereupon, ſome Scotiſh gentlemen, belonging to the court of St. Germains, and particularly Frazier and Keith, were appointed to go over to Scotland, and ſound the inclinations of the leading men. About the ſame time, ſir John Macclean, the head of a clan in the highlands of Scotland, coming over, with his wife, from Scotland, and landing at Folkſtone in Kent, was taken up, by the cuſtom-officers, on ſuſpicion, and afterwards brought up in cuſtody of the Queen's meſſengers to London. One Keith, nephew to the Keith I have mentioned above, was taken up at the ſame time; as was mr. Lindſey, who had been under ſecretary to King James and the Pretender. James Bouchier, who had been aid de camp to the duke of Berwick, was likewiſe taken, on the coaſt of Suſſex, coming from France: tho' they all pretended, at leaſt, that they come over, propoſing to live peaceably at home, under her Majeſty's government for the future. The lords apprehending there was a great deal more in this matter than was diſcovered, or than ſome of the miniſters deſired they ſhould be acquainted with, thought fit, the ſame day, to order the priſoners, who were then in the hands of her Majeſty's meſſengers, to be taken into the cuſtody of the black-rod, in order to be examined by a commitee of their lordſhips appointing.

The priſoners taken into the cuſtody of the black rod.

The lords appoint a ſelect commitee to examine into them.

The 18th, the lords proceeded, by balloting, to the choice of a ſelect commitee; which fell on the dukes of Devonſhire and Somerſet, the earls of Sunderland and Scarborough, and the lords Sommers, Townſhend and Wharton.

The 20th, the earl of Kingſton reported their lordſhips addreſs of thanks for the Queen's late ſpeech, which, the ſame evening, was preſented to her Majeſty, and in which, "they acknowleged "her condeſcenſion, in promiſing to communicate "to them, the informations ſhe had received of "the ill practices of her and their enemies in Scot-"land;" they added, "that they doubted not, "the zeal this houſe had ſhewn, for having the "perſons ſecured, and their deſigns brought to "light, had been very acceptable to her Majeſty; "that they relied upon her, that ſhe would give "ſuch directions, as might effectually prevent any "pernicious deſigns; that they would maintain "the rights of the crown and the church of Eng-"land, in all ſuch ways as might moſt promote the "good and happineſs of all her ſubjects:" and concluding; "that they deſired not to let their "thoughts go beyond her Majeſty's perſon, to a "future ſecurity, but as it was neceſſary for her "Majeſty's preſervation, as well as for ſettling the "minds of all her good ſubjects, who look'd on "the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as her Majeſty's beſt "ſecurity, as well as their own".

The Queen's anſwer.

In anſwer to this addreſs, the Queen told the lords; "ſhe was very glad to find, that the com-"munication ſhe had made to the parliament had "been ſo acceptable to them: that ſhe made no "doubt of the zeal of the houſe of lords, nor "ſhould her own ever be wanting to ſecure her "people from dangers, or promote their good "and happineſs, to eſtabliſh the church of Eng-"land, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion to all po-"ſterity".

Addreſs of the commons.

The commons, likewiſe, waited on the Queen, the ſame day, with an addreſs of thanks; in which, "they repeated their unanimous reſolutions to ſtand "by and ſupport her Majeſty, and the ſucceſſion "in the Proteſtant line, againſt all pretenders, and "all her Majeſty's enemies;" aſſured her, "that "they would diſpatch the remainder of the ſup-"plies with readineſs and zeal;" and concluded, "that they would never have the leaſt miſtruſt "of her Majeſty's vigilance and care for the pre-"ſervation of the Proteſtant intereſt in general, of "the Monarchy, and the church of England as by "law eſtabliſh'd."

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The Queen anſwer'd, "that ſhe was very well "pleaſed with their aſſurances of diſpatching the "ſupplies, and with the other parts of their ad-"dreſs, in which they expreſs'd ſo much duty "and readineſs to ſupport, and to truſt her:" aſſuring them withal; "that they might depend "upon her willingneſs, to join her indeavors with "them, in ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the "Monarchy, and the church of England as by law "eſtabliſh'd."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

When mr. St. John reported the above addreſs, on the 17th, the commons reſumed the adjourned debate of the day before, concerning a perſon who was an officer in the late King James's army, and who, having been taken into cuſtody by the governor of Berwick, was afterwards diſcharged by the earl of Nottingham's allowance, which was not only complain'd of, but ſeveral ſevere reflections were caſt upon her Majeſty. The debate laſted long; but it was, at laſt, reſolved; "that the earl of "Nottingham, one of her Majeſty's principal ſe-"cretaries of ſtate, for his great ability and dili-"gence, in the execution of his office; for his "unqueſtionable fidelity to the Queen and her "government, and for his ſteady adhering to the "church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, had "highly merited the truſt her Majeſty had re-"poſed in him:" which reſolution, they directed their ſpeaker, to lay before her Majeſty, at the ſame time when the addreſs was preſented: and, to this, the Queen was pleaſed to ſay: "ſhe "was glad to find they were well ſatisfied with the "earl of Nottingham, who was truſted by her in ſo conſiderable a poſt".

Complaint againſt the earl of Nottingham:

The commons clear him.

The commons, who were jealous of the lords having appointed a ſelect commitee to examine the perſons ſuſpected, preſented, the 23d, another addreſs to her Majeſty, on that account; in which, "they repreſented the juſt concern they were un-"der to ſee her prerogative violated: they ſaid, "they were ſurprized to find, that when ſeveral "perſons, ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, were "taken into cuſtody by her Majeſty's meſſengers, "in order to be examined, the lords, in violation "of the known laws of the land, had wreſted them "out of her Majeſty's hands, and without her leave "and knowledge, in a moſt extraordinary manner, "taken the examination of them ſolely to themſelves; "whereby a due inquiry in the evil practices and "deſigns againſt her Majeſty's perſon and govern-"ment might be, in a great meaſure, obſtructed. "They deſired her Majeſty, that ſhe would ſuffer "no diminution of her perogative, in the exerciſe "whereof they were reſolved to ſupport her, as well "as in carrying on the war.

Addreſs of the commons againſt the lords examination into the plot.

The Queen told them, in anſwer; "She had "the ſatisfaction of finding, that the matter which "might have occaſioned this addreſs was now at "an end: that ſhe returned them many thanks for "the concern they expreſs'd for her prerogative, "and for their repeated aſſurances of making the "ſupplies effectual, which would be greatly for the "honor and advantage of the kingdom: and that "ſhe would be careful not to give way to any in-"vaſions of the prerogative of the crown, or of "the rights and liberties of the people".

The Queen's anſwer.

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The houſe of peers highly reſented the reflection caſt upon them by the commons in this addreſs; and therefore, to vindicate their honor, and aſſert their privileges, their lordſhips reſolved and declared, on the 12th and 13th of Januray, "that, by the "known laws and cuſtoms of parliament, they "have an undoubted right, whenever they conceive

Reſolutions of the lords;

"it

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" it to be for the ſafety of her Majeſty and the " kingdom, to take examinations of perſons charged " with criminal matters, whether they be in cuſtody " or not; and to order, that perſons to be exa- " mined, be taken into cuſtody of her Majeſty's " ſworn officer attending their houſe". And, on the 17th, " that the ſaid addreſs of the commons is " unparliamentary, groundleſs, without precedent, " and highly injurious to the houſe of peers, tending " to interrupt the good correſpondence between the " two houſes, and create an ill opinion in her " Majeſty of the houſe of peers, and of dangerous " conſequence to the liberties of the people, the " conſtitution of the kingdom, and the privileges " of parliament". They then appointed a com-

Repreſented to the Queen.

mitee to draw up a repreſentation upon the ſaid reſolution, which being done they preſented it to her Majeſty, the next day, and received the following anſwer:

My lords,

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

" I am very ſorry for any miſunderſtandings that " happen between the two houſes of parliament, " which are ſo inconvenient for the public ſervice, " and ſo uneaſy to me, that I cannot but take no- " tice, with ſatisfaction, of the aſſurance you give " me, that you will carefully avoid all occaſion of " them. I thank you for the concern you expreſs " for the rights of the crown, and for my preroga- " tive; which I ſhall never exert ſo willingly, as " for the good of my ſubjects, and the protection " of their liberties."

The 21ſt, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to an act, granting an aid to her Majeſty, " by continuing the duties " upon malt, mum, cyder and perry, for one year:" and the King of Spain having, in the mean time, put to ſea, but being forced back by a ſtorm (as I ſhall ſhew more particularly below) her Majeſty took notice of it, in the following ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

" The misfortune of the King of Spain's being " forced back upon our coaſt, by contrary winds, " which I hope will loſe but very little time, does " yet make it ſo reaſonable, to haſten our prepa- " rations for this year's ſervice, that tho' I am " very ſenſible of your zeal in forwarding all " things relating to mine, and the public ſervice; " yet I cannot but take this occaſion to deſire " you, with all earneſtneſs, that you would give " the greateſt diſpatch to the buſineſs of this " ſeſſion ſtill depending, which is ſo neceſſary " for the good of the common intereſt."

Papers communicated to the lords.

The 29th, the earl of Nottingham, acquainted the houſe of lords: " That he was commanded " by the Queen, to lay before them the papers " which contained all the matters hitherto diſ- " covered of the conſpiracy in Scotland: but " that there was one thing which was not yet " proper to be communicated to the houſe, be- " cauſe the making it public might prevent a far- " ther diſcovery of matters of great importance: " but that their lordſhips ſhould be acquainted " with this alſo, ſo ſoon as it could be done with- " out prejudice to the public ſervice.

They addreſs for farther informations.

The lords, hereupon reſolved to addreſs her Majeſty; " That the whole matter, and all pa- " pers relating to the Scotiſh plot, might be " laid before them, with all convenient diſpatch, " that this houſe might not want an opportunity " before the end of this ſeſſion, of inquiring into, " and diſcovering the wicked deſigns and conſpi- " racies of her enemies."

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs, at which the Queen ſeemed to be offended, her Majeſty anſwered; " That " having ſo lately acquainted them, that ſhe had " communicated to them all the particulars re- " lating to the deſign againſt Scotland, which " could yet be made public, without prejudice to " the ſervice, her Majeſty did not expect to be " preſs'd upon that matter, before it was ſcarcely " poſſible, that the ſtate of it could be altered: " and that her Majeſty made no doubt, but be- " fore the end of the ſeſſion, there might be a " proper time to communicate that, which could " not now be made public, without great incon- " veniency."

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The 3d of February, the earl of Nottingham delivered to the lords ſeveral other papers, relating to the Scotiſh conſpiracy, which being ſealed up, as the former were, it was ordered, that all the ſaid papers ſhould be opened on the 8th of February, and all the lords ſummoned to attend.

Other papers communicated.

Indeavors were, in the mean time, uſed, to ſtifle the plot, and to prepoſſeſs the Queen and the public, that the whole was a contrivance of the duke of Queenſborough, her Majeſty's high-commiſſioner in Scotland, to draw ſome people into a plot: and for this purpoſe, the famous plotter and counter-plotter, Ferguſon, was a very uſeful inſtrument to the perſons ſuſpected. He came in voluntarily, and, " declared his knowledge of " this matter: he affirmed that Frazier was, in- " deed, imployed by the duke of Queenſborough " (for the uſe I have already mentioned) but that " there was, in reality, no Jacobite plot at this " time; for they were glad to ſee one of the " race of the Stuarts upon the throne; tho' " they hoped matters would be ſo compremiſed, " that the Queen might injoy the crown for life, " and that her brother might ſucceed her." Some days after this his firſt declaration, Ferguſon laid a long narrative before the Queen's privy-council, containing what he had omited in his former declaration, and what he had ſince been able to recollect, chiefly about his conferences with captain Frazier: all which ſeemed calculated either to ridicule or ſtifle the plot.

Methods uſed to ſtifle the plot.

The 8th of February, as appointed, the lords took this matter into conſideration, and in the firſt place read the papers which had been laid before them the 29th of January, the moſt material of which was intitled; " An account of " the conſpiracy in Scotland." This, with many other papers, examinations, &c. were read that day, and the next: and the 14th, the lords having " taken the ſaid papers into conſideration, order'd " the uſher of the black-rod immediately to at- " tach the body of William Keith, and keep him " in ſafe cuſtody, in order to his being examined " by the houſe, and that no perſon be allowed to " ſpeak with him." They then, after having read other papers, and debated farther thereupon, reſolved to preſent an addreſs to her Majeſty, which was reported, the next day, by the duke of Bolton, and with ſome amendments agreed to. In this addreſs, they told her Majeſty; " That " having (according to their duty, and her Ma- " jeſty's royal intention) taken into their moſt ſe- " rious conſideration, the papers laid before them, " by the earl of Nottingham, relating to the " very ill practices, and deſigns carried on in " Scotland, by emiſſaries from France; they " found mention made therein of ſeveral other " papers, not yet brought to the houſe, which " they had reaſon to believe were very material, " as well for ſeting thoſe wicked and dangerous " conſpiracies in a due light; as for forming a " right judgment upon the whole matter."

The lords take this matter into conſideration.

Addreſs of the lords.

They then enumerated ſeveral of theſe papers, which they deſired to have laid before them; made ſome apologies for this their requeſt, and told

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told her Majeſty, " they remained ſtill in hopes, " that, according to her Majeſty's gracious intimation, there might be a proper time, before " the end of the ſeſſion, to communicate that " matter to them, without inconvenience to the " public." They concluded, with " renewing " to her Majeſty the promiſe made in their addreſs, of the 16th of January laſt, that no dangers nor reproaches, nor artifices whatſoever, " ſhould deter or divert them, from uſing their utmoſt indeavors, from time to time, in diſcovering and oppoſing all contrivances and attempts " againſt her royal perſon and government, " and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as eſtabliſhed by " law.

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs, the Queen anſwered, " that ſhe " had ordered ſuch papers to be laid before them, " according to their deſire in this addreſs, as were " now ready, and would have been ordered them " at firſt, had ſhe imagined they would have been " expected: but ſome of the particulars being contained in letters writen to herſelf, which would " require a little time to be extracted, and others " being in the hands of the ſecretary of Scotland, " ſhe was not able to make a full anſwer to their " addreſs, but they ſhould have a more particular anſwer with all convienient ſpeed".

More papers deliver'd.

The 19th, the earl of Nottingham acquainted the lords, that her Majeſty had now ſent them all the papers deſired in their laſt addreſs, except one, which the duke of Queenſborough had left in Scotland, but was order'd to be ſent for; that there were ſome letters in giberiſh that wanted explanation; and he had lately received a letter, by the diſcovery of mr. Keith, upon which he thought it proper that Keith ſhould be examined.

Repreſentation of the commons.

The 20th, the commons addreſs'd her Majeſty, in anſwer to the repreſentation of the lords: " they " ſaid, their lordſhips thought fit to take offenſe, " at the manner and words of their addreſs, but " they had made uſe of no terms but what were " ſuitable to the occaſion, and ſuch as had been " frequently and reciprocally uſed by both houſes " to each other: and whatever expreſſions their " zeal for her Majeſty and the public might have " inſpired, they could never have offer'd to their " ſoverein ſo ungrateful a remembrance as the deſtruction of the Monarchy, by a deteſtable aſſembly, compoſed of members of both houſes, who " being alike partakers of the guilt, ought equally " to ſhare the reproach: they might with more " reaſon obſerve, that their lordſhips, not contented with prefering their own examinations " to her Majeſty's, and not content with excluding " her and the commons (to whom parliamentary " inquiries properly belong) had appropriated to " their houſe only, the name of a parliament, an " inſtance not to be parallel'd unleſs by that very " aſſembly that ſubverted the Monarchy. That " the queſtion was not, whether their lordſhips " had a power of taking into cuſtody, while under " examination, perſons accuſed of criminal matters, cognizable in parliament, but that the peers " had a right to take the priſoners of the crown, " and the examination of them, ſolely into their " own hands, without her Majeſty's conſent, and " in ſuch manner as muſt neceſſarily prove an excluſion of her Majeſty and the commons. This " the commons denied, and the lords had produced no precedent for it: that when her Majeſty communicated to the lords the Scotiſh " conſpiracy, with an exception only of ſome matters not yet proper to be made public, and with " which her Majeſty aſſured them they ſhould be " acquainted as ſoon as it could be done without " prejudice, their lordſhips, notwithſtanding this, " immediately addreſs'd her Majeſty, preſſing her to lay before them the whole matter: This could not but ſenſibly affect her faithful commons, who earneſtly deſired to ſee both houſes of parliament, and the whole body of the people, intirely agreed to pay the deference due to her Majeſty's wiſdom, to confide in her care, and maintain her honor and dignity. That the lords, not ſatisfied with aſſuming this unprecedented power, indeavored to perſuade her Majeſty of the neceſſity of it, to prevent the deſigns of ill Princes and their favorites: but as it was unreaſonable to begin to practiſe upon a good Prince ſuch methods as were pretended only needful againſt an ill one; ſo it was their opinion, that the danger might be much greater, by admiting this precedent, ſhould the lords continue to defend one another from inquiries and proſecutions. That had the lords conſulted their own journals, they would not have affirmed, that a direct appeal to the throne, without any previous conference, was an unprecedented practice: nor could they ſo ſoon forget their addreſs to her Majeſty, the laſt ſeſſion, on behalf of the biſhop of Worceſter, and their addreſs to the late King, on behalf of the four impeach'd lords. That they ſhould be careful, as far as was conſiſtent with their neceſſary juſtification, of reviving animoſities; and how great ſoever the provocation had been, her Majeſty having declared her uneaſineſs at theſe miſunderſtandings, they ſhould make no difficulty of laying aſide their reſentments, but hoped they ſhould ſtand acquited to the world and her Majeſty, ſince the zeal they had ſhewn, and the reproaches they had born, had been owing to no other cauſe but the defenſe of an excellent Queen; in whoſe hands GOD had placed the executive authority over theſe nations.

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The Queen's anſwer.

The Queen " thank'd them for the great concern they expreſs'd for her juſt rights; told them their diſpatch of the ſupplies was a great advantage to the public ſervice; and that ſhe was very well pleaſed with the aſſurances they gave her of their care to avoid any occaſion of difference between the two houſes, eſpecially at this time, when there is ſo apparent a neceſſity of ſtrengthning ourſelves againſt the malicious deſigns of our enemies."

The commons, ſoon after, addreſs'd her Majeſty again, " that ſhe would re-aſſume the juſt exerciſe of her prerogative, and take to herſelf the examination of the ſaid conſpiracy, and declared, that the eſtabliſhing a commitee of ſeven lords, for the ſole examination thereof, was of dangerous conſequence, and might tend to the ſubverſion of the government."

The Queen " thank'd them for their confidence in her, and ſaid ſhe would conſtantly exerciſe her juſt prerogative, for the ſecurity and ſatisfaction of her ſubjects."

Farther repreſentation of the lords,

This did not, however, hinder the lords from going on in their examinations, and, ſome time after, they preſented another repreſentation to the Queen, in relation thereunto, which was fill'd with reflections and inſinuations againſt the commons, and contain'd ſome farther juſtification of their conduct. Among other things, they took notice, " that the " commons ſtop'd the inſuing writ, for filling up " the vacancies in their houſe, whereby they ſaid, " they made themſelves an imperfect repreſentation, " which was a wound to the conſtitution, and that " there were very few things leſs excuſable in that " unhappy houſe of commons which began the rebellion, than their refuſing to fill up their body, " and compleat the repreſentation; and that an " ill Prince might take advantage of theſe preceſ dents,

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" dents, and think himſelf juſtified in with-holding " his writs from ſome places, by as good law as " the commons could ſhew for pretending to ſtop " them from iſſuing to others "; and concluded, " expreſſing a juſt ſenſe of her Majeſty's modera- " tion, in not ſuffering herſelf to be prevailed " upon to do any thing to the prejudice of the " conſtitution, from whatever hands the invitation " came."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

The Queen anſwer'd; " ſhe hoped none of her " ſubjects deſired to leſſen her prerogative, ſince " ſhe ſhould uſe it only for their protection and " advantage. That any miſunderſtanding between " the two houſes muſt be to the prejudice of the " public; and, therefore, ſhe ſhould not omit any " thing in her power to prevent the occaſions of " them."

The lords continued their examinations, till the 22d of March, when having taken into conſideration the report of their commitee, they came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolutions of the lords;

I. " That it appears to this houſe, that there had " been a dangerous conſpiracy carried on, for the " raiſing a rebellion in Scotland, and invading that " kingdom with a French power, in order to the " ſubverting of her Majeſty's government, both " in England and Scotland, and the bringing in " the pretended Prince of Wales.

II. " That it was the opinion of this houſe, " that nothing had given ſo much incouragement " to this conſpiracy, as that the immediate ſuc- " ceſſion of the crown of Scotland, after her pre- " ſent Majeſty, and the heirs of her body, was not " declared to be in the Princeſs Sophia, and the " heirs of her body, being Proteſtants.

III. " That the Queen would be pleaſed to uſe " her indeavors, by ſuch methods as ſhe ſhould " think moſt proper, to have the ſucceſſion of the " crown of Scotland declared to be ſettled on the " Princeſs Sophia; and to take ſuch meaſures as " might beſt conduce to the diſappointing and " fruſtrating the deſigns of her enemies, who were " ingaged in this conſpiracy againſt her Majeſty " and her government: and,

IV. " That her Majeſty be aſſured, that when " her indeavors ſhall take effect for ſettling of the " ſucceſſion, this houſe would do all in their power " to promote an intire union between the two " Kingdoms, for their mutual ſecurity and advan- " tage."

Preſented to the Queen:

The ſame day, the lord-keeper, by order of the houſe of lords, gave the thanks of that houſe, to the lords of their commitee, for their exactneſs, care and fidelity, in the examination of the Scotiſh conſpiracy: and the above reſolutions being drawn up into an addreſs, it was preſented on the 31ſt to her Majeſty, who was pleaſed to give the following anſwer:

My lords,

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

" I have ſome time ſince declared my intentions, " of indeavoring the ſettlement of the Proteſtant " ſucceſſion in Scotland, to my ſubjects of that " kingdom, as the moſt effectual means for ſecur- " ing their quiet and our own, and the readieſt " way to an intire union betwixt both kingdoms; " in the perfecting of which, it is deſirable no time " ſhould be loſt".

Difference between the two houſes in the caſe of Aſhby and White.

Theſe differences between the two houſes were not a little heighten'd, by the lords interpoſing in another affair, the cognizance of which, the commons pretended, was ſolely in them: the caſe, in ſhort, was this; " one Matthew Aſhby com- " menced and proſecuted an action, at common " law, againſt William White, mayor of Ayleſ- " bury, and the conſtables of that town, for re- " fuſing to receive his vote, at an election of bur- " geſſes to ſerve in parliament for the ſaid borough, " but, being caſt, bronght the cauſe, by a writ of " error, into the houſe of lords, who gave judg- " ment in favor of Aſhby.

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Theſe contrary judgments, in the court of King's-bench, and the houſe of lords, were neither of them paſs'd till after great debates. In the court of King's-bench, three of the judges, viz. Powel, Gould and Powis were of opinion the action would not ly, and the lord chief juſtice Holt gave it as his, that every man had a right to ſue the returning-officer (if he had a legal vote) where his vote was refuſed. But there being three againſt one, the defendants carried their point. In the houſe of lords, the judges were ordered to give their opinions: ſir Thomas Trevor, lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas, with ſeveral others, declared it was their opinion, " that the houſe of commons only had a right to " judge of elections, and conſequently who were " the electors, nor had it ever been diſputed": others anſwered to this, " that a voter had no other " remedy, but in a court of law: for if the perſon " he would have voted for was returned, he had " no pretence to complain to the houſe of commons; " and if they could admit of ſuch a complaint, they " could give him no damages, to make him ſatiſ- " faction for the officer's denying his vote"; and their lordſhips, adhering to this latter opinion, over-rul'd the determination of the court of King's-bench.

The commons, looking upon theſe proceedings as an infringment on their privileges, after having inſpected into the journals of the houſe of lords, reſolved:

Reſolutions of the commons.

1. " That according to the known laws and " uſage of parliament, it was the ſole right of the " commons (except in caſes otherways provided " for by act of parliament) to examine and deter- " mine all matters relating to the right of election " of their own members.

2. " That neither the qualification of any elector, " nor the right of any perſon elected, is cogniz- " able or determinable elſewhere than before the " commons, except as aforeſaid.

3. " That the examining and determining the " qualification or right of any elector, or any per- " ſon elected, in any court of law, or elſewhere, " than before the commons, except as aforeſaid, " will expoſe all mayors, and other returning-officers, " to multiplicity of actions and vexatious ſuits, and " ſubject them to different and independent juriſ- " dictions, and inconſiſtent determinations.

4. " That Matthew Aſhby having brought his " actions againſt White, &c. for not receiving his " vote, was guilty of a breach of privilege.

5. " That whoever ſhall commence or proſecute " any action, indictment or information, which " ſhall bring the right of the electors or elected, " to the determination of any other juriſdiction " than the houſe of commons, except as aforeſaid, " ſuch perſons, and all attornies, ſollicitors, coun- " ſelors and ſerjeants at law, ſolliciting, pleading " or proſecuting, in any ſuch caſe, are guilty of a " high breach of the privilege of this houſe"; and theſe reſolutions were ordered to be fix'd on Weſt-minſter-hall-gate, ſigned by the clerk.

The lords, on the other hand, reſolved:

Reſolutions of the lords.

1. " That by the known laws of this kingdom, " every free-holder, or other perſon, having a " right to vote at the election of members to ſerve " in parliament, and being wilfully denied or hin- " dered ſo to do, by the officer who ought to re- " ceive the ſame, may maintain his action againſt " ſuch officer, and recover damages for the in- " jury.

2. " That the aſſerting, that a perſon having " right to give his vote at an election, and being " hinder'd ſo to do, by the officer who ought to

" take

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" take the ſame, is without remedy for ſuch wrong, " by the ordinary courſe of law, is deſtructive of " the property of the ſubjects, againſt the freedom " of elections, and manifeſtly tends to incourage " corruption and partiality in officers, who are to " make returns to parliament, and to ſubject free- " holders and other electors, to their arbitrary will " and pleaſure.

3. " That the declaring Matthew Aſhby guilty " of a breach of privilege of the houſe of commons, " for proſecuting his action againſt the conſtables " of Ayleſbury, &c. after he had obtained a judg- " ment in parliament for recovery of his damages, " is an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature " in parliament, and is, in effect, to ſubject the law " of England to the votes of the houſe of commons.

4. " That the detering electors from proſecuting " actions, in the ordinary courſe of law, where " they are deprived of their right of voting, and " the terrifying attornies, ſollicitors, counſelors and " ſerjeants at law, from ſolliciting, proſecuting and " pleading in ſuch caſes, by voting their ſo doing " to be a breach of privilege of the houſe of com- " mons, is a manifeſt aſſuming a power to con- " troul the law, to hinder the courſe of juſtice, " and ſubject the property of Engliſhmen to the " arbitary votes of the houſe of commons".

Nor was there the beſt underſtanding at this time, between the lords and ſome of the miniſtry, the latter thinking the former ſeemed to direct the admiſtration, more than was conſiſtent with the royal prerogative, particularly on the following occaſion.

Addreſs of the lords about the navy.

The lords, having made an inquiry into the condition of the navy, found; " that by reaſon the " royal navy wanted 5 or 6000 men, the allowed " complement, for the whole number of ſhips, ne- " ceſſary for the defenſe of the kingdom, could not " be depended upon; they therefore thought it a " duty incumbent on them, to make an humble ap- " plication to her Majeſty, deſiring that ſhe would " be pleaſed to give ſpeedy and effectual orders, " that ſuch a number of ſhips, proper for the home- " ſervice, might be forthwith got ready and " man'd, as might be a competent ſecurity for the " nation, and protect our forein trade: the " Queen taking this as a reflection on the lord high " admiral, her royal conſort, or his council, gave " the following anſwer, on the ſecond of March;

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

My lords,

" I am glad you find no greater number of ſea- " men wanting, at this ſeaſon of the year, to com- " pleat the maning of the fleet; for which I hope " ſuch effectual meaſures are already taken, that " no ſervice ſhall be diſappointed either abroad or " at home, which is neceſſary for the ſecurity and " advantage of the kingdom, or the protection and " incouragement of trade."

Votes againſt admiral Graydon.

This dry anſwer did not deter the lords from carrying on their inquiries into the affairs of the navy; and, on the 17th of March, they reſolved: that vice-admiral Graydon, with a ſquadron of her Majeſty's ſhips at war under his convoy, meeting with four French ſhips, in his paſſage to the Weſt-indies, and leting them eſcape, without attacking them, according to his duty, from the pretenſe of his inſtruction, had been a prejudice to the Queen's ſervice, and a great diſhonor to the nation.

The next day, they reſolved, likewiſe, 1ſt, that admiral Graydon's diſorderly proceedings, in preſſing of men in Jamaica, and ſevere uſage of maſters of merchant men, and tranſport-veſſels, under his convoy there, had been a great diſcouragement to the inhabitants of that iſland, and prejudicial to her Majeſty's ſervice: and, 2d, that admiral Graydon having behaved himſelf ſo ill, in this expedition to the Weſt-indies, was not fit to be imploy'd any more in her Majeſty's ſervice: which reſolutions were agreed to by the houſe; and, together with ſome abuſes in victualing the navy, and other things, laid before her Majeſty, in a long addreſs. With regard to the abuſes in victualing the navy, their lordſhips laid great blame on the Prince's council, for having delay'd the execution of his royal highneſſes order, for a ſurvey of the proviſions complained of, for near three months, and thereby giving great diſcountenance to the complaint, and an opportunity of removing or changing the tainted and ſtinking proviſions complained of; which neglect, among other proofs of it, they ſay was evident, from ſeveral letters which paſs'd between mr. Hoar (one of the complainants) and mr. ſecretary Burchett; the former inſiſting, that the perſons he had deſired to be preſent would not attend at the ſurvey, unleſs they were impowered by the admiralty, and mr. Burchett acquainting him, that ſuch a power was not judged either reaſonable or proper to be given. With reſpect to the expedition into the Mediteranean, the laſt ſummer, which had raiſed ſo great an expectation in the world, and concluded with ſo little advantage to the undertaking, they told her Majeſty; it was their opinion, that the time the fleet ſailed from England, being about the middle of July, under the order ſir Cloudeſly Shovel had to return out of the Streights within the month of September, made it impoſſible to execute the main ſervices, that appeared before the commitee were required to be perform'd by his inſtructions.

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The 23d, they likewiſe reſolved; " that an " addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, to remove " admiral Graydon, from all places of truſt in the " government, and that her Majeſty would be " pleaſed to order her attorney-general to proſe- " cute him at law, for the matters laid to his " charge."

The earl of Orford cleared.

The 24th, their lordſhips took into conſideration, the report of the commiſſioners of the public accounts, in relation to the earl of Orford, as late treaſurer of the navy, and reſolved; that he had made up his accounts very fairly.

The lords addreſs about the commiſſions of peace.

The 31ſt, the lords preſented an addreſs to the Queen, importing: that having taken into their " conſideration, the great alterations lately made, " in the commiſſions of the peace; they begg'd " leave to lay before her Majeſty, that it was their " opinion, that no perſon that refus'd to take the " oaths to the late King was fit to be in the com- " miſſion of the peace under her Majeſty; and " beſought her Majeſty, that ſhe would be gra- " ciouſly pleaſed, to order the ſaid commiſſions " to be reviewed, and to give directions, that no " perſon be continued, or put into the commiſſion " of the peace, but men of quality and eſtates, and " of known affection to her Majeſty's title and " government, the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and " the church of England, as they were both eſta- " bliſh'd by law; and that ſuch be reſtored, who " were ſo qualified, and had been turned out with- " out juſt cauſe (1).

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs her Majeſty anſwer'd; " that " ſhe always thought it reaſonable, that the com- " miſſioners of the peace ſhould be filled with gen- " tlemen of the beſt quality and eſtates in their " countries: and it was as fit they ſhould be of

(1) The occaſion of this addreſs was an act, impowering juſtices of the peace, to impreſs ſuch men as they ſaw fit (who were not intitled to a vote for members of parliament) for the land-ſervice; to which the houſe of peers objected, that this might be too great a power to be lodged in the hands of juſtices of the peace; eſpecially as ſuch gentlemen had of late been put in commiſſion, as were not acceptable to a majority of that houſe.

" known

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" known loyalty and affection to the government, " to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the church of " England, as eſtabliſhed by law, and ſhe would " give directions according to this rule."

Books ordered to be burnt.

Complaint having been made to the commons towards the latter end of this ſeſſion, of two book, containing ſome heterodox notions; the one aſſerting; " the mortality of the ſoul;" and the other intitled; " the grand eſſay or vindication of " reaſon and religion againſt impoſtures of Philo- " ſophy;" the houſe reſolved, that they contained diverſe doctrines and poſitions, contrary to the doctrine of the church of England, and tending to the ſubverſion of the Chriſtian religion; and ordered the ſaid books to be burnt by the common hangman.

I ſhould have mention'd before, but defer'd it to keep up a connexion of other parliamentary affairs, that on the 7th of February, mr. ſecretary Hedges delivered the following meſſage, from her Majeſty, to the houſe of commons:

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Her Majeſty's meſſage concerning the poorer clergy.

" Her Majeſty having taken into her ſerious " conſideration the mean and inſufficient mainte- " nance belonging to the clergy, in diverſe parts of " this kingdom, to give them ſome eaſe, has been " pleaſed to remit the arrears of the tenths to the " poor clergy: and for an augmentation to their " maintenance, her Majeſty is pleaſed to declare, " that ſhe will make a grant of her whole revenue, " ariſing out of the firſt fruits and tenths, as far as " it now is, or ſhall become free from incum- " brances, to be applied to this purpoſe: and if " the commons can find any proper method, by " which her Majeſty's good intentions to the poor " clergy may be made more effectual, it will be a " great advantage to the public, and very accept- " able to her Majeſty."

St. James's Feb. 7. 1703.

The commons, hereupon, in an humble addreſs, of the 11th of February, returned her Majeſty their moſt hearty thanks, " for her moſt gracious " meſſage, and the great and pious concern her " Majeſty had, for the increaſing the maintenance " of the poor clergy, out of her own revenue; " aſſuring her withal, that they would do their " utmoſt to make her Majeſty's charitable inten- " tio s moſt effectual." Accordingly a bill was brought in, for that purpoſe; and, on the 15th, the archbiſhop, biſhops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation aſſembled, acknowleged the Queen's bounty, in an humble addreſs to her Majeſty, who took that opportunity again to aſſure them, " that ſhe would al- " ways continue to protect the church of Eng- " land." The lower houſe of convocation, likewiſe, return'd their ſolemn thanks to the commons, " for their readineſs to aſſiſt and farther " her Majeſty's charitable intentions, and to eſ- " pouſe the intereſt of the clergy." The 29th, the clergy of the province of York alſo addreſs'd her Majeſty on the ſame ſubject.

Acts paſs'd.

The 24th of February, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to, " an " act for granting an aid to her Majeſty for car- " rying on the war, and other her Majeſty's oc- " caſions, by ſelling annuities, at ſeveral rates, " and for ſuch reſpective terms or eſtates as are " therein mention'd: an act for the increaſe of " ſeamen, and better incouragement of navigation, " and ſecurity of the coal-trade;" and to ſeveral other acts, both public and private.

The heats and animoſities between both houſes continuing, and the parliament having finiſh'd the moſt important affairs before them, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, the 3d of April, and gave the royal aſſent to twelve public and twenty-four private acts, the chief of which were; " an act " for regiſtring deeds in the weſt-riding of York- " ſhire; an act for making her Majeſty's gracious " intentions, for the augmentation of the mainte- " nance of the poor clergy, effectual, by ina- " bling her Majeſty to grant the revenues of the " firſt fruits and tenths; and alſo for inabling any " other perſons to make grants for the ſame pur- " poſe; an act for diſcharging ſuch inſolvent deb- " tors out of priſon, as ſhould ſerve, or procure " a perſon to ſerve, in her Majeſty's fleets and ar- " mies; an act for the farther explanation and re- " gulation of privilege of parliament, in relation " to perſons in public offices; an act for raiſing " recruits for the land-ſervice and mariners, " whereby three juſtices of peace were impowered " to impreſs men, as has been mention'd already, " &c."

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This done, her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

" I cannot put an end to this ſeſſion, without " returning you thanks for the willingneſs which " you have expreſs'd to ſupport and aſſiſt me in " continuing the preſent war.

" And I muſt thank you, gentlemen of the " houſe of commons, very particularly, for the " great forwardneſs and zeal, which you have " ſhewn, both in the early diſpatch of the ſupplies, " and in making them ſo effectual for carrying " on the public expence, without any additional " burdens upon the country: it ſhall be my care " to improve this to the beſt advantage."

My lords and gentlemen,

" At the opening of this ſeſſion, I did earneſtly " expreſs my deſires of ſeeing you in perfect uni- " ty among yourſelves, as the moſt effectual means " imaginable to diſappoint the ambition of our " enemies, and reduce them to an honorable and " laſting peace; and tho' this has not met with " all that ſucceſs which I wiſh'd and expected; " yet, being fully convinced, that nothing is ſo " neceſſary to our common welfare, I am not " diſcouraged from perſiſting in the ſame earneſt " deſires, that you would go down into your ſe- " veral counties, ſo diſpoſed to moderation and " unity, as becomes all thoſe who are joined " together in the ſame religion and intereſt.

" This, I am perſuaded, will ſoon make you " ſenſible, that nothing, next to the bleſſing of " God, can ſo much contribute to our ſucceſs " abroad, and to our ſafety at home,".

The parliament prorogued.

The Queen having ended her ſpeech, the lord-keeper, by her Majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament, to the fourth day of July next inſuing (1).

I return now to ſome tranſactions out of parliament.

The duke of Marlborough goes to the Hague.

The States-general having repreſented to her Majeſty, by their envoy extraordinary in London, " Of how great advantage the duke of Marlbo- " rough's coming to the Hague would be, to the " confederacy, by concerting there, with them, " the meaſures proper to be taken at that junc- " ture;" and deſired her Majeſty to give his grace leave to paſs the ſeas, for a few days. Her Majeſty was therefore pleaſed, on the 2d of January, to give directions for that purpoſe. Accordingly, the 15th of the ſame month, the duke imbarked

(1) The moſt remarkable bill brought into the houſe of commons, this ſeſſion, which did not paſs, was, " for recruiting her " Majeſty's land-forces, by obliging the ſeveral pariſhes or corporations, in England, to furniſh a certain number of men:" but this being look'd upon as a copy of what is practiſed in France, and other deſpotic governments, a general diſtaſte appear'd againſt it, and it was drop'd.

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on board the Mary yacht, in the river, in order to ſail for Holland, and arrived in three days, at the Hague, where he received the compliments of all the public miniſters, the general officers, and other perſons of quality. He had ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States-general, in which there was a ſcheme formed for the operations of the next campain. It was reſolved, that, inſtead of a fruitleſs one in the Netherlands, they would have only a ſmall army there, to ly on the defenſive, which was to be commanded by monſieur d'Auverquerque; but that, ſince the Rhine was open, by the taking of Bonn, all up to the Moſel, their main army, which was to be commanded by the duke of Marlborough, ſhould act there. More was not underſtood to be deſigned, except by thoſe few who were let into the ſecret. Upon this, all the preparations for the campain were ordered to be carried up to the Rhine, that every thing might be in a readineſs againſt the duke's return. The true ſecret was in few hands, and the French had ſo little ſcent of it, that they ſeemed to have no manner of apprehenſions tending that way. All theſe matters being ſettled, his grace left the Hague, the 11th of February, and on the 14th arrived at London.

Concerts a plan for the campain, and returns.

The order of the Thiſtle revived in Scotland.

The 31ſt of January, the Queen ſign'd a patent, in order to paſs the great ſeal of Scotland, for reviving and reſtoring there the moſt ancient and noble order of the Thiſtle (1). And the 4th of February, her Majeſty, as ſoverein thereof, received into that order his grace, John duke of Argile, as ſhe did likewiſe, the 7th, John duke of Athol, William marquis, of Anandale, James earl of Dalkeith, George earl of Orkney, and James earl of Seafield. She was alſo pleaſed to give a commiſſion to David Nairne, eſq; to be ſecretary to the ſaid order, and to confer upon him the honor of knighthood.

The play-houſes regulated.

About the ſame time, her Majeſty publiſh'd an order for the regulation of the play-houſes, prohibiting them to act any that was contrary to religion and good manners; and that no woman ſhould come into the play-houſe in a vizard-maſk; a cuſtom very common with the women of the town of that time, who wore maſks rather as a badge of their profeſſion, than to avoid being known.

Proceedings againſt the author of the Obſervator.

John Tutchin, the author of a weekly paper, called the Obſervator, noted for its low ſcurrility, having publiſh'd his remarks on occaſional conformity, a complaint was made againſt him in the houſe of commons, and, upon examination of the matter, it was reſolved, on the 3d of January; "That the Obſervator, from the 8th to the 11th "of December, 1703, contains matters ſcandalous "and malicious, reflecting upon the proceedings "of the houſe, and tending to the promoting of "ſedition in the kingdom: and that Tutchin the "author, How the printer, and Bragg the publiſher of that paper, ſhould be taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant-at-arms attending the houſe." Tutchin, hereupon, abſconded; but, notwithſtanding the cenſure paſs'd upon him, went on in his licentious way of writing, and made very ſevere reflections upon a ſpeech ſaid to have been made by ſir John Packington, in the houſe of commons, in favor of the bill to prevent occaſional conformity. A freſh complaint being made for this ſecond offenſe, the commons reſolved, on the 14th of February: "that the author, printer, and "publiſher of the Obſervator, having broke the "privilege of the houſe, and ſince abſconded from "juſtice, an humble addreſs be preſented to her "Majeſty, that ſhe would pleaſe to iſſue her royal "proclamation for apprehending, them, promiſing "a reward for diſcovering of them:" which proclamation was publiſhed accordingly, the 24th, offering a reward of one hundred pound for Tutchin, and fifty pound each, for How and Bragg. The former was afterwards proſecuted by the attorny-general, and convicted, but there being ſome error in the proceeding, he got off unpuniſhed.

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The convocation ſat this winter, at the ſame time with the parliament; but the differences between the two houſes ſtill continuing, they ſcarce agreed upon any thing elſe this ſeſſion, but a repreſentation of the want of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the abuſes in the ſpiritual court.

The Engliſh convocation meets to little purpoſe.

Since I have mentioned the convocation here, I ſhall juſt take notice, that the convocation in Ireland being likewiſe ſuffered to ſit this year, tranſmited an addreſs to her Majeſty, in which "they expreſs'd their gratitude for her reſtoring "them, after a long diſcontinuance, to the right "of aſſembling themſelves in a national convo-"cation, being perſuaded, that this inſtance of "her royal juſtice would be no inconſiderable ad-"dition to the glories of her Majeſty's reign:" and as nothing happen'd farther, this year in Ireland, I ſhall only obſerve, that the duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, put an end to the ſeſſion of the Iriſh parliament, on the 4th of March; when having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private acts, and, of the former, in particular one, "to prevent the farther growth of "Popery," he porogued it to the 3d of October.

Addreſs of the Iriſh convocation.

Soon after the prorogation of the Engliſh parliament, ſeveral changes happened at court. The firſt and principal which was concerted, at leaſt, tho' it did not take effect till ſome time after, was the reſignation of the earl of Nottingham, one of her Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, who was ſucceeded in that important imploy, by Robert Harley, eſq; ſpeaker of the houſe of commons (2). The conſequence, or perhaps condition of this was, that, on the 20th of April, Henry St. John, eſq; was made ſecretary of war, in the room of William Blaithwait, eſq; the 23d the earl of Kent was made lord-chamberlain, in the room of the earl of Jerſey, and Thomas Manſel, eſq; comptroller of the houſhold, in the room of ſir Edward Seymour. A few days after, his lordſhip, mr. Harley, and mr. Manſel were ſworn of the privy-council; and, on the 16th of May, mr. Harley was declared one of her Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Changes at court.

While theſe changes were making, a ſeditious libel appear'd, with the title of "Legion's humble

Legion's addreſs to the lords.

(1) Some hiſtorians pretend, that this order was firſt inſtituted by Achaius, King of Scotland, after having concluded an alliance with Charlemaign: and others tell us, it was inſtituted, or at leaſt renewed, by James IV, who choſe St. Andrew for protector thereof. Be that as it will, the ſaid order was neglected, 'till the late King James revived it; but there was no creation of any knight in the reign of King William. The enſigns of the order are a green ribbon, which the knights wear, in the ſame manner as the knights of the garter wear a blue; and a ſtar, with St. Andrew's croſs. Their Motto is, Nemo me impune laceſſit. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 118.

(2) This gentleman was of an ancient family, tho' moderate fortune, quick parts, good reading, and of an aſpiring genius; who by his unwearied application to buſineſs was early taken notice of, and who, by his plain familiar behavior, flexibility, and unaffected dexterity, had gained ſuch an extenſive intereſt, as to be almoſt unanimouſly choſen ſpeaker of the two former, and of the preſent houſe of commons: add to all this that from his education among the Diſſenters, and the great ſhare he had in the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion on the houſe of Hanover, he ſeemed to be moſt agreeable to the Whig-party, whom the court now thought fit to cajole, as the moſt able and willing to ſupport the public credit: and hitherto mr. Harley had not made himſelf obnoxious to either party. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 125.

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" addreſs to the lords" wherein the proceedings of the commons, with relation to the Ayleſbury buſineſs, and the examination of the Scotiſh plot, were arrained, in a moſt audacious manner: the firſt were taxed as " arbitrary and illegal, contrary " to the liberties of Engliſhmen, deſtructive of " the rights of elections, and an invaſion of the " judicature of the nation:" and as to the other it was ſuggeſted; that the careſſing of her Majeſty with the title of " a Queen ſiting on the throne " of her anceſtors, by right of ſucceſſion from her " father;" when, at the ſame time, they knew her right depended upon the validity of parliamentary limitation, and was built on the foot of the late revolution, and the act of ſettlement, was a barbarous treachery to the whole nation, an inſolent affront to her Majeſty, an inſinuation of the title of the pretended Prince of Wales, and a vilanous attempt to deſtroy the preſent ſettlement of ſucceſſion, and was conſequently high-treaſon, by their own act of parliament: and that to addreſs her Majeſty to extend her prerogative, and thereby to imbroil her with the privilege of the peers, was the moſt aggravated piece of treachery, that ever houſe of commons was or could be guilty of; the ſame being an affront to her Majeſty, a malicious deſign on her perſon, by perſuading her to enter on that very thing, the exorbitant practice whereof was the ruin of her father and grand-father; an unprecedented attempt upon the liberties of the people, and a medling with what they have no power or right to touch. They (the author or authors, with the aſſumed name of Million) alſo heartily acknowleged their lordſhip's zeal, courage and fidelity, both in vindicating their own undoubted rights, invaded by the houſe of commons, in their diligent care for the ſafety of her Majeſty's perſon, in ſarching after the deeply laid contrivances of her enemies in the late plot, and in their aſſerting the liberties and rights of the people of England, againſt the invaſion and uſurpation of the houſe of commons: and as they look'd upon the lords, as " the ſanctuary and ſafety of this na- " tion, ſo, in the name of the injured freeholders, " and commons of England, they aſſured their " lordſhips, in the concluſion; that they would " firmly adhere to, and faithfully defend their lord- " ſhips, in the farther purſuit of theſe juſt and glo- " rious ends."

The 25th of May, the Queen cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed promiſing a reward of one hundred pound for the diſcovery of the author, and fifty pound for the apprehending of the printer, of this ſeditious paper: tho' I never heard that any one was puniſhed for it.

The Queen goes to Windſor.

The 31ſt the Queen, with her royal conſort, went from St. James's to Windſor, where they paſs'd moſt part of the ſummer-ſeaſon: and here we ſhall leave her Majeſty to take a view of the affairs of Scotland.

Affairs of Scotland.

The Queen having promiſed the houſe of peers, to uſe all proper methods to procure the ſettlement of the crown of Scotland on the houſe of Hanover, in the inſuing ſeſſion of the parliament of that kingdom, it was thought abſolutely neceſſary, for that end, to make ſome alterations in the miniſtry there, and ſeveral Scotiſh councils were held on that account. The marquis of Tweedale was therefore appointed her Majeſty's high commiſſioner there; the earl of Clomarty was made principal and only ſecretary of ſtate, the duke of Queenſborough being ſet aſide; mr. Alexander Weddenburn was made deputy-ſecretary, in the room of ſir David Nairne; the earl of Leven was re-inſtated governor of the caſtle of Edinburg, in the room of the earl of March; James Johnſon eſq; ſucceeded ſir James Murray of Philiphaugh, as lord-regiſter; and the earl of Glaſcow, deputy-treaſurer was removed, but no-body was named to fill his poſt.

Change in the miniſtry.

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The parliament meeting, at Edinburg, the 6th of July, the Queen's commiſſion, appointing the marquis of Tweedale to repreſent her royal perſon, was recorded; and on the 11th, the lord high commiſſioner repreſented to them the Queen's letter, in which ſhe obſerved; " that their unhappy diffe- " rences had proceeded to ſuch a height, as had in- " couraged her enemies abroad, to imploy their " emiſſaries, in order to debauch them from their " allegiance, and render that kingdom a ſcene of " war: but ſhe was willing to hope, that none but " men, who were obnoxious to the laws, or of " mean and deſperate fortunes, had given ear to " them. She was always inclined to believe, that " the late miſtakes did not proceed from any want " of duty or reſpect to her, but only from dif- " ferent opinions, as to meaſures of gover- " ment.

The parliament meets.

The Queen's letter.

" That ſhe was reſolved, for the ſatisfaction of " her people, to grant whatever could in reaſon " be demanded for rectifying abuſes, and quieting " their minds; and, in order to this, ſhe had named " the marquis of Tweedale her commiſſioner; of " whoſe capacity and diſpoſition to ſerve his coun- " try, there could be no doubt, and ſhe had given " him authority to conſent to ſuch laws as they " ſhould think yet wanting for ſecuring their go- " vernment in church and ſtate: and having done " her part, ſhe hoped they would lay hold of this " opportunity of ſhewing the world the ſincerity " of the profeſſions they had made her.

" But the main thing ſhe recommended to them " was, their ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown " in the Proteſtant line, as abſolutely neceſſary for " ſecuring their peace and happineſs. As to the " terms and conditions of the government, with " regard to a ſucceſſor, the commiſſioner was im- " power'd to grant whatſoever could in reaſon be " demanded, for ſecuring the ſovereinty and li- " berties of that kingdom.

" She recommended to them the providing ſup- " plies for their forces and gariſons, the diſcourag- " ing vice, and incouraging piety and trade; and " concluded, that unanimity and moderation, in " all their proceedings, would be of great uſe for " bringing to a happy iſſue, the important affairs " ſhe had laid before them."

Speeches inforcing it.

The lord-commiſſioner made a ſpeech to the ſame effect, adding only, that the whole buſineſs of the plot ſhould be laid before them, and her Majeſty doubted not but their inquiries into theſe practices ſhould end in their laying down ſolid meaſures for preventing them for the time to come.

The earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor, and the earl of Clomarty, lord-ſecretary, each of them, likewiſe, made a ſpeech to inforce what her Majeſty had inſiſted upon in her letter: the latter concluding, with this aſſertion, which (ſaid he) I think evident without diſcourſe; " that as the " union of Britain is apparently its greateſt politic " good, ſo as certainly, and by the infallible " rule of contraries, a diviſion of Britain is its " greateſt evil: and then it is a neceſſary corollary, " whoever is not for the union of Britain may be " concluded an enemy to it."

Reſolutions concerning the union and ſucceſſion.

The 13th, the parliament ſat again, and the duke of Hamilton made a ſpeech, deſiring that her Majeſty's letter might be conſidered, and likewiſe the nomination of a Proteſtant ſucceſſor; but inſiſted, at the ſame time, that commiſſioners might be named to treat previouſly with England. This overture occaſioned a great debate, on the 17th, and the earl of Rothes having preſcrib'd another reſolve, it was carried by a majority of fifty-five, that the reſolve preſented by the ſaid earl, and that

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that preſented by the duke of Hamilton, ſhould be jointly voted, and they were as follows:

Reſolved, "that the parliament will not proceed to the nomination of a ſucceſſor, unleſs we have a previous treaty with England, for regulating our commerce and other concerns with that nation:" and farther, it is reſolved; "that this parliament will proceed to make ſuch limitations and conditions of government, for the rectification of our conſtitution, as may ſecure the religion, liberty, and independency of this nation, before they proceed to the ſaid nomination." The firſt part of this reſolution was propoſed by duke Hamilton, and the other by the earl of Rothes.

Perſons and papers concerning the late plot call'd for.

The ſame day, the duke of Athol moved, that his grace, the lord-commiſſioner, would be pleaſed to write to her Majeſty, to ſend down the perſons who were witneſſes in the late plot, and all the papers relating to the ſame, that the affair might be examined to the bottom, thoſe who were unjuſtly and falſely accuſed be vindicated, and thoſe who were guilty puniſhed according to their deſerts. The lord chancellor, hereupon, declared, that his grace had written, and would write again for that purpoſe: however, they not coming ſo ſoon as was expected, the parliament drew up an addreſs to her Majeſty, on the ſame ſubject: and a majority of that aſſembly ſo much reſented the proceedings of the Engliſh lords, with regard to this affair, that a reſolve being preſented, and propoſed to be read and voted, importing: "That the addreſs of the Reſolutions againſt the Engliſh lords; "Engliſh houſe of lords to the Queen, in relation "to the nomination of their ſucceſſor to the crown "of Scotland, and their examination of the plot, "ſo far as it concerned Scotland and Scotſmen, was "an undue intermedling with our concerns, and "an incroachment upon the honor, ſovereinty "and independency of this nation; and that the "proceedings of the houſe of commons were like "thoſe of good ſubjects to the Queen, and good "neighbors to us"; when it was put to the vote, the firſt branch, with relation to the lords, paſs'd by a great majority, tho' the other, concerning the commons, was rejected.

And about the act of ſecurity.

They alſo came to the following reſolution; "that the parliament will proceed to grant two "months ſupply, for ſubſiſting her Majeſty's "forces; and, as ſoon as the act of ſecurity (now "read) has got the royal aſſent, will give four "months more", this motion being oppoſed, the earl of Roxburg preſented the following reſolution, as an expedient, viz. "that there be a firſt "reading mark'd on the act of ſecurity, and that "both this act, and that for the ſupply, be no farther proceeded upon, until his grace, her Majeſty's commiſſioner, receive inſtruments as to "the act of ſecurity; it being then free to the "parliament to proceed to the acts jointly or ſeparately, as they ſhall think fit". This reſolution was approved, and the act of ſecurity was mark'd a firſt reading. The 27th, the parliament adjourn'd to the 3d of Auguſt, in expectation, that the lord-commiſſioner would then have received her Majeſty's inſtructions on that act: and it happened as they wiſhed: for when they met, The act of ſecurity with that for a ſupply paſs. on the third, the lord-commiſſioner acquainted them, that he was impowered to paſs the act of ſecurity: accordingly both that, and the act for a ſupply paſſed, and received the royal aſſent, the 5th of Auguſt.

Tenor of the act of ſecurity.

By this act of ſecurity it was ſtatuted and ordained; "that in caſe of the death of the Queen, her heirs "or ſucceſſors, the parliament then in being ſhould "ſit; and if the parliament happen'd to be adjourned, then they ſhould aſſemble and ſit, the "20th day after ſuch death; and if there ſhould "be no parliament in being, then the members of "the preceeding parliament ſhould meet at Edinburg, the 20th day after ſuch death, and the ſaid "eſtates of parliament were impowered to adminiſter "the government: and, if the Queen ſhould leave "heirs of her body, or a ſucceſſor be appointed by "the Queen and parliament, the ſaid eſtates ſhould "tender the coronation-oath to ſuch ſucceſſor within "thirty days after their meeting; and if the ſucceſſor "ſhould be under age, then the ſaid eſtates ſhould appoint a regency until he attain'd the age of ſeventeen.

"And if her Majeſty died without iſſue of her "body, or a ſucceſſor appointed as above, the "aforeſaid eſtates were impowered to nominate "a ſucceſſor, and to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown "upon the heirs of ſuch ſucceſſor's body; the ſaid "ſucceſſors, and the heirs of his body, being of "the royal line of Scotland, and of the true Proteſtant religion; provided ſuch ſucceſſor be not "the ſucceſſor to the crown of England; unleſs, "during her Majeſty's reign, there ſhould be ſuch "conditions of government inacted, as might ſecure the honor and ſovereinty of this crown and "kingdom, the freedom of parliaments, the religion, liberty and trade of the nation, from Engliſh, or any forein influence.

"It was made high-treaſon to acknowlege any "perſon, King or Queen of Scotland, contrary "to the tenor of this act. Until the meeting of "the eſtates, as above, ſuch members of them, and "of the privy-council, as happen'd to be at Edinburg, were appointed to adminiſter the government: all the Proteſtant heretors and burghs "were to provide themſelves with fire-arms, for "all their ſenſible men, who were to be diſciplined, at leaſt, once every month (1).

The parliament prorogued.

The 17th of Auguſt, the lord-commiſſioner told the parliament, "that he was not allowed to give "them any more time, her Majeſty thinking a "ſhort receſs neceſſary: but that it would not be "long before they had another opportunity of do"ing what ſtill remained to be done; for no diſ"appointment her Majeſty had met with, could "alter, in the leaſt, her favorable diſpoſitions to"wards that her ancient kingdom." The parliament was hereupon prorogued to the 7th of October: and, ſoon after, ſome ſmall alterations were made in the miniſtry of Scotland, and a new commiſſion of council was ſent down to that kingdom.

Martime affairs.

I come now to maritime affairs, and ſhall begin with the new King of Spain's voyage to Liſbon, under convoy of a good part of the royal navy. Sir George Rooke convoys the King of Spain to Liſbon. We left his Catholic Majeſty departing from Windſor, to imbark at Portſmouth, and all poſſible haſte being made in fiting out the fleet, the admiral unmoored, the 4th of January: but after being advanced to about forty-ſix degrees and a half, he met with ſuch tempeſtuous weather, that the fleet, diſperſing, was obliged to make for our harbors again, and ſir George Rooke, with the ſhips with him, did not reach Spithead till the 23d.

His Majeſty went on ſhoar at Portſmouth, where he continued till the fleet was ready to ſail again, which was by the 1ſt of February; tho' contrary winds detained them till the 12th. The 25th, the ſquadron, with the tranſports, arrived in the river of Liſbon, after a fine paſſage, without the leaſt accident to ſo numerous a fleet. In ſailing up the river, the admiral, on board of whom was the King

(1) By this act we ſee, the hopes the Engliſh miniſtry had conceived, before the opening of this ſeſſion, of bringing the Scots over to their meaſures, proved abortive: and it was ſaid, that it was a neceſſary piece of policy of the court, to give into this act, to prevent a rebellion, for which, the Scotiſh nation ſeem'd, at that time, pretty ripe.

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of Spain, was ſaluted by all the forts and caſtles, with a triple diſcharge of all their cannon, ſtriking their flags three ſeveral times, before they fired.

His arrival.

The fleet anchored below Belem, a league ſhort of the King's palace, where mr. Methuen, the Engliſh embaſſador's ſon (his father being confined with the gout) went on board, and welcomed his Majeſty, in the name of the Queen of England, as did the duke of Cadaval, the ſame evening, in the name of his Portugueſe Majeſty. His Catholic Majeſty ſent, the ſame night, the Prince of Lichtenſtein, to return the compliment, and to condole with his Portugueſe Majeſty for the loſs of the Infanta, his eldeſt daughter, whom the King of Spain was to have married; but ſhe died a few days before his arrival.

His Catholic Majeſty's reception by the King of Portugal.

All things being ready, and the ceremonies for the reception of the King of Spain being adjuſted, the 27th, his Majeſty, on board the Royal-Catherine, admiral, with the reſt of the men of war, came up, and anchored over againſt the royal palace, the caſtles, on both ſides the river, continually firing. Between four and five, in the afternoon, the King of Portugal, accompanied by the two Princes, his eldeſt ſons, with ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality, imbarked on a very noble brigantine, rowed by forty men, clad in crimſon velvet laced with ſilver, attended by the reſt of the nobility, in barges and felucca's, and went on board the Royal-Catherine. When his Majeſty came by the ſhip's ſide, he ſtruck his flag, and when he came into the ſhip, ſir George Rooke ſtruck his flag, and let fly his ſtreamer, and ſaluted him with twenty-five guns, which was taken by the whole fleet, and anſwered from on ſhoar. His Catholic Majeſty received the King of Portugal, at the ladder-head, which upon this occaſion was made very commodious, and waited on him to his cabin, giving him the right hand, while he was in the ſhip. After a ſhort ſtay there, the two Kings went into the brigantine. When they put off, both ſhips hoiſted their flags, which had remained ſtruck while the King of Portugal was on board the admiral, and ſir George gave two ſalutes of twenty-five guns each, which was followed by the reſt of the fleet. The King of Spain had the right hand on board the brigantine, and both Kings landed under a triumphal arch, which was erected at the head of a very magnificent bridge, built for this purpoſe, and adorned with ſeveral triumphal arches, which run a good way into the river, from the palace-gate. At landing, the King of Portugal, gave his Catholic Majeſty the right, and taking him by the hand, led him along the bridge to the palace, and to the royal chapel, where Te Deum was ſung, on account of his Majeſty's ſafe arrival. I forbear a recital of the farther ceremonies, to return to the fleet.

And here, not to detain the reader with a tedious account of the cruiſings of our ſeveral ſquadrons under ſir George Rooke, ſir John Leake, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and ſir Stafford Fairborn, with their ſeveral ſucceſſes in taking a good number of the enemy's ſhips, I ſhall confine myſelf to the two principal naval tranſactions of this year, the taking of Gibraltar, and the ſea-fight off of Malaga, in which I ſhall be the more particular. Sir George Rooke, who, with the ſquadron under his command, after having cruiſed ſome time on the coaſt of Portugal, had been up the Streights, and, together with the Prince of Heſſe, had made a fruitleſs attempt on Barcelona, return'd down the Mediteranean. In his way, he had a ſight of the French Breſt-ſquadron, under the count de Thouloufe, who was come into the Mediteranean in order to join that of Toulon: but, they being too nimble for him, and to windward, he could not come up with them: he therefore bent his courſe towards the Streights, and join'd ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, with the ſquadron he commanded, off of Lagos. Sir George having orders from the Queen, not to attempt any thing on the coaſt, without the approbation of the Kings of Spain and Portugal, and it being their opinion, that ſomething might be attempted on the coaſt of Andaluſia, a council of war was called, the 17th of June, on board the Royal Catherine, the united fleet being then about ſeven leagues to the eaſtward of Tetuan: and the reſolution was to make a ſudden attempt on Gibraltar (1).

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The ſiege of Gibraltar.

According to this reſolution, the fleet ſailed over from the Barbary-ſhoar, the 20th, in the night, and the 21ſt got into that bay. The ſame afternoon, at three o'clock, the marines, both Engliſh and Dutch, to the number of 1800, with the Prince of Heſſe at the head of them, were put on ſhoar, on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any communication with the country. His highneſs, having poſted his men there, ſent a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender the place for the ſervice of his Catholic Majeſty; which he rejecting with great obſtinacy, alleging, that the gariſon had taken an oath of fidelity to their natural lord King Philip V, and that, as faithful and loyal ſubjects, they would ſacrifice their lives, in defenſe of the city; the admiral gave orders, the 22d, in the morning, that the ſhips which had been appointed to cannonade the town, under the command of rear-admiral Byng, and rear-admiral Vanderduſſen, as alſo thoſe which were to batter the South-Mole-Head, commanded by captain Hicks, of the Yarmouth, ſhould range themſelves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not poſſibly get into their places till the day was ſpent.

In the mean time, to amuſe the enemy, captain Whitaker was ſent in, with ſome boats, who burnt a French privateer of twelve guns, at the old Mole. The 23d, ſoon after break of day, the ſhips being all placed, the admiral gave the ſignal for begining the cannonade, which was performed with very great fury, above 15000 ſhot being made in five or ſix hours time, againſt the town, inſomuch that the enemy were ſoon beat from their guns, eſpecially at the South-Mole-Head.

The admiral hereupon conſidering, that by gaining this fortification, they ſhould of conſequence reduce the town, ordered captain Whitaker, with all the boats armed, to indeavor to poſſeſs himſelf of it, which was performed with great expedition; but captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who lay next the Mole, had puſhed on ſhoar with their pinaces, and ſome other boats, before the reſt could come up; whereupon the enemy ſprung a mine, that blew up the fortifications upon the Mole, killed two lieutenants, and about forty men, and wounded about ſixty: however, our men kept poſſeſſion of the great platform, which they had made themſelves maſters of, and captain Whitaker landing, with the reſt of the ſeamen, which had been ordered upon this ſervice, they advanced, and took a redoubt, or ſmall baſtion, half way between the Mole and the town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of many of the enemy's cannon. It being Sunday, all the women were at their devotion, in a little chapel, about four miles from the town; ſo

(1) They were twelve third-rates, and four fourth-rates, with ſix ſhips of the Dutch.

that

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that our men were between them and their huſbands, which was a very great inducement to the citizens, to oblige the governor to capitulate. The admiral then ſent in a letter to the governor, and, at the ſame time, a meſſage to the Prince of Heſſe, to ſend him a peremptory ſummons, which his highneſs did accordingly; and, on the 24th, in the morning, the governor deſiring to capitulate, hoſtages were exchanged. The capitulation being concluded, the Prince marched into the town, in the evening, and took poſſeſſion of the land and North-Mole gates, and the outworks (1).

The town ſurrenders.

They found the town extreamly ſtrong, with a hundred guns mounted, all facing the ſea, and the two narrow paſſes to the land; and it was well ſupplied with ammunition. But the gariſon conſiſted of about 150 men only; ſome accounts ſay leſs (2): however, in the opinion of officers, who have ſeen the works, fifty men might have defended them againſt thouſands. The attack made by the ſeamen, was brave almoſt beyond example. We had only ſixty men killed, of which were two lieutenants, and one maſter: and 216 wounded, among whom were one captain, ſeven lieutenants and a boatſwain.

The important city and fortreſs of Gibraltar being thus in the hands of the confederates, the united fleet ſtood over to the coaſt of Barbary, to water; returning from thence the 9th of Auguſt, and ſtanding out of Tetuan-bay, within ſight of the high lands of Gibraltar, the Centurion-ſcout made a ſignal of ſeing the enemy's fleet, to windward, as it appear'd their ſcouts did of ſeing ours. It was reſolved to lay to the eaſtward of Gibraltar, to receive them; but they (3) indeavoring to avoid the fight, were purſued, the 10th, and the 11th, by the report of their ſignal guns.

The enemy's fleet diſcovered.

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The 12th, about noon, they diſcovered the enemy's fleet and gallies to the weſtward, near cape Malaga, going away large, and bore after them, in a line of battle, all that night (4).

The 13th, in the morning, they were within three leagues of the French, who then brought to, with their heads to the ſouthward, the wind being eaſterly, and, forming their line, lay in a poſture to receive them, in their diviſions. In the Engliſh line, ſir George Rooke, with the rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes were in the center; ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and ſir John Leake, led the Van, and vice-admiral Callemberg, with rear-admiral Vanderduſſen, commanded the Dutch ſhips, in the rear (5).

The ſea-fight off of Velez-Malaga.

We have ſeveral accounts of this action, which, tho' they differ in ſome circumſtances, agree pretty well in the whole. I ſhall keep to that publiſh'd by authority, as brought by captain Trevor, commander of her Majeſty's ſhip the Triton, from ſir George Rooke, to his royal highneſs: making ſuch remarks, and additions, in the notes, as I ſhall judge proper. And this being the only general ingagement, which happened during this whole war, I ſhall be the more particular.

On Sunday, the 13th of Auguſt, in the morning, (ſays this relation) we bore down upon the enemy, in order of battle, till a little after ten o' clock, when being about half gun-ſhot from them, they ſet all their ſails, at once, and ſeemed to intend to ſtretch a-head, and weather us, ſo that our admiral was obliged to put the ſignal out, and begin the battle (6), which was continued with very

(1) Biſhop Burnet, who upon all occaſions is pretty forward in ſpeaking to the diſadvantage of ſir George Rooke, will hardly allow him any honor or merit, in the taking of this important place. "Rooke (ſays he) that he might ſeem to attempt "ſomething, fell upon Gibraltar; where he ſpent much powder, (bombarding, or rather cannonading it) to very little purpoſe, tho' there was no reaſon to hope, that he could ſucceed. Some bold men ventured to go aſhoar, in a place where it "was not thought poſſible to climb up the rocks; yet they ſucceeded in it. When they got up, they ſaw all the women of "the town were come out, according to their ſuperſtition, to a chapel there, to implore the virgin's protection. They "ſeized on them, and that contributed not a little to ingage thoſe in the town to ſurrender." Hiſt. of his own times.

The circumſtance of ſome bold men climbing up the rocks, I find mentioned by none of our hiſtorians before the biſhop; I have, however, myſelf, ſpoken with ſome, who have pretended, at leaſt, that they were of the number. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 790.

(2) Father Daniel, who is for throwing the blame of this misfortune on the Spaniards, for having ſo ſlender a gariſon, ſays: "It was an aſtoniſhing piece of negligence in Spain, to have a gariſon of but 100 men, in a place of ſuch importance."

(3) The reaſon was, becauſe they had then but few of their gallies with them, and the rendezvous of the reſt of thoſe veſſels being at Velez-Malaga, they plied up to that place where they joined them. This likewiſe gave the confederate-fleet the leiſure to ſend for half of the 1800 marines, they had left at Gibraltar.

(4) Tho' the French indeavored, at leaſt, to avoid the battle, as we have ſeen above, yet they had, in many things, the advantage over our fleet: they were ſuperior in force, having, at leaſt, ten three deck ſhips more than the confederates; all their ſhips were clean and full-man'd; they had the advantage of fighting on the coaſt, and near a harbor of their ally; and had the benefit of a large number of gallies. The confederates, on the contrary, beſides the remoteneſs of ports and ſuccour, in caſe of adverſe fortune, and the great diſadvantage of ſuch a ſuperior ſtrength againſt them, were conſcious of many defects, which the enemy could not (and happy for us they did not) ſo well know. Such as, the fleet's being thinly manned, a great deficiency of ſtores and proviſions, both naval and military; one the effect of a long voyage, the other occaſioned by the great expence of ammunition at the taking of Gibraltar; and the foulneſs of their ſhips, of infinite prejudice, in a day of battle, ſince it would hinder them both from purſuing an advantage, and from avoiding a misfortune: but notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, the confederates reſolved rather to ſeek, than to ſhun, an engagement. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 793.

The continuator of Rapin, as much a friend as he is to France, is oblig'd to own, that this action ſhew'd an exceſs of bravery in the Engliſh. He allows the inferiority of their force, and the diſadvantage of their having been ſo long at ſea, as well as their having no place of refuge in caſe of misfortune: and yet (ſays he) they came off with honor. B. XXVI. p 578.

(5) The confederate fleet conſiſted together of fifty-three ſhips of the line, and eighteen ſmall craft; but the admiral ordered the Swallow and the Panther, two fourth-rates, with a fifth-rate, a ſixth-rate, and two fire-ſhips, to lay to the windward of him, that if the enemy's Van, ſhould puſh thro' our line, with their gallies and fireſhips, they might give them ſome diverſion.

The French fleet conſiſted of fifty ſhips, that might be call'd of the line, but were in general, much larger than thoſe of the Engliſh, eight frigats, nine fire-ſhips, and two flutes: and beſides theſe they had twelve French, and eleven Spaniſh gallies; in all ninety-two ſail: eleven of the gallies were placed on the ſecond line of the white and blue ſquadron, under the command of the duke of Turſis; four, under the command of the marquis de Roye, behind the count de Thoulouſe, in the center, and the other eight commanded by the marquis de Ferville, behind the marquis de Langeron, in the rear. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 791, 792.

(6) The fight was properly begun between ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and the marquis de la Villette, the former bearing down upon the enemy, with the Van of the confederate fleet, and the latter hoping to cut him off. But admiral Shovel having diſcovered the enemy's intention, immediately clap'd upon a wind, and ſir George Rooke foreſeing what would be the conſequence, if his Van was intercepted, bore down upon them, with the reſt of the confederate fleet, and put out the ſignal for the fight, which was immediately begun by admiral Shovel. The French accounts own, that in this part of the ingagement, between the marquis de Villette, and ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, the former was obliged to bear out of the line to repair, his ſloop being blown up by a bomb, and his ſhip ſet on fire, and in danger of blowing up likewiſe; and that the ſame happened to monſieur de Belle-Iſle's ſhip, he himſelf being before kill'd.

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great fury on both ſides; but about two in the afternoon, the enemy's Van gave way to ours, which was commanded by ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and led by ſir John Leake; as their rear did to the Dutch, towards night. But their body being very ſtrong, and ſeveral of the ſhips of the admiral's, rear-admiral Byng's, and rear-admiral Dilkes diviſion's being forced to go out of the line, for want of ſhot, the battle fell very heavy on the admiral's own ſhip, the St. George, and the Shrewſbury (1). This want of ſhot was occaſioned by our great expence of it at Gibraltar; and tho' every ſhip was ſupplied to have twenty-five rounds, two days before the battle, which was judged ſufficient, and would have been ſo, if we could have got ſo near the enemy as the admiral intended; (tho' the French pretended it was they who indeavor'd to fight cloſe; but the Engliſh avoided it;) yet every ſhip, that was on that ſervice, wanted ammunition before night.

The enemy's Van and Rear give way.

The Engliſh want ammunition.

The battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gallies, to the Leeward. In the night, the wind ſhifted to the northward, and, in the morning, to the Weſtward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by, all day, within three leagues of one another, repairing our defects, and, at night, they filed, and ſtood to the northward.

The enemy retreats.

On the 15th, in the morning, the enemy was got four or five leagues to the windward of us; but, a little before noon, we had a breeze of wind, eaſterly, with which we bore down on them, till four o'clock, in the afternoon. It being too late to ingage, we brought to, and lay by, with our heads to the northward all night (2).

On the 16, in the morning, the wind being ſtill eaſterly, hazy weather, and having no ſight of the enemy, or their ſcouts, we filed, and bore away to the weſtward, ſuppoſing they would have gone away for Cadiz, (3). But being adviſed from Gibraltar, and the coaſt of Barbary, that they did not paſs the Streights, we conclude they have been ſo ſeverely treated, as to oblige them to return to Toulon, which may prevent any attempt upon Gibraltar, this winter, the ſending any ſuccor into Cadiz, or the inſulting the coaſt of Portugal, and conſtrain them to a winter-paſſage to Weſt-France, if they intend any of their ſhips thither this year (4). We have not yet the particulars of the enemy's loſs. The marquis de Villadarias, marching with his army to beſiege Gibraltar, ſent a letter to the Prince of Heſſe, governor of that place, that the French have burnt eight of our ſhips, taken ſixteen, ſunk ſeven, and he allows the French have loſt four men of war, and one gally, and that the count de Thouloufe is wounded. During the action, we ſaw two of the enemy's gallies ſink, and many of their ſhips ſo diſabled, that they were towed off by their gallies, and we have reaſon to believe ſeveral of them periſhed; whereas there was not one of her Majeſty's ſhips loſt, and the Dutch loſt only their admiral called the Albemarl, of ſixty-four guns, which blew up by accident, the 16th, in the afternoon, after we had loſt ſight of the enemy, and had only nine men ſaved. We loſt, beſide, 695 men killed, among whom were two captains, ſir Andrew Leake, of the Grafton, and captain Cow, of the Ranelagh; and 1663 wounded, among whom were three captains, captain Mynge of the Namur, captain Baker, of the Monmouth, and captain Jumper, of the Lenox. Of the Dutch, captain Liinſlager was killed, and they had 400 men killed and wounded (5).

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Vain glory of the Spaniards.

Loſs of men on both ſides.

Our fleet having intirely loſt ſight of the enemy, ſir George call'd a council of war, in which it was determined to repair, with the fleet, to Gibraltar; and having ſtaid eight days there to refit, and ſupplied that place with men and proviſions, he ſailed from thence the 24th of Auguſt. The 26th, being out of the Streights-mouth, he gave the neceſſary orders to ſir John Leake, and admiral Vanderduſſen, who with a ſquadron left under their command, were to protect the coaſts of Portugal, and relieve Gibraltar, if it ſhould be beſieged, as it was apprehended. He then continued his voyage, with thoſe ſhips, which were in a condition to come home; and arrived at Spithead, the 25th of September. The 29th, he waited on the Queen and Prince, at Windſor, who received him very graciouſly, and expreſſed themſelves very well ſatisfied with his conduct.

The Engliſh loſe ſight of them.

As ſir George Rooke expected, with reſpect to Gibraltar, ſo it happen'd; for, in the month of October, the French and Spaniards, under the command of the marquis de Villadarias, inveſted that

The French attempt Gibraltar, in vain.

(1) This being obſerved by ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, he like a good and valiant officer, immediately back'd aſtern, and indeavored to re-inforce the admiral. This act, both of valor and good ſea-manſhip, had two uſeful effects; firſt it drew ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips from our Center, which, was ſo hard preſs'd, by a great ſuperiority, both of ſtrength and number, and drove them at length out of the line: for after they had felt the force of this ſupply, from ſome of the ſhips of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel's diviſion, which were a-ſtern of him, they found it not ſafe to advance along his broadſide; but being clean, and better ſailers, they ſet their ſprit-ſails, and with their boats a-head towed from him, without giving him the opportunity of exchanging a ſingle broad-ſide, with them. Theſe were the vice-admiral of their white, and the rear-admiral of their white and blue, with part of their diviſions: and tho' the count de Thouloufe was ſuſtained by the beſt ſhips and commanders in the center, and aſſiſted by the greateſt officers, for quality, experience and courage, (who were placed as counſellors near him) yet he ſhared at length the like fate as his van, and about ſeven o'clock, was obliged to tow out of danger. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 794.

(2) The confederates braved the enemy to conceal their own weakneſs, for neither ſide had any great inclination, nor, indeed, were in a condition to come to a ſecond ingagement; they were, therefore, glad to loſe ſight of one another lb.

(3) They kept on their couſe towards the Spaniſh coaſt, and the confederates made uſe of the ſame opportunity to bear away to the weſtward, and ſo got into Gibraltar.

(4) Tho' both parties claimed the victory, yet, in the opinion of all impartial judges, neither had a very clear title to it. For as there was not one ſhip, either burnt, ſunk or taken, (the French gallies excepted) on either ſide, (the Dutch ſhip blew up, by accident, two days, after the fight) ſo was the loſs of men near equal on both. The Engliſh and Dutch, however, carried their point, which was to diſable the French fleet, from aſſiſting the Spaniards, in retaking Gibraltar, which, together with the vaſt diſproprotion of ſtrength, with which they ingaged the enemy, makes their advantage little leſs, than a compleat victory. Beſides, whatever they may pretend, it is certain, that the iſſue of this general ingagement deprived them of the inclination to hazard another: for, after this, they never ventured their fleet at ſea; but contented themſelves with ſending out ſquadrons to diſturb the commerce of the confederates, by attackiug their convoys: and for this fleet, in particular, it is certain it ſuffered ſo much, in this action; and went into Toulon ſo diſabled, that the ſhips could not be put into a conditon to go to ſea again in many months. Tho' the number of the ſlain and wounded on both ſides were pretty equal, yet the French, by their own account loſt many more officers, and perſons of note. They name thirty-eight perſons of note killed, among whom were monſ. de Belle-Iſle, a flag-officer, and the count de Chateau-Renaud; and 112 wounded; among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, particularly, the count de Thouloufe, commander in chief, monſ. du Caſſe, a flag-officer, the count de Relingue, a lieutenant-general, the count de Sept Ville, and the marquis de Chateau-Renaud. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol II. p. 795.

(5) I ſhould now, as I have hitherto done, with regard to other actions at ſea, give the enemy's account, but as they differ little or nothing from our relations, and even F. Daniel, and the Paris Gazet, allow every circumſtance of them, (except what I have above remarked) during the action, I have only to obſerve that tho' they have no farther title to a victory, than the account the reader has ſeen above (which agrees with their own) can give them, yet they laid claim to it, upon the only, and evidently falſe, pretence of our fleet having left them maſters of the place of battle, and Te Deum was ſung, on that account, in Paris, by the King's command, with as much ſolemnity, as if they had gained the moſt compleat victory.

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place, and open'd trenches before it. However, ſir John Leake arriving there from Portugal, with a ſquadron of men of war, under his command, and throwing ſupplies into the town, from time to time, not only defeated their deſign for this year, but extreamly harraſs'd the beſiegers, and reduced them to great miſery and want.

Affairs on the continent.

Having thus given an account of our ſucceſs, this year, at ſea; I come now to the proceedings of our armies on the continent, and particularly in Germany, where ſuch glorious actions were perform'd, to the eternal honor of the Engliſh nation, that they deſerve all the notice which can poſſibly find place in a general hiſtory: but to be withal as brief, as the nature of the ſubject will allow, I ſhall confine my ſelf to the bare relation of facts, from the moſt genuine accounts I have been able to procure, refering the reader, for the confirmation of them, to the more particular relations, letters, and other documents, on which they are grounded (1).

Deplorable ſtate of the Emperor and Empire.

The affairs of the empire were (as I have already obſerved) in a very deſperate condition. The Emperor was reduced to the laſt extremities: the Elector of Bavaria was maſter of the Danube, quite down to Paſſau, and the male-contents in Hungary were making a formidable progreſs. The Emperor was not in a condition to maintain a defenſive war long on both ſides: nor was he able to make any oppoſition againſt them at all, ſhould they have once come to act in concert. Thus his affairs had a very dark appearance, and his utter ruin ſeem'd to be approaching.

Vienna was in apparent danger of being beſieged, on both ſides; and it was but in a very indifferent ſtate of defenſe. Prince Eugene, under theſe emergencies, wiſely propoſed, that the Emperor ſhould implore the protection of the Queen of Great-Britain; which being agreed to, count Wratiſlau, his Imperial Majeſty's miniſter, managed the negociation at our court. with great application and ſecrecy (2), and on the 2d of April, preſented a memorial to her Majeſty (3), importing: "that having, "at ſeveral times, repreſented to her Majeſty's "miniſters, by word of mouth, the preſſing ne- "ceſſities of the Empire, by the breaking in of a "conſiderable army of French into Bavaria; which, "together with the Inſurrection in Hungary, had "reduced the Imperial Hereditary countries "into an incredible perplexity and confuſion; ſo "that, it was to be feared, an intire re- "volution and deſolation of all Germany would "follow, if ſome ſpeedy aſſiſtance were not ap- "plied, proportionable to the great danger they "were now threatned with: he was extreamly well "ſatisfied with the zeal her Majeſty's miniſters had "for the common cauſe, and with the attention "they gave to his repreſentations; but nothing "being as yet reſolved on, tho' the ſeaſon was far "advanced; and the final reſolution, on the ſeveral "ſchemes that had been preſented, being deferr'd, "'till the arrival of the duke of Marlborough at "the Hague, this envoy thought himſelf obliged, "before his grace's departure, to do his laſt indea- "vor, by repreſenting, in writing, the danger "wherein the Emperor and empire were at pre- "ſent involv'd, that her Majeſty, out of the ſame "zeal for preſerving the liberties of Europe, "for which ſhe was ſo much fam'd, among the "Potentates in alliance with her Majeſty, would "be pleaſed to order the duke of Marlborough, "her captain-general, ſeriouſly to conſult with the "States-general, of the ſpedieſt method for aſſiſting "the empire; or, at leaſt, to conduct part of the "troops in her Majeſty's pay beyond ſea, to pre- "ſerve Germany from a total ſubverſion; it not "being juſt in it ſelf, nor any ways advantageous to "the common cauſe, that her Majeſty's troops "ſhould tarry on the frontiers of Holland; which "were not in the leaſt threatned by the enemy, and "were defended by great rivers and ſtrong places, "whilſt the empire was deſtroyed by the French "troops, by fire and ſword. In the concluſion, "count Wratiſlau ſaid, that the deſire he moſt "humbly preſented was grounded on the alliance "concluded between the Emperor, England and "Holland; purſuant to which he hoped, that her "Majeſty would give thoſe orders, which were "neceſſary for the aſſiſtance of Germany; by the "want of which, he foreſaw the miſchiefs which "would inſue to the common cauſe; eſpecially "if the orders of the States-general, to recall their "troops from the empire, ſhould take place, "in a time when France indeavor'd to ſend a "powerful aſſiſtance to their army in Bavaria".

The Emperor implores the Queen's protection.

Count Wratiſlau's memorial to the Queen.

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To this memorial, the Queen was pleaſed to return an anſwer, by mr. Secr. Hedges, importing, "that "the duke of Marlborough, captain-general of "her armies, had received orders from her Ma- "jeſty, to take the moſt effectual methods with the "States-general of the United-provinces, her good "allies and confederates, to ſend a ſpeedy ſuccor "to his imperial Majeſty, and the Empire, and "to preſs the States to take the neceſſary meaſures "to reſcue Germany, from the imminent danger "it was expoſed to (4)."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

The duke of Marlborough goes for Holland.

Purſuant to her Majeſty's commands, the duke imbark'd at Harwich, the 8th of April, O. S. with his brother, general Churchill, and ſeveral other officers of note, and came the 21ſt. N. S. to the Hague. The 23d, he had a preliminary conference, with the deputies of the States, about the meaſures he thought moſt proper to be proſecuted this ſummer. The 2d of May, his grace had another long conference with the deputies of the States-general, in which he declared to them the project he had long before concerted, and of which he had only given ſome hints, to ſuch of them as he had moſt confidence in, when, at the deſire of the States, he went laſt to the Hague. He told them withal, that his marching into Germany would moſt conduce to the

(1) It may be proper to inform the reader, that I hear mean ſuch authentic and more extenſive relations, documents, and letters, as are here and there diſperſed in more voluminous hiſtories, both domeſtic and forein, and in the lives and memoirs of particular perſons; eſpecially Lediard's life of Marlborough, which contains many ſuch, never before made public.

(2) The Duke of Marlborough ſaw the neceſſity of undertaking his relief, and reſolved to uſe all poſſible indeavors, to put it in execution. When he went into Holland, as I have ſaid above, he propoſed it to the penſionary, and other perſons of the greateſt confidence: they approved of it; but it was not adviſeable to propoſe it to the States, at that time; many would not have thought their country ſafe, if their army ſhould be ſent ſo far from them: nothing could be long a ſecret, that was propoſed to ſuch an aſſembly, and the main hope of ſucceeding in this deſign lay in the ſecrecy, with which it was conducted. Therefore, under the pretext of carrying the war to the Moſel, every thing was prepared, that was neceſſary for executing the true deſign. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 285,

(3) I have thought it neceſſary to inſert this memorial at large, as it fully juſtifies our conduct (and the neceſſity of it) in this glorious campain, which, ſucceſsful as it proved, has not been free from cenſure: but of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more below.

(4) Either the foregoing memorial was but matter of form, or the Emperor's envoy was then unacquainted with the great project, which the duke of Marlborough had already formed to deliver the empire; and which, it is ſaid, he had communicated to three perſons in England only, viz. the Queen, the Prince of Denmark, and the lord-treaſurer; not to above two perſons more in Holland; and not to any of the Imperial-court, before he was ready to put it in execution. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 287.

advantage

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advantage of the confederacy, and the annoyance of the common enemy, and doubted not but the States-general would readily concur with him, in the ſame opinion. After the States-general had debated this matter a whole day, the duke had, the next morning, a conference with them, and the council of ſtate, to whom he made a very lively repreſentation, of the imminent danger, which threatned the whole empire, and with that, all Europe, if an immediate check were not given to the progreſs of the French and Bavarians in Germany; adding, that, being now entire maſters of the Maeſe, and all the Spaniſh Guelderland, a ſmall number of forces were ſufficient to ſecure their frontiers. Some of the members of theſe illuſtrious bodies were apprehenſive, that, by dividing their forces, they might loſe, in one ſummer, the advantages they had gained in the two former.

The States concur in the duke's meaſures.

However, the reaſons alledg'd by the duke, and the reputation and credit he had with them, added to the influence of thoſe, with whom he had truſted his ſecret, made ſo great an impreſſion in their minds that all affairs, relating to the operations of the inſuing campaign, were happily determined and adjuſted, in this conference, after which, his grace took his leave of them, and, on the 5th of May, went in a yacht to Utrecht (1).

The duke of Marlborough's march into Germany.

The next day, the duke's coaches met him at Utrecht, with which he proceeded to Ruremond, where he arrived the 8th, and, the ſame evening, gave orders for building a bridge, over which the Engliſh, and other troops deſign'd (as it was induſtriouſly reported) for the Moſel were to paſs. The 18th, the duke march'd to Bedburg, where he was joined by general Churchill, with the Engliſh forces and the artillery (2). The 20th, he advanced to Kerpen, and the next day to Kalſecken, where he received an expreſs from Prince Lewis of Baden, giving it as his opinion, that the French might force their paſſage thro' the black foreſt, and re-inforce the Elector of Bavaria, which was confirmed by the opinions of the Prince of Heſſe, monſieur Bulau, and baron Hompeſch. About the ſame time, he received advice from the Netherlands, that thirty-five battalions, and forty-ſix ſquadrons, were order'd to march from the French army there, to the Moſel; being yet perſuaded the duke's intention was to act on that ſide.

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Upon theſe advices, the duke preſs'd the march of his army, with all poſſible aſſiduity, and to prevent the ill conſequences that might attend a conjunction of the French and Bavarians, he advanced himſelf with the horſe, and left his brother to follow him with the Infantry. Notwithſtanding this diligence, he had the diſſatisfaction, on the 23d, being then near Bonn, to hear, that the recruits for the French army, in Bavaria, with farther re-inforcements, had actually joined the Elector, the 20th, at Villingen (3). This incident did, indeed, greatly increaſe the difficulties our illuſtrious general had to incounter with, but could not ſhake his ſteady reſolution. The eyes of all Europe were, by this time, fix'd on the duke, who, notwithſtanding this junction, was, on account of the number of the troop's, which the French left behind them, and by the marſhal de Tallard's marching back, with the reſt of his army, towards the Rhine, confirmed in his opinion, "that the enemy was yet wholly ignorant of his true deſign: he, therefore, continued his march, with unwearied diligence.

Junction of the French and Bavarians.

The 31ſt, the army paſs'd the Mayn, at Caſſel, over againſt Mentz, and the duke continued his march towards the Neckar, and came the 2d of June to Ladenburg, where the troops paſs'd that river. His grace, having gained the advance of ſome days march of the French, wrote to the States, and thought he might now let them know the whole ſecret, that he had the Queen's order, to march to the relief of the empire, with which he hoped they would agree, and allow of his carrying their troops to ſhare in the honor of that expedition. He had their anſwer, as quick as the courier could carry it, by which they approved of the deſign, and of his carrying their troops with him; ſo that now the whole army was at his command without controul (4). The duke having given orders to his foot and

The duke continues his march.

(1) The conſumate wiſdom of the duke of Marlborough, in the management of this important affair, on which the fate of all Germany, I may ſay of all Europe, depended, cannot be ſufficiently admir'd. The plan of it was intirely his own, and was long treaſur'd up in his breaſt only. When matters were ripe for that purpoſe, and the way prepared, he open'd his deſign to his ſoverein, whoſe approbation and conſent was primarily neceſſary; but truſted none elſe with the ſecret, but the lord-treaſurer, in whom he knew he could confide, and who muſt neceſſarily have a knowlege of it. Having the Queen's conſent, he was ſenſible that of the States was likewiſe requiſite, as ſo large a body of their troops were under him, to be inſtrumental in the execution of it. He then open'd ſome part of his mind, to one or two only of the aſſembly of the States, in his firſt voyage to Holland, but prudently kept the main deſign yet a ſecret. At his return to Holland, theſe his confidents having prepar'd the way, he open'd ſo far of his mind, to the whole aſſembly of the States, and by force of argument obtain'd their conſent to act with their troops, in Germany, that is, on the Moſel; but they had yet no knowlege of his real deſign to march into the heart of the Empire, and ſtrike at the root of the evil, which threaten'd, and muſt have brought to paſs its intire ruin, without this ſeaſonable and ſalutary relief. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 289.

(2) The French, in Flanders, began, by this time, to be alarm'd; tho' they were far from ſuſpecting the duke's real deſign. His marching towards Coblentz, and the great preparations which were making, in that place, made them believe, that his grace deſigned to open the campain, with the ſiege of Traerbach, and indeavor to advance, along the Moſel, into France. Upon this ſuppoſition, they detach'd eight battalions, and ſixteen ſquadrons, towards that river, and gave out, that they intended the ſiege of Huy, vainly imagining, that, by this report, they might ſtop the progreſs of the Engliſh general. This feint was too thinly gloſs'd over, to have any effect on the duke; and, beſide, he very well knew, that the forces he had left in Flanders, under the command of monſ. d'Auverquerque, were ſufficient to fruſtrate any attempt the French could make on that ſide; he, therefore continued his march. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 292.

(3) The conduct of the Imperialiſts, on this account, was very much cenſured, as well for truſting the guard of the important paſſes of the Black-foreſt, to the militia alone, as becauſe they did not take the opportunity of fighting the elector of Bavaria, when they might have done it to advantage. The duke of Wirtemberg, the margrave of Bareyth, and count Stirum, who had a fine army, conſiſting of ninty-nine ſquadrons, and forty-two battalions, had reſolved to attack the elector of Bavaria, the 17th, near Villingen: but Prince Lewis of Baden ſent them poſitive orders, not to ſtir from their camp till he arrived. He came, indeed, the 19th, and it was reſolved, to attack the enemy, the next day; but it was then too late, and the opportunity was neglected: and tho' the army march'd, according to the reſolution taken, they found the enemy ſecure, and out of their reach. They had, however, another opportunity afterwards, which was as ſhamefully neglected. Prince Lewis being joined the 24th, by 7000 men, from the lines of Stolhoffen, moved towards Stockach, and thither the Bavarians were marching, likewiſe, it being the only paſs thro' which they could retreat: inſtead of ſecuring this paſs, the Imperialiſts amus'd themſelves with cannonading the enemy, who in the mean time eſcap'd, thro' a defile ſo narrow, that only two men could go in front, and taking the advantage of the night, between the 25th and 26th in the morning their whole army was got thro'. The Bavarians were three days without bread, and had the Imperialiſts ſecured this paſs, they muſt of neceſſity have laid down their arms and diſbanded themſelves. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I p. 298.

(4) The duke's bending his march towards the Danube was a terrible ſurprize to the French, who, after their firſt miſtake in their conjectures, that the field of his graces action was to be, on the Moſel, had ſurmiſed, that he would advance to the Upper-Rhine, and that he might have a deſign on Landau. This jealouſly was confirm'd, both by his grace's march to Mentz, and by the governor of Philipſburg's making a bridge over the Rhine. Upon this ſuſpicion, marſhal Tallard, repaſs'd the Rhine, the ſecond of June, at Altenheim, in order, either to join the marſhal de Villeroy, or to oppoſe the duke of Marlborough's paſſage over that river. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 303.

artillery,

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artillery, which had paſs'd the Mayn to follow with the re-inforcement of horſe and foot, which was marching from the Maeſe, under the duke of Wirtemberg, his grace decamp'd from Ladenburg, the 6th, and continued his march to Great-gardach.

First interview between Prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough.

The 9th, the duke march'd, with the horſe, from Great-gardach to Mondelſheim, where he halted the next day, and, in the morning, received advice, by an adjutant-general, that Prince Eugene of Savoy, with count Wratiſlau, were on the road to his camp, intending to dine with his grace. About three in the afternoon, his highneſs arrived, at the duke's quarters, at Mondelſheim, where he was received with all the marks of honor and civility due to his rank and quality.

A ſketch of their characters.

Poſterity, as well as the preſent age will, without doubt, be curious to know, what paſs'd at the firſt interview of theſe twin-conſtellations in glory, the two greateſt generals of this age, equal in their merit and fame, as well for their courage and conduct in military exploits, as their prudence in council; their dexterity and addreſs, in the managment of affairs; and their politeneſs, temper and affability. What is come to my knowledge, I ſhall faithfully relate, and wiſh it were in my power to gratify the reader farther. After dinner, which was as magnificent as the circumſtances of time and place could admit of, the remaining part of the day was ſpent in conſultations, on the preſent poſture of affairs, which laſted ſeveral hours together, and the mutual ſatisfaction and opinion they, at that time, conceived, at and of each others prudence and capacity, muſt have been very great; ſince the reciprocal eſteem, they before had, grew, from thence forward, into ſo ſtrict a friendſhip and confidence, as very much contributed to the glorious ſucceſſes, which atttended the arms of the allies, during the whole war. The reſult of their conſultations then was, that the two armies ſhould join, and that the duke of Marlborough, and Prince Lewis of Baden, ſhould command, each, day, alternately, and that Prince Eugene ſhould head a ſeparate army on the Rhine.

They hold a conſultation.

Reſult of it.

Compliments paſs'd between the Prince and the duke.

The next day, his highneſs marched with the duke to Great-Heppach, where his grace having ordered his army to be drawn up, in Battalia, before the Prince, his highneſs expreſs'd his ſurprize, to find them in ſo excellent a condition, after ſo long and ſpeedy a march: upon which occaſion, he is reported to have ſaid; "my lord, I never ſaw better horſes, better cloaths, finer belts and accoutrements; yet all theſe may be had for mony; but there is a ſpirit in the looks of your men, which I never yet ſaw in any, in my life". His grace, who could not but be extreamly pleaſed with the compliment, was not, however behind-hand with his highneſs in politeneſs, but is ſaid to have anſwer'd: "ſir, if it be as you ſay, that ſpirit is inſpired in them by your preſence."

Prince Lewis of Baden comes to the duke of Marlborough.

The 12th, advice was brought from the army commanded by Prince Lewis of Baden, that three regiments of horſe march'd from thence, the 8th, to the lines of Stolhoffen; and that, the 10th, they were followed by 9000 men of the Pruſſian forces, in order to oppoſe the French, on that ſide. The 13th, in the morning, the duke was informed by count Wratiſlau, that Prince Lewis of Baden was coming poſt to meet his grace: upon which the duke ſent colonel Cadogan, with a compliment to his highneſs, whom he found at Eſſlingen, with Prince Lobcowitz, his nephew, and conducted them to Great-Heppach.

Expreſſions of civility which paſs'd betwext them.

Among other expreſſions of civility, which paſs'd between Prince Lewis and the duke of Marlborough, his highneſs ſaid; "that his grace was come to ſave "the Empire, and give him an opportunity to "vindicate his honor, which he was ſenſible was, "in ſome manner, at the laſt ſtake, in the opinion "of ſome people." To which his grace is ſaid to have replied: "that he came to learn from him, "how to do the empire ſervice; for they muſt "want judgment who did not know, that the Prince "of Baden had not only, when his health would "permit him, preſerved the Empire, but extended "its conqueſts, as well as ſecured its own." Mutual compliments being over, a conference was held between the generals, wherein it was reſolved, "that the Auxiliary troops, in the neighbourhood, "ſhould join the army on the Danube, for ſome "days, and that Prince Lewis, and the duke of "Marlborough, ſhould have each his day of command alternatively, as long as they continued together; while Prince Eugene ſhould repair towards Philipſburg, to defend the Paſſage of the "Rhine, the lines of Stolhoffen, the country of "Wirtemberg, or act otherwiſe, according to the "motions of the French".

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A conference between the generals.

The next morning early, the horſe march'd from Great-Heppach, while his grace ſtaid there, to entertain Prince Lewis and Prince Eugene at dinner, after which, the former returned to his army on the Danube, and Prince Eugene went poſt for Philipſburg, to command the army on the Rhine. In the Evening, the duke joined the troops under his command, in the camp at Eberſpach, where the Prince of Heſſe, with monſ. Bulau, and baron Hompeſch attended, to acquaint his grace, that the troops were all in the neighbourhood, ready to march to their appointed rendezvous. The 21ſt, the army incamp'd between Launſheim and Urping, and, on the 22d, made a motion, in order to join Prince Lewis of Baden at Weſterſtetten.

A farther motion of the army.

They join with that under Prince Lewis of Baden.

In the mean time, the Elector of Bavaria ſent a conſiderable detachment, to Dillingen and Lawingen, with intent, that upon the advance of the confederate army, towards the Danube, his whole army might poſſeſs themſelves of that camp. The 23d, Prince Lewis and the duke, continued in the camp, near Launſheim, to form the line of battle; and, the ſame day, his grace reviewed the twelve regiments of foot, which came into thoſe parts, the preceeding year, under the command of lieutenant-general Goor, with the four battalions of the duke of Wirtemberg's troops, in the pay of the States, which appeared compleat, and in very good order. The next day, the army, march'd from Launſheim and Weſterſtetten, and incamp'd, with the right at Elchingen, near the Danube, and the left at Languenau, where they halted three days. The 28th, they march'd again, and incamp'd, with the right at Herbrecting, and the left at Gingen, on the river Brentz, within two leagues of the Elector of Bavaria's army, which lay between Dillingen and Lawingen, with the Brentz between the two armies.

Motions of the united confederate army.

The 29th, the Engliſh foot and artillery, under the command of general Churchill, who had been joined in their march, by a battalion of the King of Pruſſia's forces, arrived in the camp, and took their poſt in the line, where an interval had been left for them: ſo that all the forces the duke of Marlborough expected had now join'd him, excepting the Daniſh horſe, which were detach'd after him, from the Netherlands. The whole army then conſiſted of ninety-ſix battalions of foot, and 202 ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, having with them forty-four field-cannon, four hawbitzers, and twenty-four pontons. The ſame day, the generals held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved to draw near Donawert; Whereupon, the laſt day of June, the confederate army march'd from Gingen, and Herbrechting, and incamp'd, with their right, at Landhauſen, and their left, at Balmerſhoffen: They marched ſo near the enemy's camp, that lieutenant-general Bulau, was ſent out, the

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night before, with a detachment of 2000 horſe and dragoons, to ſecure the avenues, by which they might have diſturb'd the march of the allies, who, by theſe means, proceeded without any oppoſition. The enemy's army was then computed to conſiſt of eighty-eight battalions and 160 ſquadrons, having ninety peices of canon, forty mortars and hawbitzers, and thirty pontons. The firſt of July, the confederates continued their march, in ſight of the Elector of Bavaria's army at Dillingen, and incamp'd, with their right, at Amerdingen, and their left at Onderingen. The camp being pitch'd, the duke of Marlborough, with a guard of ſixty ſquadrons, advanc'd a little in the front of his army, to take a view of the ſtrong ſituation of the enemy, and returning ſoon after, gave the neceſſary orders for preparing every thing during the night, in order to attack the enemy's intrenchments, the next day. Some officers were of opinion, that after ſo tireſome a march, the troops ſhould have ſome reſt before the attack, but the duke would hear of no delays.

The fight at Schellenberg, near Donawert.

The Elector of Bavaria rightly judging, from the duke's march, that he intended to attack Donawert, ſent a conſiderable detachment, of his beſt troops, to re-inforce count d'Arco, who was poſted at Schellenberg, a riſing ground, near that place, on the north-ſide, where he had already caſt up great intrenchments, and imploy'd ſome thouſands of pioneers, for ſeveral days, to perfect thoſe works, which covered Donawert, on that point between the rivers Brentz and Danube: but notwithſtanding that great advantage, the duke of Marlborough reſolved to drive the enemy from that important poſt. The neceſſary orders being, accordingly, given to the army, his grace advanced, the 2d of July, at three in the morning, with a detachment of 6000 foot, commanded by lieutenant-general Goor, and thirty ſquadrons of Engliſh and Dutch cavalry, beſide three battalions of Imperial grenadiers; the reſt of the army, under Prince Lewis, following, with all poſſible diligence; but the way being very bad and long, the detachment led by his grace, could not come to the river Wernitz, which runs by Donawert, till about noon, and it was three in the afternoon, before the bridges were finiſh'd, to get over that river, with the artillery. About five, the duke had paſs'd it, at the head of the cavalry, and riding up as near to the intrenchments as was neceſſary viewed them, and then made the neceſſary diſpoſition for the attack. In the mean time, the Engliſh and Dutch artillery began to thunder againſt the enemy, who anſwer'd as briſkly from their batteries for about an hour.

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All things being ready for the attack, the Engliſh and Dutch foot, ſupported by the horſe and dragoons, commanded by lieutenant general Goor, and brigadier Ferguſon, made the onſet, with unparallel'd valor and intrepidity, before the Imperialiſts came up, and met with ſuch a vigorous defence, that, having the greateſt part of the enemy's forces to deal with, they were twice repulſed, but, after an ingagement of near an hour and a half, the Imperialiſts being, by that time, come up, their cavalry broke into the intrenchments, and the Engliſh and Dutch forcing their way in, about the ſame time, the confederates made a terrible ſlaughter of the enemy, purſuing them to the very Danube, where a great part of them followed the example of the count d'Arco, and other general-officers, who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming over that river. They took ſixteen pieces of the enemy's canon, with all their ammunition, tents and baggage, and thirteen colors, beſide count d'Arco's plate, with other rich booty, which was diſtributed among the victorious ſoldiers.

The enemy's intrenchments forced.

A rich booty taken.

All the confederate troops that ingaged, behaved themſelves with a great deal of bravery and reſolution; and the horſe and dragoons ſhared the glory of the day, with the infantry: but the firſt attack being begun by a battalion of the Engliſh foot-guards, and the regiments of Orkney and Ingoldſby, they ſuffered more than any others (1).

The enemy's forces conſiſted of two battalions of the Elector's life-guards, one of grenadiers, thirteen other bavarian battalions, five French, four regiments of Cuiraſſiers, of 800 men each, and three ſquadrons of dragoons, making in all about 18000 men, (tho' ſome accounts make them 32000) all choice troops, commanded by count d' Arco, field-marſhal of the Elector of Bavaria's forces, lieutenant-general Lutzemburg, and count Maffey, generals of Battalia, beſide two French lieutenant-generals. The duke of Marlborough gain'd great honor in this action, giving his orders with the greateſt preſence of mind imaginable, and expoſing his perſon to the greateſt danger (2): nor was Prince Lewis of Baden wanting, in performing the part of a brave and great general. The loſs of the enemy, killed, wounded, priſoners and deſerters was computed at five, ſome accounts ſay 6000 men; nor was that of the confederates much leſs (3), which, however, was abundantly made up, by the gaining ſo compleat a victory as gave them a free entrance into the duke of Bavaria's country, and forced that Elector to retire under the canon of Augſburg.

Loſs on both ſides.

The next day, the Bavarian gariſon quited Donawert

(1) The French, tho' they could not deny the confederates the honor, of this victory, indeavor'd to leſſen the advantage of it, by pretending their works were not near finiſh'd, and exaggerating the loſs of men and officers, this action coſt them. The allies (ſay their writers) tho' we loſt but 1000 men, in the action, had 6000 men kill'd, in their ſeveral attacks, and a far greater number wounded, and ſome of their regiments were almoſt intirely cut off. Several of their generals were killed or wounded, and the count de Stirum died of his wounds after the battle. In the former part of their account, they go exceedingly beyond the truth. But for the latter, it is certain the confederates loſt a great number of brave officers; and, indeed, it could not naturally be otherwiſe, in ſo deſperate an attempt.

(2) The continuator of Rapin, in French, who, on other occaſions, is very ready to rob the duke of Marlborough of his merit, is oblig'd to confeſs here, that the victory was wholly owing to the activity, and courage of the Engliſh general. "If (ſays he) the duke had defer'd the attack 'till the next day, as he was advis'd, it is certain he would never have ſucceed-"ed, the enemy would have been re-inforced, and have perfected their intrenchments". B. xxvi. p. 568.

(3) An officer, then in the army, has given us the following general liſt of the kill'd and wounded, in this action:

	Kill'd	Wounded
Lieutenant-generals	6	5
Major-generals	2	2
Brigadiers	—	1
Colonels		7
Lieutenant colonels	7	9
Majors	3	15
Captains	26	62
Subalterns	46	181
Soldiers	1329	3599
	1423	3981
		1493
Total kill'd and wounded		5474

Among

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wert (1), upon the approach of the confederates, and broke down the bridges: but had not time to deſtroy their ammunition and proviſions, as they intended (2).

During the whole time of action, the confederates ſtood to their arms, in a readineſs, either to aſſiſt the aſſailants, if occaſion had required, or to oppoſe the Bavarian army, if they had attempted any thing againſt the camp, in the mean time; and the whole army, excepting thoſe troops that had been imployed in the attack, reſted on their arms all night.

The elector of Bavaria quits his camp,

The Elector of Bavaria was no ſooner informed of the defeat of his troops at Schellenberg, than he quitted his advantageous camp, between Dillingen and Lawingen, and came to the other ſide of the Danube, over againſt Donawert, the third, in his march to the river Lech, to prevent the confederates cutting of his retreat to his own country.

And intrenches his army under the cannon of Augſburg.

The confederate army paſs'd the Danube, the 5th of July, over ſeveral bridges of pontons, near Donawert, and incamp'd at Mertingen, in the dominions of of the Elector of Bavaria, whoſe army had retired to the other ſide of the Lech, and intrench'd themſelves under the canon of Augſburg.

A thanksgiving obſerved.

The 6th was obſerved as a day of thankſgiving for the late victory, throughout the whole army; and te deum was ſung in Prince Lewis of Baden's camp, and in all the towns adjacent.

Newburg taken.

The duke, to improve this advantage, and not to ſuffer the enemy to recover out of the conſternation they were under, immediately commanded his troops to paſs the Lech, upon which the gariſon of Neuburg abandoned that place, and retired to Ingoldſtadt. The duke, thereupon, ſent a detachment to take poſſeſſion of that place, and general Herbeville, who commanded a body of three or 4000 men, on the other ſide of the Danube, was ordered to remain there for it's ſecurity, the importance of it being great for drawing of proviſions out of Franconia. The enemy having, likewiſe, left a gariſon in Rain, a ſmall town in the circle of Bavaria, about half a league on the other ſide of the Lech, the confederate generals reſolv'd to attack it, and it was inveſted accordingly.

The marſhals de Villeroy and Tallard paſs the Rhine,

The 13th, the count de Vehlen, general of the Palatine-horſe, came to the confederate camp, with advice from Prince Eugene, that the marſhals de Villeroy and Tallard, with an army of 45,000 men, had paſs'd the Rhine, about fort Kehl, and gave out, that they were reſolved to ſuccor the Elector of Bavaria, and it was not doubted but one of them, at leaſt, would attempt it, his highneſs, therefore, deſired a re-inforcement of horſe might be ſent him, to inable him the better to obſerve the enemy's motions. Prince Maximilian,

A re-inforcement ſent Prince Eugene.

of Hanover, (the late King George's brother) was thereupon detach'd, with thirty ſquadons of Imperial horſe, with orders to join Prince Eugene, with all poſſible diligence; and the duke of Marlborough ſent, likewiſe, an expreſs, to acquaint the latter, that, if he thought neceſſary, a larger number ſhould follow.

The ſame night, the trenches were opened before Rain; the gariſon ſeemed, at firſt, reſolved to defend it to the laſt extremity: but the beſiegers playing upon the town, with twenty ſeven pieces of canon; and the approaches being carried on, with good ſucceſs, the 16th, in the morning, the gariſon deſired to capitulate, and, the articles being agreed on, they marched out, the next day, being about 400 foot, commanded by the count de Merci, a brigadier general, and were conducted by a party of horſe to the Elector of Bavaria's camp, near Augſburg. Four hundred men of the allies took poſſeſſion of the place, in which they found twenty-four braſs-canon, with ſome ammunition, and a great quantity of proviſions.

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The army decamp'd, the ſame day, from Burcheim, and came, with the right to Holtz, and the left to Ooſterhauſen. The 18th, the allies being incourag'd by the proſperity of their arms, and willing to puſh forward their conqueſts, continued their march, and incamp'd, with the right, at Kuepach. and the left at Aicha, a very fine town. Here the enemy had a gariſon of eight or 900 Bavarian Boors, who, refuſing to ſubmit, were part of them put to the ſword, the reſt made priſoners of war, and the town permited to be plunder'd by the ſoldiers. Here likewiſe the generals took their quarters, and cauſed a magazine to be erected.

Aicha taken.

The Emperor writes to the duke of Marlborough.

The Emperor, no ſooner received advice of this ſucceſs of the confederate army, which might juſtly be called his delivery from apparent ruin and deſolation, than he was thoughtful how to ſhew the grateful ſenſe he had of the ſignal ſervice done him by the duke of Marlborough; and, therefore wrote a letter of thanks to his grace, on occaſion of the victory at Schellenberg.

Count Wratiſlau, upon the delivery of this letter, told the duke, "that the Emperor deſired he "would accept of the honor intended him, of "the title and dignity of a Prince of the Empire;" which his grace, at firſt, declined; 'till, at length, the Queen, at his Imperial Majeſty's requeſt, laid her commands upon him to accept of it. The 22d of July, the enemy abandoned Friedburg, of which the confederates immediately took poſſeſſion.

Friedberg taken.

The elector of Bavaria cut off from his dominions.

The 23d, the army marched again, and incamp'd, with the right, at Wolfurtſhauſen, and the left at Ooſtmaring; the town of Friedburg being in the center of the line, and within a league of Augſburg, under the canon of which the Elector of Bavaria had ſo advantageouſly poſted the remains of his army, that it was impoſſible to attack him, or to force him out of his ſhelter; however, by this march, the duke of Marlborough had intirely cut off all communication between him and his country, which his grace had now wholly in his power.

It was now believed, the Elector of Bavaria was reduced to ſuch a condition, that he would readily imbrace any favorable diſpoſitions that might be ſhewn him; terms of accomodation were, therefore propoſed him (3) and in a manner agreed on: but upon advice, that the marſhal de Tallard had

Propoſals of an accommodation, firſt accepted;

Among whom were the following of diſtinction: Prince Lewis of Baden, general Thungen, the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-caſſel, Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg, the Prince of Saxony, count Horn, lieutenant-general, the major-generals Wood and Palland, and brigadier Bedmar, ſlightly wounded: lieutenant-general Goor, the Prince of Homburg, the Prince of Beveren, the counts van Erbach and Schulemberg, and major general Beinheim kill'd, and count Stirum died, not many days afterwards, of his wounds.

It is to be recorded to the immortal glory of the lord Mordaunt, ſon to the earl of Peterborough, that of a detachment of fifty grenadiers, of Engliſh guards, which he led on to the attack, he eſcaped unhurt, with only ten of his men. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. I. p. 323.

(1) Donawert is a city of Germany, on the confines of Suabia, Neuburg, and Bavaria, once Imperial, ſituate on the river Danube; twenty five miles north of Augſburg, ſeventeen weſt of Neuburg, and forty-four north eaſt of Ulm.

(2) The neglect of the officer, who commanded in Donawert, made this conqueſt of the confederates the more eaſy: for he might have put the three battalions, which were in that place, in the covered way, that joined the left of the intrenchment; and, as the allies made their firſt attack on that ſide, he might have gaul'd them terribly, from that poſt. French writers lay great ſtreſs upon this neglect, as the occaſion of their misfortune; and count d'Arco, the Bavarian general, in his letter to the Elector, attributes it ſolely and wholly thereunto.

(3) Biſhop Burnet ſays, the duke of Marlborough went ſo far as to offer paying him the whole charge of the war, if he would immediately break with the French, and ſend his army to join the Imperialiſts, in Italy. Hiſtory of his own times.

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But afterwards rejected by the Elector.

The country of Bavaria ravaged.

paſſed the Black-foreſt, and was coming to join him, he ſent his miniſter, to acquaint count Wratiſlaw, "that ſince the King of France made ſuch "powerful efforts, to ſupport him, he thought "himſelf obliged, in honor, to remain firm in his "alliance."

This inſincerity of the Elector was ſo highly reſented, by the duke of Marlborough, that he detached thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, to plunder and burn the country of Bavaria, to the very walls of his capital city of Munich; upon which deputations came, from ſeveral places, to his grace; offering to pay contributions, to ſave them from military execution, to whom the duke anſwer'd: "that the Queen of England's forces were not come "into Bavaria to get mony; but to bring their "Prince to reaſon": and the orders for burning and ravaging that country were accordingly put in execution, with the utmoſt ſeverity; to the deſtruction of more than 300 towns, villages and caſtles (1).

The Elector of Bavaria and the marſhal de Marſin, having evacuated Ratiſbon, were forced, in the mean time, to keep cloſe within their ſtrong camp and intrenchments at Augſburg, in expectation of another army from France, under the marſhal de Tallard; who, according to the advice the duke received from Prince Eugene, arrived, the 18th, at Villingen. The marſhal battered this place, for ſix days together; but, upon advice, that Prince Eugene was advancing, he adandon'd his deſign upon it, and continued his march.

The ſiege of Ingoldſtadt reſolved on.

The duke of Marlborough and Prince Lewis of Baden, finding that the Elector of Bavaria was ſtill inflexible, and that it was not poſſible to attack him in his fortified camp, under the canon of Augſburg, without infinite diſadvantage; and conſidering, beſide, that the marſhal de Tallard was advancing, with a large body of troops, they reſolved to attempt the reducing of the ſtrong places of Bavaria, and to begin with Ingoldſtadt, the moſt important place the Elector had, in which his great magazines were laid up. Prince Lewis took upon him to command and carry on the ſiege, with the Imperial troops, and the duke of Marlborough undertook to cover it, with the auxiliary forces, which, in caſe of need, might be joined by thoſe under Prince Eugene, who, by this time was advanced to Dillingen.

Monſ. de Tallard joins the Elector of Bavaria;

The marſhal de Tallard, with about 22,000 horſe and foot, being come, the 4th of Auguſt, to Biberach, the Elector of Bavaria left eight Battalions and four ſquadrons in Augſburgh, and march'd, the 5th, with the reſt of his forces, to join theſe new auxiliaries at that place.

And Prince Eugene the duke of Marlborough.

The 6th, Prince Eugene came to the duke's army, to confer with him and Prince Lewis of Baden, where it was agreed, that Prince Lewis ſhould continue the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, while Prince Eugene and the duke obſerved the Elector of Bavaria. Prince Eugene, being returned to his army, received intelligence, the 10th, that the enemy had paſs'd the Danube, and had a deſign to fall upon him ſeparately; upon which he diſpatch'd an expreſs to the duke, to deſire him to march and join him. This expreſs return'd, the 11th, with an account, that his grace had received the ſame advice, and had been upon the march ever ſince two that morning; and that twenty Battallions, which he had ſent before, under the command of general Churchill were very near. Theſe troops came accordingly, that morning into Prince Eugene's camp, and, in the evening, the duke arrived, with his whole army; when the two armies being thus joined, they incamp'd between the villages of Munſter and Erlinghoven, and that of Appershoven.

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Preparations for attacking the enemy.

The 12th, the confederate generals ſpent in taking a view of the enemy's camp, and from an eminence, which is by the corner of the wood, near Wolperſtette, they ſaw their whole army in motion. At one, in the afternoon, they perceived their quarter-maſters ſetting up their camp-ſtandards, and marking a camp, from Blenheim to Lutzingen (2).

The generals, being returned to the army, ordered the neceſſary paſſages to be made, and bridges of communication to be erected over a rivulet, near Thiffingen. The pioneers were hardly got to their work, when the enemy's advanced guards came ſo near, as between Schweinigen and Thiffingen, and their Huſſars obliged the pioneers to retire: but the duke coming that way, with the whole piquet, and ſome other troops, they found the enemy not only retired, but returning full gallop to their main army.

Situation of the enemy's army.

At four in the afternoon, they plainly diſcovered, from the tower of Thiffingen, the enemy's camp their tents being ſet up; and ſaw, that they were poſſeſs'd of a very advantageous poſt on a hill; that their right flank was covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim, and their left by the village of Lutzingen; and that they had before them a rivulet, whoſe banks were high, and the bottom marſhy; ſo that it was believed at firſt to be unpaſſable, as, indeed, it was afterwards found to be, in ſeveral places. They had, beſide, the village of Oberklau, in the center of their army, and the village of Unterklau, on the oppoſite ſide of the rivulet; and two mills towards the mouth of the rivulet, which ſecur'd the paſſage on that ſide, and ſerved as redoubts for the defenſe of the river of Blenheim. In theſe circumſtances, it was thought a very hazardous enterprize, to attack ſo numerous an army, in ſo advantageous a poſt, which the Confederates could not approach, but by filing off, and by paſſing, in view of the enemy, a marſhy rivulet, which could not be done in good order. But, on the other hand, there ſeemed to

Reaſons which induced the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene to attack the enemy in their advantageous poſt.

(1) The deſolation of ſo fine a country could not but very much affect the Elector, tho' it was not an effectual cure for his obſtinacy: he wrote a letter to the duke of Marlborough, intreating him to put a ſtop to theſe ravages: he ſaid, he could not believe ſuch violences, ſo oppoſite to true glory, were commited by his graces's orders, or thoſe of Prince Lewis of Baden, and that, if they were continued, he ſhould be obliged to make repriſals. The duke anſwer'd; it was in his power to put an end to them, by a ſpeedy accommodation: but the Elector, being buoy'd up, by the near approach of the marſhal de Tallard, replied haughtily; that ſince they had obliged him to draw the ſword, he had thrown away the Scabard. Rouſſet hiſt. mil. tome, II. p. 99.

(2) It will be highly neceſſary here, in order to give the reader a better idea of what follows, to give a particular account of the ſituation and circumſtances of the ſpot of ground which was then between the two armies, and upon which they were encamp'd. It is a plain of near two leagues long, but of an unequal breadth, the entrance into it not being above the breadth of a canon-ſhot, but widening ſoon after to the breadth of about a league. It is border'd on one ſide by the wood of Schellenberg, and on the other by the Danube, and three or four rivulets croſs this plain, in their courſe to the Danube. This, with the inconvenience of ſeveral marſhes, together with the villages and hamlets, which are ſcatter'd here and there, in this plain, to the number of above twenty, render'd the march of the confederate army, to attack the enemy, very troubleſome. The little town of Hochſtadt (which gave name to this battle) is ſituate at the other extremity of the plain, oppoſite to the confederate army, on the north-ſide of the Danube, and at the mouth of a rivulet, which, runing by the village of Oberwemingen, there falls into this river. Here it was the confederate generals intended to have form'd their camp, but the enemy were before-hand with them, and had taken poſſeſſion of the whole ſpace between Blenheim and Lutzingen, and had placed their advanc'd guard on the other ſide of the rivulet, which was on the front of their camp. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 360.

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be an indiſpenſable neceſſity of falling immediately upon the enemy, before they had time to fortify themſelves, in that poſt: for not only the confederate army would have wanted forage, much ſooner than Ingoldſtadt could have been taken; but the generals had very good information, from intercepted letters, that the marſhal de Villeroy had orders to leave monſ. de Coigni, in the camp near Offenburg, with a body of troops, ſufficient to keep thoſe of the allies within the lines of Biehl, and was ready, with the remainder of his army, to make an irruption into the country of Wirtemberg. That army might then have acted in concert with the Elector of Bavaria, and have been re-inforced by detachments from that prince's army, to fall afterwards on the rear of the lines of Biehl; ſo that, thereby, the French armies would have eſtabliſhed a free communication from the Rhine to the Danube, and have forced all to ſubmit to them, as far as the Mayn. In the mean time, the Elector, from his camp at Hochſtadt, might have ruined a great part of the circle of Franconia, and have brought things to that paſs, that the auxiliaries, under the duke of Marlborough, would not have been able to find, either ſubſiſtence, or winter-quarters, on the Danube, and in the Upper Germany; tho', on the other hand, that great and ſeaſonable ſupply, could not have left the empire, in the winter, without expoſing it to the very brink of ruin, from which they had ſo lately, and ſo happily retrieved it, and without leaving a very great ſuperiority to the enemy (1). Theſe reaſons had their due weight with our generals; for, that very night, all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for the attack, and the bagage was ſent to Rietlingen, a village between Munſter and Donawert.

The duke's unſhaken reſolution.

Several general officers came, in the mean time, and repreſented to the duke of Marlborough the difficulties of the deſign, in their moſt lively colours: but they had no effect on his ſteady reſolution, which he had not fixed, without weighing every circumſtance, and the conſequences which might, or could poſſibly attend them. He knew that the poſt which the enemy poſſeſs'd was capable of being put, in a very ſhort time, out of all danger of future attacks: and, on the other hand, duly conſidered, that even a defeat it ſelf could hardly be more fatal than lying ſtill and doing nothing: he, therefore, only told them, that he was ſenſible of all theſe difficulties; but the attempt was abſolutely neceſſary: upon which, the orders that were diſtributed, throughout the whole army, were received with ſuch alacrity and chearfulneſs, as gave a happy preſage of the glorious victory that enſued.

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The battle of Blenheim or Hochſtadt.

The 13th, before one, in the morning, the general was beat, about half an hour after one the aſſembly, and at two the march; upon which the whole confederate army was in motion, and, by three, they began to paſs the rivulet, call'd Keſſel, on ſeveral bridges, which had been prepared the night before. They filed off, in eight columns, of which two, of Imperial foot, marched quite to the right of all, towards the height, along the wood, having two columns of Imperial cavalry to their left. The left wing, which was compos'd of the auxiliaries, march'd, likewiſe, in four columns, viz. two of foot, on the left of the Imperial horſe, and two of horſe, on the left of all. Thus the whole army proceeded as far as the rivulet, near Thiffingen, where the advanced guards were ordered to return to their reſpective bodies, and the two brigades of Heſſian infantry, which had been left in that village, under the command of major-general Wilks, with fifteen ſquadrons, which the duke of Marlborough commanded out, formed a ninth column, on the left of all, and thus they march'd towards Schweiningen (2).

The whole army marches.

The nine columns, being arrived between that village and the wood, made halt, to obſerve the enemy, who ſeem'd unconcerned, and did not make any great motion: about ſix, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, who had poſted themſelves on a riſing ground, called all the generals to them, and gave them the neceſſary directions, for the attack, after which the army advanced into the plain, where they were drawn up in order of battle (3).

The enemy begins to be in motion.

About ſeven, before the confederate army was quite drawn up in Battalia, the enemy, at the approach of their vanguard, gave a ſignal, by firing two pieces of canon, to call in their foragers. They, likewiſe, ſet fire to the villages of Unterklau, Wolperſtette, Weiler, Berghauſen, and Schweinenbach, and their whole army was perceived to be in motion. They then beat the General, afterwards the Aſſembly, and the Confederates ſaw them in arms before their camp, their generals, with their Aids de Camps, galloping to and fro, to put all things in order (4).

A detachment of the confederates advances.

On the confederate ſide, two brigades of foot, com-

(1) Theſe were prevalent arguments to engage the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene to hazard a battle, tho' under greater diſadvantages: yet there were not wanting thoſe, who accus'd theſe two great generals of raſhneſs in the attempt, and inſinuated, that they would not have been ſufficient to have excuſed them had ſucceſs been wanting. The Engliſh (ſay they, in particular) would not have pardon'd the duke for hazarding the lives of their countrymen, in favour of the Imperialiſts. But here theſe remarkers ſeem to be under an undeniable miſtake; for we certainly were in an humour, at that time, to have ſacrificed more in favour of that nation, which, in the opinion of many, has not ſince ſhewn the greateſt marks of gratitude in return. It is, indeed, true, that ſucceſs generally covers a raſh action, and, on the contrary, ill ſucceſs is as often the cauſe, that temerity is not forgiven. The grounds, however, upon which theſe arguments were founded, ſeem inconteſtable. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 364.

(2) The confederate army conſiſted of ſixty-ſix battallions and 178 ſquadrons, amounting to about 50, or 52,000 men, and had fifty-two pieces of canon, That of the enemy was near 60,000 men ſtrong, conſiſting of eighty-two battallions, and 160 ſquadrons, with ninety (or, as ſome ſay, 100) pieces of canon, ſome of which were twenty-four pounders. We have various other accounts of the force of both armies: this, however, is certain, that the united army of French and Bavarians was conſiderably more numerous, than that of the allies, under the duke and Prince Eugene; and the marſhal de Tallard, himſelf confeſs'd them to be ſo, by about 4000 men. Their right wing was commanded by the marſhal de Tallard, with the French reinforcements, and, on the left, was the Elector, with the Bavarians, and the marſhal de Marſin, with the troops under his command. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 365.

(3) The left wing, which was under the immediate care of the duke of Marlborough, conſiſted of forty-eight battalions, and eight ſix ſquadrons, whereof fourteen battalions and thirteen ſquadrons, were Engliſh troops; twenty-two ſquadrons, Daniſh; fourteen battalions, and nineteen ſquadrons, Dutch; thirteen battalions, and twenty-five ſquadrons, of the forces of Lunenburg; ſeven ſquadrons of the troops of Heſſe; and ſome troops of Wirtemberg. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 368.

(4) The marſhal de Tallard, in particular, having made all his diſpoſitions, on the enemy's right, where he commanded, gave orders to monſ. de Surlauben, who commanded the right of the cavalry, to have a watchful eye on the motions of the confederates, and that as ſoon as a certain number of them had paſs'd the rivulet, he ſhould charge them. Monſ. de Clerambault had orders to remain in the village of Blenheim, and there to withſtand the enemy's attack, with all his might. This done, the marſhall gallop'd to the center, where he found the Elector, and the marſhal de Marſin, who had juſt been making the neceſſary diſpoſitions on the left, and were ranging their infantry in the beſt poſture they could, to withſtand the attack of the allies. Monſ. de Tallard gave his electoral highneſs an account of what diſpoſitions he had made, with which he ſeem'd perfectly ſatisfied, and embracing him, told him, he hop'd he ſhould do it, with a yet greater ſatisfaction, in the evening.

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commanded by the lord Cutts, lieuteuant-general, the major-generals St. Paul and Wilks, and the brigadiers Row and Ferguſon, and ſupported by fifteen ſquadrons, under the command of major-general Wood, were ordered on the left to poſſeſs themſelves of the two Water-mills, near Blenheim, which the enemy immediately ſet on fire.

Bridges laid over the moraſs.

The Confederate army, in the mean time, advanced into the plain; four columns march'd to the left, towards the village of Greynheim, and four, of the Imperial troops, took the right, towards the village of Schweinenbach, leaving Wolperſtette and Berghauſen to the left. About eleven, the whole army being in battalia, in two lines, except ſome ſquadrons, which made a body of reſerve; and the moraſs heing found unpaſſable for the infantry, they quickly made five bridges, with the planks of their pontons; and repaired the bridge, on the high road, which the enemy had deſtroyed. Prince Eugene cauſed the right wing to march, at the ſame time, along the wood, to fall on the flank of the Elector, who extended his left, in proportion, to prevent it, and to face the Prince.

Canonading on both ſides.

To prevent the Confederates from gaining the flank of their right wing, the enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of the village of Blenheim, and poſted twenty-eight battallions of foot, with twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, in the place. They alſo poſted ſome infantry in the village of Oberklau and Lutzingen (1). The two brigades of foot, commanded by the lord Cutts, were ordered to go over the rivulet, to favour the paſſage of the left wing, and they poſted themſelves, for that end, in a bottom, near the village of Blenheim, where, for ſeveral hours, they ſtood the fire of ſix pieces of canon, with wonderful reſolution. The enemy fired, at the ſame time, very briſkly, on the bridges, which the confederates had laid for the paſſage of their infantry; but they ſoon returned the compliment from two of their batteries (2). Every thing was ready for the attack, on the left wing, about noon, and, by that time a good part of the infantry, of the main battalia, of the confederate army had poſted themſelves in and about the village of Unterklau, and the Prince of Holſteinbeck poſſeſs'd himſelf of that of Weiler, or Schonbach, and cauſed a counter-battery to be erected there.

The general attack made.

Theſe preparations being all made, the duke of Marlborough gave orders for a general attack, which was begun, on the left, a quarter before one. Major-general Wilks made the firſt onſet, with the five Engliſh battalions of How, Ingoldſby, Marlborough, Row, and North and Gray, and four battalions of Heſſians, ſupported by the Lord Cutts, and major-general St. Paul, with eleven other battalions; and the fifteen ſquadrons of horſe, under the command of major-general Wood. The five Engliſh battalions, led on by brigadier Row, who charged, on foot, at the head of his own regiment, with unparallel'd intrepidity, aſſaulted the village of Blenheim, advancing to the very muzzles of the enemy's muſkets; and ſome of the officers exchanging thruſts of ſwords, with the French, thro' the palliſadoes: but being expos'd to a fire much ſuperior to theirs, they were ſoon forced to retire, leaving behind them near one third part of their men, either killed or mortally wounded, and amongſt the latter, brigadier Row himſelf.

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The Engliſh infantry on the left repulſed.

In this retreat, they were purſued by thirteen ſquadrons of the French Gendarmerie and Carabiniers, who would have entirely cut them in pieces, had not the Heſſian infantry ſtop'd their career, by the great fire they made upon them.

The French retreat in their turn.

The French, being repulſed in their turn, were chaſed by five ſquadrons of Engliſh horſe; till a ſuperior number of freſh brigades charging them with great vigour, obliged many of them to repaſs the rivulet, with precipitation. In the mean time, Ferguſon's brigade, commanded by himſelf, attack'd the village of Blenheim, on the left; but, after ſeveral attempts, with little ſucceſs, it was found impracticable to force the enemy in that poſt, without entirely ſacrifizing the infantry.

The forcing of Blenheim found impracticable.

The whole army paſſes the rivulet.

The Engliſh foot having begun the engagement, on the left, the horſe, of the ſame wing, paſs'd the rivulet, pell-mell, over againſt the center, or main battalia, of the enemy. The horſe of the right wing, likewiſe, paſs'd the rivulet, having made ſeveral paſſages, with diverſe pieces of wood, which they found at hand, and a good number of faſcines. In a word, all paſs'd and drew up, in order of battle, as well as the ground would permit, on the other ſide of the rivulet. The enemy gave them all the time they could deſire, for that purpoſe, remaining quietly on the hill, without deſcending into the meadow towards the rivulet; ſo that even the ſecond line of the confederates horſe had time to form themſelves (3).

The two armies come to a cloſer engagement.

At length, the cavalry of the confederates left wing marching up, towards the hill, that of the enemy began to move, and charged them, with a great deal of fury. The French infantry, which was in the village of Blenheim, made, at the ſame time, a terrible fire, from behind ſome hedges of that village, on the flank of the confederate cavalry, which were advanced too near; ſo that the firſt line of horſe, of their left, from the head of the line, to the three regiments of the troops of Hannover, viz. the electoral regiment, that of Voigt, and that of Noyelles, was put into ſuch diſorder, that part of them retired even beyond the rivulet. Hereupon, lieutenant-general Bulau, commander in chief of the troops of Lunenburg, brought up his own regiment of dragoons, and two of the troops of Zell, viz. that of major-general Villers, and that of brigadier Bothmar, from the ſecond line, which charged the enemy's

evening. The marſhal ſtaid in the center to obſerve the diſpoſitions of the Confederates; and took that time to dine, with three or four general officers who were with him. He was prevail'd upon (as monſ. de Quincy ſays, much againſt his Will, and in a very wrong time) to go to the left, that he might be the better judge of the diſpoſitions made there.

(1) The making theſe detachments extremely weakened their main battalia, and was thought to be one of the principal cauſes of their defeat.

(2) The French, who own they had ninety pieces of canon advantageouſly placed, in a line, before the whole front of their army, pretend they did great execution from their batteries, and that the allies loſt 2000 men, before the battle began: but if it had been ſo, it redounds to their own ſhame, to be ſo totally routed as they were, in the end, after ſo advantageous a begining. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 371.

(3) To this capital fault, of the French, ſome principally aſcribe the victory which enſued. It has been ſaid, with what truth or grounds I ſhall leave un-determined, that this neglect proceeded from an ill-timed haughtineſs and preſumption of the marſhal de Tallard, who being informed, that the allies were laying bridges on the rivulet, uſed this expreſſion; "if they "have not bridges enough, I will lend them ſome:" and when they told him, that our troops were actually coming over the rivulet, is reported vainly to have ſaid; "let them paſs, the more there come over, the more we ſhall have to kill and take "priſoners." But others, who make it their buſineſs to excuſe that general, aſſure us, on the contrary; "that he had "given poſitive orders, not to let the enemy paſs the rivulet, but to charge them as they paſs'd, which orders were not "executed:" monſ. de Quincy ſays, orders were given to monſ. de Surlauben (as I have obſerved above) to charge when a certain number of them were paſs'd, and that monſ. de Clerambault ſhould remain in Blenheim, which ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to favour the report of the marſhal's preſumption.

horſe,

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horſe, with ſo much vigor, that they drove them to the very hedges of the village of Blenheim.

The enemy's cavalry routed.

The cavalry of the confederates left wing, having by this ſucceſs, gained the advantage of forming themſelves intirely, in order of battle, advanced leiſurely to the top of the hill, where they charg'd the enemy's horſe ſeveral times, and, at every charge, gain'd ground. Monſ. de Tallard, hereupon, cauſed ten of his battalions to advance to fill the intervals of his cavalry, in order to make a laſt effort; which the allies, on their ſide, perceiving cauſed three battalions, of the troops of Zell, to come up, to ſuſtain their horſe, and then returned to the charge: but the ſuperior fire of the enemy's infantry put their firſt line into ſome diſorder, and made them retire about ſixty paces, where they remained ſome time.

Ten of the enemy's battalions cut in pieces.

The allies, at length, renewed the charge, with ſo much vigor and ſucceſs, that having broken and routed the enemy's horſe, the ten batalions, who were now abandoned by them, were intirely cut in pieces; excepting a very few ſoldiers only, who threw themſelves on the ground as dead (1). Monſ. de Tallard rallied his broken cavalry behind ſome tents, and now thought it time to draw off his dragoons and infantry from the village of Blenheim. To this end, he deſired the marſhal de Marſin to face the allies with ſome troops, on the right of the village of Oberklau, to keep them in play: but this general let him know, he was in no condition to favor his deſign, and was ſo far from being victorious, on his ſide, that he had enough to do to ſtand his ground.

The French intirely routed.

Lieutenant-general Ingoldſby made the Prince of Heſſe, and the lieutenant-generals Lumley and Hompeſch, in the mean time, ſenſible, that the French cavalry might, with eaſe, be intirely defeated, by charging them on the right flank: and this advice being followed, it happened ſo accordingly, and their rout was compleat. Part of them indeavored to gain the bridge they had on the Danube, between Blenheim and Hochſtadt: The other part, among whom were the Gens d'armes, were cloſely purſued by the dragoons of Bothmar, and thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter threw themſelves into the Danube, where moſt of them were drowned (2). Thoſe who fled towards Hochſtadt rallied once more, and made a ſhew as if they deſigned to ſuccor the reſt; but the regiment of Bothmar faced them, and kept them in awe, for ſome time, 'till being, at length, joined, by ſome other regiments, the enemy fled full gallop towards Hochſtadt.

The Marſhal de Tallard was ſurrounded by the Fugitives, and taken near a mill, behind the village of Sonderen, not far from the Danube, by monſ. Boinenburg, a lieutenant-colonel of the troops of Heſſe, and aid de camp to the Prince of Heſſe-caſſel: the marquis de Montperoux, general of horſe, de Seppeville, de Silly, and de la Valiere. Majors-general; monſieur de la Meſſiliere, St. Poüange, de Ligondais, and ſeveral other officers of note, were likewiſe made priſoners, in this defeat (3).

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The marſhal de Tallard taken priſoner.

The village of Oberklau attack'd; with ſucceſs.

During theſe tranſactions, at the village of Blenheim, and in the center, the duke of Marlborough cauſed the village of Oberklau, which was the marſhal de Marſin's quarters, to be attack'd, by the brigade of Berenſdorff, conſiſting of ten battalions. The Prince of Holſtein-Beck, who commanded them, as major-general, and who came to the army but the day before, paſs'd the Rivulet, at the head of two battalions, with great reſolution; but, as the Imperial cavalry, which was to have ſupported him, were wanting in their duty, and kept above two Muſket-ſhot from him, he was hardly got over, when ſeven or eight of the enemy's battalions, fell on him with great fury, before he could form his two battalions; ſo that one of them, that of Goor, was almoſt intirely cut in pieces, and the Prince himſelf deſperately wounded and taken priſoner. They put the Prince, wounded as he was, upon a waggon, in order to carry him away; but fortune, afterwards, ſhifting hands, he was retaken in that condition, with three or four bleeding wounds on him, of which he afterwards died. Notwithſtanding this firſt ſhock, theſe battalions were no ſooner ſupported, by ſome Daniſh and Hanoverian cavalry, than they charged a ſecond time; but with no better ſucceſs: 'till upon the third charge, the duke of Marlborough, having himſelf brought up ſome ſquadrons, which were ſupported by others of the body of reſerve, made them advance with ſome battalions beyond the Rivulet; whereupon the enemy began to retire. His grace thought it now time to repair towards the attack of the horſe, where he, indeed, found the action already decided in his favor, as we have ſeen above. He came, however, time enough to have his ſhare of puſhing the thirty ſquadrons of French horſe and gens d'Armes, into the Danube.

The enemy obliged by the duke to retire here likewiſe.

Farther ſucceſs of the duke of Marlborough.

As ſoon as the duke had perform'd theſe conſiderable ſervices, the action in the center being now decided, in favor of the confederates, his grace cauſed part of his victorious cavalry to halt, to obſerve the motion of that part of the enemy,

(1) It may not be improper to obſerve, in this place, that the French themſelves are oblig'd here to allow the ſuperior conduct of our Britiſh hero. "During all theſe charges (ſays monſ. de Quincy, and we find the ſame remark, in other French hiſtorians) "the duke of Marlborough, having found the poſt of Blenheim impracticable, only made a ſhew, (of attacking that poſt) with "a front of battalions, out of muſket-ſhot. Theſe he caus'd to advance by Platoons only, who, having diſcharg'd their fire-arms, "retir'd, and gave way to others who reliev'd them, and did the ſame. This was done, during the ſeveral charges of their "cavalry, in order to keep all the troops, which were in the village, in action, while the duke of Marlborough march'd the "ſtrength of his troops oppoſite to the center of monſ. de Tallard's army, where he had obſerv'd, there was no infantry. If "this had been perceiv'd (continues my author, and that it was not, is an inconteſtable proof of our general's ſuperior conduct) "it would have been eaſy to have prevented it, by marching thither all the troops which were in the ſecond line of the village, "where they were of no manner of ſervice; but, unhappily for us, we did not diſcover it, and the allies knew how to take "advantage of our neglect".

(2) In this particular, it is, that the French accounts differ the moſt from ours: they allow but a very few to have been drowned in the Danube (monſ. de Quincy reduces the number to leſs than fifty) but they, at the ſame time, own, that part of the gens d'Armes, with ſeveral general officers, were ſurrounded by the confederate cavalry, and that of thoſe, who attempted to fight their way thro', a great many were taken priſoners.

(3) It may not be forein to obſerve here, what a power fear and conſternation can have over a body of troops, when they are once poſſeſs'd with it, of which we have a flagrant inſtance before us. Theſe troops, which compos'd the right of the French army, not only fled before the victorious Engliſh, but did it in the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder, without any regard to the command of their ſuperiors, or obſerving whither or which way they fled. They look'd upon themſelves as loſt beyond hopes of recovery, and giving way to deſpair, ſuffer'd themſelves to be drove to perdition, like a flock of ſheep to the ſlaughter. A whole body of their cavalry, the beſt and moſt renown'd of their whole army, ſeiz'd with the ſame pannic, hurried away the marſhal de Tallard, with them, in their flight, and, void of all thought, threw themſelves, by whole ſquadrons, into the Danube, men and horſes, officers and troopers. Some few had the good fortune to eſcape, but much the greater part, to avoid an uncertain death, which, at worſt, could but have overtaken them in the field of battle, and laid them down, in the bed of honor, ruſh'd upon a certain and ignominious death in the river. The impotent marſhal, not capable of ſtemming this torrent of deſpair, was obliged to ſurrender priſoner of war, with ſeveral other general officers, who were in his company. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 379.

which,

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which, by this time, was drawn up beyond the Moraſs of Hochſtadt. During this halt, the Elector of Bavaria was perceived making his retreat from the village of Lutzingen; upon which, a meſſenger was diſpatch'd to general Hompeſch, (who, with ſeveral ſquadrons, was purſuing the enemy towards Morſelingen, and who had already overtaken two of their battalions, and forced them to lay down their arms,) with orders to face about, and march to join thoſe who halted; as well to prevent the Elector's falling upon Hompeſch's rear, as to form a body, in order to charge that Prince, who march'd in great haſte, but in pretty good order, with his ſquadrons on the left, and his battalions on the right.

His great prudnce.

Before general Hompeſch returned from his chace, the right wing of the confederate army was perceived at ſome diſtance behind the Elector; and appearing to be part of his army, marching in ſuch manner as might eaſily have flanked them, had the duke of Marlborough immediately charged him, his grace, with great prudence, ſent out a party to view them. During this time, the Elector continued marching off, with great precipitation, till he reach'd the Moraſs of Morſelingen.

The French, in Blenheim, ſurrender priſoners.

The French horſe being intirely defeated, and the confederates maſters of all the ground, which was between the enemy's left, and the village of Blenheim, the twenty-eight battalions, and twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, which were in that village, found themſelves cut off from the reſt of their army; and deſpairing of being able to make their eſcape, after a weak attempt to repulſe the whole infantry which ſurrounded the village, they, at length, capitulated, about eight, in the evening, laid down their arms, deliver'd their colors and ſtandards, and ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners of war, on condition, that the officers ſhould not be ſearch'd.

Only two battalions of the whole French infantry eſcape.

By this, it appears, that of the whole French Infantry, which the marſhal de Tallard had brought to the aſſiſtance of the Elector of Bavaria, conſiſting of forty battalions, all Veterans, and the very choice of the French infantry, only two battalions eſcaped; ſince twenty-eight were here made priſoners, and ten were intirely cut in pieces, as we have ſeen above (1).

Prince Eugene's ſucceſs on the right.

Having given an account of the ſucceſs on the left wing, I am now to relate what paſs'd on the right, under the command of Prince Eugene, who labor'd under great difficulties, having to deal with the Elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Marſin, both old generals, of great courage, conduct and experience; eſpecially the former, who had commanded in all the wars of Flanders, in King William's time, and had, before that, commanded the Imperial army, in Hungary, and, particularly, in the year 1688, took the famous city of Belgrade, from the Turks. Such generals, I ſay, Prince Eugene had to deal with. The infantry of this wing conſiſted only in ſeven battalions of Daniſh, and eleven of Pruſſian forces; but his cavalry was ninety-two ſquadrons of the troops of the Emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the circle of Suabia and Wirtemberg, and other Princes and ſtates of the Empire; tho' his foot, in the end, proved moſt victorious, as we ſhall ſee below. The enemy, on their ſide, had, in their left wing, thirty battalions, and tho' I do not any where find the preciſe number of ſquadrons they had in this wing; yet by the number we find monſ. de Tallard had in the other wing, and the general account we have of their whole force, their number, on this ſide, muſt have been about ſeventy or eighty; and they had poſted fourteen battalions in the village of Oberklau, the attack of which the duke of Marlborough had taken upon him, (as I have ſaid above) with his infantry.

Force of the confederates right, and enemy's left wing.

The horſe of the right wing of the confederates were poſted, moſt of them, over againſt Oberklau; but the eighteen battalions, who were to the right of all, had a great way to march before they could get up the hill; and, beſide, the paſſage of the Rivulet being very difficult, the attack could not begin, on that ſide, ſo ſoon as Prince Eugene could have wiſh'd. Moreover, the troops of the right, which poſted themſelves in a bottom, not far from Lutzingen, were obliged to remain expos'd, during three hours, to the canonading of the enemy, without being able to uſe their artillery, 'till, at length, a counter-battery was raiſed, near the wood.

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The infantry of the right wing ſucceſsful.

Tho' the right could not charge 'till half an hour after the left had begun the attack, yet they were pretty ſucceſsful at firſt; for the infantry, notwithſtanding they were much inferior in number, to that of the enemy, ſtood their ground againſt them, with great firmneſs and reſolution, and the cavalry broke that of the enemy's firſt line; but they were ſo vigoriouſly repuls'd by that of their ſecond line, that part of them were driven, in great confuſion, beyond the Rivulet; and the Infantry, having no more horſe to ſuſtain them, was obliged, notwithſtanding the great reſiſtance they made, to retreat, with conſiderable loſs, 3 or 400 paces; eſpecially the two battalions, which were in the flank; inſomuch that things were now in a very bad condition, on that ſide. The infantry ſtood firm, near the wood, and Prince Eugene having rallied the horſe, brought them up again to the charge, but they were repulſed a ſecond time.

The cavalry repuls'd.

They were rallied once more, and the enemy gave the confederates time to place their troops advantageouſly, after which they charged a third time. The cavalry had, at firſt, ſome advantage over that of the enemy, but were afterwards forced to retreat a third time: whilſt the infantry broke and overthrew that with which they were ingaged, tho' they could not march up to them, but thro' a moſt difficult ground, where a ſmall number of troops was ſufficient to ſtop a greater. Upon this, Prince Eugene left his Cavalry, ſeing little likelihood of being able to rally them again, and put himſelf, at the head of the infantry, who improving the diſorder, into which they had put that of the enemy, purſued them over hills, dales, rocks and woods, and, having charged them again,

The infantry victorious.

(1) The fate of the ten battalions, which were intirely cut off, and whoſe ſlaughter thoſe in Blenheim could not but know, without doubt brought a panniç upon them, which, in ſome meaſure, cauſed this tame ſurrender, for which their commanders were ſeverely (and, indeed, juſtly) cenſur'd, even by their own country-men, as having ſo quietly given up the choiceſt infantry of France. One of their own generals, ſpeaking of their puſillanimity, ſays: monſ. de Clerambaut (who commanded thoſe dragoons and infantry in chief) without taking a reſolution worthy of his name, with a powerful body, which was yet intire, as ſoon as he ſaw the rout of our cavalry, cauſed his poſtillion to ſound the Danube, and, throwing himſelf into it, was drowned. The marquis de Quincy, to excuſe this puſillanimity of monſ. de Clerambault, ſays, it was reported, that his horſe, being frighten'd by a canon-ball which paſs'd near him, threw his rider into the Danube, where he was drowned. The ſame author draws, likewiſe from hence, an argument to excuſe the tame ſurrender of theſe troops "who (ſays he) if they had not loſt their "commander, might eaſily have retreated; but the marquis de Blanzac, who commanded under him, knowing nothing of "this misfortune, waited for his orders". The ſame general farther adds: the duke of Marlborough, judging rightly, that there were old troops, in that place, the overcoming of which would coſt him dear, made uſe of monſ. Deſnonville, his priſoner, to exhort them to accept of their lives. This (the truth of which we have no reaſon to doubt, the French themſelves allowing it, in their accounts) is another mark of the duke's conſummate prudence, in not unneceſſarily hazarding the lives of the troops under his command, and expoſing them to apparent danger, when the ſame end was to be attained by other means.

intirely

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intirely routed them, and continued the chace for above an hour's march, as far as the village of Lutzingen. Here Prince Eugene cauſed his victorious foot to make a ſtand, to give time to his Cavalry, which had rallied a great way behind, to rejoin them. The Imperial horſe having joined their foot, the whole wing continued the chace, for the ſpace of an hour, and followed the enemy as far as the villages of Morſelingen, and Teiſſenhoven, where they made a ſhew as if they would ſtand their ground, that they might gain time to paſs a great moraſs, and reach Dillingen and Lawingen.

The whole wing purſues the enemy: And compleat the victory,

As ſoon as the action, on the left wing, was decided, the duke of Marlborough diſpos'd himſelf to march, with part of that wing towards the village of Oberklau, to charge the left of the enemy on their flank, and to ſuccor their own right, under Prince Eugene; but he was inform'd by the way, by one of that Prince's aids de camp, that there was no farther occaſion for it; that all was recovered, on his highneſs's ſide, and that the enemy had abandoned the villages of Oberklau, and Lutzingen, after having ſet them on fire.

Thus this ſtupendous battle, which, during near five hours, was fought with dubious fortune, ended, at laſt, in a moſt compleat victory, on that ſide, which, before the ingagement, had a viſible diſadvantage; and the ſucceſs of this great day, under the bleſſing of the all-ruling providence, may juſtly be attributed to the invincible courage and intrepidity of the confederate troops, and to the conduct and bravery of their generals; tho' the enemy themſelves, as I have ſaid above, were guilty of ſome overſights, which did not a little facilitate their overthrow (1) I might now give ſome account of what French writers have ſaid of this battle: but their relations (I mean thoſe of their writers of any reputation; for that of the Paris gazeteers is too ridiculous to deſerve our notice,) differ ſo little from ours, in material circumſtances at leaſt, that it would be ſuperfluous; eſpecially as I have already remark'd, wherein their difference chiefly conſiſts.

Juſt Encomium of the generals, officers, and troops.

As the whole action was chiefly managed and directed by the duke of Marlborough; ſo the greateſt ſhare of the glory is certainly his due: and indeed it was, at that time, accordingly, aſcribed to him, both by friends and enemies (2). Juſtice, however, obliges me to allow, that Prince Eugene's ſhare of the glory of this great day, tho' not equal to that of the duke, did not fall very ſhort of it: and it is acknowledg'd, on all hands, that they both performed the parts of conſummate generals. Both gave their commands with all the clearneſs and compoſedneſs imaginable; expoſed their perſons, wherever their preſence was neceſſary, with the greateſt unconcernment; and preſerved their temper and preſence of mind, in the moſt preſent dangers. The duke, for his part, very narrowly eſcaped being killed by a cannon-ball, which grazed under the belly of his horſe, and cover'd him with dirt. The Prince, was always in the thickeſt of the enemy's fire, and yet had the good fortune to come off unhurt.

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The other generals of the confederate army, diſcharged their reſpective commands with great prudence, activity and valor: but, among the reſt, the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the Prince of Hanover, generals; Lumley, Hompeſch, and Bulau, lieutenant-generals; Wood and Villers, major-generals of horſe; the lord Cuts, the lord Orkney, and Ingoldſby, lieutenant-generals: the Prince of Holſtein-Beck, Wilkins, and St. Paul, major-generals; and Row, Ferguſon and Bernsdorff, brigadiers of foot, deſerve particularly to be mentioned, for their great bravery and prudent conduct.

All the troops, in general, fought with valor and unconcernedneſs; tho' their courage may have differed in ſome circumſtances, according to the particular temper of the ſeveral nations, which compoſed the confederate army. The Engliſh foot ſhew'd their natural fire, briſkneſs and intrepedity, in their ſeveral attacks of the village of Blenheim; the Pruſſian and Daniſh infantry, their innate firmneſs and reſolution, on Prince Eugene's ſide, where they recovered all; and the German horſe perform'd wonders in the center, particularly Bothmar's regiment of dragoons.

Praiſe and cenſure of the enemy.

Having thus recorded the deſerved praiſes of the generals and ſoldiers, on the ſide of the confederates, hiſtorical juſtice and impartiality call upon me to give the enemy likewiſe their due; and here I am obliged to allow, that as many of their troops as ingaged fought with vigor and courage; inſomuch that had their generals performed their parts, with anſwerable prudence and forecaſt, it is probable the fortune of that day might have remained undetermined. The Elector of Bavaria, it it true, maintained his reputation of a brave and experienc'd commander; nor was he ill-ſeconded by the marſhal de Marſin; but then the marſhal de Tallard, and the generals of the enemy's right wing, were guilty of two inexcuſable faults; firſt in throwing ſo great a number of their men, into the village of Blenheim, whereby their center was extreamly weakened; and, ſecondly, by ſuffering our troops to paſs the rivulet, without any conſiderable oppoſition, as I have already obſerved more at large above.

Compliments between the duke of Marborough and the marſhal de Tallard.

The ſame night, the marſhal, with two or three more, were carried in the duke's coach, to the Prince of Heſſe's quarter, where his grace, making him a viſit, the next day, told him, he was ſorry, that ſuch a misfortune ſhould fall perſonally on one for whom he had ſo great an eſteem. Monſieur de Tallard returned the compliment, by telling his grace, that he had the honor of having vanquiſhed the beſt troops in the world: to which the duke wittily replied; he thought his own troops were

(1) The victory being thus compleatly gain'd, beyond all human poſſibility of the enemy's making any farther ſtand, the duke, even while he was in hot purſuit of the fugitives, and had then been ſixteen hours on horſeback, thought his happineſs not compleat, tell he had diſpatch'd a meſſenger to England, that his royal miſtreſs, and the whole nation, might pertake with him, in the univerſal joy, occaſion'd by this ſucceſs: he, therefore, ſent away colonel Park, one of his aids de camp, with the following lines to his dutcheſs, written on horſeback, with a black-lead pencil, on a leaf torn out of his pocket-book.

Aug. 13, 1704.

"I have not time to ſay more, than to beg of you to preſent my humble duty to the Queen, and to let her Majeſty know, "that her army has had a glorious victory. Monſ. Tallard, and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the "reſt. The bearer, my aid de camp, colonel Park, will give her Majeſty an account of what has paſs'd. I ſhall do it in a "day or two, by another more at large.

Marlborough.

(2) Prince Eugene himſelf was not more forward in ſending relations of this wonderful ſucceſs, to the ſeveral courts of Germany, than he was in attributing it chiefly to the valor and conduct of the duke of Marlborough; I, my ſelf, have ſeen one of them to the court of Zell, in which he is very ſanguine in his praiſes of our Engliſh Hero.

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the beſt in the world, ſince they had conquered thoſe, which the marſhal accounted to be ſo (1).

The loſs of the enemy, in this battle.

The enemy's loſs, according to their own confeſſion, in ſeveral intercepted letters, amounted to near 40,000 men, in which number they included 4 or 5000 men they loſt in their precipitate retreat to the Black-Forreſt, either by deſertion, or by the purſuit of the Huſſars and Peaſants, who made a great ſlaughter of the ſtragglers. And, indeed, if it be conſidered, that after an exact computation, the number of the priſoners the confederates made, exceeded 13,000 men, (ſome accounts ſay, 14,000) of which above 1200 were officers, that they cut in pieces ten French battalions, on their right, and overthrew, into the Danube, near thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, moſt of whom were drowned, that their left wing did alſo ſuffer very much. eſpecially the foot; that, beſides ninety-five officers, who were found at Hochſtadt, Dillingen, and Lawingen, the number of the wounded, whom (as it has been ſaid, from good authority) they brought off from Ulm, exceeded 7000 men, of which 1000 were officers, and the great number of officers found buried in the villages thro' which the army afterwards marched. If all this, I ſay, be conſider'd, it muſt be own'd, that thoſe letters ſpoke within compas (2).

Tho' the French have been induſtrious enough in concealing their particular loſſes; yet it is known, that the count de Verue, general of the horſe was kill'd, monſieur de Buſen, and count de Clerambaut, lieutenant-generals drown'd in the Danube; that meſſieurs de Blainville and Sallaube, lieutenant-generals, died of their wounds; that monſieur de Marillac, brigadier, only ſon to the counſellor of ſtate of that name, the duke d'Humieres, brother to the duke d'Aumont, the marquiſſes d'Arpajou, de Hautefort and de Beringhen, were either killed or drowned, and that the marquis de la Baulme, only ſon to the marſhal de Tallard, was mortally wounded, and died a few days after the action.

The leaſt computation made of the loſs of the French, which can be ſaid to be any ways impartial, allow it to have been 30,000 men, viz. 14,000 killed and wounded in the field of battle, and drowned in the Danube, 13,000 priſoners, and 3000 deſerted, or otherwiſe loſt in the action and precipitate retreat.

The priſoners of note, beſides the marſhal de Tallard, were the marquis de Montperoux, Maitre de Camp, general of horſe; monſieur de Hautefeuille, Maitre de Camp, general of dragoons; marquis de Marivaux, lieutenant-general; marquis de Blanſac, marſhal de Camp of foot; monſ. de Valſeme, marſhal de Camp, marquis de la Valiere, marquis de Silly, brigadier-general of horſe; monſieur Deſnonville, monſieur d'Amigay, chevalier de Croſſi, monſieur de St. Second, monſieur de Signey, monſieur de Montfort, brigadiers-general of foot; monſieur Jolly, brigadier-general of dragoons, marquis de Seppeville, monſieur de la Maſſeliere, brigadiers-general of the Gens d'Armes; marquis de Saſſenage, Aid de Camp, and ſon-in-law to the marſhal de Tallard; marquis de St. Pouange, the chevalier de Ligondais, colonels of horſe; marquis de Nonan, colonel of the regiment of Provence, count de Tavannes, connt de Schack, monſieur Bliancourt, monſieur Sauboeuf, count de Lionne, marquis de Laſſy, baron d'Elſen, colonels of foot; marquis de Vaſſy, marquis d'Aurival, colonels of dragoons, Prince Maubecq of Lorrain, captain of horſe; marquis d'Auvet, captain of the Gens d'Armes; monſieur de Carman, ſecond lieutenant of the Gens d'Armes, and colonel; monſieur d'Ovillars, enſign of the Gens d'Armes; monſieur Suiſſac, Guidon of the Gens d'Armes: and the ſieurs de Breuil, and la Morcelaire, commiſſaries of the artillery.

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Loſs of the confederates.

Beſides the priſoners, the confederates got many other enſigns of a compleat victory, as above one hundred pieces of canon, great and ſmall, twenty-four mortars, 129 colors, 171 ſtandards, ſeventeen pair of kettle-drums, 3600 tents, thirty-four coaches, 300 laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontons, twenty-four barrels, and eight caſks of ſilver.

This ſucceſs coſt the allies 4485 men kill'd, 7525 men wounded, and 273 loſt, or made priſoners. A great number in it ſelf, but an inconſiderable price for the infinite advantage which the allies gained by their victory. They loſt few men of note, except the Prince of Holſtein-Beck, and brigadier Row, who died of their wounds after, and Philip Dormer, lieutenant colonel of the Engliſh guards, major Frederick Cornwallis, lieutenant-colonel Dallyel. lieutenant-colonel Fetherſtonhaugh, major Creed, colonel John White, lord Forbes, captain, major Chenevix, who were killed in the fight. The principal perſons among their wounded were, the lord North and Gray, who loſt his right hand; the lord Mordaunt, who had his left arm ſhatterd, colonel Hamilton, lieutenant-colonel Levingſton, lieutenant-colonel Peyton, major Granville, major George Morgan, lieutenant-colonel Britton, major Armſtrong, and major Ketley.

Retreat of the Elector of Bavaria.

The Elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Marſin, made an orderly retreat, with the left wing of their army, behind the moraſs of Hochſtadt, where they reſted ſome hours, and, that night,

(1) This victory, tho' as great and compleat in itſelf, as any ever was gained, was ſtill greater in it's conſequences. It was introductory to all the ſucceſs which follow'd, during the courſe of this war, either in Italy or Flanders; and certain it is, that had it not been for this victory, the Emperor could not have maintained himſelf, in his dignity and eſtates, and muſt, this very year, have been forced from his capital; for the Hungarians were now almoſt univerſally in rebellion; and whilſt the Elector of Bavaria penetrated into Upper-Auſtria, and had taken Lintz, the chief town thereof, the Hungarians ravaged the Lower-Auſtria, and even threatned Vienna itſelf: for the rebels, at this time, wanted nothing but artillery, and other neceſſaries for a ſiege, to have taken both that, and the ſtrongeſt towns in Hungary; which deficiency would ſoon have been ſupplied by French mony, had not the glorious day of Blenheim prevented it, and obliged the monarch of France to employ his treaſures in recruiting his forces, and filling his magazines, where it was more immediately neceſſary. The Emperor was, alſo, at this time, ſo low, that his forces in Italy, upon the Po, were almoſt dwindled into nothing, and the poor remains of them had been obliged to retire into the Trentin, while the duke of Savoy was very hard preſs'd, by the duke de Vendome, and his whole country in great danger of being made an abſolute conqueſt: but this great and unexpected ſucceſs gave a new turn to the poſture of affairs, on every ſide; and Lewis the Great had afterwards ſuch a train of ill ſucceſs, that he had, in the courſe of this war, as much reaſon to complain of the frowns of fortune, as he had before to exult in the ſmiles thereof. And tho', in all the advices, which we received from the Emperor's territories, before this battle, great care was taken to put the beſt color upon every thing, in favour of his imperial Majeſty, and to gloſs over his deplorable circumſtances; yet, in his letter of thanks to the duke of Marborough, on account of this victory, he owns them pretty freeely. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 393.

(2) This alſo agrees with what monſieur de Marſin wrote to the King of France ſoon after, viz. that the Elector of Bavaria, and himſelf had, the night before, conducted to Ulm thirty-one battalions, and ſixty-two ſquadrons, which is all that I can find eſcaped from this battle of the French and Bavarians, except Stragglers: and we need not doubt, but monſieur de Marſin, made the beſt of his ſtory to the King, as well in this, as when he told him, in his letter, that they had loſt 10,000 men, beſides what were taken, and very many wounded. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 396.

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caused their bagage to pass the Danube, and sent their horse towards Ulm: the next morning, before break of day, they march'd, with their infantry, and pass'd the Danube, at Lawingen: and the Elector sent orders to his troops in Augsburg, to quit that city, and join him at Ulm. The night after the battle, the confederate army lay upon their arms, on this side the morass of Hochstadt, over against the Elector of Bavaria, and, the next day, the army made a small motion, and came to Steinheim, where they remained encamp'd four or five days, to look after their wounded men, and take care of their prisoners (1).

Motions of the confederate army.

The face of affairs being now wholly changed in these parts, the generals resolved no longer to amuse themselves with the siege of Ingolstadt, which, with the whole country of Bavaria, they were sensible must now fall of themselves; but to join all their forces to streighten the enemy as much as possible, and oblige the French to quit Germany and repass the Rhine. The 16th of August, the French garison in Augsburg quitted that place, which, thereupon, desiring the protection of the duke of Marlborough, his grace sent a detachment to take possession of it: and Memmingen, a free imperial city of Suabia, soon after, followed the example of Augsburg.

Augsburg and Memmingen submit to the duke of Marlborough.

Farther proceedings of the confederate army.

The 17th, a thanksgiving was celebrated thro'-out the whole confederate army: and, the next day, the repartition of the prisoners being made (2), the marshal de Tallard, with most of those of distinction, were sent from Hochstadt towards Francfort, under a guard of forty English horse. The 21st, the confederate army came to Sefelingen, near Ulm, from which place the Elector of Bavaria was retired, up the Danube, towards the Iller, having left a garison of four French and five Bavarian battalions; and the 24th, Prince Lewis of Baden came to confer with Prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough.

The 25th, these three generals had a long conference, wherein they concerted the farther operations of the campain; and it was resolved; "that, seeing the enemy were returning towards "the Rhine, all the confederate forces should likewise march that way, except twenty-three battalions and some squadrons, which should be left, "under the command of general Thungen, to "carry on the siege of Ulm, and that count "Wratislau should continue in the camp before "that place, to manage the negociations with "the Electress, who made some overtures, to deliver, not only Ulm, but the whole Electorate "of Bavaria, upon certain conditions".

The French having repass'd the black forest, and afterwards retired over the Rhine; the confederate army followed them: and, the 12th of September, Prince Lewis marched with the troops which were appointed to besiege Landau, to that place, in order to invest it; while the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene took possession of the camp of Crone-weissemburg, on the little river Lauter, to cover the siege. The same night,

Landau invested.

Ulm surrender'd.

the duke of Marlborough received an express from general Thungen, with advice that Ulm surrendered the 11th (3).

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The trenches were opened before Landau the 16th; but that place holding out longer than was expected, the duke of Marlborough march'd, with part of the army, towards Triers, and arrived, the 28th, at Hermerskel, within six leagues of Triers, where three deputies of that city waited on his grace, and acquainted him, "that as the French "had still 300 men, in the fort of St. Martin, they "were apprehensive of some ill usage, if his grace "did not prevent it". Upon this account, the duke marched, the 29th, before break of day, with all the horse, and four battalions of foot; and, about eleven o' clock, his Vanguard appearing in sight of Triers, the French abandoned the fort, having thrown their ammunition, and some corn into the Mosel. The duke's dragoons pursued them to the banks of the river, and took part of their bagage, with some prisoners. The enemy had no sooner pass'd the river, than they burnt the bridges, and, in all probability, would have done more mischief, if the duke had not come so suddenly to dislodge them.

The duke of Marlborough's expedition on the Mosel.

His grace being thus possessed of that important post, he summoned a great number of pioneers, to work on the fortifications of Triers. He went, the next day, to view the ground about Saar, and caused a camp to be mark'd at Consarbrück, on that river, for the horse to cover those that work'd on the fortifications of Triers, whither the cavalry march'd accordingly, the first of November, N. S. The same day, the duke made the repartition of the winter-quarters, to the several generals under him, and, in the afternoon, went towards Traerbach, accompanied by the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, and other generals. They lay, that night, at Fels, the next Day, at Nimeguen, and came to Bern-cassel, the third of November, about noon. His grace went immediately to the rising grounds, near Traerbach, to take a narrow view of the place, and re-view'd the Dutch, which were lately arrived, in the neighbourhood, from the Maese; and having given the necessary directions for the siege of Traerbach, the care of which was committed to the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, his grace set out, the next day, early, on his return to the camp at Crone-Weissemburg.

His grace came, that night to Kern, the next day to Kayserslauteren, and, the 6th, at night, to the camp before Landau, where he found the besiegers masters of the counterscarp, on which they had raised some batteries; and more being perfected, the next day, they had about sixty pieces of canon firing to make a breach. The 8th of November, the duke returned to Weissemburg, somewhat displeased with the slowness, with which the siege of Landau was carried on; and considering, that the French had sent all their horse of the houshold, from their camp at Haguenau, to put them into winter-quarters, his grace ordered

The duke returns to Landau.

And sends the English cavalry towards Holland.

(1) It may here very naturally be ask'd; why, after so compleat a victory, and the great consternation and confusion the remains of the enemy's army was thrown into, the confederate generals, upon their abandoning the places they had seiz'd, did not cut off their retreat towards, and over the Rhine again, and why they did not surround them in a country, where victory had now render'd the allies their masters and superiors: to this, it may be answered; that their troops were not only very much fatigued, but in want of several sorts of provisions; that they were very much embaras's'd with their great number of prisoners; and that they could not know what succors or re-inforcements the enemy might meet with in their march, in which, at least, they would find the marshal de Villeroy, with his little army. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 446.

(2) The duke of Marlborough's share amounted to 5678 men, and that of Prince Eugene to 5514 in all 11,192; besides 3000 Germans, of the regiments of Greder and Surlauben, who listed themselves voluntarily in the service of the allies. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 448.

(3) The Imperialists found in Ulm, 222 pieces of brass cannon, 12 iron guns, 25 brass-mortars, 1200 barrels of powder, with other stores and provisions, in great abundance: a seasonable supply for carrying on the siege of Landau. Lediard's Life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 454.

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the Engliſh cavalry to march from Crone-Weiſſemburg towards Holland.

A Treaty concluded with the Electreſs of Bavaria.

The 10th of November, the treaty of accomodation, between the Emperor and the Electreſs of Bavaria, was concluded, by the King of the Romans, and the deputies of her Electoral highneſs, who was to ſurrender all the towns, in her Poſſeſſion, to his Imperial Majeſty, to continue at Munich, with a guard of 400 men, and to have a yearly penſion allowed her, out of the revenues of that Electorate, for the ſupport of her court and family. And this was one of the immediate conſequences of the ever-memorable victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim.

The duke of Marlborough ends his campain;

About the middle of November, the duke of Marlborough, being ſenſible, that the ſiege of Landau would not laſt much longer, took his leave of the King of the Romans, and the other generals, ordered the Engliſh foot to decamp, and march towards the Rhine, in order to be imbark'd for Holland; and having given the neceſſary directions for the winter-quarters, of the reſt of the forces, under his command, reſolved to crown his glorious campain, by an importatant negociation with the King of Pruſſia in favor of the duke of Savoy; In order to which, his grace ſet out from Weiſſemburg, on his Journey to Berlin, the 15th of November.

And goes to Berlin.

Landau ſurrender'd.

The 23d, the garriſon of Landau, be at a parly, and Hoſtages being exchanged, the King of the Romans granted the gariſon very honorable terms (1); in purſuance of which they delivered one of the gates, the 25th, and the 26th, marched out of the place, to the number of 3400 men, which were left out of 7000 of which the gariſon conſiſted, at the begining of the ſiege. The loſs of the beſiegers was leſs in proportion; for they had not above 2000 men killed, and about twice as many wounded.

The duke of Marlborough arrives at Berlin;

The duke of Marlborough arrived at Berlin, the twenty-ſecond of November, in the evening, having been received, in all the towns, thro' which he paſs'd, lying moſtly in the territories of the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the duke of Wolfenbutel, the Elector of Hanover and the King of Pruſſia, with extraordinary marks of reſpect. The duke was ſucceſsful in his negociations at the court of Pruſſia, and, among other things, obtain'd, that 8000 Pruſſians ſhould march into Italy, to ſerve there, for the relief of the duke of Savoy, under the command of Prince Eugene; and with this reinforcement and other aſſiſtances procured him by the duke of Marlborough, his highneſs afterwards ſaved Italy from the ravages of the French, and relieved the duke of Savoy, who was beſieged in Turin.

Returns to Holland.

The duke returned from Berlin, by the way of Hanover, to Holland, and arrived the 10th of December, at Amſterdam. The 12th in the morning, his grace having received all poſſible marks of honor, at Amſterdam, ſet out for the Hague, being ſaluted with a triple diſcharge of all the canon, as he had been at his arrival, and with the like acclamations of Joy from the people.

The ſiege of Traerbach.

In the mean time, the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel was carrying on the ſiege of Traerbach, where the allies found as great reſiſtance, as they had met with at Landau, in proportion to the bigneſs of the place, and the number of the gariſon. The caſtle of Traerbach, a very ſtrong fortreſs, on the Moſel, was unveſted, by orders of the duke of Marlborough, the beginning of November, N. S. and the batteries began to play, the 18th of that month. Q. Ann, An. 1704.

The badneſs of the weather, and the loſs of the baron de Trogne, the chief engineer of the States who was ſhot by the Prince of Heſſe's ſide, giving the neceſſary orders, were great diſcouragements to his highneſs, to purſue the ſiege of Traerbach; nevertheleſs, that Prince cauſed the attacks to be carried on with vigor, and, at length, obliged the gariſon to ſurrender, the 20th of December, N. S. tho' on honourable conditions. Beſide the governor, who died of his wounds, the French loſt 350 men, out of 600 men, which was the number of the gariſon, before the ſiege. As for the allies, they had about 1000 men kill'd or wounded. Traerbach ſurrender'd.

The campain in Flanders produced this year very little. General d' Auverquerque bombarded Namur, in order to deſtroy the enemy's magazines there; and baron Spar, on the ſide of proper Flanders, bombarded Bruges. and took the fort Iſabella near Sluys. Towards the latter end of the year, the Elector of Bavaria arrived in the French army, with ſome remains of his defeat at Blenheim. That Prince like a puſhing gameſter, who attempts to regain all his loſſes, by ventring his laſt ſtake, had formed a deſign to attack general d'Auverquerque, in his camp at Borcholm, the 28th of October; but was prevented by the marſhal de Villeroy, who, when all other arguments could not prevail upon him to lay aſide his deſign, ſhewed him the French King's poſitive orders to the contrary, which was as a thunder bolt to his Electoral highneſs, who breath'd nothing but revenge: and, upon this mortification, he immediately left the army, and went to Bruſſels. The campain in Flanders.

Affairs of Italy.

In Italy, the duke of Savoy had a melancholy campain, loſing place after place; but he ſupported his affairs, with great conduct, and ſhewed a firmneſs in his misfortunes beyond what could have been imagined. Verceil and Yvrea gave the duke de Vendôme the trouble of tedious ſieges; they ſtood their ground as long as poſſible. But the duke of Savoy's army was not ſtrong enough to raiſe thoſe ſieges, ſo both places, at length fell. The French, on their ſide, had not troops enough both to carry on the war and to leave gariſons in thoſe places; ſo they demoliſhed the fortifications; and, after they had ſucceeded ſo far, ſat down before Verue, at the end of October; which they did not take till after a ſiege of five months. The duke of Savoy poſted his army at Creſcentino, over againſt it, on the other ſide of the Po. He had a bridge of communication, and went often into the place, during the ſiege, to animate his troops, and give neceſſary orders. The ſick and wounded were carried away, and freſh men put in their ſtead. This ſiege proved very famous, the gariſon being often changed, and always well ſupplied. The French army ſuffered very much, by continuing the ſiege all the winter, and they were at a vaſt charge to carry it on. The bridge of communication was, at length, after many unſucceſsful attempts, cut off, and the duke of Savoy being thus ſeparated from the place, left it to it's own defenſe. He complained much of the Emperor's failing in his ingagements: but, in a diſcourſe on that ſubject, with the Queen's envoy, he ſaid, "tho' he was abandoned by his allies, he "would not abandon himſelf (2).

(1) The King of the Romans (ſays biſhop Burnet) came before Laudau, to have the honor of taking the place. His behavior there did not ſerve to raiſe his character. He was not often in the place of danger, and was contented to look on, at a great and ſafe diſtance. He was always beſet with prieſts, and ſuch a face of ſuperſtition and bigotry appeared about him, that it very much damp'd the hopes which were given of him. Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 386.

(2) The war in Hungary was in a great meaſure, the occaſion of the misfortunes in Italy. There was, indeed a negociation ſet on foot this ſummer, between the Emperor and the male-contents, the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters acting as mediators: but after a great deal of time ſpent in treaties, the war was renewed; and the troops the Emperor had promiſed to ſend to Italy, were ordered to re inforce the army in Hungary, and to act againſt the male-contents, whereby the whole burden of the Italian war, lay upon the Engliſh and Dutch.

I have

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The campain in Portugal.

I have already given an account of King Charles's landing in Spain, with a body of Engliſh and Dutch forces, commanded by the duke of Schomberg, which were to act, in conjunction with the forces of Portugal, againſt Spain. It had been agreed, that the greateſt part of the Engliſh cavalry ſhould be provided with horſes in Spain; but when duke Schomberg came to demand them, in order to enter upon action, there appear'd to be a great deficiency, ſome accounts ſay, of at leaſt two thirds, and thoſe which were provided were too light, and not fit for ſervice. There was, likewiſe, another cauſe why little or no ſervice was done in theſe parts; I mean a miſunderſtanding between the generals in point of command. The King of Portugal expected the Engliſh general would be commanded by the governor of every province, where the army happened to be; and would not ſuffer the Engliſh and Dutch generals to command their own forces, or keep them in a body: but diſtributed them into his poor frontier-towns, which were not tenable; where ſeveral regiments were made priſoners by the French and Spaniards, who invaded Portugal with an army of 22,000 men. The Portugueſe general, the marquis das Minas, indeavored to give the Spaniards a diverſion by marching into Caſtille; but the duke of Berwick treated him with contempt, and having taken Caſtle-David, in a few days, made the gariſon priſoners of war, with which this inſignificant campain ended. The duke of Schomberg being weary of his command in theſe circumſtances, and the Portugueſe, on the other hand, thinking he aſſumed too much, he was recall'd, and the earl of Galway ſent thither in his place. I now return to England.

The States-general congratulate her Majeſty on the victory of Blenheim.

The 20th of Auguſt, O. S. monſ. Vryberg, envoy extraordinary from the States-general, deliver'd to her Majeſty, at Windſor, a leter from their High-mightineſſes, and, by expreſs order from his maſters, congratulated her Majeſty upon the late victory obtained, by the army of the allies, under the valiant and wiſe conduct of the duke of Marlborough. Q. ANN, AN' 1704.

A public thanſgiving appointed.

The joyful news of the great victory obtained by her Majeſty's forces, and thoſe of her allies, had been brought over to England, ſome days before, firſt by colonel Park, and ſoon after by the lord Tunbridge, who both attended the duke of Marlborough, as his aids de camp, on that great day. Hereupon her Majeſty, being deeply ſenſible of this general bleſſing, "and moſt devoutly acknowledging the goodneſs of ALMIGHTY GOD, who "had afforded her his protection and aſſiſtance, "in the juſt war, in which ſhe was ingaged," appointed the 7th of September, to be obſerved throughout this kingdom, as a day of public thankſgiving.

Great rejoycings throughout all England, on that day.

As this victory was, in all its circumſtances, the moſt glorious and conſiderable that had been gained in many ages, the rejoycings in London and Weſtminſter were ſuitable to the great occaſion; and her Majeſty's ſubjects gave all the demonſtrations imaginable of their affection to her Majeſty's perſon, and zeal for her government. This feſtival was obſerved, in all the other parts of her Majeſty's dominions, if not with the ſame ſolemnity, yet with as great affection and loyalty; and both before that day, and many months after, her Majeſty's court was throng'd by deputies, from all the corporations and public ſocieties, in the three kingdoms, and in the remoteſt plantations, who waited on her Majeſty with congratulatory addreſſes, for the glorious ſucceſſes of her Majeſty's arms, under the wiſe conduct of the duke of Marlborough. Nor did the forein miniſters, in England, omit to compliment her Majeſty, on that great occaſion.

Numerous congratulatory addreſſes preſented to her Majeſty.

End of the TWENTY-SIXTH BOOK.

BOOK XXVII.

Containing the ſecond part of the reign of Queen ANN.

The parliament meets.

THE 24th of October, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, purſuant to their laſt prorogation, and the Queen being come to the houſe of peers, and the houſe of commons attending, her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

"The great and remarkable ſucceſs, with which "GOD has bleſſed our arms this ſummer, has "ſtir'd up our good ſubjects, in all parts of the "kingdom, to expreſs their unanimous joy and "ſatisfaction; and I aſſure myſelf, you are all "come diſpoſed to do every thing that is neceſſary "for the effectual proſecution of the war; nothing being more obvious, than that a timely improvement of our preſent advantages will inable "us to procure a laſting foundation of ſecurity for "England, and a firm ſupport for the liberty of "Europe. This is my aim; I have no intereſt, "nor never will have any, but to promote the good "and happineſs of all my ſubjects.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I muſt deſire ſuch ſupplies of you, as may be "requiſite for carrying on the next year's ſervice, "both by ſea and land, and for punctually performing our treaties with all our allies; the rather, for that ſome of them have juſt pretenſions "depending ever ſince the laſt war; and I need "not put you in mind of what importance it is "to preſerve the public credit, both abroad and "at home.

"I believe you will find ſome charges neceſſary "next year, which were not mentioned in the "laſt ſeſſion, and ſome extraordinary expences "incur'd ſince, which were not then provided "for.

"I aſſure you, that all the ſupplies you give, "with what I am able to ſpare from my own expences, ſhall be carefully applied to the beſt "advantage, for the public ſervice; and I earneſtly "recommend to you a ſpeedy diſpatch, as that "which, under the good providence of GOD, we muſt "chiefly

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" chiefly depend upon, to diſappoint the earlieſt " deſigns of our enemies.

My lords and gentlemen;

" I cannot but tell you, how eſſential it is for " attaining thoſe great ends abroad, of which we " have ſo hopeful a proſpect, that we ſhould be in- " tirely united at home.

" It is plain, our enemies have no incourage- " ment left, but what ariſes from their hopes of our " diviſions. It is, therefore, your concern not " to give the leaſt countenance to thoſe hopes.

" My inclinations are to be kind and indulgent " to you all: I hope you will do nothing to in- " danger the loſs of this opportunity, which God " has put into our hands, of ſecuring ourſelves and " all Europe, and that there will be no contention " among you, but who ſhall moſt promote the " public welfare.

" Such a temper as this, in all your proceedings, " cannot fail of ſecuring your reputation both at " home and abroad.

" This would make me a happy Queen, whoſe " utmoſt indeavors ſhall never be wanting to make " you a happy and flouriſhing people."

Addreſs of the lords.

The next day, the lords attended her Majeſty with an addreſs of thanks for her ſpeech; declaring, " they would improve, to the utmoſt, " the bleſſed opportunity put into their hands; " and congratulated the ſucceſs of her Majeſty's " arms, under the conduct of the duke of Marl- " borough."

To this addreſs, her Majeſty returned the following anſwer:

The Queen's anſwer.

My lords,

" I am very ſenſible of the great duty and af- " fection which you have expreſs'd in the ſeveral " particulars of this addreſs.

" I return you my hearty thanks for your con- " gratulation of our great ſucceſs, and for the " aſſurances of your readineſs to concur in pro- " ſecuting it effectually".

Addreſs of the commons.

The commons, likewiſe, preſented an addreſs to her Majeſty, the ſame day; in which they " congratulated her Majeſty, as well upon the " victory obtained over the united force of France " and Bavaria, by the arms of her Majeſty and " her allies, under the command, and by the " courage and conduct of the duke of Marl- " borough; as upon the victory obtained by her " Majeſty's fleet, under the command, and by " the courage and conduct of ſir George Rooke. " They aſſured her, they came diſpoſed to do " every thing that was neceſſary, for the effectual " proſecution of the war, and that they would " give ſuch a ſpeedy diſpatch to the public " buſineſs, as might inable her Majeſty to purſue " the advantages ſhe had obtained over the com- " mon enemy: that they would uſe their utmoſt " indeavors, by all proper meaſures, to prevent " all diviſions amongſt them; and they would " have no contention, but who ſhould promote " and eſtabliſh the public welfare, both in church " and ſtate (1)".

The Queen, in anſwer, " returned them many " thanks for this addreſs, and for the aſſurances " they gave her, of diſpatching the ſupplies, and " avoiding all diviſions, both which, as they were " exceeding acceptable to her, ſo they would be " advantageous to them, and beneficial to the " public.

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Soldiers and ſeamen rewarded.

The commons, having afterwards taken the ſervices of the army and navy into their conſideration, deſired the Queen, on the 2d of November, by an unanimous vote, to beſtow her bounty on the ſeamen and land-forces, who had behaved themſelves ſo gallantly; and her Majeſty gave directions accordingly for diſtributing a bounty among them.

Great ſupplies granted.

The commons then went upon the ſupply with ſuch zeal and application, that, before the end of November, the ſums neceſſary for maintaining both the navy and the army were voted; which I ſhall, therefore, give the reader an account of, in one connexion: viz. " for maintaining 40,000 ſeamen, " including 8000 marines, 4 l. per man, per month, " for thirteen months, amounting to 280,000 l. For " the ordinary of the navy 100,000 l. and 40,000 l. " for ordnance-ſtores for the ſea-ſervice, over and " above the proportion of 4 l. per man. For " making a wharf and ſtorehouſe at Portſmouth, " 10,000 l. For 40,000 land-men, to act in con- " junction with the allies, 885,193 l. For 10,000 " additional forces, for the ſame ſervice, 177,511 l. " For maintaining 10,000 men, to act in con- " junction with the Portugueſe, 222,379 l. For " her Majeſty's proportion of ſubſidies to her " allies, 370,119 l. For her Majeſty's ſubſidy to " the duke of Savoy, from October 3, to Decem- " ber 25, 1703, 40,000 l. For levy-mony for " recruiting the horſes of the Engliſh horſe and " dragoons, loſt at Schellenberg and Blenheim, " 6725 l. For recruiting the men and horſes, of " the foreiners in her Majeſty's pay, in the ſame " battles, 24,665 l. For an additional regiment, " on the Portugueſe eſtabliſhment, 5136 l. For " ſurgeons in the hoſpital in Portugal, for the year " 1704, 244 l. For expences in the Portugueſe " war, laſt year, not provided for by parliament, " 68,546 l. For guards and gariſons in England, " 357,000 l. For the ordnance of the land-ſer- " vice, 120,000 l. For tranſports, 60,000 l. For " circulating Exchequer-bills, 4000 l. And for " 5000 additional forces, to be raiſed in conjunc- " tion with our allies, to ſerve with the fleet, for " their levy-mony, 11,244 l. For their pay, for " one year, 87,125 l. In all 4,670,486. l.

Ways and means.

Towards raiſing this large ſum they granted a land-tax of four-ſhillings in the pound, which produced about two millions; the duty upon malt, which might raiſe about 800,000 l. and 3700 l. per week, out of the exciſe: 877,930 l. by the ſale of annuities for ninety-nine years, at fifteen years purchaſe: a ſubſidy on wines and merchandizes for four years, as a fund for raiſing 646,957 l. for the uſe of the navy, and continued the duty on low wines.

The land-tax bill paſs'd.

There appeared, this ſeſſion, ſo general an inclination in both houſes, to give an early diſpatch to the mony-bill, that, the 9th of December, the land-tax-bill received the royal aſſent: on which occaſion, the Queen made a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe, in particular, returned thanks to the houſe of commons, for " their early diſpatch of ſo " great a part of the neceſſary ſupplies, which ſhe " look'd upon to be a ſure pledge of their affections " for her ſervice."

The occaſional bill again rejected by the lords.

The occaſional conformity-bill was again brought early upon the carpet, this ſeſſion; and as it was expected, that the houſe of peers would again reject it, it was propoſed, by ſome members, to tack it

(1) The lords addreſs was univerſally applauded: but abundance of perſons were ſhock'd with that of the commons, particularly with their uſing the ſame terms, to commend the duke of Marlborough's victories, and the advantages gain'd by ſir George Rooke. It was alſo obſerved, that the promiſes the commons made to the Queen, of " uſing their utmoſt indeavors to " prevent all diviſions", was, in a manner, reſtrained, by the addition of " all proper methods", which many look'd upon as ominous. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann. p. 161.

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to the mony-bill: however, upon better conſideration, the commons ſent it up ſingly; and it met with the ſame fate the former had done (1).

The lord Haverſham's ſpeech.

At the ſame time the commons were upon this bill, the lords were taken up with an affair that made no leſs noiſe, I mean the lord Haverſham's ſpeech, which was uſher'd in with great pomp. His lordſhip having, the 20th of November, acquainted the peers, that he had matters of great importance to lay before them; but that he deſired it might be in a full houſe; all the lords in town, and in the neighborhood, were ſummon'd to attend three days afterwards, when he made that remarkable ſpeech to them. "His lordſhip's chief topics "were, the States withdrawing part of their quota "of men of war from the fleet in the Streights, "a little before the battle of Malaga; the loſs of "our ſhiping for want of convoys, and the ſuf-"fering the royal aſſent to be given to the Scotiſh "act of ſecurity. He congratulated the peers on "the duke of Marlborough's victory, and ſir "George Rook's deliverance, as he term'd it; "obſerving that a ſquadron of Dutch were call'd "away juſt before the battle of Malaga, to be "convoy to their merchants; while neither the "Engliſh trade or coaſts were protected; but the "enemy inſulted us, tho' we pretended to be maſters "at ſea, even in the channel. He alſo mention'd "the exportation of our coin, as a grievance; "but chiefly inveigh'd againſt the miniſtry, for "ſuffering the act of ſecurity to paſs in Scotland, "calling it a bill of excluſion: he obſerved there "were two occaſions of all troubles, much diſ-"content and great poverty; and both theſe were "to be found in Scotland: that their gentry were "brave but diſcontented; their common people "very ſtout, and very numerous, but very poor: "and what (ſaid he) may ſuch a multitude, ſo "armed and diſciplined, as the act of ſecurity "directs, with ſuch leaders, do; eſpecially when no "promiſes, no aſſiſtance would be wanting, which "France could give? concluding, that he look'd "upon it of the laſt conſequence to England, that "there ſhould be the leaſt ſhadow or pretence of "a neceſſity to keep up regular ſtanding troops, "in this kingdom, in time of peace.

Various effects of this ſpeech.

This ſpeech had a very various effect upon the lord; and, tho' it was pretty generally approved, as to that part which related to the Scotiſh affairs, yet the reflections it contain'd, on the preſent miniſtry, was diſtaſteful to many: ſome thought it derogatory to the duke of Marlborough's glory, that Prince Eugene was named in that ſpeech, before his grace, in the mention of an action, wherein he had acted but a ſecond part. It was, however, ſeconded by the earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham, and the firſt lamenting the ill conſequences of the exportation of the coin, the lord-treaſurer, who took it as, in ſome meaſure, a reflection on himſelf, ſaid: "It "would not be difficult to demonſtrate, that there "never was ſuch a plenty of mony in England, "as at preſent, yet there was a ſure way to increaſe "that plenty, and prevent the exportation of coin; "and that was by clapping up a peace with France: "but then (added he, very ſhrewdly) I leave it "to the conſideration of any wiſe man, whether "we will not thereby be ſhortly in danger of "loſing not only all our coin, but all our land to "boot?

Debates on the Scotiſh affairs.

The moſt material part of the lord Haverſham's ſpeech being the Scotiſh buſineſs, the 29th of November was appointed to take it under conſideration; on which day, the Queen went, the firſt time, to the houſe of peers incognito. In the courſe of the debate, the earl of Nottingham having reflected on the memory of King William, with relation to the treaty of partition, the lord Sommers roſe up and ſaid; "It was unbecoming a member "of that houſe, to ſully the memory of ſo great "a Prince; and he doubted not, but a man, who "could reflect on King William, before his ſuc-"ceſſor, would do the ſame by her preſent Majeſty "when ſhe was gone". As to the main buſineſs of the day, the earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter urged the ill conſequences of the act of ſecurity paſſed in Scotland; and it being anſwered, "that "it was granted to prevent the danger of a rebel-"lion in that kingdom;" it was replied; "that "if the Scots had rebell'd, they would have re-"bell'd without arms; whereas, if they had a "mind to rebel now, this act had legally ſup-"plied them with neceſſaries to ſupport their re-"bellion." The moſt moderate among the lords repreſented, that they ought rather now to apply a preſent remedy to the known evil, than to loſe time in inquiring, whether or no it might have been prevented: and after having ſpent ſeveral days on this affair, the grand committee of the peers came to theſe reſolutions: "that the beſt method to "prevent the inconveniencies, which might hap-"pen by the late acts paſs'd in Scotland, was by "making ſuch laws here, for that purpoſe; that "(2) the Queen being inabled, by act of parlia-"ment, on the part of England, to name com-"miſſioners to treat about an union with Scotland, "provided that theſe powers be not put in execu-"tion, 'till commiſſioners ſhould be named, on the "part of Scotland, by the parliament there. That "(3) Scotſmen ſhould not injoy the privileges "of Engliſhmen, except ſuch as are ſettled in this "kingdom, in Ireland, and the plantations, and "ſuch as are, and ſhall be, in our land and ſea "ſervice, until an union be had, or the ſucceſſion "ſettled as in England: (4) that the bringing of cattle "from Scotland into England be prevented. That "(5) the lord-admiral, or commiſſioners of the "admiralty, for the time being, be required to "give orders to her Majeſty's ſhips, to take ſuch "ſhips as they ſhall find trading from Scotland to "France, or to the ports of any of her Majeſty's "enemies, and that cruiſers be appointed for that "end: and (6) that the exportation of Engliſh "wool into Scotland be carefully hindered." Theſe reſolutions being approved by the houſe, the judges were ordered to reduce them into bills: one of which, for an intire union with Scotland, being read a third time, and paſs'd, the 20th of December, was ſent down to the commons for their concurrence.

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Reſolutions of the peers thereupon.

The 9th of December, the lords addreſs'd her Majeſty, "that ſhe would give orders for the for-"tifying Newcaſtle, Tinmouth, Berwick, Carliſle, "and Hull; that the militia of the four northern "counties might be diſciplined, and provided with "arms; that a competent number of regular troops "might be kept upon the northern borders of "England, and in the north of Ireland; and that "the laws for diſarming Papiſts might be put in "execution." To which addreſs, her Majeſty gave a favorable anſwer.

Addreſs of the lords.

The houſe of commons, in the mean time, having, the 12th of the ſame month, conſidered, in a grand committee, the ſtate of the nation, with regard to Scotland, reſolved, the next day; "that

Reſolutions of the commons.

(1) Upon the queſtion whether it ſhould be read a ſecond time, it was carried in the negative by a majority of ſeventy-one voices againſt fifty.

(2) This was ſuggeſted by the lord Wharton: (3) this by the lord Hallifax; (4) this by the lord Ferrers; (5) this by the earl of Torrington: and (6) this by the lord Mohun. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 165.

"a bill

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" a bill be brought in for the effectual ſecuring the " kingdom of England, from the apparent dangers " that might ariſe from ſeveral acts lately paſs'd " in the parliament of Scotland:" and, the 11th of the inſuing month, mr. Conyers reported, from the committee of the whole houſe, to whom it was refered to conſider of heads for that bill, the reſolutions they had come to, which were as follows; 1. " that it be one head of the bill, to inable her " Majeſty to nominate and appoint commiſſioners " for England, for an union between the two " kingdoms; 2. that all natives of the kingdom " of Scotland, except ſuch as are ſettled, and ſhall " continue inhabitants of England, or the domi- " nions thereunto belonging, or at preſent in the ſer- " vice of the army and navy, ſhall be reputed as " aliens, unleſs the ſucceſſion to the crown of Scot- " land be ſettled on the Princeſs Sophia, of Han- " over, and the heirs of her body being Proteſtants; " 3. that a more effectual proviſion be made to " prevent the exportation of wool, from England " and Ireland, into Scotland; 4. that proviſion be " made to prevent the importation of Scotiſh linen " into England and Ireland, and to permit the ex- " portation of the linen manufactures of Ireland, " in Engliſh bottoms, into her Majeſty's planta- " tions in the Weſt-Indies; 5. that immediate " proviſion be made, to prevent the conveying of " horſes, arms and ammunition, from England or " Ireland, into Scotland; 6. that all Proteſtant " freeholders of the ſix northern counties of Eng- " land, be permited to furniſh themſelves with " arms." Theſe reſolutions, being twice read, were all agreed to, by the houſe, except the laſt, and they appointed a commitee, to prepare and bring in a bill accordingly: which having paſs'd the commons, met with a ready concurrence, in the houſe of lords, without any amendment; while their bill, for the ſame purpoſe, at the ſecond reading, in the houſe of commons, was ordered to ly on the table.

The duke of Marlborough concerts at the Hague the operations of the inſuing campain.

We left the duke of Marlborough, the 12th of December, juſt arrived at the Hague; he was immediately complimented by the deputies of the States-general, at his palace, where they gave him the thanks of that illuſtrious aſſembly, for his conduct, as well in the cabinet as in the camp, and had likewiſe, a long conference with him. All the forein miniſters, and other perſons of diſtinction, likewiſe, waited on the duke, and congratulated his ſafe return, after the labors and fatigues of his glorious campain; and many private perſons made illuminations, and other rejoycings on that occaſion. His grace having ſtay'd a few days at the Hague, to concert meaſures with the deputies of the States, for the operations of the next campain, imbark'd, in the Maeſe, the 22d of December, N. S. at night, on board one of her Majeſty's yachts, under convoy of ſeveral ſhips of war; bringing over with him, the marſhal de Tallard, with twenty-ſix other French priſoners, and the ſtandards and colors taken at Blenheim, as trophies of his grace's victory. The 14th of December, O. S. the yacht, and men of war, entered the river of Thames, and the duke went privately, the ſame afternoon, to St. James's houſe, where he was received with all the marks of grace and favor, which could be ſhewn to the moſt deſerving ſubject, by her Majeſty, and his royal highneſs Prince George of Denmark.

Returns to England with his priſoners, &c.

The lord-keeper's compliment to the duke.

The next day, the duke being come to the houſe of peers, ſir Nathan Wright, then lord-keeper, addreſs'd his grace, by orders of that auguſt aſſembly, with the following compliment:

My lord duke of Marlborough,

" The happy ſucceſs that hath attended her " Majeſty's armies, under your grace's command, " in Germany, the laſt campain, is ſo truly great, " ſo truly glorious, in all its circumſtances, that " few inſtances, in the hiſtory of former ages, can " equal, much leſs excel the luſtre of it.

" Your grace has not overthrown young unſkilful " generals, and raw and undiſciplin'd troops; but " your grace has conquer'd the French and Bava- " rian armies; armies that were fully inſtructed in " all the arts of war; ſelect veteran troops, fluſh'd " with former victories, and commanded by generals " of great experience and bravery.

" The glorious victories your grace has obtained at " Schellenberg and Hochſtadt, are very great, very " illuſtrious, in themſelves; but they are greater " ſtill, in their conſequences, to her Majeſty and " her allies.

" The Emperor is thereby relieved; the Empire " itſelf freed from a dangerous enemy, in the very " bowels of it; the exorbitant power of France " is check'd; and, I hope, a happy ſtep made " towards reducing of that Monarch, within his " due bounds, and ſecuring the liberties of Europe.

" The honor of theſe glorious victories, great " as they are (under the immediate bleſſing of " Almighty God) is chiefly, if not alone, " owing to your grace's conduct and valor.

" This is the unanimous voice of England, and " all her Majeſty's allies.

My lord,

" This moſt honorable houſe is highly ſenſible " of the great and ſignal ſervices your grace has " done her Majeſty, this campain, and of the im- " mortal honor you have done the Engliſh nation; " and have commanded me to give you their " thanks for the ſame.

" And I do accordingly give your grace the " thanks of this houſe, for the great honor your " grace has done the nation, and for the great and " ſignal ſervices you have done her Majeſty, and " this kingdom, the laſt campain.

The duke of Marlborough's reply was:

My lords,

The duke's anſwer.

" I am extreamly ſenſible of the great honor " your lordſhips are pleaſed to do me; I muſt beg, " on this occaſion, to do right to all the officers " and ſoldiers I had the honor of having under " my command; next to the bleſſing of God, the " good ſucceſs of this campain is owing to their " extraordinary courage.

" I am very ſure, it will be a great ſatisfaction, " as well as incouragement to the whole army, to " find their ſervices ſo favorably accepted."

His grace receives the thanks of the houſe of commons.

The ſame day, a commitee of the houſe of commons having waited upon his grace, to give him the thanks of the houſe, as well for the eminent ſervices he had performed to her Majeſty, and the kingdom, in the glorious victories which had been obtained under his command, as for his prudent negociations with ſeveral Princes and States; and to congratulate his arrival; **His anſwer.** " It is a great ſa- " tisfaction to me, ſaid the duke to them, to find " that my faithful indeavors, in diſcharging my " duty to the Queen, and to the public, are ſo " favorably accepted. I beg leave to take this " opportunity of doing juſtice to a great body of " officers and ſoldiers, who accompanied me in " this expedition, and all behaved themſelves with " the greateſt bravery imaginable: and, I am " ſure, this honor done us by the houſe of com- " mons, in taking ſo much notice of it, will give " a general ſatisfaction and incouragement to the " whole army."

The French priſoners ſent to Nottingham and Litchfield.

The 16th of December, the marſhal de Tallard, with the reſt of the French priſoners, were landed at Blackwall; where they were magnificently entertain'd at dinner by mr. Johnſon, and then, in the afternoon, they ſet out, in a great number of coaches, for Barnet, in their way to Nottingham and Litchfield, where her Majeſty thought

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thought fit they ſhould reſide. They were accompanied by general Churchill, and attended by a detachment of the duke of Northumberland's royal regiment of horſe, who were alſo ordered to guard them, at large, at Nottingham and Litchfield, they being allowed all manner of freedom, not only in thoſe places, but ten miles round about them.

The lord Godolphin inſtall'd knight of the garter.

To conclude the tranſactions of this year, I have only farther to add, that Sidney, lord Godolphin, lord high-treaſurer of England, was, the 30th, inſtall'd knight of the garter, at Windſor, having been elected into that moſt noble order ſome months before.

An' 1705.

The ſtandards and colors taken at Blenheim put up in Weſtminſter-hall, &c.

The begining of this year, the cities of London and Weſtminſter were eye-witneſſes of a triumphant memorial of the battle and victory of Hochſtadt. Her Majeſty having been pleaſed to order, that the ſtandards and colors, taken in that famous battle, which were lately brought from beyond ſea, and lodged in the Tower, ſhould be put up in Weſtminſter-hall, a detachment of her Majeſty's horſe-guards, and horſe-grenadiers, and a battalion drawn out of both regiments of the foot-guards, marched, the 3d of January, early in the morning, to the Tower, to receive them, at which time the great guns were fired. From thence, they proceeded, in the following manner: firſt, the troop of horſe-grenadiers; then the detachment of the three troops of her Majeſty's horſe-guards, four and thirty of the gentlemen in the center carrying each a ſtandard taken from the enemy; the battalion of foot-guards cloſed the march; the pike-men, to the number of 128, who had left their pikes at the Tower, carrying each one of the enemy's colors, advanced. In this manner, they marched thro' the city, the Strand, and the Pall-mall, and paſs'd before her Majeſty's palace at St. James's; then thro' St. James's Meuſe, into the Park, where her Majeſty was pleas'd to ſee them paſs by, from the lord Fitzharding's lodgings, forty guns in the Park being twice fired, at the ſame time: thence they proceeded thro' the Horſe-guards, Kingſtreet, and the New-Palace-Yard, to Weſtminſter-Hall, where the ſaid ſtandards and colors were put up, to remain there as trophies of that ſignal victory. The 6th, the duke of Marlborough having been invited, by the lord-mayor and court of aldermen, to dine with them in the city, his grace, accompanied by the lord-treaſurer, the Prince of Heſſe and the duke of Somerſet, in one of her Majeſty's coaches, and followed by a great train of other coaches, in which were the forein miniſters, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, generals, and other officers, repaired to Goldſmith's-hall, where they were magnificently entertained.

The duke of Marlborough entertained by the city.

Vote of the commons in favor of the duke of Marlborough.

The 11th of the ſame month, being the day appointed by the commons for taking into conſideration the great ſervices that had been performed by the duke of Marlborough, the laſt ſummer, and to conſider of ſome means to perpetuate the memory of them, they came to this unanimous reſolution; "That an humble addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, expreſſing the ſenſe "this houſe has of the glorious victories obtain'd "by the forces of her Majeſty, and her allies, "under the command of his grace the duke of "Marlborough, and humbly deſiring her Majeſty, that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed to "conſider of ſome proper means to perpetuate "the memory of the great ſervices performed by "the ſaid duke."

Which addreſs being preſented to her Majeſty, by the whole houſe, her Majeſty was pleaſed to give this gracious anſwer:

Gentlemen,

"I am very well pleas'd with your addreſs; "and I will take it into conſideration, as you de- "ſire, and ſend you my thoughts upon it, in a "little time."

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The 17th, mr. chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the houſe; that he had a meſſage ſigned by her Majeſty; and he delivered it to mr. ſpeaker, who read the ſame to the houſe, which as follows:

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Her Majeſty's meſſage to the houſe of commons on that account.

"Her Majeſty having taken into her conſi- "deration the addreſs of this houſe, relating to the "great ſervices perform'd by the duke of Marlbo- "rough, does incline to grant the intereſt of the "crown, in the honor and manor of Woodſtock, "and hundred of Wootton, to him and his heirs; "and deſires the aſſiſtance of this houſe, upon "this extraordinary occaſion.

"The lieutenancy and rangerſhips of the parks, "with the rents and profits of the manor and "hundreds, being granted for two lives, her Ma- "jeſty thinks it proper that incumbrance ſhould "be cleared."

Reſolutions thereupon.

Upon which, the houſe reſolv'd, "that a bill "be brought in, to inable her Majeſty to grant "the honor and manor of Woodſtock, and hun- "dred of Wootton, to the duke of Marlbo- "rough, and his heirs."

And it was farther reſolv'd, "That an hum- "ble addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, that "ſhe would be graciouſly pleas'd to advance the "mony, for clearing the preſent incumbrance upon "the lieutenancy and rangerſhip of the parks, "rents and profits of the honor and manor of "Woodſtock, and hundred of Wootton, in or- "der to the preſent ſettlement thereof, upon the "duke of Marlborough, and his heirs."

An act of parliament paſs'd in his grace's favor.

The ſaid bill paſs'd both houſes, and received the royal aſſent on the 14th of March: and the preamble to that act ſhews the ſenſe the parliament had of the great ſervices perform'd by the duke.

By this act, the honor and manor of Woodſtock, with the hundred of Wootton, were veſted in his grace, and his heirs, "rendring to the "Queen, her heirs and ſucceſſors, on the 2d day "of Auguſt, in every year, for ever, at the caſtle "of Windſor, one ſtandard or colors, with three "flower de luces painted thereon, for all manner "of rent, ſervices, &c."

Blenheim-houſe ordered to be built.

The beneficent Queen, likewiſe, ordered the comptroler of her works to build, in Woodſtock park, a moſt ſtately palace or caſtle, to be call'd Blenheim-houſe: and about the ſame time, her Majeſty alſo appointed the duke of Marlborough, colonel of her firſt regiment of foot-guards.

Several promotions in the navy.

The begining of this year, ſeveral advancements happened in the navy; ſir George Rooke being publicly ſet aſide, his royal highneſs appointed ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, admiral of the white ſquadron of her Majeſty's fleet, to be rear-admiral of England; and not many days afterwards, to be admiral and commmander in chief of her Majeſty's fleet; ſir John Leake to be vice-admiral of the white; ſir George Bing, vice-admiral of the blue; ſir Thomas Dilkes, rear-admiral of the red; William Whetſtone, eſq; rear-admiral of the white; and ſir John Jennings, rear admiral of the blue, in the room of ſir James Wiſhart, who had laid down his commiſſion. About this time, likewiſe, James lord Durſley, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Berkley, was likewiſe call'd by writ to the houſe of peers. But to return to the parliament.

Acts paſs'd.

The 16th of January, the Queen gave the royal aſſent, to "an act for raiſing monies by

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" ſale of annuities, and to an act for continuing " the duties on malt.

Addreſs of the commons.

The 8th of February, the houſe of commons took into conſideration, the treaty lately concluded by the duke of Marlborough, and unanimouſly reſolved: " that an humble addreſs be preſented to " the Queen, returning the thanks of this houſe " to her Majeſty, for concluding the late treaty " with the King of Pruſſia, which was ſo ſeaſon- " able a ſupport to the duke of Savoy, and ſo " great an advantage to the common cauſe: and " alſo to aſſure her Majeſty, that her faithful " commons would effectually inable her to make " good the ſaid treaty with the King of Pruſſia, " who, upon ſo many occaſions, had ſignalized " his zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and the " liberty of Europe".

The Queen's anſwer.

The next day, mr. ſecretary Hedges acquainted the houſe, " that her Majeſty returned them many " thanks, for the aſſurances they gave her, in " their addreſs, and was very well pleaſed to find " they had ſo juſt a ſenſe of the King of Pruſſia's " zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and the liberty " of Europe".

Another addreſs.

The 26th, mr. ſpeaker reported, that the houſe had attended her Majeſty, with their addreſs; " that her Majeſty would be pleaſed to uſe her " intereſt with her allies, that they might, the " next year, furniſh their ſeveral compleat " quotas, both by ſea and land, according to their " reſpective treaties, and to continue her indea- " vors for an accommodation, between the Em- " peror and his ſubjects, now in arms in Hungary, " in order to the better and more effectual carrying " on the preſent moſt neceſſary war:" and that her Majeſty was pleaſed to give her anſwer:

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

" That ſhe would continue to uſe her utmoſt in- " deavors to obtain a compliance from the allies, " with what was deſired in the commons addreſs: " and as to the accommodation with the male- " contents in Hungary; that ſhe had made appli- " cation to the Emperor, ſeveral times, upon that " point, and ſhould continue to preſs him in it, " with all the earneſtneſs imaginable.

The affair of the Aileſbury-men revived.

The right of an elector to bring his action againſt the return-officer, for refuſing his vote, came again under debate, this ſeſſion: ſome of the inhabitants of Aileſbury, incouraged by the countenance the peers had given Aſhby to ſue White, and the reſt of the conſtables of Aileſbury, for refuſing his vote, ventured alſo to bring their ſeveral actions againſt the ſaid conſtables: upon which the commons reſolved; " that John Paty, John " Oviat, John Paton, Henry Baſs, and Daniel " Horn, of Aileſbury, had been guilty of com- " mencing and proſecuting an action, at common- " law, againſt William White, and others, late " conſtables of Aileſbury, for not allowing their " votes, in the election of members to ſerve in " parliament, contrary to the declaration of the " commons, in high contempt of the juriſdiction, " and in breach of the known privileges of that " houſe". At the ſame time, they ordered the five Aileſbury men to be commited to Newgate; which being done, accordingly, they moved for an Habeas Corpus in the court of King's-bench, but were remanded to the ſame priſon, by that court, and their counſel, ſolicitors, &c. voted guilty of a breach of privilege, by the commons, and taken into cuſtody of the ſearjeant at arms. Two of theſe Aileſbury-men were afterwards about to bring their writs of error, returnable in parliament, which occaſioned great animoſities between the two houſes, and ſeveral repreſentations to her Majeſty; the lords addreſſing, that the writs of error, in this caſe, might be granted, and the commons inſiſting that they might not.

The principal matter in diſpute was: " whether " an elector's vote being refuſed, by the proper " officer impower'd to take the poll, he might " bring his action at law againſt ſuch officer? or " whether ſuch elector's right to vote could be " determined any where but in the houſe of " commons"? The lords held, that every elector had a right to vote, by virtue of his freehold or freedom, and that matters of freehold, &c. were determinable by the courts of law; and that if the commons only could judge of the right of their electors, they would, in effect, chuſe their electors, and might exclude as many freeholders and freemen, from voting in elections, as they ſaw fit. The commons, on the other hand, inſiſted, that they had ever been held the ſole judges of the elections of their own members, and that, by an act of the 7th of William III, the laſt determination of the houſe of commons, as to the right of their electors, is made concluſive; and any return, contrary thereto, is therein declared to be a falſe return: that the two houſes of parliament are independent of one another, and ſole judges of their own rights and privileges: but if the right of electors might be determined in the courts of law, from whence cauſes are removed by writ of error, into the houſe of lords, then the lords would become judges of the right of electors to chuſe, and conſequently who were duly elected members of the houſe of commons; whereby the commons would loſe their independency, and become ſubject to the lords, as to their very being: for tho' they allowed the commons to determine the right of the members to ſit in the houſe; yet if the lords could, notwithſtanding, upon a writ of error, give damages againſt the return-officer, for not allowing the vote of a perſon, whom they adjudged to have a right, this muſt neceſſarily have ſuch an influence upon the officer, as to induce him to return ſuch perſons, as would be moſt acceptable to their lordſhips, and conſequently their lordſhips might, in time, chuſe the houſe of commons themſelves. And farther, ſhould the houſe of commons determine the right of election to be in one, and the courts of law, or their lordſhips, adjudge it to be in another, this would produce contradictory judgments, and muſt create confuſion. There is, indeed, nothing of human inſtitution, but is liable to ſome objection, and it was poſſible the commons might err in their determinations: but they thought the rights and privileges of the commons of England much ſafer in the hands of their own repreſentatives, than if they were but tenants at will to the houſe of lords.

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Subſtance of the debate.

Addreſs of the lords.

The concluſion of this matter was, that her Majeſty, upon their lordſhips addreſſing her, not to put a ſtop to the iſſuing writs of error, in this caſe, returned the following anſwer:

My lords,

The Queen's anſwer.

" I ſhould have granted the writ of error de- " fired in your addreſs, but finding an abſolute " neceſſity of puting an immediate end to this " ſeſſion, I am ſenſible there could have been no " farther proceeding in this matter.

This anſwer being reported to the houſe of peers, their lordſhips order'd; " That the hum- " ble thanks of their houſe be preſented to her " Majeſty for her moſt gracious anſwer, in which " ſhe had expreſs'd ſo great a regard to the judg- " ment of their houſe, ſo much compaſſion to the " petitioners, and ſuch tenderneſs to the rights of " the ſubject".

The 14th of March, being the very day their lordſhips preſented their repreſentation and addreſs, the Queen came to that houſe, with the uſual ſtate, and, the houſe of commons being, likewiſe, attending, her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My

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Her Majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I cannot put an end to this ſeſſion, without " doing you the juſtice to acknowledge, you have " fully made good the aſſurances you gave me at " the begining of it, by the great readineſs you " have ſhewn in the diſpatch of the public buſi- " neſs; and I make no doubt, but this diſpatch " will prove a real advantage to us, and a great " diſcouragement to our enemies".

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I return you my hearty thanks, in particular, " for the great ſupplies, with which you have " inabled me to carry on this neceſſary war. I " aſſure you, they ſhall be carefully applied to the " uſes for which they have been given, and, I " perſuade myſelf, I ſhall always have the chear- " ful aſſiſtance of my dutiful and loving ſubjects, " in the proſecution of the preſent war, till our " enemies are obliged to ſuch a peace, as ſhall be " a laſting advantage and ſecurity to us and our " allies".

My lords and gentlemen,

" We have, by the bleſſing of God, a fair " proſpect of this great and deſirable end, if we " do not diſappoint it, by our own unreaſonable " humor and animoſity; the fatal effects of which " we have ſo narrowly eſcaped in this ſeſſion, that " it ought to be a ſufficient warning againſt all " dangerous experiments for the future.

" I conclude, therefore, with exhorting you all " to peace and union, which are always com- " mendable; but more particularly neceſſary at " this time, when the whole kingdom being ſhortly " to proceed to new elections, it ought to be the " care of every body, eſpecially of ſuch as are in " public ſtations, to carry themſelves with the " greateſt moderation and prudence. Nothing " will contribute more to our reputation abroad, " and our ſecurity at home."

The parliament prorogued.

And then the lord-keeper, by her Majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament to the firſt of May next inſuing.

Acts paſs'd.

Beſide the acts already mentioned, the following bills received the royal aſſent, this ſeſſion; viz. 1. " An act to permit the exportation of Iriſh " linen to the plantations, and to prohibit the " importation of Scotiſh linen into Ireland. 2. An " act for giving the like remedy on promiſſory " notes, as upon bills of exchange. 3. An act for " the relief of the creditors of Thomas Pitkin, a " bankrupt, and for the apprehending of him, " and the diſcovery of the effects of the ſaid " Thomas Pitkin, and his accomplices (1). 4. An " act to incourage the importation of naval " ſtores from the plantations. 5. An act to pro- " hibit all trade and commerce with France. 6. An " act to prevent all correſpondence with her Ma- " jeſty's enemies (2). 7. An act for the better " recruiting her Majeſty's land-forces, and the " marines for the year 1705. 8. An act for puniſh- " ing mutiny and deſertion, and falſe muſters, and " for the better payment of the army and quarters. " 9. An act for raiſing the militia for the year " 1705, altho' the month's pay formerly advanc'd " be not repaid" (3).

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The Dutch permited to trade with France.

I come now to ſundry domeſtic occurences out of parliament: and I ſhall firſt take notice, that notwithſtanding the ſeveral addreſſes and repreſentations, which had been made to the throne, by both houſes of parliament, againſt the Dutch, for trading with France during the war; that cunning people ſo inſinuated themſelves into the good graces of the miniſtry, at this time, that they obtained an order of council, ſeting forth, that the Queen, being about to open a trade with Spain, the ſhips of the States, that had proper paſſes, ſhould not be moleſted by the commanders of her Majeſty's ſhips, in their trade with France (4).

Creations and promotions at court.

About this time, likewiſe, ſeveral creations and promotions happened at court: the duke of Newcaſtle was made lord-privy-ſeal, in the room of the duke of Buckingham; Charles, earl of Peterborough, and Hugh, lord Cholmondly, were ſworn of the privy-council; the earl of Mountague was created duke of Mountague; the lord Cutts was made commander of her Majeſty's forces in Ireland, under the duke of Ormond; dr. Wake (now archbiſhop of Canterbury) was named biſhop of Lincoln, in the room of dr. Gardiner deceas'd; and dr. Bull, biſhop of St. David, in the room of dr. Watſon, who was deprived for ſimony, &c. Several promotions happened likewiſe in the army, where the brigadiers Frederick Hamilton, eſq; the lord Windſor, the lord Raby, and —— Tidcombe, eſq; were made major-generals, and the honorable colonel Mordaunt, colonel Blood, and colonel Stanhope were made brigadiers. There were alſo ſeveral alterations made in the lieutenancy: and, not long after, the Queen created Ralph earl of Mountague, marquis of Mount-hermer, and duke of Mountague.

A new parliament choſen.

The term for the exiſtence of the preſent parliament, according to the triennial act, being near expiring, a proclamation was iſſued, the 5th of

(1) This man broke for 100,000 l, and fled to Holland with great part of the ſpoils of his creditors; but was apprehended there, by the duke of Marlborough's intereſt, and brought back to England.

(2) By this act, whoever went to France, after the 4th of May, in the firſt year of the Queen; or had born arms in the French ſervice, and returned into the Queen's dominions, after the 25th of March 1705, without licenſe, was declared guilty of high-treaſon.

(3) There were ſeveral important bills loſt this ſeſſion, in both houſes, as (1) " A bill for excluding out of the houſe of " commons all perſons in any offices or imployments, erected ſince the 6th day of February, 1682, or to be erected," which met with a quick paſſage thro' the houſe of commons, but the lords making ſome amendments to it, which the commons diſagreed to, it was thereby loſt. (2) " A bill to prevent perſons, who were intitled by their offices to receive " any benefit by public annual taxes to be granted, from being members of parliament, while they are in ſuch offices:" this bill was ſet on foot in the houſe of commons; but tho' a clauſe of modification was admited, it was rejected, at a third reading in that houſe. (3) " A bill for qualification of juſtices of peace," which paſs'd the commons, but was refuſed a concurrence by the lords. (4) " A bill for the farther preventing the growth of Popery;" which paſs'd the houſe of lords; but being ſent down to the commons for their concurrence, they made ſuch amendments to it, as came little ſhort of the " bill for " preventing occaſional conformity:" which being like to occaſion new diſputes between both houſes, they were prevented by her Majeſty's puting an end to the ſeſſion. Beſide theſe bills, an addreſs of the houſe of lords, of the effect of which great hopes were conceived, likewiſe miſcarried, I mean their addreſs about ſundry miſmanagements in the admiralty and navy: this addreſs being too long to find place here, I can only take notice, that it concerned the extraordinary expence of the navy, for the three foregoing years; the navy debts; the funds appropriated for that ſervice, and the ſums iſſued from the treaſury on that account; with ſeveral obſervations thereupon, as well as upon the number of men allowed by parliament, and thoſe imployed: the unneceſſary increaſe of ſome penſions, and miſapplication of others; the continuance of admiral Graydon in ſervice, notwithſtanding the former reſolutions and addreſs of that houſe; the number of flag-officers imployed of which ſome had done no duty; the negligence of convoys, &c. But this being looked upon as reflecting on the ſupineneſs of the Prince of Denmark, her Majeſty only anſwered; " That it contained many obſervations, which ſhe would con- " ſider particularly, and give ſuch directions upon them, as might be moſt for the advantage of the public ſervice."

(4) This ſeem'd to be the more extraordinary, as it followed immediately after a ſeſſion of parliament, in which an act paſs'd, to prohibit all trade and commerce, between England and France; and the motive alleg'd for it appeared as ſtrange; ſince the Engliſh could not be indulged in any trade with Spain, to which the Dutch had not an equal right.

April,

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April, for diſſolving it; and, on the 23d, another was publiſhed for calling a new one; the writs being to bear teſte the 2d of May, and returnable the 14th of June next inſuing: and the elections were viſibly obſerved to go in favor of the Whigs.

The Queen goes to Newmarket.

The Queen, in the mean time, went to Newmarket, where ſhe was attended by dr. Ellis, vice-chancelor of Cambridge, and the heads of that univerſity, who gave her Majeſty an invitation thither, which ſhe was pleaſed to accept of. The 16th of April, ſhe was magnificently entertained in Trinity college, at the expence of the univerſity; and, the 21ſt, returned from Newmarket to St. James's.

Death of Emperor Leopold;

Emperor Leopold V dying at Vienna the 5th of May, count Gallas, the Imperial envoy extraordinary, being admited to a private audience, notified to the Queen, as well the death of this Prince,

And acceſſion of Emperor Joſeph.

as the acceſſion of his eldeſt ſon Joſeph, King of the Romans, to the Imperial throne; and he, at the ſame time, aſſured her Majeſty, that the new Emperor would not only obſerve all the treaties concluded with his predeceſſor; but would omit nothing that might render thoſe alliances more firm. It was hereupon debated, in council, whether the Queen and the court ſhould go into mourning for the late Emperor? which (tho' at firſt the majority of the board gave their opinions for the negative) was reſolv'd upon (1). Soon after, the earl of Sunderland was ſent envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Vienna, to make the compliments of condolance and congratulation to the Imperial court, and to indeavor, at the ſame time, to mediate an accommodation with the Hungarian male-contents: about the ſame time, the Queen advanced the lord Raby, her envoy extraordinary to the King of Pruſſia, to the character of embaſſador extraordinary to that court.

Affairs of Scotland.

The parliament of Scotland met, the 28th of June, and the duke of Argyle being appointed high commiſſioner, his commiſſion was recorded; as was, likewiſe, thoſe of James earl of Seafield, to be lord chancelor; William marquis of Annandale, and Hugh earl of Loudon, to be ſecretaries of ſtate; of David, earl of Glaſgow, to be lord-treaſurer depute; of ſir Charles Murray, to be clerk-regiſter, and of Adam Cockburn to be lord-juſtice-clerk: the duke of Queenſberry had, however, all this while, the chief management of affairs, tho' with the bare title of lord-privy-ſeal. Their commiſſions being read, and the houſe being then thin, the parliament was adjourned to the 3d of July, when her Majeſty's letter was read, in which "ſhe again earneſtly recommended the ſettling the ſucceſſion of that kingdom in the Proteſtant line, and the paſſing ſuch an act for treating of an union between the two kingdoms as had paſs'd in England. She alſo put them in mind of granting the neceſſary ſupplies for their forces, gariſons and magazines; and told them ſhe had appointed the duke of Argyle her commiſſioner; being aſſured of his capacity and zeal for her ſervice; and hoped he would be no leſs acceptable to them: that ſhe had impower'd him to declare her firm reſolutions, to maintain the government in church and ſtate, and to conſent to ſuch farther laws, as might be neceſſary for that end; as alſo for the advancement of piety, improving their manufactures, &c. in all which they ſhould have her chearful concurrence."

Her Majeſty's letter being read, the lord-commiſſioner and the lord-chancelor made each of them a ſpeech to inforce it. The two grand affairs, which chiefly imployed the time of this ſeſſion of parliament, were the ſettling of the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, and the treaty with England. The Scots would, by no means be brought into the former: but for the latter, after great difficulties and debates, the act was paſs'd; tho' the duke of Athol proteſted againſt it, and his proteſt was adhered to by twenty noblemen, thirty-three barons, and eighteen boroughs.

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The 21ſt of September, the lord high commiſſioner gave the royal aſſent, 1. to the "act for a "treaty with England; 2. an act for a ſupply; "3. an act for diſcharging the importation of "Engliſh, Iriſh and forein butter and cheeſe; "4. an act for advancing the fiſhing-trade; 5. an "act declaring linen and woolen manufactures free "of duty; 6. an act for appointing a council of "trade; 7. an act for incouraging the exportation "of beef and pork;" and to ſome private bills; which done, the parliament was adjourn'd to the 20th of December next inſuing.

Affairs of Ireland.

The parliament of Ireland met, the 10th of February; but nothing very remarkable happening during this ſeſſion, I ſhall only obſerve, in general, that ſeveral beneficial laws received the royal aſſent; and, among others, "an act for the improvement "of the hempen and flaxen manufactures." The 14th of June, the commons unanimouſly reſolved to return their thanks, both to the Queen, for the many good bills tranſmited this ſeſſion, and to the lord-lieutenant, for his good adminiſtration, and his being inſtrumental in obtaining thoſe bills. The 16th, the duke of Ormond gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private acts; and then the parliament was prorogued to the 13th of June 1706. His grace imbark'd ſoon after for England, leaving the adminiſtration of the government of Ireland, in the hands of ſir Richard Cox, lord-chancelor, and of the lord Cutts, commander in chief of her Majeſty's forces, who were appointed lords-juſtices, during the duke's abſence. I proceed now to maritime affairs.

I have already given an account of ſir John Leake's having ſeveral times relieved Gibraltar from the attempts of the French and Spaniards to retake it; I ſhall now continue my relation, and ſhew in what manner that important fortreſs was totally freed from their attacks, and ſecured in the hands of the confederates.

Farther ſupplies arrive at Gibraltar.

The 29th of January, the Tartar-pink and the Newport came into the bay of Gibraltar, with freſh ſupplies; and, the 5th of February, were followed by the Roebuck and Leopard, with ſix companies of Dutch, and about two hundred of the Engliſh guards, with other Engliſh troops, and ſeveral neceſſaries, from Liſbon. The 7th, the Tyger with a tranſport, arrived, with a farther ſupply of men and ammunition.

Monſ. Ponti, with a French ſquadron comes before it.

The 14th, monſ. Ponti came into the bay of Gibraltar, with fourteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips; notice whereof having been given to ſir John Leake, at Liſbon, who, in the mean time, had been joined by ſir Thomas Dilkes, with five third-rates, with which he had convoyed a great number of merchant ſhips from England, he ſet ſail from thence the 6th of March. He had then under his command twenty-three Engliſh, four Dutch, and eight Portugueſe men of war, having on board an Engliſh and a Portugueſe regiment, with a Dutch battalion of freſh troops. The 10th, at half an hour paſt five in the morning, being within two miles of Cape Cabrette, he diſcovered five ſail making out of the bay; to which he gave chaſe, and they afterwards proved to be five French

(1) The occaſion of this debate was becauſe the Emperors of Germany were not uſed to go into mourning for other Monarchs of Europe, whom they look'd unon as an inferior claſs of Princes: but count Gallas having, in his maſter's name, promiſed, that, for the future, the Emperor would mourn for the Kings and Queens of England, her Majeſty took the reſolution.

men

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men of war. At nine, ſir Thomas Dilkes, in the Revenge, with the Newcaſtle, Antelope, Expedition, and a Dutch man of war, got within half gun-ſhot of the Arrogant, which they took, after ſome reſiſtance: and the Newcaſtle's boat firſt boarded her, after ſhe ſtruck. Before one, two of the Dutch ſhips took the Ardent and the Marquis. The other two, the Magnanimous and the Flower de Luce, in the firſt of which monſ. Ponti himſelf was, made a ſtout reſiſtance, and in ſpight of the Engliſh, runing aſhore, to the weſtward of Marbella, were burnt by the French themſelves. Sir John, ſuppoſing the remainder of monſ. Ponti's ſquadron, which had been driven from their anchors out of Gibraltar-bay, to be in Malaga-road, looked in there; but they, having heard the firing, thought that no ſecure harbor, and had, as it was believed, cut their cables, and were retired to Toulon. Off of Malaga, three of her Majeſty's ſhips, the Kent, the Oxford, and the Eagle join'd; and three of our frigats having driven aſhore two merchant-ſhips, one of 300 tons, richly laden from the Weſt-Indies, near Malaga, and the other of 250, outward-bound to the Weſt-Indies near Almeria, they were burnt by the French; and the Aſſurance and Bedford took two Sattees. Sir John Leake, having thus relieved Gibraltar, a ſecond time, by his appearance only, tho' he could not afterwards reach the bay, 'till the 19th, he returned to Liſbon, where he arrived, the 1ſt of April, and where we ſhall leave him, and return to England (1).

Five men of war taken and deſtroyed.

Two merchant-ſhips burnt.

Sir John Leake returns to Liſbon.

I have mentioned above, that ſir Cloudeſly Shovel was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the fleet, but it was in conjuction with the earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, who was named firſt in the commiſſion. Sir George Byng was likewiſe nominated to command in the Soundings, and ſir Thomas Dilkes off of Dunkirk; I ſhall therefore give an account of the proceedings of each of the two former, and the ſucceſs which attended them; but for the latter, I find nothing material of him till he came to Liſbon.

The earl of Peterborough put in joint commiſſion with ſir Cloudeſly Shovel.

Sir George ſailed, the latter end of January, from Plymouth, with a ſquadron of cruiſers, and a great fleet of rich outward-bound merchant-ſhips. As ſoon as he had ſeen the latter in ſafety, out of the Soundings, he diſpoſed of his ſquadron as he thought would be moſt convenient to annoy the enemy's privateers, which had very much infeſted the Soundings, and the mouth of the channel. By this good diſpoſition, he was ſo fortunate to take from the enemy a man of war of forty-four guns, call'd the Thetis, twelve privateers, and ſeven merchant-ſhips, moſt of which were richly laden from the Weſt-Indies. The number of men taken on board the prizes was 2070, and of guns 334.

A great number of French prizes taken.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel repairing on board the Britannia, at the Nore, gave orders, on the 17th of April, to ſir John Jennings, to proceed to Spithead, with three firſt-rates, two ſecond-rates, and as many third-rates. The 13th of May, he arrived at Spithead, where he was joined by the men of war from the Downs, and the ſhips with the ordnance-ſtores; and, the 22d, the earl of Peterborough arrived at Portſmouth. The ſame day, the troops deſigned for the expedition being likewiſe on board, the fleet ſailed to St. Helens; and, the next, the earl went on board. The 24th, the fleet ſet ſail again, and the 25th came off of Plymouth, where they lay by for ſome men of war and tranſports, which were to join them there, and, two days after, they arrived at their firſt rendezvous, which was ſeven leagues ſouth from the Lizard.

Departure of the grand fleet.

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The 9th of June, the fleet arrived in the river of Liſbon, where the Dutch admiral Allemonde, with his ſquadron, was arrived a week before. Here the admirals likewiſe found ſir John Leake, with his ſquadron; but in great want of proviſions; they were therefore all ſupplied out of thoſe brought from England.

Their arrival at Liſbon.

The line of battle being now formed, conſiſted of two firſt-rates, four ſecond-rates, twenty-two third-rates, ten fourth-rates, and twenty Dutch ſhips of the line, together fifty-eight of the line, beſide ſmall frigats, bomb-veſſels, fire-ſhips, hoſpital-ſhips, and other ſmall veſſels. Sir Cloudeſly got out of the river of Liſbon, with part of the fleet, the 22d, and the ſame day met with the ſhips from Ireland. The deſign was to cruiſe off of Cape Spartel, till the earl of Peterborough, who ſtaid at Liſbon with the remainder of the fleet to take in the forces, ſhould join him. The earl having prevailed upon the earl of Galloway, to ſpare him two regiments of dragoons, in which, as well as in ſupplying them in forrage and other neceſſaries, he met with great oppoſition and delay from the Portugueze; and the men of war detach'd from the ſquadron under admiral Byng being arriv'd the 15th, with the tranſports and other ſhips under their convoy, having on board ſeveral things neceſſary for the expedition, he prepared to depart. King Charles, who was reſolved to try his fortune with the earl and ſir Cloudeſly, being therefore imbarked with the former, on board the Ranelagh, they put to ſea the 17th of July, the troops on board, deſigned for a deſcent, being by ſome computed to be 12000 men. They arrived, in a few days, at Gibraltar, where his Catholic Majeſty, under protection of the confederate fleet, firſt took poſſeſſion of his kingdom of Spain, and was received there as lawful ſoverein (2).

King Charles II. imbarks on board the confederate fleet:

And arrives at Gibraltar.

The battalion of Engliſh guards, and the three old regiments, which had ſo valiantly defended Gibraltar, being imbark'd, and two new raiſed battalions left in gariſon there, the fleet ſailed, the 5th of Auguſt, and came to anchor, the 11th, in Altea-bay, in order to water there. As ſoon as they came into the bay, the people came to offer their ſervice to his Catholic Majeſty, and to implore his protection: bringing with them all manner of proviſions and refreſhments, for which they were liberally paid. However, his Catholic Majeſty ordered a body of foot to be landed, as well to ſecure the fleet's watering, as to hinder the ſailors from commiting any diſorders: and the earl of Peterborough

Proceeds to Altea-bay;

(1) After this unlucky accident (ſays the marſhal de Theſſe, in his letter to the French King, concerning monſ. Ponti's misfortune) ſeing the place was ſupplied anew, with refreſhments and all other things, I gave orders for an intrenchment to be made; and I diſpatch'd the ingenier Renaud to repreſent to your Majeſty, as alſo to the Catholic King, the impoſſibillty of continuing the ſiege. The troops are fatigued, a great many ſick, and ammunition begins to be wanted. Accordingly the ſiege was raiſed the 22d, after it had laſted about five months.

(2) The firſt deſign of this expedition was concerted with the duke of Savoy, and the forces they had on board were either to join him, or to make an attempt on Naples or Sicily, as ſhould be found moſt adviſeable. There were agents imployed in different parts of Spain, to give an account of the diſpoſition people were in, and of what ſeemed moſt practicable. A body of men roſe in Catalonia, about Vich; upon the knowledge King Charles had of this, and upon other advertiſements which were ſent to our court, of the diſpoſitions of thoſe of that principality, the orders which King Charles deſired were ſent by a runner, which was diſpatch'd from the Queen to the fleet; ſo the fleet ſteered to the coaſt of Catalonia, to try what could be done there. The earl of Peterborough, who had ſet his heart on Italy, and on Prince Eugene, was not a little diſpleaſed with this, as appeared in a long letter from him, which my author ſays, the lord treaſurer ſhewed him. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times.

Q. Ann, An' 1705. caused a manifesto to be dispersed in the Spanish tongue (1).

And takes Denia. While the fleet was in the bay, certain advice was brought, that 800 or 1000 of the inhabitants of the towns and places in the neighborhood, who were assembled in the mountains, had declared for King Charles, and seized the town of Denia; upon which general Ramos was appointed governor of that place, and a garison of 400 men put into it.

The fleet arrives at Barcelona. The 11th of August, the fleet arrived in the bay of Barcelona; where, as soon as they had anchored, the Spaniards began to fire from the mole, and a battery they had near the sea, upon some of the transport-ships which stood in for the shoar. The next day, the Prince of Darmstadt having joined the fleet, the forces began to land in very good order, and without any opposition, between the town and a place call'd Badelona, at about three quarters of a league distance from the former, the inhabitants lending them all possible assistance. The 13th, all the troops being landed, the city was invested, and as it was so large, that the forces from the fleet could not guard all the posts, the inhabitants assisted them in securing all the avenues.

The King of Spain goes on shoar. The 17th, his Catholic Majesty went on shoar, the whole fleet having saluted him at his departure; and, at his landing, he was not only welcomed by the loud acclamations of the people of the country, who came in throngs to receive him, but by a treble discharge of the small arms, from the camp on shoar. The 27th, it was resolved, that 2400 seamen, well armed, should assist in the attempt against Barcelona. The generals, however, found the place so well provided, that they almost despaired of success. The sea-officers, on their side, were, indeed, for bombarding and canonading the place, from the fleet, while the approaches were made by land: but, as the King of Spain would by no means consent to this, the undertaking was thereupon very near being laid aside, and the resolution almost taken to leave the place, and try their fortune at Terragona (2).

Montjuy attack'd. The Prince of Hesse, whose reputation was most at stake, as he advised the expedition, proposed, at length, the surprizing of the citadel and castle of Montjuy, which, the earl of Peterborough, upon examination, finding feasible, approved of. The attack was made on the 2d of September (3), with undaunted bravery, and wish'd for success; but with the loss of the gallant Prince of Hesse, who being shot by a musket-ball thro' the thigh, such an effusion of blood followed, that he expired before his wound could be dress'd. After his death, the assailants began to lose ground, till the earl of Peterborough, being informed that the forces had orders from the commanding officer to retreat, went, in person, and rallied them (4). The 6th, the citadel, with all the works belonging to it, surrendered, and colonel Southwell, who commanded the first attack with great bravery, and had contributed very much to the taking of it, was made governor of that fortress. Q. Ann, An' 1705. And taken.

Barcelona surrender'd. After this success, the siege was push'd with great vigor; the trenches were open'd the 9th, and batteries raised for thirty guns and twenty mortars. And his Catholic Majesty having, at length, consented to it, our bomb-vessels threw 412 shells into the town, and eight English and Dutch ships, under the command of sir Stafford Fairborn, being appointed to canonade it from the sea, while the canon from the batteries and fort continued to do the like on shoar; the viceroy desired to capitulate, the 23d, and the capitulation (which is of too great a length to find place here) being signed, the 28th, the gate and bastion of St. Angelo was delivered up the same day, and the whole city in a few days after. The surrender of this capital of Catalonia so strengthened King Charles's party, that the whole kingdom, Roses only excepted, submited soon after.

The King of Spain makes his entry into the city. The King of Spain having made his entry into Barcelona, and received the oath of fidelity of his subjects; and his Majesty having declared, that he would venture his person with them; a council of the general and flag-officers was held, on the first of October, where it was resolved, that the earl of Peterborough should continue with that Prince, with the land-forces, and all the marines that could be spared from the service of the ships; and that a winter-squadron being appointed, under the command of sir John Leake, and baron Wassenaer, the rest of the fleet should make the best of their way home (5).

The fleet returns to England. Pursuant to this resolution, sir Cloudesly set sail, and

(1) The substance of this manifesto was, to assure the Spaniards, that the confederate fleet was not come to take possession of any place, in an hostile manner, for the use of her Majesty of Great-Britain, or the States-general, nor to bring into that country the usual calamities of war: but to defend and protect those who would submit, in due obedience to their lawful soverein.

(2) When a council of war was held on this occasion, at which the King of Spain himself was present, both English and Dutch officers were of opinion, the siege could not be undertaken with so small a force, the garison being near as strong as they were. The debate lasted some hours; in conclusion, the King himself spoke near half an hour: he answered all the objections which were made against the siege, and treated every one of those who had made them, as he answered them, with particular civilities. He supported the truth of what the Prince of Hesse had asserted (concerning the good affections of many in the town) as being known to himself. He said, that in the state in which this affair then stood, nothing could be proposed, but what would be attended with great difficulties; all was doubtful, and much must be put to the hazard; but this seemed less dangerous, than any thing else that was proposed. Many of his subjects had come and declared for him, to the hazard of their lives; it became him, therefore, to let them see, that he would run the same hazard with them. He desired that they would stay so long with him, 'till such attempts should be made, that all the world might be convinced, that nothing could be done: he added, that if their orders did oblige them to leave him, yet he could not leave his own subjects; upon which they resolved to sit down before Barcelona: and happy it was that they took this resolution; for it came afterwards to be known, that the Catalans and Miquelets who had joined them, hearing that they were resolved to abandon them, and go back to their ships, had resolved, either out of resentment, or that they might merit their pardon, to murder as many of them as they could. When this small army sate down before Barcelona, they found they were too weak to besiege it, for they could scarce mount their canon. When they came to examine their stores, they found them very defective, and far short of the quantities, which by their lists they expected to find: whether this flowed from treachery or carelessness, I will not (continues my author) determine; there is much of both in all our offices. Burnet's hist. of his own times.

(3) De Larrey says, that the Prince of Hesse expected no resistance, the officer who commanded in the place having agreed with him to deliver the fort into his hands: but that the viceroy having discovered the design, had hanged the officer, and placed another in his room, and that, therefore, he was obliged to attempt by force, what he was in hopes to have obtained by stratagem. Hist. de France sous Louis XIV.

(4) His lordship being justly transported with indignation at the orders which had been given for the troops to draw off; immediately countermanded those orders, and drawing his sword, threw away the scabbard, saying: "he was sure all brave "men would follow him." With that he put himself at the head of the detachments which were retreating, and so animated them by his example, that they soon regained all the ground they had quited, his lordship exposing himself all the while to the greatest danger.

(5) The whole fleet was divided as follows: to proceed to England, with sir Cloudesly, one first-rate, three second-rates, thirteen third-rates, two fourth-rates, four fifth-rates, one sixth-rate, three bomb-vessels, four fire-ships, and one yacht.

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and having put the governor of Barcelona, with about 1000 men of the garison of that place (the rest having listed in the service of King Charles) ashoar at Malaga and Alicant, and staid three days at Gibraltar, appointed some ships to convoy the trade home from Lisbon, and himself arrived, the 26th of November, at Spithead, and a few days after came to London, where he was received, by the Queen and Prince, with those marks of esteem which his signal services deserved.

Scheme and preparations for the campain.

I come now to the affairs on the continent. The duke of Marlborough, having the preceding summer delivered the Empire, by the ever-famous victory of Blenheim, had a long time considered how to improve that success, this campain; and having communicated his several projects to the cabinet council, none seemed so judiciously laid, as the making an incursion on the frontiers of France: the design, therefore, was, that the Mosel should be the scene of action, and care had been taken to lay up magazines of all sorts, in Triers, for that purpose. To carry on this design, two things were absolutely necessary; first, the concurrence of the cautious Dutch, who seemed unwilling to let their troops go so far from their frontiers, lest they should lose, in one campain, the barrier they had been forming in two or three; and, secondly, the quickening the slowness of the Germans, without whose joint assistance the duke could not act there, with probability of success. The States, however, consented, that he should carry the greatest part of their army to the Mosel, and resolved to ly on the defensive upon their own frontiers; for they reckoned, that how strong soever the Elector of Bavaria's army was at that time, yet, when France should be press'd with so great a force, as they reckon'd would be on the Mosel, he would be ordered to send such detachments thither, that his army would be quickly diminished, and so would not have the superior strength long.

The duke of Marlborough goes to Holland.

This being the duke's scheme, in order to put it in execution, his grace set out, the 26th of March, from St. James's, towards Harwich; where he imbark'd, the 30th, on board one of her Majesty's yachts, and set sail for Holland, together with several other yachts and transport-ships, under convoy of a squadron of men of war, commanded by the marquis of Carmaerthen, vice-admiral of the red. They were put back, the next day, by contrary wind; but, as it was favorable, the 1st of April, in the morning, his grace then put to sea again, and landed safely in Holland, the next day, in the afternoon.

The Dutch approve his project.

The duke, upon his arrival at the Hague, had several conferences with the pensionary, and other members of the assembly of the States-general, who were soon made sensible of the plausibleness of this project: but the greatest difficulty was yet behind; and, in order to remove it, his grace resolved to have a conference with Prince Lewis of Baden; to which end he sent brigadier-general Cadogan to his highness, to manage an interview with him. The 12th of May, the brigadier met the duke at Maestricht, and informed his grace, that Prince Lewis had appointed to meet him the 20th at Creutznach: however, the duke being, the 18th, at Coblentz, baron Forstner, counsellor to that Prince, came to acquaint his grace, that his highness was very much indisposed, and could not meet him, at Creutznach, as he had promised: he likewise seem'd, by his message, to decline concuring with the duke in the designs he had laid: nevertheless his grace, who had set his heart on opening the campain in those parts, would not put up with these excuses; but resolved to go and confer with him at Rastadt.

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The duke confers with Prince Lewis.

He therefore departed from Coblentz the 19th, and came, that night, to Schlangenbade, where he found the landgrave of Hesse, with his whole court, by whom he was very honorably received. He set out again, the next morning, and the day following, in the afternoon, arrived at Rastadt. He was received by Prince Lewis with all appearance of friendship and esteem: but it was observed by several in the duke's retinue, that the Prince was not so much indisposed, as not to have been able to meet his grace at Creutznach. The two generals had a private conference together, in which it was resolved, "to leave a sufficient "number of Germans, for the security of the lines "of Lauterberg and Stolhoffen, under the com-"mand of general Thungen, and that Prince "Lewis of Baden should march with a great "detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert "with the duke.

Result of their conference.

Motions of the confederate army thereupon.

The 22d, his grace went to view the lines of Biehl and Stolhoffen, and came to Manheim, the next day, in his way to Triers, where he arrived, the 26th. The duke having assembled all the troops in the neighborhood of that place, the English and Dutch forces, which were incamp'd near Igel, on the other side the Mosel, pass'd that river, the 3d of June, over several bridges; and, from thence, march'd to those prepar'd for them over the Saar, which river they, likewise, pass'd at Consaarbruck. The Hessians, Danes and Lunenburghers pass'd the Saar, at the same time; and so all the troops joined.

The duke incamps near the enemy;

After a long march of near eight hours, they lay on their arms all night, and incamp'd, the next morning at Elst, within sight of the enemy's army. Upon the approach of the allies, the day before, the enemy immediately prepared for a retreat, which they now put in execution, with great precipitation, and marched from Sirk towards Coningsmacheren, possessing themselves of a very advantageous camp, which they made yet stronger, by casting up intrenchments, and felling down trees: so that there was no possibility of attacking them, in that post, with the least probability of success.

Who retreat and intrench themselves.

The duke's real design.

This, indeed, was no disappointment to the duke, his advancing so far being with no other design, than to cover the intended siege of Saar-Louis; the taking of which place was esteem'd of so great importance, that the success of the whole campain, on that side, was thought to depend on it. The duke therefore sent frequent expresses, to quicken the march of the Imperialists, and other troops, and to exhort the Princes who had promised to furnish artillery, horses and waggons, to send them with all possible expedition; but all in vain: for the Imperialists kept their usual slow pace, and Prince Lewis, who had promised to come in person, either fell, or pretended to fall sick at Creutznach; upon which he left his troops to use the wells at Schwalbach, and the bath at Schlangenbade. There were not wanting those who accused the Prince of treachery on this account: because it plainly appeared, that the French knew what he intended to do, and their management shewed they had a dependance on it. Be this as it will, it is certain, that

Rendered abortive by Prince Lewis of Baden.

To remain with sir John Leake; two second-rates, eight third-rates, four fourth-rates, three fifth-rates, two bomb-vessels, two fire-ships, one hospital-ship, and one yacht.

With the earl of Peterborough: two fourth-rates, three fifth-rates, and one sixth-rate.

Left at Gibraltar; two sixth-rates.

To cruise for the Brasil-fleet, one third and one fourth-rate.

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the duke was ill uſed, and that this ill uſage was the occaſion of his deſign proving abortive.

Motions of the army under monſieur d'Auverquerque.

The forces of the States-general being, in the mean time, very much weakned, by the detachments ſent to the Moſel, it was thought fit, that their army, under monſieur d'Auverquerque, conſiſting only of thirty battalions and ſeventy-two ſquadrons, ſhould ſtand on the defenſive. For this end, they intrench'd themſelves, on the hill of St. Peter, near Maeſtricht, not doubting but the Elector of Bavaria, and the duke de Villeroy, who commanded the French and Spaniſh army in the Netherlands, would ſend a ſtrong detachment towards the Moſel. They were however deceived in their expectations; and this increas'd the ſuſpicions of Prince Lewis's conduct: for the enemy, being informed how things paſs'd on the Moſel, reſolved to take the advantage of their ſuperiority on the Maeſe.

Huy taken by the French.

They came out of their lines, the 21ſt of May, and marched to Val Notre Dame, near Huy, which place they inveſted the 28th, and took it, together with the ſeveral forts and the caſtle belonging to it, within the ſpace of about fourteen days: the gariſons being obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war.

They inveſt the citadel of Liege.

The 15th of June, the French army march'd from Huy to Horrion, and, the next day, inveſted the citadel of Liege.

Repreſentation of the deputies of the States hereupon.

The news of the taking of Huy, having reach'd the duke of Marlborough's army, the deputies of the States repreſented to his grace; "That it was "impoſſible to ſubſiſt any longer in his camp; "that the Germans having, by their delays, fruſ-"trated the deſign of beſieging Saar-Louis, and "defeated all the other projects on the Moſel, it "was to no purpoſe to continue any longer in "thoſe parts, when their forces might be im-"ployed in the Netherlands, in ſtopping the "progreſs of their enemies." The duke was as ſenſible of that melancholy truth, as the deputies themſelves could be; but being willing to ſtay till the laſt extremity, "That the Imperialiſts might "have no manner of excuſe for diſappointing "him," he did not decamp from Elſt, his head-quarters, till the 17th of June, N. S. The French ſaw the confederate army retire with greater tranquility, than they had expreſs'd when they firſt advanc'd that way; and the duke of Marborough, when he arrived at Triers, held a great council of war. It was there reſolved; "That the forces under his "command, ſhould march back to the Maeſe, "except 7000 Palatines, in the pay of England "and Holland, who were unfortunately left for the "ſecurity of Triers, and other poſts, on that ſide, "under the command of lieutenant-general Au-"bach. They were to be join'd by part of the "troops of Weſtphalia; and the 12,000 Pruſſians, "with the 4000 men of Wirtemberg, were order-"ed to march to Lauterberg, to reinforce Prince "Lewis of Baden." According to this reſolution, his grace, after having ſpent ſome weeks in this fruitleſs attempt, march'd for the Netherlands, by the ſhorteſt way, very much mortified, at this ill uſage of the Germans; and the Imperial troops, the Pruſſians and Wirtemberghers, moved towards the Upper-Rhine.

The duke of Marlborough decamps from Elft.

A council of war.

The reſult of it.

The duke returns towards the Netherlands.

The marſhal de Villars, having now no enemy before him, made a detachment to re-inforce the Elector of Bavaria; another, for the army under the marſhal de Marſin, in Alſace, and advanced, with the reſt, towards the Saar. Upon the firſt notice of his approach, the Palatine general ſent precipitate orders to the governor of Saarbruck, to quit that caſtle, and blow up the fortifications, as ſoon as the enemy ſhould appear, which was punctually performed. This overſight was but a preliminary to the unpardonable blunder, commited by monſieur d'Aubach; who, to compleat the ill conduct of the Germans, on the 25th of June, even before any enemy appeared in ſight, deſtroy'd all the magazines the Engliſh and Dutch had, at a vaſt expence, erected at Triers; blew up the fortifications; burnt the boats deſign'd to make bridges, and, in a ſcandalous manner, quited that important poſt. The French who did not expect ſo eaſy a conqueſt, took poſſeſſion of it, four days after, and the marſhal de Villars march'd to join the marſhal de Marſin, and in conjunction with him, beat the Imperialiſts from the lines of Crone-Weiſſemberg. General Thungen had enough to do to maintain the lines of Lauterburg; the German troops being diſperſed, as if it were with deſign to give the French an opportunity of beating him over the Rhine, and retaking Landau (1).

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Ill conduct of the Germans.

Conſequences of it.

Expeditious march of the confederate army.

The duke of Marlborough's march, in order to join monſieur d'Auverquerque time enough to ſave the city of Liege, or to give the marſhal de Villeroy battle, before he could draw off his cannon, was ſo expeditious, that he thereby intirely changed the whole face of affairs in the Netherlands, to the advantage of the allies: for the enemy, upon advice of his approach, ſent back their artillery to Namur, and, the 27th of June in the morning, quited the city of Liege, and retired to Tongeren. The confederate army continued the purſuit, and the French, with as great aſſiduity retreated before them, till the 2d of July, when they retired with great precipitation into their lines, having ſent away moſt of their baggage the day before.

The French retreat within their lines.

Huy retaken.

The confederate generals, hereupon, reſolved to retake Huy, before they proceeded farther: and they were ſo ſucceſsful in the enterprize, that they became maſters of that place, with its caſtle and forts, by the 11th, on the ſame terms as the French had taken it from the Dutch a month before.

The duke of Marlborough propoſes to force the French lines.

The diſappointment on the Moſel ſiting very heavy on the duke of Marlborough's mind, his grace reſolved to recover that misfortune, by undertaking ſomething worthy of himſelf, on the Maeſe; and as no enterprize appeared more difficult in it ſelf, and more advantageous in its conſequences than the attack of the enemy's lines, his grace ſent general Hompeſch to propoſe it to the States-general. That general ſoon returned with the anſwer of their High-mightineſſes, which was, "That having an intire confidence in the "conduct and prudence of his grace, they left it "intirely to him, to do whatever he ſhould think fit "for the good of the common cauſe." The duke, hereupon, held a council of war, wherein the generals of his army, and thoſe of monſieur d'Auverquerque's, were preſent. The debate was the forcing of the enemy's lines: but nothing being reſolved upon, the firſt time, a ſecond council was called.

Some Dutch generals oppoſe it.

Some generals, in the ſervice of the States, oppoſed the duke's project, but monſieur d'Auverquerque, the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, count de Noyelles, and ſome others, declared, it was their opinion, that neither the enterprize was dangerous, nor the ſucceſs of it improbable, if the judicious meaſures propoſed by the duke Marlbo-

(1) The Prince of Baden's conduct, throughout this whole affair, lay very open to cenſure; and he was almoſt generally believed to be corrupted by the French; while others, who were for puting the beſt conſtruction they could upon it, were obliged to attribute his acting as he did, to his haughtineſs, and an envy of the duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 483.

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rough, were put in execution: whereupon the reſolution was taken. The enemy were poſted along the lines, with near one hundred battalions, and 146 ſquadrons; the confederate army on the other hand, conſiſted of ninety-two battalions, and 160 ſquadrons; ſo that they were pretty equal in force.

The duke's opinion prevails.

A ſtratagem put in practice;

The enemy having therefore the advantage of being ſtrongly intrench'd, with a like number of troops, it was reſolved to make a feint, to divide them: and, accordingly, the army, under monſ. d'Auverquerque decamped from Vignamont; the 17th of July, N. S. at three in the morning, and march'd towards Bourdine, on the other ſide of the Mehaigne, and the duke of Marlborough made a motion, at the ſame time, as if he intended to ſupport monſieur d'Auverquerque, in the attack of the lines, about Meffelen, where they were not ſo ſtrong as in other parts. This ſtratagem ſucceeded to wiſh; for thoſe motions, particularly the paſſing of the Mehaigne, having given great jealouſy to the French, they beſtow'd their attention, on the ſide of the Gerbiſe, towards Namur, whereupon the duke of Marlborough made the diſpoſition, in order to march, with the whole army, in the night, between the 17th and 18th.

Which ſucceeds.

Diſpoſitions made for attacking the enemy's lines.

The guides which conducted the detachments, were ſomewhat at a loſs, on occaſion of the extream darkneſs of the night; and this ſo retarded their march, that it was half an hour paſt four, in the morning, and broad day, when they arrived before the poſts they deſign'd to attack, which, according to the information they had before received, they found but thinly guarded.

Proceedings thereupon.

The lines forc'd.

The count de Noyelles caus'd the caſtle of Wangh, which defended a ſtone bridge that was there on the Geete, to be attack'd; but the enemy immediately abandon'd that poſt, and gave an opportunity to the grenadiers, who were ordered on that ſervice, to march forwards, and attack the barrier of the line; which the guard there did not defend much better; and ſo the troops enter'd the line, on that ſide, with little or no oppoſition; tho' the enemy had twelve ſquadrons of dragoons incamp'd behind Coſtmalen (within cannon ſhot of them) who immediately mounted their horſes, but durſt not advance to defend their barriers. At the ſame time, three battalions poſſeſs'd themſelves of the bridge and village of Heiliſheim, a quarter of a league from Wangh, on the left, which was done with as little oppoſition: nor did lieutenant-general Scholten meet with greater reſiſtance, at the villages of Ober-heſpen, and Neer-heſpen: ſo that being maſters of thoſe bridges and barriers, and having made ſeveral other bridges, the horſe went over the ſame, and immediately form'd themſelves on the eminence, extending their right towards the village of Hachendoren; and ſome battalions drew up along the line, and behind the horſe.

While the pioneers were buſy in making paſſages through the lines, ten of the enemy's ſquadrons, and four battalions, were perceived between the villages of Gouchancourt and Eſmalè; but they gave time for the confederate forces to extend themſelves, indeavoring only to advance to the village of Elixheim. The count de Noyelles cauſed all the troops he had with him to go over, as faſt as poſſible: and the duke of Marlborough arriving, with the whole army, his horſe went over the line, with the ſame expedition as the reſt had done: thus they all advanc'd towards the enemy, who, by this time, were re-inforc'd to the number of fifty ſquadrons, and twenty battalions, and advanc'd with great reſolution, behind the hollow way, going up from Elixheim to Tirlemont.

This obliged the confederate horſe to ſtop a few minutes, 'till ſome battalions advancing lined the hollow way, and firing upon the enemy's horſe, obliged them to retire beyond the reach of their muſkets, and to form themſelves before their infantry. This gave an opportunity to the confederate horſe to paſs the hollow way. In the mean time, the enemy cauſed eight pieces of canon, with treble barrels, to advance, with which they began to fire briſkly upon them: but the duke of Marlborough being come in perſon, at the head of his horſe, and ſeing that the enemy were continually receiving freſh re-inforcements, and that their infantry was going to join them, his grace was reſolved to charge them with the horſe only. This was done with ſuch vigor and courage, that the enemy's cavalry being ſoon broken, and put to the rout, they indeavor'd to rally themſelves behind their infantry, while the victorious horſe of the allies poſſeſs'd themſelves of their cannon and ammunition-wagons.

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The enemy being re-inforced with ſome ſquadrons, and having interlined ſome infantry with them, mov'd again towards the allies: but the latter, being likewiſe re-inforced, and ſuſtained by their infantry, advanced to meet them. The right of the confederate horſe coming too near the hedges of the village of Eſmalè, which were lined with ſome of the enemy's foot, were ſomewhat diſorder'd by their fire, and obliged to ſhrink back: but having, ſoon after, extended themſelves more towards the right, to make way for ſome battalions that marched againſt the enemy's foot, they both charged, with that bravery and briſkneſs, that the enemy's horſe was ſoon defeated, and cut in pieces; and their infantry being abandoned in the plain, had much ado to get away, in great diſorder, between the villages of Heiliſheim and Gotſhoven, where they met with the reſt of their army, and formed themſelves as well as they could. In the mean time, the duke of Marlborough cauſed all the reſt of his troops to enter the lines, and extended the right of his army, towards the great Geete, before Tirlemont, where the enemy had left the battalion of Monluc, which, upon the firſt ſummons, ſurrendered priſoners at diſcretion.

Priſoners taken.

In this action, the marquis d'Alegre and the count de Horn lieutenant-generals, a major-general, two brigadier-generals, and a great number of other officers of all ranks, beſide abundance of private men, were taken priſoners. All the troops of the allies behaved themſelves with great bravery and reſolution, but among the horſe, the regiment of brigadier Cadogan diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, having had the honor to charge firſt; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that they defeated four ſquadrons of Bavarian guards, drove them thro' two battalions of their own foot, and took four ſtandards; and all this only with the loſs of lieutenant Auſtin, and ſome few men. Nor was the loſs of the other troops greater in proportion. The duke of Marlborough, having very much expos'd himſelf in the action, was in great danger of his life: for, as he was leading on ſeveral ſquadrons, a French or Bavarian officer quited his poſt, and advanc'd ſword in hand, to attack his grace; but as he was raiſing himſelf upon his ſtirrups, to reach him, he flung himſelf off of his horſe, and was preſently kill'd. Monſ. d'Auverquerque, in his account of this action, ſays the Bavarian horſe, which conſiſted of twenty-four ſquadrons, offering to oppoſe the confederates, was almoſt intirely ruined, as was likewiſe the two regiments of Alſace and la Marque.

Retreat of the Elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy.

The body of troops, under the command of monſ. d'Alegre, being thus defeated, the Elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy, conſulted for the ſafety of the reſt of the army, and decamping, in the ſight of the confederates, they paſs'd the great

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great Geete and the Deule, with all imaginable diligence, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the ſtrong camp at Parck.

Motions of the confederate army.

The next day, the confederate army moved; and, in their march, thro' the plain of Parck, took above 1200 priſoners, who could not follow the precipitate retreat of the enemy's army. In the evening, the duke of Marlborough incamp'd near the abby of Vlierbeck (1).

The duke of Marlborough receiving information, in his camp at Vlierbeck, that ſeveral poſts on the Deule, between Louvain and the village of Neer-Yſche, were ſlenderly guarded, reſolved, with the advice of the generals, to indeavor to force them, in order to the paſſing of that river. A detachment was made for that purpoſe, on the 29th of July, about five in the afternoon, with the pontons and ſome artillery, the army following at eleven at night. They arrived at thoſe poſts about three the next morning, and paſs'd the river in two places. They repuls'd, with great vigor, the guards which made a ſhow to oppoſe them, and obliged them to retire: but not being timely ſupported, they were ordered to repaſs it, which they did in very good order, bringing away their bridges, having had only a few officers wounded, and about fifty private ſoldiers kill'd and wounded. After this ſucceſsleſs attempt, the confederate army march'd, and incamp'd, with the right at Meldert and the left at Boſſu.

The duke forms a project.

The impoſſibility of attacking the enemy, on that ſide, being now very apparent, the duke of Marlborough diſpatch'd lieutenant-general Hompeſch, to propoſe a new project to the States-general. This their High-mightineſſes approved of, and, on the 5th of Auguſt, paſs'd a reſolution, directing their deputies, in monſ. d'Auverquerque's army, to permit the duke, to make two or three marches, without calling a council of war, to execute ſome deſign formed by his grace. To favor that expedition, baron Spar, who commanded a ſmall body of Dutch troops in Flanders, march'd, the third of Auguſt, N. S. from Riemen, with all his grenadiers, and a ſufficient number of fuſiliers, to ſupport them, being followed by the reſt of the forces under his command; and, in that march, defeated a party of the enemy. He came, in the night, to Raboth, on the canal that leads from Bruges to Ghent, where his men made a bridge, and having paſs'd over the anal, they attack'd the enemy's lines which were defended by ſeveral forts, at a ſmall diſtance from each other. Notwithſtanding this, they forced thoſe lines at Lovendegen, and in leſs than three quarters of an hour, were maſters of four of thoſe forts; in which action, they took priſoners three captains, three lieutenants, three enſigns, and near 300 private men, with no other loſs, on their ſide, than that of a colonel, a lieutenant, and five private ſoldiers wounded, and two private men killed. Baron Spar, then march'd towards Bruges; but receiving advice, that the enemy was marching againſt him, with a ſuperior force, which they had got together from ſeveral gariſons in the French and Spaniſh Flanders, he retired, the 7th, to Meldegem, carrying away with him ſeveral hoſtages, for the ſecurity of the payment of contributions, having firſt deſtroyed ſeveral forts, and corps de guarde, along the French lines, on that ſide.

Baron Spar's ſucceſs.

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The 15th, the duke of Marlborough march'd with his army from Meldert, and incamp'd at Corbais: monſ. d'Auverquerque, with the Dutch troops, advancing, at the ſame time, to St. Martins. They united, the next day, into one body, at Genap, and the day following advanced to Fiſchermont. In this laſt day's march, a detachment commanded by lieutenant-general Dompre, beat the enemy from one of their poſts, called Waterlo, and purſued them about a league, in the wood of Soignies. This ſudden march of the confederates kept the enemy under great apprehenſions, and gave them an equal fear for ſome places in Brabant and Flanders.

Farther motions of the duke's army.

Conſternation of the enemy.

The 18th, by break of day, the confederate army filed off, with the right wing, in two columns, and paſs'd the long narrow road of the lane, near Hulpen, where they were not a little ſurpriz'd to find no enemy to defend that difficult paſs. About noon, the whole army was drawn up in ſight of the enemy, whom the duke of Marlborough and monſ. d'Auverquerque having view'd, they were both of opinion to attack them immediately, before they had time to recover the conſternation which was apparent enough in their army. But the artillery not being come up (as it has been ſaid) thro' general Schlangenburg's fault; and that general, who had a pique againſt the duke (becauſe the attempt upon the lines was undertaken without either his privity or conſent) having perſuaded ſome other Dutch commanders to join with him in oppoſing his grace; they made their unanimous report to the deputies of the States, that the enterprize was neither adviſable nor practicable, upon which the deputies poſitively refuſed to comply with it.

The confederates march up to them.

The duke's deſign oppos'd.

The duke ſubmited, tho' with a great deal of reluctance, as appears by an expoſtulatory letter he wrote the next day to the States-general, juſtly complaining of a want of that confidence which they had repoſed in him, the year before, in Germany, and of which they had experienced ſo advantageous an effect. This letter, being made public at the Hague, occaſioned great murmurings among the people, who juſtly thought the duke was too hardly dealt with, and that the common cauſe ſuffered by it.

He ſubmits with reluctance.

On the other hand, the Dutch deputies and generals uſed all the indeavors they could to juſtify their conduct, and to throw off the odium, which they ſoon perceived was going to be thrown upon them; to which end they wrote ſeveral letters to the States-general (2).

The Dutch indeavor to juſtify themſelves.

It muſt be ſaid, in the duke's favor, for juſtification, I think, he needs none, that he had an army ſuperior to the enemy; and a great part of it,

(1) By this ſucceſs, the enemy were, indeed, forced to abandon Dieſte, Sichem, Arſchot, and ſome other ſmall places: however, the ſuffering them to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſtrong camp at Parck, whereby they ſecured Louvain, Bruſſels and Antwerp, was beyond diſpute, a very great overſight: but on whom, in particular, to change it, is not eaſy to determine. Some will have it, that the troops were too much fatigued, to march to that camp the ſame day, after the action: while others pretend, that ſome of the Dutch generals were againſt that march. Lediard's life of Marlborough Vol. I. p. 502.

(2) Biſhop Burnet (hiſtory of his own times, vol. II. p. 415.) ſays a great deal in vindication of the Dutch, on this occaſion; but he chances to be miſtaken in almoſt all his facts, as well as the time of them. See his miſtakes rectified, in Lediaad's life of Marlborough, vol. I. p. 512. ſeq.

The lord Haverſham (in a memorable ſpeech) ſays; "by the conduct of the duke of Marlborough, we had a fair "opportunity of putting an end to the war at once. The Dutch held our hands, and would not let us give the deciſive "blow.

"Thoſe who command your army are men of that bravery, and every common ſoldier has ſo much courage, that no equal "number of men in the world, I think can ſtand before them; but let our ſupplies be never ſo full and ſpeedy, yet if it be "our misfortune to have allies, that are as ſlow and backward as we are zealous and forward, that hold our hands, and ſuffer "us not to take any opportunity that offers, that are coming into the field, when we are going into winter-quarters, I cannot "ſee what it is we are reaſonably to expect.

beſide

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beſide, fluſh'd with the victory of Blenheim, and the whole with the late advantage, at the forcing the French lines; and tho', as Burnet obſerves, there was a difference of opinion, even among the officers of the army, yet far the greater number, and in particular the officers of the horſe, were for the attack.

The deputies did, indeed, purſuant to their inſtructions, ſuffer the duke of Marlborough, to make two or three marches, without calling a council of war: but, in their inſtructions, it is added, "for the execution of ſome deſign formed by his "grace;" which they did not comply with; for when the deſign, which was the occaſion of theſe marches, and without which they might as well have continued where they were, came to be put in execution, they obſtructed it (1).

The duke of Marlborough's project being thus defeated, the confederate army march'd, the 19th of Auguſt, and the 26th incamp'd, with their right near la Romce, and their left at Perwitz. The 29th Sout-leewe, a little town, in the middle of a moraſs, and the chief defence of the enemy's lines, was inveſted by a detachment under lieutenant-general Dedem, and was taken, about a week after, the gariſon ſurrendering priſoners of war, before the batteries had begun to fire.

The enemy's lines levell'd.

The duke of Marlborough having cauſed the lines to be levell'd, from Waſſeigue to Sout-Leewe, and Tirlemont to be diſmantled, his grace paſs'd the Demer, and incamp'd, the 19th of September, at Arſchot. Upon his approach, the enemy quited their old lines, between that river and the Nethe, and retired into the new ones, between Boeſchet, on the Nethe, and Werchteren on the Demer, where they could not be attack'd.

Monſ. Buys ſent from the States-general to the duke of Marlborough.

The 21ſt, his grace went to Turnhout, to meet monſ. Buys, penſionary of Amſterdam, who was ſent to confer with his grace on the part of the States-general. This was the effect of the expoſtulatory letter which the duke wrote to them, concerning the uſage he had met with from their deputies (2).

Sandvliet inveſted.

While the neceſſary preparations for the ſiege of Sandvliet were making, the duke took a turn to the Hague, and had ſeveral conferences with the penſionary. The count de Noyelles inveſted that place the 24th of October; and, the next day, the duke of Marlborough went thither, from Calmpthout, to view the ſeveral poſts, and to give his

And taken.

directions for the ſiege. This place made no long reſiſtance; for, on the 29th, the count de Noyelles gave advice of its having ſurrendered, in a letter to monſ. Fagel.

The duke of Marlborough having had ſeveral preſſing invitations from the Emperor to come to Vienna, in order to concert the operations of the next campain, and ſeveral other concerns of the greateſt importance, his grace, having the Queen's leave, left the army, for that end, the 26th of October. He was magnificently entertained by ſeveral German Princes, in his way, and arrived at Vienna the 12th of November. He was received, at his arrival, by the earl of Sunderland, who had been there ſome time, and mr. Stepny, who conducted him to the houſe of the Prince of Longueval. The Imperial court intended to have defray'd his expences, and the palace of the Prince of Dietrichſtein was fited up for his reception; but his grace was pleas'd to decline both.

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The duke of Marlborough ſets out for Vienna.

The duke had audience of their Imperial Majeſties, and the archducheſſes, the day after his arrival; and, the two following days, he received and returned ſeveral viſits. The 16th, his grace had a conference with the Prince of Salms, and other public miniſters, at which the Emperor was preſent. In this conference, he was treated with great freedom and confidence, and he had all the aſſurance given him, that could be expreſs'd in words. He plainly ſaw, that the Emperor was highly diſſatisfied with Prince Lewis of Baden; but he had ſuch credit in the Empire, eſpecially with the circles of Suabia and Franconia, that there was a neceſſity of bearing with what could not be remedied. The ſame evening, he was, a long while, in converſation with their Imperial Majeſties; when the Emperor was graciouſly pleaſed to declare, "that his grace's ſervices to "the common cauſe, in general, and to his family, "in particular, were ſuch as ſhould never be for-"gotten by him, nor his poſterity." His grace was afterwards ſeized with a fit of the gout, which confined him three days to his chamber; during which time, he was viſited by all perſons of the greateſt diſtinction at court. The 22d, the duke went to ſee the famous chamber of rarities, where the Emperor was pleaſed to meet him, and preſented him, in a very obliging manner, with a ring of great value. The ſame evening, his grace had his audience of leave of the whole Imperial court, and the 23d departed from Vienna, being accompanied by the earl of Sunderland, for the court of Berlin; having firſt concerted proper meaſures with the Imperial miniſters, for carrying on the war with more vigor than ever, renew'd our treaties made with the Emperor Leopold, and provided for the ſecurity of the duke of Savoy (3).

Has audience of their Imperial Majeſties.

Departs for the court of Berlin.

He arrived, the 30th, at Berlin, where he renewed

And returns, by the way of Hanover, to the Hague and England.

(1) Agreeable to this, is an obſervation of the ſame nobleman I juſt mentioned, in the vindication of his ſpeech: "Did "not the Dutch deputies (ſays he) march near three days, in company with the duke of Marlborough, and in all that time, "did they ever make any exception againſt the deſign. Yet, when it came to be put in execution, when a fair opportunity "offer'd, and victory in a manner courted us, there not being half the difficulty nor danger there as at Blenheim, could "any arguments perſuade them to conſent to venture a battle."

(2) What paſs'd in this interview, was not clearly known; but there were reaſons to believe, that monſ. Buys aſſured his grace of the readineſs of their High-mightineſſes, to give him all reaſonable ſatisfaction for the diſguſt he had taken at ſome proceedings at Ober Yſche, and to make him, for the future, more eaſy in his command, by removing thoſe who ſhew'd the greateſt inclination to contradict him. This conjecture will appear the more probable, if we conſider, that the Engliſh court, and, indeed, the nation in general, did, at this time, ſo warmly eſpouſe the duke of Marlborough's reſentment, that a pamphlet call'd, the Dutch politicians, in which ſevere reflections were made on the Hollanders, in general, and, in particular, on the deputies of the States, for not ſuffering his grace to fight the enemy, was publicly ſold, and eſcaped uncenſured; and what is more, the earl of Pembroke, lord preſident of the council, was named to go envoy extraordinary to Holland, in order, as it was ſuppoſed, to expoſtulate the matter with the States; but their High-mightineſſes prevented his lordſhip's journy, by giving ſatisfaction to the duke of Marlborough, and removing general Schlangenburg. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 521.

(3) In conſideration of the ſignal ſervices done by his grace to the houſe of Auſtria, and to the Empire, his Imperial Majeſty was pleaſed to make him a grant of the lordſhip of Mindelheim, in Suabia, not far from Augsburg, lately poſſeſs'd by duke Maximilian, uncle to the elector of Bavaria, which fief was now erected into a principality of the holy Roman Empire, and was, in ſuch manner confer'd upon the duke, "that his grace, and the heirs-male of his body, lawfully begotten, and "their heirs-male, and poſſeſſors of that principality, ſhould be ſummoned to all the diets of the Empire, and circle of Suabia, "there to appear in perſon, or by their plenipotentiary, as other Princes of the Empire do: and ſhould alſo injoy all other "advantages, immunities, rights, prerogatives and pre-eminences, as Princes of the Empire have." From whence his grace was, from that time, diſtinguiſhed throughout the Empire, by the ſtile and title of Prince of Mindelheim. While the duke was at Vienna, the two envoys and plenipotentiaries of the States-general came, by expreſs orders from their maſters, from Tyrnau, to wait on his grace, and receive his advice and directions about the negociation with the Hungarians. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 526.

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all treaties with the King of Pruſſia, and particularly that concluded the foregoing year, for 8000 men, to be imployed in Italy, for one year longer. Having ſettled theſe affairs, and adjuſted ſome other difficulties, his grace ſet out, the 3d of December, and arrived at Hanover, the 6th, where he gave that court full aſſurances of the Queen's adhering firmly to their intereſts, in maintaining the ſucceſſion to the crown, in their family, with which the Elector ſeemed fully ſatisfied. The 14th, the duke arrived at the Hague, where having ſettled ſeveral important matters with the States-general, particularly the taking 10,000 men more into the pay of England and Holland, to re-inforce Prince Eugene's army in Italy, his grace went on board the Peregrine yacht, the 27th, and arrived, the 30th, at St. James's.

The campain in Germany.

The army of the Empire was, as uſual, not brought together, till the month of Auguſt. It was, indeed, then a fine one, and much ſuperior to the French; but yet performed very little. The French gave way, and retired before them; Haguenau, and ſome other places, were abandoned by them, and taken poſſeſſion of by the Imperialiſts, who afterwards block'd up fort Lewis; but nothing was attempted by that army, equal to their number or ſtrength; or, indeed, what might have been expected from the reputation which the Prince of Baden had formerly acquired; for thus the campain ended on that ſide, without any conſiderable action.

Campain in Italy.

In Italy, Prince Eugene had again a melancholy campain. His army was weak, ill provided, and worſe paid. The French were far ſuperior in number and forces, and he was long ſhut up within the country of Bergamo. I have already mention'd, how bravely Verue held a ſiege of five months, before it ſurrender'd to the French; but Nice and Villa Franca were eaſier conqueſts. The duke of Savoy had ſcarce any thing left of all his dominions in Italy, but his capital of Turin. Prince Eugene made ſeveral attempts to come to his relief; but was ſo narrowly watch'd by the duke de Vendôme, and the grand prior of France, his brother, that he found it very difficult to effect. At length, the neceſſity of the duke of Savoy's affairs requiring his making a bold puſh to join his royal highneſs, he found means to divide the French army, by a ſtratagem, and they ſent a ſtrong detachment towards the Adda, which was led by Vendôme himſelf. The Prince, hereupon, advanc'd, to attack the body under the grand prior: but Vendôme, being aware of his deſign, was not march'd ſo far but he ſoon returned and joined his brother: and a ſharp ingagement inſued, on the 16th of Auguſt, N. S. in which, great numbers were killed and wounded on both ſides; and both ſung Te Deum for the victory. The French boaſted they had gained their point, in preventing the conjunction of Prince Eugene with the duke of Savoy, and the Prince was very well ſatisfied, that he had prevented the ſiege of Turin, for this campain. In the whole, Prince Eugene ſeem'd, however, to have the cleareſt title to the victory; becauſe the duke de Vendôme repaſs'd the river, and left the Imperialiſts maſters of the field of battle.

The campain in Portugal and Spain.

In Portugal, the allies opened the campain with the ſiege of Alcantara; which being inveſted, the 2d of May, the gariſon, conſiſting of 700 men, ſurrendered priſoners of war in a few days. The confederates then laid ſiege to Albuquerque, another town of no great ſtrength, which ſurrender'd the 22d. They afterwards made themſelves maſters of the little town of Salvaterre, and then went into quarters of refreſhment, during the heats. As for the campain in Spain, as far as our fleet was concerned in it, I have already given the reader an account: I ſhall now add a word or two of what happen'd ſeparate from the fleet. The Catalans, who, during the ſiege of Barcelona, had ſubdued, took all proper meaſures for ſecuring Tarragona, Tortoſa, Lerida, Gironne, &c. and they alſo raiſed ſix regiments for the ſervice of King Charles, beſide the regiment his Majeſty had formed out of the gariſon of Barcelona, which took ſervice under him, for his guard, and which was commanded by count Sinzendorf. At the ſame time, Don Raphael Nebot, a Catalan, who had already three brothers in Charles's ſervice, came over to him likewiſe, with his whole regiment, conſiſting of 500 horſe, beſide 150 horſe which came to him by the way. Theſe being joined by general Ramos, and a great number of Miquelets, publiſh'd a declaration, inviting all true Spaniards to come over to them; upon which deputies came from ſeveral towns in Valencia, to make their ſubmiſſion to King Charles. Incouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, they marched with 1000 horſe and 500 foot, together with a body of Miquelets, to Valencia, the capital of that kingdom, where, by the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, they made themſelves maſters of that place, and took the viceroy and archbiſhop priſoners; whereupon, the whole kingdom of Valencia, except Alicant and Peniſola, revolted to King Charles, and he appointed the conde de Ciſuentes, who came over to him, ſoon after his landing, to be viceroy of that province. Matters had now a very fair aſpect, and had the Portugueſe made a diverſion as they promiſed; or but permited their allies, the Engliſh and Dutch, to have advanced to the frontiers of Spain, at this time, it is not improbable but all that Monarchy had ſubmited to King Charles: for the grandees were ſo diſguſted at the influence they ſaw the French councils had in all their affairs, and of ſome promotions of the ſubjects of that nation, that when King Philip called them together, to conſult with them, in this exigence, they refuſed to aſſiſt him with their purſe, and even with their advice. But notwithſtanding all the repreſentations, the earl of Galway and the other confederate generals could make, the Portugueſe could not be drawn out of their quarters, till the begining of October, when they laid ſiege to Badajox: and, then, if we may be allowed to judge by appearances, only with a deſign to raiſe it again: for they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurprized by the marſhal de Theſſe, who threw a ſupply of troops and proviſions into the town, after they had made ſome progreſs in the ſiege; whereupon the beſiegers drew off their batteries, and marched into winter-quarters. In this ſiege it was, the earl of Galway loſt his right hand by a cannon ball.

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The province of Valencia, as I have already obſerved, having followed the example of Catalonia, the Spaniards were preparing to beſiege the capital of that name, when the earl of Peterborough marched, with incredible diligence to their relief, diſperſed the Spaniſh army, with a handful of men, and entered Valencia in triumph, before the end of the year; where he was received as their guardian-angel (1). Having thus given a brief account of forein affairs, I return to England.

(1) Never any forein nobleman gained the eſteem and affection of the Spaniards to that degree the earl did: the ſtrict diſcipline he kept his troops under, his generous behaviour to the natives, his care to protect them, his bravery, good conduct and unparallel'd ſucceſs, had ſo indeared him, and the troops he commanded, to the Spaniards, that the diſorders at Port St. Mary's were intirely forgot; and they appeared ready to join the allies, and run all hazards with them, to drive the French and their adherents (whoſe yoke they were no longer able to bear) out of the kingdom. Salmon's modern hiſt. Vol. XXV. p. 276.

Upon

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Upon the account being brought of the duke of Marlborough's having entered the French lines, by colonel Durel, who arrived at Windſor (where the Queen and Prince then were) the 14th of July, O. S; a week after, her Majeſty's proclamation was publiſhed, appointing the 23d of Auguſt, for a day of public and general thankſgiving, throughout England and Wales: and when the day came, it was uſhered in as uſual, and her Majeſty celebrated it by repairing to St. Paul's, with the ſame ſtate, and ſolemnity, as ſhe had done the year before, after the battle of Hochſtadt.

Domeſtic occurrences.

The memorial of the church of England.

The 1ſt of September, a pamphlet, call'd the "memorial of the church of England," was preſented at the Old-baily, and ordered by the court to be burnt by the common hangman.

The aim of it was to prove, that the miniſtry were contriving the deſtruction of the church of England, and countenanc'd it's greateſt enemies. The 10th of October, the Queen and his royal highneſs left Windſor, and came to Kenſington, where, the next day, her Majeſty, in council, was pleaſed to commit the cuſtody of the great ſeal to William Cowper, eſq; one of her Majeſty's learned council in the law, with the title of lord-keeper of the great ſeal of England; and the uſual oaths being adminiſtred to him, his lordſhip took his place at the board accordingly. About the ſame time, her Majeſty thought fit to remove the earl of Abington, from being lord-lieutenant of Oxfordſhire, and conſtable of the Tower of London.

William Cowper, eſq; made lord-keeper.

The parliament meets.

The 25th of October, the parliament met, purſuant to the laſt prorogation, and the houſe of commons being directed to chuſe a ſpeaker, the candidates for that important ſtation were William Bromley, eſq; and John Smith, eſq; the firſt put up by the High-church, the other by the Low-church-party, who carried it by a majority of 248 againſt 205. Mr. Smith being preſented to the Queen, the 27th, her Majeſty approved the choice, and then made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

"I have been very deſirous to meet you as "early as I thought you might be called toge- "ther, without inconvenience to your ſelves, and "it is with much ſatisfaction I obſerve ſo full an "appearance at the opening of the parliament, be- "cauſe it is a ground for me to conclude you are "all convinced of the neceſſity of proſecuting the "juſt war in which we are ingaged; and, there- "fore, are truly ſenſible, that it is of the greateſt "importance to us to be timely in our prepa- "rations.

"Nothing can be more evident, than that, if "the French King continues maſter of the Spaniſh "Monarchy, the balance of power in Europe is "utterly deſtroyed; and he will be able, in a ſhort "time, to engroſs the trade and the wealth of the "world.

"No good Engliſhman could be content, at any "time, to ſit ſtill, and acquieſe in ſuch a proſpect; "and, at this time, we have great grounds to hope, "that, by the bleſſing of God, upon our arms, "and thoſe of our allies, a good foundation is laid "for reſtoring the monarchy of Spain to the houſe "of Auſtria; the conſequence of which will not "only be ſafe and advantageous, but glorious for "England.

"I may add, we have learnt, by our own ex- "perience, that no peace with France will laſt "longer, than the firſt opportunity of dividing "the allies, and attacking ſome of them with ad- "vantage.

"All our allies muſt needs be ſo ſenſible this is "the true ſtate of the caſe, that I make no doubt "but meaſures will ſoon be ſo concerted, as that "if we be not wanting to ourſelves, we ſhall ſee "the next campain begin offenſively on all ſides, "againſt our enemies, in a moſt vigorous manner. Q. Ann, An' 1705.

"I muſt, therefore, deſire you, gentlemen of "the houſe of commons, to grant me the ſupplies "which will be requiſite for carrying on the next "year's ſervice, both by ſea and land; and, at "the ſame time, to conſider, that the giving all "poſſible diſpatch will make the ſupply itſelf much "more effectual.

"The firmneſs and conduct which the duke of "Savoy has ſhewn, amidſt extream difficulties, is "beyond example

"I have not been wanting to do all that was "poſſible for me, in order to his being ſupported.

"I ought to take notice to you, that the King "of Pruſſia's troops have been very uſeful to this "end: your approbation of that treaty, laſt "ſeſſion, and the incouragement you gave upon "it, leave me no doubt of being able to renew for "another year.

"I take this occaſion to aſſure you, that not only "whatever ſhall be granted by parliament, for bear- "ing the charge of the war, ſhall be laid out for "that purpoſe, with the greateſt faithfulneſs and "management; but that I will continue to add, "out of my own revenue, all I can reaſonably "ſpare, beyond the neceſſary expences for the "honor of the government.

My lords and gentlemen,

"By an act of parliament paſs'd the laſt winter, "I was inabled to appoint commiſſioners for the "kingdom to treat with commiſſioners to be im- "power'd, by authority of parliament, in Scot- "land, concerning a nearer and more compleat "union between the two kingdoms, as ſoon as an "act ſhould be made there for that purpoſe; I "think it proper for me to acquaint you, that "ſuch an act is lately paſs'd there; and I intend, "in a ſhort time, to cauſe commiſſions to be made "out, in order to put the treaty on foot; which "I heartily deſire may prove ſucceſsful; becauſe I "am perſuaded, that an union of the two king- "doms will not only prevent many inconveniences, "which may otherwiſe happen, but muſt conduce "to the peace and happineſs of both nations; and "therefore, I hope, I ſhall have your aſſiſtance, in "bringing this great work to a concluſion.

"There is another union I think my ſelf obliged "to recommend to you, in the moſt earneſt affectio- "nate manner, I mean an union of minds and "affections amongſt our ſelves: it is that which "would, above all things, diſappoint and defeat "the hopes and deſigns of our enemies.

"I cannot but with grief obſerve, there are "ſome amongſt us, who indeavor to foment ani- "moſities; but, I perſuade my ſelf, they will be "found to be very few, when you appear to aſſiſt "me in diſcountenancing, and defeating ſuch "practices.

"I mention this, with a little more warmth; "becauſe there have not been wanting ſome, ſo "very malicious as even in print to ſuggeſt the "church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, to be "in danger, at this time.

"I am willing to hope, not one of my ſub- "jects can really entertain a doubt of my affection "to the church, or ſo much as ſuſpect, that it "will not be my chief care to ſupport it, and leave "it ſecure after me; and therefore, we may be "certain, that they who go about to inſinuate "things of this nature, muſt be mine, and the "kingdom's enemies, and can only mean to cover "deſigns which they dare not publickly own, by "indeavoring to diſtract us with unreaſonable "and groundleſs diſtruſt and jealouſies.

"I muſt be ſo plain as to tell you, the beſt

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" proofs we can all give at preſent, of our zeal " for the preſervation of the church, will be to " join heartily in proſecuting the war againſt an " enemy, who is certainly ingaged to extirpate " our religion, as well as to reduce this kingdom " to ſlavery.

" I am fully reſolved, by God's aſſiſtance, to " do my part.

" I will always affectionately ſupport and coun- " tenance the church of England, as by law eſta- " bliſhed.

" I will inviolably maintain the toleration.

" I will do all I can to prevail with my ſubjects, " to lay aſide their diviſions, and will ſtudy to " make them all ſafe and eaſy.

" I will indeavor to promote religion and virtue " amongſt them, and to incourage trade, and every " thing elſe that may make them a flouriſhing and " happy people.

" And they who ſhall concur zealouſly with " me, in carrying on theſe good deſigns, ſhall be " ſure to find my kindneſs and favor."

This pathetic and comprehenſive ſpeech, pened, as it was ſuppoſed, by the new lord-keeper, was received with great applauſe, by the generality of the people, and the majority of both houſes of parliament. The 1ſt of November, the lords attended the Queen with an addreſs, wherein having taken notice of what had been delivered from the throne, they aſſured her; " that they concur'd in " theſe her Majeſty's wiſe and noble ſentiments; " and that no dangers ſhould deter, nor any arti- " fices divert them, from doing all that was in " their power, to aſſiſt her Majeſty in carrying " on the war, 'till ſhe ſhould be inabled to pro- " cure ſuch a peace for Europe, as ſhe had men- " tioned in her ſpeech:"

Addreſs of the lords.

They commended, or, as they expreſs'd it, " admired in her Majeſty, that tender and indul- " gent affection to her people, which ſhe had " ſhewn from the begining of her reign; that " earneſt deſire to unite them among themſelves, " and to make them all eaſy, ſafe and happy; that " ſteady zeal for the church of England, and that " compaſſion for thoſe who were ſo unhappy as to " diſſent from her: and promiſed to do all they " could to diſcountenance and defeat the deſigns " and practices of thoſe who fomented animoſities " among her people; ever to ſhew the utmoſt de- " teſtation of thoſe ungrateful and wicked men, " who labored to diſhonor her Majeſty's reign, " and diſtract her ſubjects, with unreaſonable and " groundleſs jealouſies of dangers to the church " of England: and to be ready to concur in all " meaſures requiſite to put a ſtop to the malice of " thoſe incendiaries."

The Queen's anſwer.

The Queen returned their lordſhips " her hearty " thanks for this addreſs; aſſured them it was a " great ſatisfaction to her, to find they were ſo " ready to concur in thoſe things ſhe had recom- " mended to them."

Addreſs of the commons.

The 6th, the commons waited on her Majeſty with their addreſs, in which they alſo " repeated, " and concurred in all the eſſential parts of her " ſpeech:" the Queen told them; " ſhe took " very kindly the confidence expreſs'd in her care " of the public, and their concern for the occaſion " ſhe had to complain, and returned them her " hearty thanks, for the aſſurance of their ſupport " and aſſiſtance, which ſhe would always indeavor " to improve for the advantage and happineſs of " her people."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

A ſupply voted.

The 9th of November, the commons, in a grand commitee, voted a ſupply to her Majeſty, which reſolution wa , the next day, reported and approved; and it was ordered, " That eſtimates of the " ſea-ſervice, land-forces, and office of ordnance; as " alſo accounts of other particular expences; of " the number of ſhips and men imployed in the " ſea-ſervice, from the 1ſt of November 1704, " to the ſame day 1705; of the ſums of mony " that had ariſen by prizes, &c. might be laid be- " fore the houſe, which was readily complied " with."

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Addreſs of the commons about the union.

The 13th, the commons having taken the Queen's ſpeech into conſideration, reſolved to " addreſs her " Majeſty, to return her thanks for her tender " regard to the good and welfare of both her " kingdoms of England and Scotland; for her " great care and indeavor to ſettle the ſucceſſion " of the kingdom of Scotland, in the houſe of " Hanover; for preſerving the peace, and pro- " moting the union of the two kingdoms; and to " aſſure her Majeſty, that this houſe would, to " the utmoſt of their power, aſſiſt her Majeſty, to " bring this great work to a happy concluſion: " and, likewiſe, that ſhe would be graciouſly pleas'd " to direct, that the whole proceedings of the " laſt ſeſſion of parliament, in Scotland, relating " to the union of the two kingdoms, and the ſet- " tlement of the ſucceſſion of Scotland, in the " houſe of Hanover, be laid before this houſe."

The Queen's anſwer.

The 15th, mr. ſecretary Harley acquainted the houſe; that this addreſs having been preſented to her Majeſty, ſhe was pleaſed to give an anſwer, in theſe words: " I take very kindly the " ſenſe you expreſs of my indeavors to promote " the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the treaty of union, " in Scotland. I have given direction for com- " plying with your addreſs; and you ſhall have " the ſtate of that matter as ſoon as it can con- " veniently be ſent you.

Addreſs of the lords, on the ſame account.

The 12th, the lords took her Majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration; and, after a long debate, a commitee was ordered to ſit the next day, to draw up an addreſs to the Queen, to deſire; " that her " Majeſty would be pleaſed to order all papers, " relating to the proceedings of the laſt ſeſſion of " the parliament of Scotland, to be laid before " that houſe:" which orders the Queen gave accordingly.

Lord Haverſham's ſpeech.

The 15th, their lordſhips went upon the ſtate of the nation, her Majeſty being preſent: and the lord Haverſham, upon that occaſion, made a remarkable ſpeech, of which I have already made ſome mention, when I ſpoke of the oppoſition made by the Dutch, to the deſign laid by the duke of Marlborough to ingage the French, after he had forced their lines; and ſhall now add a paragraph or two. Having taken notice of the backwardneſs of the Imperialiſts and the Dutch, the next thing he hinted at was the decay of our trade. " There is a word " (ſaid he) we are fond of, which we call the " balance of power: but the Dutch, who are a " very wiſe people, have a double view, and take " as much care of the balance of trade, as they do " of the balance of power, and are as much afraid " of our power by ſea, as of the power of France " by land. Trade begets wealth, as wealth be- " gets power; and it is very hard for England, " that while the Dutch live at peace, under the " protection of our arms, if we will have any " part of trade with them, we muſt have it under " the protection of French paſſes. The Dutch, " indeed, complain they are poor, but I do not " ſee (continued his lordſhip) how they have been " out of pocket one ſhilling ſince the war; for " they have had more by remitances and mony " from England, than all the mony ſent out of " their country to Portugal, Savoy, and the Ger- " man Princes."

He likewiſe animadverted on a paragraph in her Majeſty's ſpeech to the laſt parliament, wherein ſhe told them, of ſome heats in the houſe, and this

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this he insinuated was "unparliamentary, and "hoped her Majesty would never give ear to any "secret and private information, but as it came "to her in a parliamentary way, by the houses "themselves:" but his principal aim, in this speech, seems to have been to procure an invitation of the Princess Sophia to come to England, and, to that end, he concluded with a motion: "that an humble address be presented to her Ma- "jesty by this house, that she will be graciously "pleased to invite the presumptive heir to the "crown of England, according to the acts of "parliament made for settling the succession of the "crown, in the Protestant line, into this kingdom, "to reside here."

Motion for inviting the Princess Sophia.

Carried in the negative.

This motion was, indeed, back'd by some lords; but it was opposed by a great majority; and, after a debate of four hours, the question being about to be put upon the motion, the previous question, whether it should be put, was carried in the negative; whereupon the lords, who were for the affirmative, entered their protests (1). However, to shew their zeal for the security of the Hanover-succession, the lords appointed the 19th of that month, to take the same into consideration. After that day's debate, at which the Queen was present, it was carried without dividing; "that a "bill be brought in for the better security of her "Majesty's person and government, and of the "succession to the crown of England in the Pro- "testant line: and that for continuing the admi- "nistration of the government, in the name of "the next Protestant successor (that may happen "to be out of this kingdom, at the time of her "Majesty's demise) until her or his arrival, the "archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, or "lord-keeper of the great seal, the high-treasurer, "the president of the council, the lord privy-seal, "the high-admiral, and the lord chief-justice of "the Queen's-bench, at that time being, be con- "stituted lords-justices of England, and impower- "ed, in the name of the successor, to act, as if "present." This bill was brought in the 21st, and, at the same time, the lords ordered another bill to be brought in, for naturalizing the house of Hanover, being Protestants.

Bill for the security of the Hanover succession.

The 22d, the lord Haversham moved, "that "the miscarriages of the last campain, occasioned "by the allies, might be look'd into;" which being put to the vote was carried, by a great majority, in the negative. The next day, their lordships went upon the Scotish affairs, the Queen being present, and, after a long debate, resolved; "that, in order to come to an union with the "kingdom of Scotland, the act pass'd the last "session of the preceding parliament, intitled, an "act for the effectual securing the kingdom of "England, from the apparent dangers which may "arise from several acts lately pass'd in the parlia- "ment of Scotland, should be repeal'd, except "the clause which impowers her Majesty to ap- "point commissioners to treat of an union with "that kingdom; ordered, that the judges bring "in a bill for that purpose, and that a commitee "should sit thereon: and resolved, that the thanks "of the house be given to her Majesty, for her "care about Scotland, and for her promoting the "interest of that kingdom, by the succession to "the crown, in the Protestant line.

A bill for an union with Scotland.

The commons, in the mean time, proceeded with great unanimity and chearfulness, in the dispatch of the public business, and voted the several branches of the supply, which, in general, were but a confirmation of those of the foregoing year: but this is observable, that the question being proposed and put; "whether it should be "refered to the commitee to consider, that in "the clause for adding 10,000 men, to act in "conjunction with the Dutch, it should be pro- "vided, that they be obliged to leave off trading "with France;" it was carried in the negative, by a majority of 184 voices, against 117.

The several branches of supply voted.

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The 22d of November, captain Norris (of the Britannia) arrived at St. Helens, on board the Canterbury; being sent express from Barcelona to bring the welcome news of the reduction of that city, as I have above related. In the same ship came the lord Shannon, and brigadier-general (late earl) Stanhope, who brought letters to the Queen, from the King of Spain, the Junta of the military arm of Catalonia, the city of Barcelona, the city of Vich, and the earl of Peterborough: upon the receit of which, her Majesty went to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for up, she was pleas'd to make the following speech to both houses:

Advice of the successes in Catalonia.

My lords and gentlemen,

"Having newly received letters from the King "of Spain, and the earl of Peterborough, which "contain a very particular account of our great "and happy successes in Catalonia, and shew- "ing, at the same time, the reasonableness of "their being immediately supported, I look upon "this to be a matter of so much consequence in "it self, and so agreeable to you, that I have or- "dered a copy of the King of Spain's letter to "myself, a letter from the Junta of the military "arm of Catalonia; and another letter from the "city of Vich, as also an extract of the earl of "Peterborough's letter to me, to be communi- "cated to both houses of parliament.

The Queen's speech thereupon.

"I recommend the consideration of them to "you, gentlemen of the house of commons, very "particularly, as the speediest way to restore the "Monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria: "and therefore, I assure my self, you will inable "me to prosecute the advantages we have gained, "in the most effectual manner, and to improve "the opportunity, which God Almighty has "pleased to afford us, of puting a prosperous end "to the present war."

My lords and gentlemen,

"I must not lose this occasion, of desiring you "to give as much dispatch to the matters before "you, as the nature of them will allow; that so "our preparations for the next year may be early, "which cannot fail of being of great advantage "to us."

The commons being return'd to their house, mr. secretary Hedges laid before them the letters mentioned in her Majesty's speech, after the reading of which, it was unanimously resolved: that that an humble address be presented to her Majesty "to congratulate the glorious success of her "arms, and those of her allies in Catalonia, and "to assure her Majesty, that this house would, "to the utmost of their power, inable her Ma- "jesty to prosecute the great advantages already "obtained there." And this address being presented, the same day, her Majesty "returned "them many thanks, for the assurances they "had given, which she did not doubt would "have a good effect, at home and abroad."

The commons congratulate the Queen thereupon.

The 29th, both houses attended the Queen

Address to cultivate a good understanding with the allies.

(1) Their protest was entered in the following words: "we humbly conceive, that having a presumptive heir to the "crown residing in the kingdom, will be a great strenthening to her Majesty's royal hands, in the administration of the "government, and security of her Majesty's royal person, and of the succession to the crown, in the Protestant line, as by "law establish'd."

with

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with an addreſs; importing: "that being juſtly "alarmed by the many artifices, which the "emiſſaries of France had put in practice the laſt "year, in order to raiſe jealouſies, and create "miſunderſtandings amongſt the allies; and being "apprehenſive leaſt ſuch malicious inſinuations, if "they ſhould paſs unobſerved, might, in time, "ſo far take place, as to abate the ſpirit, and "ſlacken the zeal of the confederacy, they moſt "humbly beſought her Majeſty, to uſe all poſſible "indeavors to preſerve a good correſpondence "amongſt all the confederates, and, in a moſt "particular manner, to maintain and cultivate a "ſtrict friendſhip, with the States-general of the "United-provinces, as alſo, by all proper means, "to excite the whole confederacy, to make early "and effectual preparations, and to exert their "utmoſt vigor, in the proſecution of the war "againſt France."

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs, the Queen anſwered; "that "their joining in this addreſs was a very particular "ſatisfaction: that their opinion would always be "of the greateſt weight with her; that ſhe would "readily comply with their deſire; and that ſhe "made no queſtion but it would meet with a juſt "regard from all their allies.

Farther ſupplies voted.

The commons being, the ſame day, in a grand committee, on the ſupply, voted, among ſeveral other ſums, as in the foregoing year, an additional ſupply of 250,000 l. for her Majeſty's proportion of the charge, of proſecuting the ſucceſſes already gained by King Charles III. for recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria.

The Princeſs Sophia naturalized.

The 3d of December (1), the Queen went to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſtate, and gave the "royal aſſent to "An act for exhibiting a bill in "this preſent parliament, for naturalizing the "moſt excelent princeſs Sophia, electreſs and du-"cheſs dowager of Hanover, and the iſſue of "her body."

The next day, the houſe of commons, in a grand commitee, took into conſideration the "papers "communicated to their houſe, relating to the pro-"ceedings of the parliament of Scotland, concern-"ing the union of the two kingdoms, and the ſuc-"ceſſion of the crown of Scotland, in the houſe of "Hanover." Upon this occaſion, ſir Thomas Hanmer made a motion, conformable to that which had been made in the houſe of lords, "for invi-"ting the Princeſs Sophia to come to England. "This motion was ſeconded by mr. Benſon, and "ſupported by mr. Bromley, and other gentle-"men:" but another motion being made, and the queſtion put, "that the chairman leave the chair," it was carried in the affirmative, and ſo ſir Thomas Hanmer's motion drop'd (2)

Debates about the church of England's being in danger.

The reader will remember, that her Majeſty was pleas'd, in her firſt ſpeech to this parliament, to declare that a great many people made it their buſineſs to inſinuate, "That the church of England was "in danger:" therefore, to juſtify her Majeſty's aſſertion, that it was not, and to remove all unreaſonable and ill-grounded jealouſies, or, as the other party would have it, in order to condemn and fix a brand on all thoſe who ſuggeſted, that the then miniſtry had any treacherous deſigns againſt the church; the lord Hallifax moved the houſe of peers, that a day might be appointed to inquire into that pretended danger. The 6th of December was appointed, accordingly, when, after the matter had been very warmly debated, in the Queen's preſence, the chief ſpeakers, being the earl of Rocheſter, the lord Hallifax, the biſhops of Lincoln and Sarum, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of Ely, Litchfield and Coventry, and Bath and Wells, the duke of Leeds, and the lord Sommers, the queſtion was put, "Whether the church of "England was in danger?" Which, upon a diviſion, was carried in the negative, by a majority of ſixty-one voices againſt thirty. And then their lordſhips made the following vote, viz. "Reſolved, by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, that "the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, "which was reſcued from the extreameſt danger, "by King William III. of glorious memory, "is now, by God's bleſſing, under the happy reign "of her Majeſty, in a moſt ſafe and flouriſhing "condition; and that whoever goes about to ſug-"geſt and inſinuate, that the church is in danger, "under her Majeſty's adminiſtration, is an enemy "to the Queen, the church and the kingdom:" againſt which reſolution, ſeveral lords entered their proteſts, for the reaſons alledg'd in the debate.

Reſolution of the lords thereupon.

The next day, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to acquaint them with their proceedings, and deſire their concurrence with their reſolution, in relation to the church: upon which, the day following, the queſtion was put, "Whether they "ſhould conſider of that meſſage in a commitee, "or in a full houſe?" And it was carried for the latter, by 222 voices, againſt 161. After a long debate (3), the commons agreed with the reſolution of the lords; but divided upon the latter part; (viz. "is now in a moſt ſafe, &c.") 212 for the affirmative againſt 162 for the negative.

The commons concur in it.

The 14th, the commons agreed, likewiſe, with the lords, in an addreſs to the Queen, containing the aforementioned reſolution, relating to the church: "beſeeching, withal, her Majeſty, to take effec-"tual meaſures for making the ſaid reſolution pub-"lic, and alſo for puniſhing the authors and "ſpreaders of the ſeditious and ſcandalous reports "of the church being in danger:" to this the Queen anſwered: "That ſhe ſhould freely com-"ply with their addreſs, and was very well pleas'd "to find both houſes ſo forward to join with her,

Addreſs of both houſes thereupon.

The Queen's anſwer.

(1) The ſame day, the duke of Argile, of the kingdom of Scotland, was introduced into the houſe of peers, as baron and earl of the kingdom of England, by the ſtile, name and title, of baron of Chatham, and earl of Greenwich, in the county of Kent, as was, ſome time before, the duke of Mountague, in that quality.

(2) It was matter of wonder and ſurprize to many, that this motion was made and ſupported by gentlemen of the party call'd tories, and the motives aſſign'd for this conduct varied as much, as the parties by whom they were propagated. The tory-party pretended, that they made it "to demonſtrate, that they were not in the pretender's intereſt, as their enemies ſuggeſted, and "that ſhe might be acquainted with the true intereſt of the nation, and not rely upon the partial repreſentations of the whigs, "in forming a judgment of the ſeveral parties, and, in ſhort, to ſhew that illuſtrious family, that the tories were no leſs zea-"lous for their ſucceſſion than the whigs, who repreſented them as enemies to it, and much better friends to monarchy, than "that party could pretend to be." The whigs, on the other hand, pretended; "That the motion for inviting the Princeſs "Sophia was made by the tories, to put a ſlur upon it, being well aſſured, that the court-party would not come into it; "which could not fail of being of ſome uſe to the Jacobites."

(3) The chief arguments in this debate, in both houſes, to prove the church in danger, were: "The power of the preſby-"terians in Scotland, where the church of England was not ſo much as tolerated: the abſence of the next proteſtant ſucceſſor, "in caſe of the Queen's demiſe; the want of an act againſt occaſional conformity: the increaſe of preſbyterian ſchools and "ſeminaries: prophaneneſs, immorality and irreligion; the act of ſecurity in Scotland: the abuſe and ill diſpenſation of her "Majeſty's late bounty to the clergy: the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and the great numbers of libels, which were daily pub-"liſh'd againſt the church: the increaſe of preſbyterian conventicles; and, in the houſe of commons, even the reſolution of "the lords was urged, to prove the church's being in danger."

"in

Q. ANN, AN' 1705. " in putting a ſtop to theſe malicious reports: and, according to the deſire of both houſes, the 20th, her Majeſty ordered a proclamation to be iſſued, for making their reſolution public; " and for " diſcovering the author of the memorial of the " church of England; and apprehending David " Edwards, a profeſs'd Papiſt, charged upon oath " to be the printer and publiſher of that libel.

Charles Cæſar eſq; ſent to the Tower.

The 19th of December, an ingroſs'd bill from the lords, intitled an " act for the better ſecurity of " her Majeſty's perſon and government, and of " the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, in the " Proteſtant-line," being read a ſecond time, a debate aroſe, thereupon, in which Charles Cæſar, eſq; member for the borough of Hertford, among other things, ſaid: " there was a noble lord, with- " out whoſe advice the Queen did nothing, who, " in the late reign, was known to keep a conſtant " correſpondence with the court of St. Germains." This reflection, upon a great favorite, was ſo highly reſented by the houſe, that, having order'd the words to be taken down in writing, at the table, they voted them to be " highly diſhonorable to " her Majeſty's perſon and government, and that " Charles Cæſar, eſq; be, for his ſaid offenſe, com- " mited priſoner to the Tower."

Acts paſs'd.

The 21ſt the Queen came to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to; 1ſt " the land-tax- " act (of four-ſhillings in the pound) for the year " 1706; 2d, an act to repeal ſeveral clauſes in " the ſtatutes made in the third and fourth year " of her preſent Majeſty's reign, for ſecuring the " kingdom of England from ſeveral acts lately " paſs'd in the parliament of Scotland; 3d, an " act for the naturalization of the moſt excellent " Princeſs Sophia, electreſs and ducheſs-dowager " of Hanover, and the iſſue of her body;" and to three private bills.

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

This done, her Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe took notice of the " unani- " mity of their proceedings, and of the good diſpo- " ſition they had ſhewn towards an union with " Scotland; and returning the commons thanks " for the great diſpatch of this ſeaſonable ſupply; " not doubting but, after the receſs, they would " return, with the ſame good diſpoſition, to give all " poſſible diſpatch to the public affairs ſtill depen- " ding." The commons reſolved to preſent an addreſs of thanks, for this ſpeech, and then adjourn'd themſelves to the 7th of January. The laſt day of this year, died at Liſbon, Queen Katherine, dowager of King Charles II.

AN' 1706. Thanks given to the duke of Marlborough by the houſe of commons.

The duke of Marlborough being returned to England, as I have already ſaid, at the concluſion of the laſt year's tranſactions, and the parliament being then ſiting, the houſe of commons reſolved, on the 7th of January, " that the thanks of their " houſe be given to his grace the duke of Marl- " borough, for his great ſervices performed to " her Majeſty, and the nation, in the laſt cam- " pain, and for his prudent negociations with " her Majeſty's allies;" and appointed a commitee, for that purpoſe, who having attended the duke accordingly, his grace's anſwer was:

His anſwer.

" I am ſo ſenſible of the great honor which is " done me by this meſſage, that I cannot have the " leaſt concern at the reflections of any private " malice, while I have the ſatisfaction of finding " my faithful indeavors to ſerve the Queen, and " the kingdom, ſo favorably accepted by the houſe " of commons."

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Theſe reflections of private malice the reader has already partly ſeen, in what I have mentioned above: but the chief were, as it was believed, ſome aſperſions caſt upon his grace's conduct, laſt campain, in ſeveral pamphlets, and eſpecially in a libel, intitled: a letter to the author of the memorial of the church of England. Mr. Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surry, being found to be the author of that ſcandalous pamphlet, was ſent for up, and examin'd before a ſecretary of ſtate. He, at firſt, ſeem'd obſtinate in maintaining what he had advanced; but, upon better thoughts, being ſenſible of his error, he publiſhed a recantation, by way of letter to the duke of Marlborough.

Aſperſions thrown upon the duke.

Eſpecially by mr. Stephens.

But this malice, which the duke of Marlborough takes notice of, was not confined to pamphlets alone; an attempt was formed againſt him, as it was believed, even in the houſe of lords, tho' he was, upon all occaſions, ſpoken of with great reſpect. Complaints were made of the errors commited the laſt year, in the conduct of the war. The anti-miniſterial party laid, indeed, the blame of the miſcarriage of the deſign on the Moſel, on the Prince of Baden, and the errors commited in Brabant, on the States and their deputies; but, they pretended, they could not be judges of theſe things, nor be able to give the Queen ſuch advice, as might be fiting for them to offer her, unleſs they were made acquainted with the whole ſeries of thoſe affairs: their propoſal, therefore, was, that, by an addreſs, they might pray the Queen to communicate to them, all ſhe knew concerning thoſe tranſactions, during the laſt campain (1). This attempt, however, failed, and tended rather to the duke's honor than diſgrace.

An attempt ſaid to be formed againſt the duke, in the houſe of lords.

About the ſame time, his grace had the honor of the Queen's commands, to treat with the duke of Savoy, concerning an attempt upon Toulon, which, tho' it miſcarried in the execution, was thought one of the moſt effectual means of finiſhing the war. Having treated about it, with the duke's miniſters, he made overtures to the Dutch, of going to his royal highneſs's aſſiſtance: but the States-general ſet too great a value upon his conduct to part with him ſo eaſily, and fearing they might be expoſed by his abſence, prevailed upon him to make the campain in Flanders. But to return to the parliament.

The duke of Marlborough concerts an attempt on Toulon.

The 8th of January, the commons reſolved; Ways and means.

" that towards raiſing the ſupply, a tax be laid " upon all grants of lands, tenements, hereditaments " and penſions, made ſince the 6th day of February " 1684. That the ſaid tax be a fifth part of the " value of the grant, at the time of the grant made; " that the duties upon malt, mum, cyder and perry, " be farther continued from the 23d of June " 1706, until the 24th of June 1707, and a far- " ther duty be laid upon all low-wines, or ſpirits " of the firſt extraction, from any forein materials:" and ordered a bill to be brought in upon the ſaid reſolution.

The 18th the commons voted, " that the duty " upon coals, culm and cinders, which were to

(1) They reckoned, that if all particulars ſhould be laid before them, " they would find ſomething in the duke of Marl- " borough's conduct, on which a cenſure might be fix'd. To this, it was anſwered, that if any complaint was brought againſt " any of the Queen's ſubjects, it would be reaſonable for them to inquire into it, by all proper ways: but the houſe of lords " could not pretend to examine, or to cenſure the conduct of the Queen's allies: they were not ſubject to them, nor could they " be heard to juſtify themſelves: and it was ſomething extraordinary if they ſhould paſs a cenſure, or make a complaint of them: " It was one of the truſts that was lodg'd with the government, to manage all treaties and alliances; ſo that our commerce with " our allies was wholly in the crown. Allies might ſometimes fail, being not able to perform what they undertook: they are " ſubject both to errors and to accidents, and are ſometimes ill-ſerved. The entring into that matter was not at all proper for " the houſe, unleſs it was intended to run into raſh and indiſcreet cenſures, on deſign to provoke the allies, and, by that means " to weaken, if not break the alliance. The Queen would no doubt indeavor to redreſs whatſoever was amiſs, and that muſt " be truſted to her conduct." Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. II. p. 436.

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" continue until the 15th of May 1708, ſhould be farther continued 'till the 30th of September, 1708."

About the ſame time, Edwards, who printed the libel, call'd a " memorial of the church of " England," for the apprehending of whom a proclamation, with a promiſe of a reward had been iſſued, ſurrender'd himſelf upon aſſurance of a pardon, if he diſcovered the author of it, and named mr. Pooley, mr. Ward, and ſir Humphrey Mackworth, three members of the houſe of commons: but the copy being brought him by a third hand, he was not able to make good the charge, and ſo the matter dropp'd.

Acts paſs'd.

The 16th of February, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the " malt-bill, to an act for continuing an aditional " ſubſidy of tonage and poundage, certain duties " on coals, &c. and additional duties of exciſe, " for payment of annuities;" and to ſome other public and private acts; after which her Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe particularly " thank'd the commons, for perfecting " ſo great ſupplies, in ſo ſhort a time."

The 27th, the commons took into conſideration the accounts of the revenues and debts, ever ſince her Majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, and reſolved: " that it appear'd to this houſe, that the public " revenues, granted, or ariſen, ſince her Majeſty's " happy acceſſion to the crown, had been duly ap- " plied to the advancement of the public credit, " and for the advantage and honor of the nation." The ſame day, they unanimouſly reſolved, to addreſs her Majeſty; " that ſhe would be pleaſed to " iſſue out her royal proclamation, for puting in " execution the laws in force againſt all ſuch per- " ſons as had or ſhould indeavor to pervert her " Majeſty's ſubjects to the Popiſh religion:" and ordered a bill to be brought in, " for making more " effectual the act of the eleventh year of his late " Majeſty's reign, for the farther preventing the " growth of Popery." A bill was brought in accordingly, the next day; but, at the third reading, it was rejected, by a majority, of one hundred and nineteen, againſt forty-three. The lords had likewiſe brought a bill into their houſe againſt Popery; but upon the commons rejecting theirs, that was dropp'd likewiſe, and they were contented with addreſſing the Queen, on the 14th of March; " that a more watchful eye ſhould be had over " the Romiſh prieſts, and Papiſts for the future, " and, for the ſame purpoſe, that a diſtinct and particular account ſhould be taken of all Papiſts, and " reputed Papiſts, in the kingdom, with their reſpective qualities, eſtates, and places of abode, " and that the ſeveral accounts of theſe inquiries be " laid before their houſe, at the next ſeſſion of " parliament."

Bills againſt Popery dropp'd.

Addreſs of the lords againſt Papiſts.

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs, her Majeſty anſwered; " ſhe " was fully convinc'd, that the inſolent behavior " of the Papiſts had made, what their lordſhips " adviſed, neceſſary to be done, for the ſafety of " her perſon and government, and the welfare " of her people, and that ſhe would give the neceſſary " orders for every thing their lordſhips deſired."

Sir Rowland Gwyn's letter to the earl of Stamford cenſur'd.

The debates, which had been in both houſes, about inviting the Princeſs Sophia to come to England, having made a great noiſe, mr. Charles Gildon handed to the preſs a letter from ſir Rowland Gwyn, to the right honorable the earl of Stamford, dated at Hanover, Jan. 1. O. S. 1705-6, on that ſubject. This letter giving great offenſe to the miniſtry, on the 8th of March, a complaint was made of it to the houſe of commons, who voted it a ſcandalous, falſe and malicious libel, and, together with the lords, addreſs'd the Queen, " that " ſhe would be pleaſed to give order for the diſ- " covery and proſecuting of the author, with the " printer and publiſher, of the ſaid pamphlet." Accordingly mr. Gildon being apprehended for it, was afterwards tried, at Guild-hall, and fined 100 l. for publiſhing it.

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Differences between the two houſes of convocation.

The differences which had ariſen four years before, between the two houſes of convocation, concerning the manner of ſynodical proceedings, and principally about the " right claimed by the " lower-houſe of holding and continuing their aſ- " ſemblies in the intervals of the ordinary proro- " gations," which the upper-houſe would never allow, maintaining, " that the archbiſhop has the " ſole and undoubted right of proroguing the " whole convocation of the upper and lower houſe, " with conſent of his ſuffragans;" theſe differences, I ſay, were, at this time, unhappily renewed: but the convocation being prorogued, ſome time after, to the firſt of March, the Queen, who was apprehenſive that theſe differences might ariſe to a greater height, if they were ſuffered to meet again, ſent a letter to the archbiſhop, on the 25th of February, wherein ſhe told him; " ſhe was ſurpri- " zed at the unhappy ſtate of things; but was re- " ſolved to maintain her ſupremacy, and the due " ſubordination of preſbyters to biſhops, as funda- " mental parts thereof; and if the biſhops acted con- " formably to this reſolution, they might be ſure of " the continuance of her protection and favor; and " directed him to adjourn the convocation to ſuch " farther time as ſhould appear convenient."

The archbiſhop being, at this time, indiſpoſed, appointed the biſhop of Norwich to act for him, as metropolitan, and as ſuch, he firſt communicated her Majeſty's letter to the convocation, to prorogue them. The upper-houſe being accordingly met, the 1ſt of March, in the Jeruſalem-chamber, the biſhop of Norwich ſent for dr. Bincks, dean of Litchfield, and prolocutor of the lower-houſe, who attended, with ſome other members of that houſe: but while the biſhop was reading the Queen's letter, dr. Atterbury, taking the prolocutor by the ſleeve, deſired him to be gone, telling him they had no buſineſs there. Upon this, the biſhop of Saliſbury roſe from his ſeat, and, ſtepping to them, told them: " it was the " greateſt piece of inſolence he ever ſaw, thus to " refuſe hearing the Queen's order," and bid the prolocutor " go at his peril;" whereupon he ſtaid and heard part of the Queen's letter read. Dr. Atterbury, and ſome others, return'd in the mean time, to the lower-houſe, and dr. Bincks being alſo come thither, they adjourned themſelves to the Wedneſday following.

Acts paſs'd.

The laſt thing of moment, which the two houſes of parliament took ſeverally under their conſideration, this ſeſſion, was the great want of ſeamen to man the fleet, and the commons having come to ſeveral reſolutions thereupon, ordered the ſame to be formed into a " bill, for the incourage- " ment and increaſe of ſeamen" &c. which being perfected and paſs'd both houſes, in four days, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, the 19th of March, and gave the royal aſſent to that act; " 2. to an act for the better ſecurity of " her Majeſty's perſon and government, and of " the crown of England in the Proteſtant line (1): 3. an

(1) By this act, the act of ſucceſſion received very material alterations, particularly in the appointing a regency, after the demiſe of her Majeſty; and whereas it was provided by the former act of ſettlement, that all matters relating to the goverment ſhould be tranſacted in the privy-council, and ſigned by the privy-counſelors, this clauſe was now repeal'd, as was likewiſe, that by which every perſon in office was diſqualified from being a member of parliament. The laſt alteration met with great oppoſition in the houſe of commons, and, at length, the matter was agreed to in the following manner, viz. " That after the " diſſolution

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"3. an act for the amendment of the law, and the "better advancement of juſtice; 4. an act to pre- "vent frauds commited by bankrupts;" with ſeveral others of leſs moment, in all to the number of ſeventeen public, and fifty-three private bills.

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

After this, her Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe told the commons in particular; "ſhe was extreamly ſenſible of the diſ- "patch they had given to the ſupplies; aſſuring "them, ſhe would be very careful, that they might "be applied for the common intereſt." She likewiſe took notice of the "unanimity and zeal, which "ſhe had obſerved in both houſes, with great "ſatisfaction, throughout this whole ſeſſion, againſt "every thing that tended towards ſedition." The lord-keeper then, by the Queen's command, prorogued the parliament, to the 21ſt of May, next inſuing.

The parliament prorogued.

The Electoral Prince of Hanover choſen knight of the garter.

The 5th of April, a chapter of the moſt noble order of the garter was held at Kenſington, where the ſoverein, and ten knights-companions being preſent, his highneſs, George Auguſtus, Electoral Prince of Brumſwick Lunenburg (his preſent moſt gracious Majeſty) was elected a knight companion of that moſt noble order.

According to the order I have hitherto obſerved, I ſhould now proceed to an account of the affairs of Scotland: but as the union was the grand affair this year, of the parliament of that kingdom, I choſe rather to poſtpone it, that I may give an account of what paſs'd, in that matter, in Scotland, with what was tranſacted in that affair, in the parliament of England, in one connexion. And as our maritime affairs, this year, had a great connexion with the campains in Italy and Spain, I ſhall, therefore, poſtpone my account of them, likewiſe, and proceed firſt to a relation of the campain in Flanders.

The campain in Flanders.

The duke of Marlborough, who imbark'd for Holland the begining of April, continued at the Hague, 'till the 9th of May, N. S. during which time, he had repeated conferences, with the deputies of the States, and their generals. His grace departed, that day, and, being accompanied by Veltmarſhal d'Auverquerque, arrived at Maeſtricht the 12th. Monſ. d'Auverquerque departed the ſame night, and the duke followed him, to the army of the States, which was drawn together near Tongeren; and both repaired, the 17th, to Liege, to view the citadel, and the new works about that place. The Engliſh forces having received orders, in the mean time, to take the field, general Churchill ſet out from Breda, with the troops which were there, and the artillery, the 8th, and march'd to Wallwick; and, the ſame day, the reſt of them march'd out of their reſpective gariſons, in order to join at the Boſch, which they did, the 9th. The 11th, they march'd to Carnock, and from thence continued with long marches, till they arrived at Bilſen, the 19th of the ſame month. The 20th the army of the States marched from Tongeren, to Borchlaem, and, the ſame day, the Engliſh joined them, between that place, and Groſz-Waren (1).

The confederate army takes the field.

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Deſigns and motions of the French.

The court of France, in the mean time, had information, that the confederate army, in the Netherlands, was not yet compleat; that the Danes refuſed to ſtir from their quarters, till their arrears were paid; and that the Pruſſians, for other reaſons, were yet ſo far behind, that they could not join the duke of Marlborough in ſeveral weeks. It was confidently ſaid, that the French King had penſioners in the courts of Denmark and Pruſſia, who had promiſed him to uſe their utmoſt indeavors to retard the march of their reſpective maſter's forces (which were in the pay of England and Holland) to the general rendezvous; upon the confidence of which they proceeded, as we ſhall preſently find they did (2). Be this as it will, the army of the two crowns, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria and the marſhal de Villeroy, conſiſting of 70,000 men, being intirely aſſembled, they flattered themſelves, that they might keep up the ſinking credit of their arms, by a conſiderable action in the Netherlands. In this fond imagination, ſuch poſitive orders were ſent to the marſhal de Villeroy, to fight the allies, that the duke of Bavaria, who was then at Bruſſels, had but juſt time enough to take poſt-horſes, to join the army, which paſſed the Deule, the 19th of May, and poſted themſelves at Tirlemont, with the Gheet before them.

The confederates are deſirous of ingaging.

The confederates on their ſide were no leſs eager for an ingagement; but could hardly flatter themſelves with the hopes of having ſo early, and ſo fair an opportunity for it. The duke of Marlborough, being apprehenſive, that the French would play the ſame game over again, and keep behind the Deule, as they had done the year before, had ſeveral times expreſs'd his concern and uneaſineſs about it, to thoſe who were intimate with him; and, by a wiſe forecaſt, was already laying ſchemes, to put the enemy beſide their cautious meaſures, when providence threw into his hands an unexpected occaſion of ſignalizing again his courage and conduct.

Motions of their army, in order thereunto.

Upon the enemy's paſſing the Deule, the duke of Marlborough ſent orders to the Daniſh horſe, who were coming from their gariſons, to haſten their march; and that their might not be the leaſt pretence of delay, he ingaged his promiſe, with the field-deputies of the States, that their arrears ſhould be duly paid them. The duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded thoſe troops, and was well affected to the common cauſe, ſeing every thing was complied with, that the King of Denmark inſiſted on, thought he needed not to ſtay till he ſent to that court, nor wait for expreſs orders. He, therefore, commanded his troops to march, and they made ſuch expedition, that the 22d of May, N. S. being the day before the battle, they came up within a league of the rear of the confederate army.

The French come out of their lines.

About the ſame time, the French having been join'd by the horſe of the marſhal de Marſin's ar-

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"diſſolution of the then parliament, no perſon, in any new office, to be erected by the crown; or any commiſſioner, ſecretary, "or receiver of prizes; comptroller of accounts of the army; commiſſioners of tranſports, or ſick and wounded; or agents "of regiments; governors of plantations; commiſſioners of the navy; of the out-ports, or any perſons having penſions from "the crown during pleaſure, ſhould be capable of being choſen members of the houſe of commons: and that if any perſon, "choſen a member, ſhould afterwards accept any place of profit from the crown, his election ſhould be void; but that the ſame "perſon might be rechoſen for that, or any other county or borough. It was farther provided, that there ſhould be no more "commiſſioners appointed, for the execution of any office, than there had been before that ſeſſion: and laſtly, it was inacted, "that if any perſon, declared incapable of being elected, by this act, ſhould preſume to ſit or vote in the houſe, he ſhould "forfeit 500 l. to him that would ſue for the ſame."

(1) The confederate army then conſiſted of ſeventy-four battalions of foot, and 123 ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, having with them 100 canon, twenty hawitzers, and 42 pontons.

(2) Others ſay, the court of France being ſenſible, that a defenſive war would, at length, terminate in their irrecoverable ruin, reſolved to make an extraordinary effort, and to act every where offenſively. In order hereunto, a great council of war, (ſay they) was held at Verſailles, where moſt of the generals aſſiſted, and form'd ſeveral projects, to raiſe the glory of their grand Monarch's arms, and recall fortune, which ſeem'd to have abandon'd them in the preceeding campain.

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my, and confiding in their ſuperiority of number, came out of their lines, and incamp'd between Tirlemont and Judoigne.

The two armies meet.

The next day, being Whitſunday, about four o'clock, in the morning, the confederate army march'd in eight columns, towards Ramellies, a village near which the Gheet takes it ſource; that they might avoid the inconveniency of paſſing that river. They ſoon had information, that the enemy's army, having decamp'd from Tirlemont, was likewiſe on their march to meet them, their baggage and heavy cannon being left at Judoigne. The duke of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that the Danes had already join'd the confederate army, were fully bent upon ingaging them, either that day or the following; being apprehenſive the duke of Marlborough had formed the deſign of inveſting Namur.

Force of the enemy's army.

The enemy's army then conſiſted of ſeventy-ſix battalions of foot, and 132 ſquadrons of horſe, having ſixty-two cannon, twelve mortars, and thirty-ſix pontons. Their immediate deſign was to poſſeſs themſelves of Ramellies, and the ſtrong camp thereabouts, to prevent the confederates doing the ſame; and in this they ſo far ſucceeded, that being nearer, they got thither firſt; but had the mortification to be ſoon beat out of it again, as the reader will ſee below.

The fears of the enemy were however, groundleſs concerning Namur; for the duke of Marlborough had no ſuch deſign. His reſolution was the ſame with theirs, and had not they offered him battle that day, he would certainly have attack'd them the next.

The famous battle of Ramellies.

The two armies met near the village of Ramellies, from whence the battle took its name (1). When the confederate army was advanced near this place, they found the enemy geting into the camp of mount St. André, and placing their right to the Mehaigne, where they had poſted a brigade of foot, and filled the ſpace between that and Ramellies, which is about half a league, an open and level ground, with near one hundred ſquadrons, among which were the troops of the French King's houſhold. They had likewiſe above twenty battalions of foot, with a battery of about twelve pieces of cannon, at Ramellies.

Preparations on both ſides, for the ingagement.

A little after eight o'clock in the morning, the advanc'd guard of the confederates, which conſiſted of 600 horſe, and had been ſent with all the quarter-maſters of the army to view the ground, arrived at the height of Merdop, (or Merdau) from whence they perceiv'd, that the enemy were in motion, and march'd in the plain of mount St. André, extending themſelves as far as the tomb of Hottomont, towards the Mehaigne. Hereupon they halted, and ſent intelligence to the duke of Marlborough, and monſieur d'Auverquerque, who being advanc'd, about ten, to view the enemy, they could not, at firſt judge, whether thoſe ſquadrons they ſaw were only to cover their march, into their lines, or whether they were the van of the enemy, that came to offer battle. His grace therefore, gave orders to the horſe to haſten their march, reſolving, if thoſe he ſaw had been only covering ſquadrons, to attack them with his cavalry only. But the fog being ſoon after diſpers'd, and the army being then in full view of the enemy, the duke found their whole army approach with an apparent reſolution to fight, upon which he made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions to receive them.

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The enemy ſeing the confederates ſo near them, poſſeſs'd themſelves of a very ſtrong camp; placing their right near the tomb of Hottomont, againſt the Mehaigne; and their left at Anderkirk, or Autregliſe; and poſted a good deal of their infantry in the villages of Autregliſe, Offuz, and Ramellies, which laſt was near their center; beſide which they put five battalions, near the hedges of the village of Franquenies, which was on their right. The confederate army, was, at the ſame time, drawn up in order of battle, the right wing being poſted near Foltz, on the rivulet Yauſe, with a little moraſs in front; and the left near the village of Franquenies on the Mehaigne; where, beſide the number of the horſe belonging to that wing, the duke of Marlborough ordered the Daniſh ſquadrons, being twenty-one in number, to be poſted; rightly judging, by the ſituation of the ground, that the ſtreſs of the action would be on that ſide. All things being thus diſpoſed, it was reſolved to attack the village of Ramellies, which was the enemy's principal poſt; in which as I have ſaid above, they had poſted twenty battalions, who had intrenched themſelves, with a battery of about twelve pieces of treble cannon: and from thence to Autregliſe they had form'd a line of foot, along the Gheet, and a line of horſe behind them. In order to this attack, twenty pieces of cannon, of twenty-four pounders, and ſome hawitzers, were brought up; and twelve battalions, who were to be ſupported by the whole line, were order'd to make the firſt onſet, under the command of lieutenant-general Schultz.

The battle begins.

About half an hour paſt one, the artillery of the confederates began to play: it was immediately anſwer'd by the enemy's cannon, and both continued firing, with conſiderable execution, while the duke of Marlborough was at the head of the lines, to give the neceſſary orders every where, velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque repaired to the left, where perceiving, that the enemy's foot, poſted in the hedges of Franquenies, gall'd the horſe of that wing, he commanded four battalions, with two pieces of cannon, under colonel Wertmuller, to diſlodge them from thence: which they perform'd, with great vigor and reſolution. Hereupon the enemy detach'd two battalions, and fourteen ſquadrons of dragoons, on foot, to regain that important poſt; but monſieur d'Auverquerque commanded, at the ſame time, the whole wing of the Dutch horſe to attack the enemy, which not only prevented their deſign, but put thoſe dragoons into ſuch a diſorder, that they were not able either to reach the village, or to recover their horſes, which they had left a good way behind the tomb of Hottomont; and ſo were, moſt of them, cut in pieces, and taken priſoners. The Dutch cavalry charg'd with a great deal of bravery, ſword in hand, and ſoon after the ingagement was ſuſtain'd by the Daniſh ſquadrons; but having to deal with the French King's houſhold, viz. the muſquetaires, gens d'arms, gard de corps, horſe-grenadiers, and other choice troops, which were in the enemy's right, the conflict was obſtinate, and the ſucceſs doubtful for above an hour. The Daniſh horſe, which fought on the left of all, behaved themſelves with ſuch gallantry, that they forced the enemy to give ground, and broke ſeveral

(1) This place, which is render'd famous to all poſterity, by this auſpicious day, is but a village, ſurrounded by a ditch, in the diſtrict of Louvain, on the borders of the province of Namur. It is ſituated at the ſource of the Gheet, about a mile and a half north from the ſide of the Mehaigne, that interval being the narrow aperture, where this glorious battle was fought. The Gheet runs from Ramellies to Autreglize, thro' a marſhy ground, and beyond Autreglize, the river grows wide, and the ground is unpaſſable. Ramellies is ſix miles almoſt South from Judoigne, twelve South from Tirlemont, fourteen W. N. W. from Huy, and eleven North from Namur. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 13.

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of their ſquadrons, but, at the ſame time, the French had almoſt an equal advantage againſt the the Dutch horſe of the right of the left wing, whom they put into great confuſion. To remedy this, the duke of Marlborough, who was advanc'd that way, ſent for twenty ſquadrons of horſe from the right wing, where they could not ingage the enemy's left, by reaſon of a moraſs which ſeparated them: and with theſe he re-inforced his left, adding to them his body of reſerve (1).

The duke of Marlborough twice in great danger.

The duke of Marlborough, while theſe troops were advancing from the right, rallied ſome of the broken ſquadrons, and gave his orders for others to charge: in this place his grace was in the extremity of danger: for being ſingled out by ſeveral of the reſoluteſt of the enemy, and having the misfortune, as he was leaping a ditch, to fall from his horſe, he had either been kill'd or taken priſoner, if ſome of the confederate foot, that were near at hand, had not come, very ſeaſonably, to his aſſiſtance (2). After this his grace had ſtill a narrower eſcape, a cannon ball taking off the head of colonel Briendfield, his grace's gentleman of the horſe, as he was holding the ſtirrup for the duke to remount.

The advantage begins to declare in favor of the confederates.

The twenty ſquadrons his grace had ſent for from the right, to re-inforce the left, had but little ſhare in the defeat of the enemy's right: for by that time they were come up, the Dutch and Danes, having charg'd them both in front and flank, had almoſt compleated that ſignal piece of ſervice, cuting in pieces the beſt part of the French King's houſhold; inſomuch that they could never be fully re-eſtabliſhed during the remainder of the war. In the mean time, the village of Ramellies was vigorouſly attack'd by general Schultz, with the twelve battalions under him: the enemy having the advantage of the ground, defended themſelves with great reſolution and obſtinacy, till ſeeing the whole line of the confederate infantry in motion, to ſupport general Schultz, and the Dutch and Daniſh horſe advancing to ſurround them, they bethought themſelves of making their retreat: but they found it was too late: for they were intercepted by the victorious horſe, and moſt of them either killed or taken priſoners.

The enemy flee on all ſides.

The reſt of the enemy's infantry indeavor'd, likewiſe, to make their eſcape, which they did in better order, being favor'd by the horſe of their left wing, who being cover'd by a rivulet and moraſs, had not yet been attack'd, and form'd themſelves in three lines, between Offuz and Autregliſe: but the Engliſh horſe having found means to paſs the rivulet, charg'd the enemy with ſuch unparallel'd briſkneſs and courage, that they intirely abandon'd their foot; and our dragoons puſhing into the village of Autregliſe, made a terrible ſlaughter of them. The reſt of the enemy, who were, at the ſame time, attack'd by the Engliſh and Dutch foot, with equal bravery, gave way on all ſides. Their horſe rallied again, in the plains, to cover the diſorderly retreat of their foot; but they were ſo cloſely purſued, by the confederate cavalry, that they were forced to divide themſelves into three ſmall bodies, that they might fly the better, three different ways. Thoſe that took to the left, were purſued by the Dutch and Danes, who made great ſlaughter among them, and took abundance of priſoners: thoſe that fled to the right, were chas'd by the regiments of Lumley, Hay and Roſs; which two laſt fell in with the foot regiment du Roy, of whom having kill'd many, the reſt threw down their arms and begg'd quarter, which was generouſly granted; upon which they delivered their arms and colors to the lord John Hay's dragoons: but when the dragoons faced about, in order to purſue the enemy, they treacherouſly attempted to take up their arms again; in which, however, they were prevented, and ſuffer'd ſeverely for their perfidy.

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The headmoſt regiments of the Engliſh horſe, that purſued the enemy's center, were that of lieutenant-general Wood, commanded by himſelf, and Wyndham's (afterwards Palm's) carabineers, headed by major Petry. When they came upon a riſing ground, they eſpied ſeven ſquadrons of the Spaniſh and Bavarian guards, among which were the Elector himſelf and the marſhal de Villeroy, who hoped, with theſe few choice troops, to make good their retreat, and ſave their cannon, which was marching in a line before them. General Wood galloped with his own regiment upon the enemy's left, and charg'd them ſo vigorouſly, that he broke them all to pieces, killing many of them, and taking not a few priſoners, among whom were two lieutenant-colonels, one major, four captains, and ſeveral ſubaltern officers. He alſo took the ſtandard of the Elector's guards, two of his own trumpets, and kill'd his kettle drummer; the Elector himſelf, and the marſhal de Villeroy, very narrowly eſcaping. Major Petry, at the head of Wyndham's carabineers, fell upon the enemy with equal briſkneſs and reſolution, put many of them to the ſword, and took ſeveral priſoners, particularly the major of the Spaniſh guards, mr. de la Guertiere, and mr. de Bruan, cornet of the ſame; beſide four officers, and forty-ſix private men of the royal bombardiers, with their colors. The Engliſh horſe and dragoons followed the chace thro' and by Judoigne, till two o'clock in the morning, as far as Meldert, being five leagues from the place where the action happened, and two from Louvain. During this retreat, a misfortune happened to the enemy, which contributed not a little to compleat the victory. Several waggons of their vanguard, breaking down, ſtopp'd the way, ſo that their baggage and artillery, which follow'd, could not paſs; nor could their troops defile in good order: perceiving that the confederate horſe, having got intelligence of this accident, purſued them cloſe, they threw down their arms, that they might retreat with the greater eaſe, which they did, without any order, and in the utmoſt confuſion. Here it was that the moſt priſoners were taken; for in the action little or no quarter was given, the confederate horſe having been highly provok'd by the idle gaſconnades of the French musketeers and gens d' armes, of which they were very full when they came to the attack; but paid dearly for it in the ſequel. In ſhort, never was victory more compleat; the confederates made themſelves maſters of all the enemy's cannon, excepting two or three, to the number of about fifty pieces; moſt of their baggage; about 120 colors or ſtandards, and ſeveral pairs of kettle drums. The enemy's loſs of men, according

The confederates gain a compleat victory.

(1) French writers, who have given an account of this battle, allow this to have been a very prudent part of the duke of Marlborough's conduct: but to cover the diſgrace of their favorite troops, pretend his grace ſent for fifty, and not twenty ſquadrons from the right, and made four lines of them, beſide a column compoſed of his body of reſerve. Thus (ſays Father Daniel) the whole weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the French army, where the troops of his Majeſty's houſhold were plac'd. This body (continues he) which had hitherto been invincible (he forgets Blenheim) entered the enemy's troops, and overthrew the three firſt lines: but finding a fourth, and the column abovementioned beſide, which was moving to fall upon them in the flank, they were obliged to give way: and juſt in the ſame ſtrain the marquis de Quincy argues.

(2) Thus the relation printed by authority in England has it; but it has been ſaid by ſome officers, who were in the ingagement, that the duke was born down by ſome of the diſordered Dutch horſe. It is not impoſſible but both might be true.

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cording to the moſt general computation, amounted to 8000 ſlain, and among them, Prince Maximilian and Prince Monbaſon; and about 6000 private ſoldiers, and near 600 officers taken priſoners; which, with their deſerters and wounded, made their loſs not leſs than 20,000 men. Some accounts make the number of deſerters ſo great, as to aver, that hardly half of their troops ever returned to their colors. The perſons of note among the priſoners, were meſſieurs Palavicini and Meziere, major-generals; the marquis de Bar, brigadier-general of horſe; the marquis de Nonan, brigadier-general of foot; the marquis de la Baume, ſon of the marſhal de Tallard; monſ. de Montmorency, nephew to the late duke of Luxemburgh; a nephew of the lord Clare, and ſeveral others (1).

Juſt praiſes of the generals.

This compleat and memorable victory, next to the bleſſing of Heaven, was principally owing to the great courage, prudence, vigilance, and experience of the duke of Marlborough, who was perſonally preſent in the hoteſt of the action, and gave his orders, with wonderful ſedateneſs and preſence of mind. The ſecond honors of this glorious day were undoubtedly due to monſieur d'Auverquerque, velt-marſhal of the Dutch troops, who acted with all the valor, conduct, and vigor, that became a great and experienc'd general. The other generals, likewiſe, diſtinguiſhing themſelves, and, among the reſt, none more than his grace the duke of Argyle, who expos'd his perſon to the greateſt danger, and received ſeveral ſlight wounds; nor were the inferior officers leſs worthy of commendation, every one behaving, in their reſpective ſtations, as became men who were reſolved to conquer or die.

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Officers.

And troops.

All the troops, that ingaged, fought likewiſe with the greateſt bravery and reſolution, and like men who were reſolutely bent to maintain the reputation they had acquired at Schellenberg and Bleinheim. Each had their part of this glorious victory, tho' in different manners (2).

The French abandon Louvain.

The Elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy, with the greateſt part of the remains of their army, continued their precipitate flight,

(1) Having given the moſt circumſtantial account I have been able to collect of this remarkable action, from the ſeveral relations publiſh'd here and in Holland, and from other authentic papers; I ſhall now add a word or two, of what the French have ſaid to leſſen their misfortune. Their terror and amazement was, beyond all queſtion, very great; however, they put the beſt face upon it they could, and at firſt indeavor'd to conceal their loſs, by giving only a very ſlight and general account of the battle. One of their prints ſays no more, than that, "On the 23d, the King's army advanc'd from "Goſſencourt to the Mehaigne, and was attack'd by the confederate army. That the confederates were poſſeſs'd of ſeveral "poſts, out of which they were driven by their foot, who for about an hour and a half fought the enemy's foot with advan- "tage, at the villages of Ramellies and Jandrenouille; ſo that, for a long time, there was ground to hope the victory would "have been theirs; but that, while moſt of the troops were ingag'd in the center, one of the enemy's battalions attack'd and "forced the village of Taviers. That their horſe attack'd the French horſe, on the right; who not ſuſtaining their effort, "with like vigor, gave the confederates ſuch advantage, as obliged their army to retire, after a pretty equal loſs, on both "ſides: that the retreat was made at firſt, in good order; but the difficult ways occaſioning a confuſion, ſome troops betook "themſelves to flight, which was the cauſe of farther loſs, and obliged their army to abandon part of their cannon, and ſe- "veral waggons."

In the Mercure-Galant, the reader is amus'd with pompous accounts of the ſuperior valor of their troops; tho', in the very ſame periods, they are oblig'd to allow they were beaten. I ſhall mention only one or two inſtances of theſe gaſconades, from the Mercure-Galant of that month; "The duke of Marlborough (ſays this author) having ſeen with what valor the "French had fought, could not forbear ſaying, that, with 30,000 ſuch men, he could go to the end of the world." What muſt not we then ſuppoſe he could do with thoſe troops, who beat and triumph'd over theſe more than men, if we will believe them? In another place, ſpeaking of the troops of the King's houſhold, he makes our brave general own; "That "they were more than men: and that he knew them, as well as what they were capable of doing, ſo well, that he judg'd it "proper to order ſix to one to oppoſe them." The Paris Gazeteer, however, tho' not the moſt modeſt of news-writers, is oblig'd to own, that the troops of the houſhold did not behave themſelves very well: "The cavalry, on the right (ſays he) "where the troops of the King's houſhold were poſted, did not withſtand the enemy's attack with the ſame vigor that the "reſt did."

But to leave theſe triflers, let us hear what an author of ſomething more credit and reputation, tho' not the moſt impartial on that ſide, ſays. I mean the marquis de Quincy, who begins the fifth volume of his hiſtory, and his relation of this campain, in the following words.

"I am now to give an account of the moſt diſadvantageous campain, for France, that has ever happen'd during this "King's reign, which brought on ſuch a chain of terrible conſequences, as chang'd the very face of affairs in this kingdom. "And yet never was there more reaſon to believe, that the Prince, who directed it (viz. the French King) would have "brought his enemies to reaſon, and would have obliged them to acquieſce in a peace, ſuch as his Majeſty was willing to "give to Europe, which began to ſtand in need of it.

"At the concluſion of the preceding campain, orders were immediately given to recruit the troops, and raiſe freſh ones; "and uncommon diligence was uſed, during the whole courſe of the winter, as well in this, as in filling the magazines, in "thoſe places where the ſeveral armies were to aſſemble; that they might be early in a condition to execute thoſe great pro- "jects which the King himſelf had form'd, with infinite pains, and for which he had put his armies in ſuch a ſtate, that they "might triumph, in every place, whereſoever he had any enemies.——— I may very well ſay, that the court never form'd "ſuch well laid deſigns, as thoſe which were intended to be put in execution this campain; and that never meaſures were "better taken, nor purſued with greater ſecreſy, to carry ſo many great points at one and the ſame time." (Here my author gives an account of theſe vaſt projects, and then proceeds). "Theſe were the deſigns which were to have been exe- "cuted during the courſe of this year, which, if they had ſucceeded, as it was reaſonable to hope, would have produced "the advantages France expected from them; but we ſhall ſoon ſee, by the relations I am going to give, that the events were "ſo far from anſwering the expectations ſo juſtly conceived, that never campain was ſo diſadvantageous to the two crowns. "——— Of all the fatal accidents of this campain (continues my author) the loſs of the battle of Ramellies, which, if "I may be allow'd to ſay it, was hazarded without any neceſſity, was that which was moſt ſenſibly felt; becauſe the conſe- "quence of it, was the loſs of a great number of places, in the Low-countries." Here our author goes on to give an account of this battle, in which he confirms almoſt every circumſtance I have mention'd in my relation; excepting that he affirms the confederate army to have been far ſuperior to that of the French, and aſſerts, that there were not above 6000 kill'd on both ſides, of which he reckons but a third part on theirs, and two thirds on that of the allies, a ſuppoſition ſo monſtrouſly ridiculous, that it refutes it ſelf. He likewiſe runs into the ſame abſurd rhodomontades, which I have mention'd above, with regard to the more than human courage of the troops of the King's houſhold, againſt whom he, with the reſt of his country-men affirms, the duke of Marlborough, knowing what ſort of people he had to do with, oppoſed ſix to one. But, as (if there be any truth in this aſſertion) the duke muſt, for this purpoſe, have weakned ſome other part of his army, why did not they take that advantage, and fall upon the weaken'd part. He has no other way to come off, but by pretending that a too great dependance on theſe troops brought this misfortune on the whole army. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 25

(2) The honor of this day was the greater to the confederates, as the Elector of Bavaria had been heard to ſay, the French army was the beſt he had ever beheld: and as they loſt not only their camp, baggage and artillery, but all that they had left in Judoigne; to which we may add, "That this victory decided the fate of the Low-countries, as the battle of Hochſtadt "did that of Bavaria" Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 27.

Biſhop Burnet ſpeaking of this battle, ſays, the duke of Marlborough had told him, "The French army look'd the beſt "of

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flight, till they were got to Louvain; where having held a ſort of a tumultuous council of war, by torch-light, in the market place, they reſolved to abandon it, and retire towards Bruſſels. This was immediately put in practice; but the Elector of Bavaria thought himſelf ſo little ſecure there, that he ſpent the whole night in cauſing his papers, jewels, plate, and valuable furniture, to be pack'd up, and ſent away for Ghent, whither he himſelf follow'd, with all imaginable precipitation. On the other hand, the victorious confederates, having purſued the fugitives, till two in the morning, reſted a little near Meldert, and, at break of day, the duke of Marlborough ordered the army to incamp at Bavechien, for the refreſhment of the troops. In the mean time, his grace diſpoſed all things for their march early the next morning, in order to force the paſſage of the Deule; but he received advice, in the night, that the enemy had quited their camp, and abandon'd Louvain; upon which, bridges being laid over that river, a detachment of 500 men was ſent to take poſſeſſion of that city; and the whole army paſs'd the river, the next day, about noon, and took the camp of Bethlem.

Precipitate flight of the Elector of Bavaria.

The confederates take poſſeſſion of Louvain.

Loſs of the confederates.

The loſs of the confederates, in ſo bloody and obſtinate a conflict, could not but be great; yet did not much exceed 1000 kill'd, and about double that number wounded, moſt of them in the Dutch ſervice. Among the ſlain were reckoned Prince Lewis of Heſſe Caſſel, colonel of foot: colonel Van Driebergen; colonel Leerſe; colonel Gammel; colonel Van Schoonheyde; colonel Brouck; colonel Bortwigh; colonel Hirſel; colonel Murray, junior; colonel Biſberg; colonel Fabricius; lieutenant colonel Baker; major Boncour; major Roer; major Noorman; count Van Warfuze, a major; meſſieurs Bentingh, Piper, Smirſer, Tullekins, and Strater, captains of horſe; meſſieurs Schimmelpennigh, Beckman, de Ozallier and Clerc, captains of foot; monſieur Winterkamp, a cornet; monſieur Roer, and Croonbrieker, enſigns; and adjutant Piper. Among the wounded were reckon'd colonel la Rocque Servier; major count Vander-nat; major St. Pol, who died of his wounds; major Swerin, who was alſo taken priſoner; major Larny, mortally wounded; major Cunningham; monſieur Van Berghem; captain of horſe; and monſieur Sutherland, captain of foot; colonel Schravemore was taken priſoner, but came back upon his parole. Monſieur d'Auverquerque, who purſued the flying enemy, till one the next morning, was like to have been ſtab'd by a baſe Bavarian captain, to whom he had generouſly given quarter, and ſuffered him to keep his ſword; but the villain was prevented by one Violette, a Frenchman, groom to that general, who ſhot the Bavarian dead upon the ſpot.

The conſequences of the battle of Ramellies.

After the battle of Ramellies, a general revolution followed, throughout the Low-countries, and the allies were bleſs'd with a continued chain of conqueſts. The inhabitants of thoſe provinces (weary of the French government) received the confederate generals every where as their deliverers, who had redeem'd them from ſlavery, and recover'd their ancient liberty.

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The French having abandoned Louvain, and being retired over the canal of Bruges, the duke of Marlborough purſued them, without loſs of time, and having decamp'd from Bethlem, advanced, the 26th of May, to Dighem. In this march, the duke received a letter from the marquis de Deynſe, governor of Bruſſels, acquainting him, that the magiſtracy of that city had reſolved to ſend deputies to his grace, and deſired him to ſend a trumpeter to conduct them in ſafety to a place where he ſhould think fit to receive them.

The deputies of Brabant, &c. wait on the duke of Marlborough.

The duke hereupon ſent colonel Panton, one of his aids de camp, with a compliment to the marquis, and the ſtates of Brabant, to let them know he ſhould be glad to ſee them, in the afternoon. According to this invitation, they came to his grace's quarters, near Dighem, with two other deputations, one from the ſoverein council of Brabant, the other from the burgo-maſters, and city of Bruſſels. They all expreſs'd, as well their ſatisfaction at their being delivered from the French yoke, as their deep ſenſe of the obligation they owed to the Queen of Great Britain and the States-general. As ſoon as they were gone, his grace, in conjunction with the field-deputies of the States, wrote a letter to the States of Brabant, declaring, "that the Queen of England, and the "States-general, had ſent them to maintain the "juſt rights of his Catholic Majeſty, Charles III, "to the kingdom of Spain; not doubting but "they were convinced of his right, and would "imbrace this opportunity of ſubmiting to him, "as faithful ſubjects; and that the King would "maintain them in the intire injoyment of their "rights, liberties and religion; and aſſured them, "from themſelves, that the army ſhould be im-"ployed every where for their protection (1)."

The States of Brabant acknowlege King Charles III.

His grace ſent two other letters, to the ſame effect, to the ſoverein council of Brabant, and the city of Bruſſels; and received an anſwer from each, declaring their ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty, King Charles III. There came alſo deputies from each of theſe bodies, who declared the great ſenſe they had of the Queen's goodneſs, in delivering them from the oppreſſion of the French government. In the evening, the magiſtrates of Mechlin came into the camp and made their ſubmiſſion, and colonel Durel, adjutant-general, was detach'd with 200 horſe, to take poſſeſſion of that place.

Mechlin ſubmits.

An order for ſtrict diſcipline.

The duke of Marlborough being deſirous to give all the ſecurity and ſatisfaction he poſſibly could to the ſeveral towns and countries which had ſubmited to the obedience of their lawful ſoverein, King Charles III; and that they might have an intire dependance upon the aſſurances given them by his grace and the deputies of the States general, thought fit to publiſh an order, at the camp at Beaulieu, for ſtrict diſcipline.

The duke of Marlborough makes his entry into Bruſſels.

The duke having ſent his brother, general Churchill, with four battalions of foot, and two ſquadrons of horſe, to command in Bruſſels, cauſed the army to paſs the canal of that city, the 27th, and to incamp at Grimberg. And, the

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"of any he had ever ſeen; but that their officers did not do their parts, nor ſhew the courage that had appeared among "them, on other occaſions." Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 451.

To this, we may add, and account it as a very great error on their parts, that they placed ſo intire a dependance on the troops of the King's houſhold, as was, in a great meaſure, their ruin. For had they been as vigilant to ſupport them with a re-inforcement of horſe from their left, which was in the mean time idle, as the duke of Marlborough was in ſupporting his cavalry, who attack'd them, by a ſupply of freſh troops, from his right, the victory would probably have been more doubtful, or, at leaſt, would have been bought, by the allies, at a dearer rate. Thus the high idea the French officers had conceiv'd of the valor and conduct of theſe troops, turn'd to their own diſadvantage. Le Clerc Hiſt. des Provinces Unies.

(1) His grace judged it neceſſary to write this letter to the States of Brabant, not only to inable them to aſſemble, but likewiſe to prompt them to declare immediately for King Charles III, before the enemy had recovered their conſternation, and could make a ſtand. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. II. p. 45.

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next day, his grace made his public entry into Bruſſels, with great ſtate.

The army incamps near Aloſt:

The 29th, the duke of Wirtemberg was detach'd, with 2000 grenadiers, 1000 horſe, and ſix pieces of cannon, to take poſt at Aloſt; that place having declared for King Charles III two days before. The 30th, the army march'd from Grimberg, and incamp'd near Aloſt, the duke of Wirtemberg advancing, with his detachment, towards Gavre, with the pontons, for laying bridges over the Scheld, near that place, in order to intercept the enemy's retreat, towards their own frontiers: but as ſoon as they heard of the confederate army's motion, they quited their camp between St. Dennis and Ghent, and march'd, the 31ſt, at three o'clock in the morning towards Courtray. The

And marches to Meerlebeck.

duke being adviſed of this, and that the enemy had evacuated Ghent (leaving only a Spaniſh battalion in the caſtle, with the duke de Vintemille, governor of the town) his grace advanc'd near that city, and pitch'd his camp, the ſame day, at Meerlebeck. Brigadier Cadogan approaching Ghent, with ſome horſe, when the laſt battalion of French were marching out of it, the inhabitants appeared, in great numbers, on the walls, and calling out, with great joy, welcome, welcome! would have let him into the town; telling him, there were in the caſtle only ſome few Spaniſh ſoldiers, who were inclin'd to lay down their arms: but the brigadier contented himſelf with making his report to the general, and the deputies of the States, who were ſoon after attended by the magiſtrates of that city.

A thankſgiving celebrated.

The 1ſt day of June being appointed, by the duke of Marlborough, as a day of thankſgiving to Almighty God, for the late compleat victory, at Ramellies, and the great advantages that had attended it, the ſame was obſerved with as much devotion as could be expected in a camp.

The caſtle of Ghent ſurrenders.

His grace ſent, the ſame day, major-general Roſs, with a detachment of 600 horſe to Bruges, with letters to invite the magiſtrates of that city, and the Franc, to the obedience of King Charles III. And, at the ſame time, brigadier Dewitz was detached, with ſix ſquadrons, to ſummon the governor of Oudenard. The ſame day, likewiſe, the magiſtrates of the city of Ghent came again to the confederate camp, to compliment his grace, who exhorted them to follow the example of the cities of Brabant, and acknowlege their lawful ſoverein King Charles III. Count Corneille of Naſſau, ſon to monſ. d'Auverquerque, with two battalions, marched into that city; upon which, the next day, early in the morning, the Prince de Vintemille, after making ſome difficulties, gave up the caſtle, and the regiment of the marquis de los Rios, which was in gariſon there, ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners of war.

The duke of Marlborough makes his entry into that city.

The duke of Marlborough went, about noon, to the city, and was met, at the gate, by the magiſtrates, who preſented to him the three keys, which his grace returned, and was afterwards entertained, at dinner, by the count de Naſſau. In the evening, the magiſtrates again attended his grace, at his quarters, and made their formal ſubmiſſion to King Charles. Brigadier Dewitz ſent to acquaint his grace, at the ſame time, that, at his coming before Oudenarde, he had ſummoned the gariſon, conſiſting of one Spaniſh and two French battalions, who refuſed to ſurrender; but that he had intelligence, if a ſmall body of foot, with cannon, appeared before the place, they would certainly capitulate. Upon this, lieutenant-general Scholten marched, with ſeven battalions, four pieces of cannon, and two mortars, upon whoſe appearance, the gariſon ſurrendered, the next morning, being permited to march out.

Oudenard ſurrenders.

The ſame morning early, his grace received letters from major-general Roſs and brigadier Cadogan; the firſt adviſing, that, upon his approaching Bruges, the French battalion, which was retired thither, and the magiſtrates, were deſirous to ſubmit themſelves to King Charles III. The latter, acquainting his grace, that there were ten battalions, in the city and caſtle of Antwerp, who ſeem'd willing to ſurrender upon honorable terms; upon which, the duke ſent the brigadier an authority to treat with them. The ſame day, likewiſe, about nine o'clock, the magiſtrates of Bruges and of the Franc, waited on his grace to deſire his protection, and to make their ſubmiſſion in form to King Charles. His grace alſo received notice, that the enemy had quited Damme, and that fifty dragoons of major-general Roſs's detachment had taken poſſeſſion of that place, who were relieved by a Dutch regiment out of Flanders; and another marched into Bruges. In the afternoon, his grace ſent colonel Durel, with a detachment of 150 horſe, and a letter, to the governor of Dendermonde, to ſummon that place to acknowlege King Charles III. And a letter was likewiſe ſent to major-general Roſs, for the governor of Oſtend, to the ſame purpoſe.

Bruges, and the Franc, ſubmit to King Charles.

Damme abandon'd by the enemy.

The army incamps at Arſeele.

The 5th, the army, having paſſed the Scheld and the Lys, incamp'd at Arſeele: and the 7th, at noon, the duke of Marlborough received advice from brigadier Cadogan, who had been ſent with a detachment to beſiege Antwerp; that, the day before, the governors of that caſtle and city had ſign'd a capitulation, by which the gariſon, conſiſting of ſix French and ſix Spaniſh regiments, was allowed to march out, and were to be conducted to le Quenoy (1). But almoſt the whole gariſon entered into the ſervice of the allies.

The gariſon of Antwerp capitulates.

At the ſame time, another expreſs arrived, from major-general Roſs, with the governor of Oſtend's anſwer, to the ſummons made him to ſurrender, which was: "that he had ſent to the Elector of "Bavaria, and hoped he would be excuſed, if "he defended the place, as became him, till "farther orders:" upon which a detachment was commanded to march, and poſſeſs itſelf of Plaſſendael, a ſtrong fort upon the canal, a ſmall

(1) The marquis de Quincy gives us the following account of the ſurrender of this important place. "The troops (ſays he) "ſent by the duke of Marlborough, for that end, having ſeized all the avenues to this place, the officer who commanded "them, ſummon'd the city to ſurrender. The gariſon conſiſted of ſix French and ſix Spaniſh battalions. The marquis de "Teraſena, to whom the King of Spain had confided the government of the citadel, whether of his own motive, or gain'd "by the citizens, who were unwilling to expoſe their houſes to the fatal events of a ſiege, gave evident proofs to the French "troops, that he was not inclin'd either to defend the place himſelf, or to leave it to the care of monſ. de Pontis, captain of the "guards, who commanded them; ſo that, as he was maſter of the citadel, monſ. de Pontis was obliged to capitulate, without "ſtanding an attack. It was ſtipulated in the capitulation, that the French troops ſhould march out, with their arms and "baggage, and all other marks of honor, with four pieces of cannon, two mortars, and each ſoldier ammunition for twelve "diſcharges. They were conducted to Quenoy and Landrecy. As for monſ. de Taraſena, it was agreed, that he, and his "Spaniſh troops, ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the citadel, till farther orders from the archduke (King Charles III) an evident "proof of the governor's treachery, and that he had made his agreement with the allies, before they ſent their troops thither." Hiſt. Mil. de Louis XIV. tome V. p. 12. Thus within the ſpace of fourteen days, the duke of Marlborough intirely defeated and diſperſed one of the moſt gallant and beſt appointed armies that ever France brought into the field, and recover'd the whole Spaniſh Brabant; the marquiſate of the holy Empire, with its capital, the famous city of Antwerp; the lordſhip and city of Mechlin, and the capital city, with the beſt part of Spaniſh Flanders: an event which can hardly be parallel'd. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. II p. 76.

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league from Oſtend, to facilitate the ſiege of that place.

Both armies re-inforced.

The French and Bavarians retired, in the mean time, to Courtray, where their army was re-inforced by the marſhal de Marſin, with a body of foot which he brought out of Germany, his horſe having joined the marſhal de Villeroy before the battle of Ramellies. They were, likewiſe, joined by ſeveral other detachments, by which means their army was again very numerous: and in hopes of better ſucceſs, in the ſequel of this campain, their moſt proſperous general, the duke de Vendôme, was ſent for out of Italy, to ſtop the progreſs (as they vainly flattered themſelves) of the duke of Marlborough's conqueſts in Flanders. Upon this, the confederates alſo ordered twenty battalions from the neighboring gariſons, together with the troops of Hanover and Pruſſia, to join them, and hereupon it was reſolved to inveſt Oſtend immediately.

Oſtend beſieg'd;

The trenches before that place were open'd, the 28th of June, ſir Stafford Fairborn blocking up the harbor, at the ſame time, with nine large Engliſh men of war, beſide bomb-veſſels and fire-ſhips. The ſiege was carried on with ſuch ſucceſs, both by ſea and land, that, on the 6th of July, the gariſon beat a parly, and, on the 7th, ſurrendered, being permited only to march out with their ſwords and baggage, and promiſing not to ſerve againſt King Charles, or any of his allies, for the ſpace of ſix months. The greater part of the gariſon (which conſiſted of two Spaniſh battalions, four French regiments, and four troops of dragoons) entered into the ſervice of the allies. In the harbor was found two men of war, one of eighty and the other of fifty guns, and about forty-five ſmall veſſels, which were not comprized in the capitulation (1). This important conqueſt did not coſt the allies above 500 men, killed and wounded: they found, in the place, twenty-four colors and one ſtandard, fifty pieces of braſs, and forty iron cannons, ammunition in abundance, and 300,000 l. of powder.

And taken.

Courtray abandoned by the French.

The army before Oſtend, having level'd the approaches, and left a conſiderable gariſon in that place, joined the duke of Marlborough at Rouſſelaer. About the ſame time, his grace commanded the Prince of Holſtein-beck, with eight battalions, to take poſſeſſion of Courtray, which the enemy, notwithſtanding their boaſts, had abandon'd.

Menin beſieged.

The 25th of July, the allies inveſted Menin (2), but the artillery not being come up, the trenches were not opened till the 4th of Auguſt. During this ſiege, on the 16th of Auguſt, brigadier Cadogan, who commanded a body of horſe, appointed to cover the foragers, was ſurpriſed by a detachment of the enemy's cavalry, and carried priſoner into Tournay: but, on the 18th, was ſent back by the duke de Vendôme, upon his parole; whereupon the duke of Marlborough releaſed baron Palavicini, a major-general in the French ſervice, who was taken at Ramellies, by way of exchange. The town of Menin beat a parly the 22d, and, on the 23d, the duke of Argyle, who had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, in a particular manner, at the ſtorming of the counterſcarp, took poſſeſſion of the gate of Bruges; the 25th, the gariſon, conſiſting of 4300 men, march'd out with the uſual marks of honor, and were conducted to Douay. They were allowed to carry away four pieces of cannon, and two mortars, were provided with waggons and boats, and permited to have eight covered waggons. In this town, the duke found fifty-five braſs and ten iron-cannon, ſix mortars, 810 double barrels of powder, 387 double barrels of muſket-balls, and a great quantity of all ſorts of proviſions. Among the artillery were four pieces of cannon, with the arms of England upon them, that were taken by the French at the battle of Landen, and theſe his grace ordered to be ſent to England,

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And taken.

The loſs of the confederates, in this ſiege, according to a liſt ſent by general Saliſch, who commanded it, to mr. ſecretary Fagel, conſiſted of 583 officers and men kill'd, and 2045 wounded. And the loſs of the enemy, according to a writer of reputation (3) of their own, conſiſted of 1532 officers and men, kill'd, wounded and ſick (4).

Loſs on both ſides.

The duke having giving directions for levelling the approaches, and repairing the fortifications of Menin, gave orders, on the 29th, to his brother Churchill, to beſiege Dendermond (5), which had been blockaded ever ſince the battle of Ramellies. Three days after, his grace arrived in the camp before that place, when, a breach being made in a redoubt that covered the town, it was carried by ſtorm.

Dendermond beſieged.

The enemy, hereupon, beat a parley, but were allowed no better terms, than to keep their ſwords and baggage, and to be made priſoners of war. The gariſon conſiſted of two French regiments, a

And taken.

(1) The taking of this place, in ſo ſhort a time, was ſo much the greater honor to the confederates; becauſe, in the year 1601, 2, 3. it held out a ſiege againſt the Spaniards thoſe three years; during which the beſiegers loſt near 80,000 perſons before it: whereas now, the ſame place, tho' defended by a ſtrong gariſon, commanded by two generals, one a Frenchman, the other a Spaniard, and provided with artillery and ammunition in abundance, ſurrender'd to the allies, after having been batter'd no more than three days and ſome few hours.

The French, to juſtify monſ. de la Mothe, their governor, from any imputation, for delivering up this important place in ſo ſhort a time, ſay, that the place being intirely ruin'd by above 10,000 bombs, which were thrown into it, the menaces of the inhabitants to revolt, the miſunderſtanding between the French and Spaniſh gariſons, and the want of arms for the ſoldiers, oblig'd him to capitulate; F. Daniel. To all which, monſ. de Quincy adds, that the place was very ill provided with every thing, and that the gariſon, which conſiſted only of eight battalions, and four regiments of dragoons, were all either new levies, or diſaffected Walloons. Hiſt. Mil. tome V. p. 16. How little truth there was in ſome of theſe aſſertions, was too well known to need any refutation.

(2) This place, which is ſituated on the river Lys, five miles S. W. of Courtray, nine almoſt N. of Liſle, and twelve almoſt S. E. of Ipres, was reckoned a key to the French conqueſts in the Netherlands: it was built after the peace of Nimeguen; the celebrated monſieur de Vauban had beſtowed his utmoſt ſkill upon it; and nothing that art could invent was wanting to render it impregnable. As it was, beſide, defended by a numerous gariſon, under the command of the marquis de Bully, who had under him lieutenant-general Caraman, with monſieur de Valloris, chief ingineer, and two other ingineers of note, it was thought by many too bold an undertaking; but, on the other hand, it was conſidered, that the reduction of ſo conſiderable a place, would not only add great reputation to the arms of the allies, but would be a great help to ſecure their late acquiſitions: and upon theſe, and ſome other conſiderations, it was that the ſiege was reſolved on. Lediard's life of Marborough, Vol. II. p. 99.

(3) Hiſt. mil. de Louis le grand, par monſieur le marquis de Quincy. Tome V. p. 43.

(4) The duke de Vendôme having aſſembled an army of 155 ſquadrons, and ſeventy-three batalions, it was thought he would have made ſome motion to diſturb the progreſs of the confederate arms: but he had the mortification to be only a ſpectator of the ſiege, and ſurrender of Menin, and continued quiet in his camp, behind the Deule. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 108.

(5) Dendermond is a ſtrong town, in the earldom of Flanders, on the rivers Scheld and Dender, from the latter of which it has its name. It is ſituate twelve miles E. of Ghent, fourteen S. W. of Antwerp, and ſeventeen N. W. of Bruſſels.

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Spaniſh batalion of 700 men, and 200 dragoons (1). After ſo many conqueſts, the confedeate army might very well have ended the campain, crowned with more glory than could almoſt be aimed at in one ſummer: but the ever victorious duke of Marlborough, thought it yet too ſoon to ſtem the torrent of their ſucceſs He therefore ordered them to turn their arms againſt Aeth (2), which was, accordingly inveſted, the 16th of September, by forty batalions and thirty ſquadrons, under the command of monſieur d'Auverquerque: the duke himſelf being incamp'd at Gramez, to cover the ſiege, and the enemy lying between Condé and Mortaigne. The trenches were opened the 22d, in the night, with very little loſs; and the ſiege was carried on with ſuch ſucceſs, that the town ſurrendered (3), the 3d of October, the gariſon being allowed no better terms than that of Dendermond.

Aeth beſieged.

And taken.

The duke of Marlborough remained, all this while, incamp'd at Gramez, to cover the ſiege of Aeth; and the duke de Vendôme contented himſelf to look on the taking of that place, with the ſame tranquility as he had, before, that of Menin: but being apprehenſive that the allies might have a deſign either upon Mons or Charleroy, he cauſed the gariſons of thoſe two places to be re-inforced (4).

The campain ended.

With this ſiege, the allies finiſh'd their glorious campain in Flanders, and, ſoon after, the army broke up and went into winter-quarters. The duke of Marlborough returned to the Hague, where he arrived the 9th of November, and monſ. d'Auverquerque, being appointed to command in chief, in the Netherlands, took up his reſidence at Bruſſels.

The duke of Marlborough returns to the Hague.

The affairs of Germany.

The affairs of the allies in Germany were not ſo ſucceſsful as in the Low-countries; tho' the French did not make all the advantage, which their grand Monarch might reaſonably have expected from the ſuperiority of his army, under the command of the marſhals de Villars and de Marſin, to that under the command of Prince Lewis of Baden.

Their ſucceſs went no farther than regaining from the fatal ſlowneſs of the Germans, what they had loſt the foregoing compain: for when they hoped to have made ſome conqueſts on that ſide, they were diverted from acting any longer offenſively, by the duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs in the Netherlands, which obliged thoſe marſhals to ſend ſtrong detachments thither, as I have already obſerved above.

Prince Lewis's melancholy ſituation, and the reproaches (deſerved or undeſerved I ſhall not pretend to determine) which he was ſenſible he lay under of favoring France, inclined him, when he ſaw he could do no more ſervice at the head of the Imperial army, to retire to the baths of Schlangenbad; and, in all probability, did not a little contribute to the lingring ſickneſs of which he died, at Radſtadt, the 4th of January, N. S.

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Before I leave Germany, I muſt not omit mentioning, that the Emperor having erected the county of Mindelheim, into a principality of the Empire, and confer'd the ſame on the duke of Marlborough, and her Majeſty having been pleaſed to allow mr. Stepney, her envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Imperial court, to take poſſeſſion thereof, the ceremony of the inveſtiture was peformed, at the town of that name, on the 24th and 25th of May: and his grace being, thereby, intitled to ſit and vote in the college of Princes of the Empire, the duke's miniſter was accordingly introduced into that college, at the diet, in November following, with all marks of reſpect.

I come now to maritime affairs, with which I ſhall occaſionally combine thoſe of Italy and Spain.

Maritime affairs.

We left ſir John Leake, with a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, on the coaſt of Catalonia: after a tedious paſſage of thirteen weeks, he arrived in the river of Liſbon, pretty much ſtreightened for proviſions, till he met with a ſupply coming from England off of cape St. Vincent. At Liſbon, ſir John got intelligence, that the gallions were about to ſail from Cadiz for the Weſt-indies; whereupon he ſet ſail, the 25th of February, to indeavor to intercept them: but to his great ſurprize, when he came to the bar of the river, he found himſelf ſtopp'd by the fort of St. Julian, from whence ſeveral ſhot were fired at the fleet, which obliged them to come to an anchor; the commanding officer declaring, he had orders from court to ſtop all ſhips, without diſtinction. And tho', upon complaint made, he was ſuffered to depart the next morning, it was then too late, the gallions were eſcap'd, and it was in vain he purſued them; he could only come up with two ſhips, that had ſtaid behind, which he took, and by them had ſuch intelligence, as convinced him it was to no purpoſe to continue the purſuit (5); he

Suppoſed treachery of the Portugueſe.

(1) Thus the troops of the allies made themſelves maſters, in a ſiege of ſeven days, of this important place, which being ſtrongly ſituated among moraſſes, had formerly baffled the army of the French King, who beſieged it in perſon, and which was now defended, as I have ſaid above, by two French regiments of foot, a Spaniſh batalion of 700 men, drawn out of ſeveral other regiments, and 200 dragoons unmounted.

The French, according to cuſtom, to leſſen the honor gain'd by the beſiegers, pretend the gariſon might have held out longer, had it not been for a miſunderſtanding between the governor and the officer who commanded the French troops.

(2) Aeth is a ſtrong frontier-town, and a place of ſome conſideration, in the earldom of Hainault, ſituate on the Dender at the place where the brook of Cambron empties itſelf into that river, fourteen miles almoſt North-Weſt of Mons, twenty-two almoſt South-Weſt of Bruſſels, and twenty-four South of Ghent. The French took it in 1697. But reſtor'd it the ſame year by the peace of Ryſwick. It is a pretty regular fortification, and all the works were at this time in good repair. Monſieur de Spinola was governor of it, and the brigadier de St. Pierre commanded the troops, to the number of about 2000 men. The enemy had time to provide every thing that was neceſſary for a long and vigorous defenſe: but men were chiefly wanting. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 112.

(3) According to the accounts, the French themſelves give of their loſs, at this ſiege, they had but 800 men left of the gariſon, when they ſurrender'd; and they aſſign that as a reaſon for the governor's being obliged to ſurrender on ſo hard, conditions; becauſe he had not men enough to beſet all the poſts, and had for that reaſon abandon'd the ſalliant angles of the cover'd way. De Quincy, Hiſt. mil. de Louis le grand, Tome V. p. 48.

(4) This lukewarmneſs of the duke de Vendôme was highly diſtaſteful to the Elector of Bavaria. He wanted to be in action again; tho' he ſaw a ſeries of ill fortune attended him in whatever he took in hand; but the French did not care to hazard any thing under his conduct. "They were (ſays a late author) jealous of the Elector's heat, and tho' he defired to "command an army apart, yet it was not thought fit to divide their forces, tho' now grown to be very numerous. Deſerters "ſaid, the panic was ſtill ſo great in the army, that there was no appearance of their venturing on any action. Paris it-"ſelf was under a high conſternation; and tho' the King carried his misfortunes with an appearance of calmneſs and com-"poſure; yet he was often let blood, which was thought an indication of a great commotion within; and this was no doubt "the greater; becauſe it was ſo much diſguiſed. No news was talked of at that court, all was ſilent and ſolemn, ſo that "even the ducheſs dowager of Orleans, knew not the true ſtate of their affairs; which made her write to her aunt the "Electreſs of Hanover, to learn news of her." Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 452.

(5) There was a very ſtrong ſuſpicion of foul play, on this account, in Portugal: for tho' an embargo was laid, at the deſire of mr. Methuen, that ſo no advice might be given to the enemy; and, by a pretended miſtake, ſir John himſelf was unfortunately ſtop'd, under color of this embargo, yet five ſhips were ſuffered to go over the bar, after the embargo was laid, two of which were Danes, by whom it was ſuſpected the deſign was diſcovered: and this was confirmed by the maſters of the two prizes, who ſaid, they had certain intelligence at Cadiz, of ſir John Leake's deſign, and had taken care to fruſtrate it. Annals of Queen Ann.

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therefore made away for the Streights; but could not reach Gibraltar till the 30th of March. He was there joined, the 3d of April, by a ſquadron of twelve Engliſh and Dutch men of war, commanded by commadore Price, having ſome land-forces on board: whereupon it was reſolved to ſail to the relief of Barcelona, which was then diſtreſs'd by ſea and land.

The ſiege of Barcelona raiſed.

The fleet ſailed accordingly, the 13th, and, the 18th, arrived off Altea. The 20th, ſir George Byng joined them with another ſquadron from England; as did commadore Walker, with his ſquadron, the 23d. The fleet now conſiſting of fifty-three ſhips of the line, and ſix frigats, beſide tranſports, it was reſolved, that every ſhip ſhould make the beſt of their way, without ſtaying for one another.

The 26th, the earl of Peterborough came off from Tarragona, with diverſe barks, on board of which were 1400 land-forces. His excellency went on board the Prince George, and hoiſted the union-flag, taking upon him the command of the fleet, as admiral. The ſame day, letters came from King Charles, of the 23d, with very preſſing inſtances for relief; and, within two hours after, a freſh and fair gale happily ſprung up, which brought the fleet, with all the forces and recruits, from England and Ireland, to an anchor before Barcelona, the 27th, in the afternoon, to the inexpreſſible joy of the inhabitants, who expected a ſtorm that very night. Sir George Byng, and ſir John Jennings, with ſome others of the beſt ſailers, who got thither a few hours before the reſt, diſcover'd the rear of the French fleet making off in great diſorder (1).

The land-forces and marines were immediately put on ſhoar, and the admirals waited on the King, who received them in a manner ſuitable to the imminent danger they had juſt reſcued him from. The French continued the ſiege, the 28th and 29th; but the 30th, in the afternoon, they raiſed it, with great noiſe and precipitation, ſeting fire to, and deſtroying whatever they could of their camp and ſtores. They were terribly harraſs'd in their retreat, as well by ſeveral volunteers from the city, as the miquelets and peaſants from the mountains, who ſkirmiſh'd with them till eleven at night, and the beſt part of the next day, when they took from them two field-pieces, and ſome waggons; while thoſe from the town pillaged the enemy's abandon'd camp (2). The accounts publiſhed of this retreat at Paris, pretend, it was in very good order, and that they always beat thoſe who purſued them. But how came they then to part with their field-pieces and waggons?

Troops landed at Valencia,

Barcelona being thus relieved, the fleet ſailed from thence, the 7th of May, with what forces could be ſpared from the ſervice of Catalonia, and arrived on the coaſt of Valencia, the 13th, where the earl of Peterborough being put on ſhoar, they were landed the next day. The 19th, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to proceed to Alicant; but being got the length of Altea, two gentlemen came off, and acquainted the admiral, that the inhabitants of Carthagena were diſpoſed, upon the appearance of the fleet, to declare for King Carthagena, Charles III. It was thereupon reſolved to proceed thither; and the fleet arriving, the firſt of June, the place was ſurrender'd the next day.

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The 26th, ſir John Leake arrived, with the fleet, before Alicant, which they found had a numerous gariſon, commanded by brigadier Mahoni, an Iriſhman, who defended the place, with great bravery, till the 28th of July, when it was taken by ſtorm; Mahoni, with his gariſon, retiring into the caſtle, where he continued to make a gallant defence, till (if we may believe father Daniel) a want of water, and other neceſſaries, obliged him to ſurrender, upon honorable terms.

And Alicant ſurrender.

While our fleet was thus victorious on the coaſt of Spain, the affairs of King Charles, in the inward parts of Spain, had been ſucceſsful beyond expectation, and an intire ſubmiſſion of thoſe extenſive dominions ſeemed to be out of all doubt, when his Catholic Majeſty, by the advice of his German miniſters, and contrary to that of his friends and allies, took the fatal reſolution of going thro' Arragon to Madrid, and ſtopping at Saragoſſa, in his way thither, which overthrew all the meaſures concerted in his favor, and was alone the cauſe of all the misfortunes which inſued, and, in the end, loſt him the Monarchy.

The campain in Portugal and Spain.

But to deſcend to ſome farther particulars: the confederate forces in Portugal, being much ſuperior to thoſe under the duke of Berwick, began the campain, on that ſide, with the ſiege of Alcantara, before which town they ſate down the 10th of April, N. S. and, on the 14th, the gariſon, to the number of 3282 men, beſide officers, ſurrendered priſoners of war. The earl of Galway, hereupon, advanced farther into Spain, and publiſhed a manifeſto; declaring, "that he did not come into Spain "as an enemy; but to deliver them from the "French yoke; and whatever officers would re-"turn to the obedience of their lawful ſoverein, "King Charles III, ſhould injoy the ſame poſts "they held, under the duke d'Anjou."

Alcantara taken.

The court of Spain was hereupon apprehenſive, that the allies would have marched directly to Madrid, and, King Philip being abſent, on his expedition for the recovery of Barcelona, his Queen ſummon'd the grandees and magiſtrates to attend her, and made them the following ſpeech:

Speech of King Philip's Queen to the grandees of Spain.

"I have ſent for you to acquaint you what "diſtreſs the ſtate is in: I cannot conceal it from "you, while the King is expoſing his life in your "defence; heaven bleſſes his arms in Catalonia, "and we hope that rebellious province will ſoon be "reduced; but affairs do not go ſo well in Eſtra-"madura. The Portugueſe advance; will you "tamely ſee ſuch enemies approach you? do you "not think of exerting your utmoſt efforts to "make them repent of their audaciouſneſs? the "preſervation of the Monarchy is now the point "in queſtion: you ought, in this preſſing neceſſity, "to ſhew your loyalty and zeal, by ſacrificing "your all for the King, for me, and yourſelves; "powerful and ſpeedy ſuccors are neceſſary. I "am the firſt Queen, who has appear'd in this "place, on ſuch an occaſion: when I give you "ſuch extraordinary marks of my affection, I "well deſerve you ſhould do ſomething for me, "and appear in my defence."

This ſpeech, pathetic as it was, had very little

(1) According to de Larrey, the French gave ut, to ſalve their honor, that they retired with their fleet, becauſe a contageous diſtemper began to ſhew itſelf among themen. Hiſt de Fr. ſous Louis XIV. Cowardice and fear are often contageous, and ſo the allegation may perhaps have been juſt

(2) The French had been thirty-five days before the place. Their army conſiſted, at firſt, of 20,000 men, of which they loſt 5000. The gariſon, on the contrary, till the earl of Peterborough found means to throw in a ſupply, was but 800 men ſtrong. The allies found in the enemy's camp, upwards of 100 large braſs-cannon; twenty-ſeven mortars; 5000 barrels of gun powder; 40,000 cartridges ready fill'd; 500 barrels of muſket ſhot, with a great quantity of lead; 2000 bombs; 10,000 great royal grenadoes; 12,300 hand-grenades; 40,000 cannon-balls, 78,000 ſpades and ſhovels; 13,000 ſacks of meal; vaſt quantities of rye, oats and wheat; 10,000 pair of ſhoes; ſeveral iron mills, and other warlike utenſils; beſide 1500 ſick and wounded men. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. II. p. 807.

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effect on the Spaniards. They were oppreſs'd by the French, inſulted and trampled on by a people whom they heartily deſpis'd and hated; they, therefore feared no alteration for the worſe: this favorable juncture was, however, unhappily loſt, thro' the abundant caution or obſtinacy of the Portugueſe, who, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the confederate generals to induce them to advance towards Madrid, during the ſiege of Barcelona, perſiſted in their reſolution, not to leave their own frontiers, till the fate of Barcelona was determined; they therefore march'd towards Cividad Rodrigo, which they inveſted the 21ſt of May, and took the 26th. The next day, upon the news of the raiſing the ſiege of Barcelona, it was unanimouſly agreed to march to Madrid.

Cividad Rodrigo taken.

King Philip quits Madrid.

The 7th of June, the confederate army arrived at Salamanca; and, on the 18th, incamp'd at Eſpinal, whither deputies came, from the Eſcurial, to make their ſubmiſſion. King Philip, in the mean time, was ſo hard preſs'd by the earl of Peterborough, after his raiſing the ſiege of Barcelona, that he was forced to retire to the frontiers of France, where he left his army, and went, by the way of Navarre, to Madrid; but receiving intelligence that the Portugueſe were advancing thither, he again retired, with his court, to the confines of France.

King Charles proclaim'd there.

The 24th, the marquis das Minas and the earl of Galway, took poſſeſſion of that capital, and cauſed King Charles III to be proclaimed there, the 27th. This had ſuch an influence on the Spaniards, that Toledo immediately declared for him; cardinal Portacarero himſelf, wrote to the marquis das Minas, aſſuring him of his ſubmiſſion to King Charles III, and even the courts of judicature adminiſtered juſtice in his name. Upon this ſucceſs, the confederate generals ſent expreſs after expreſs to King Charles, to haſten his march and join them, before King Philip could be re-inforced, with all the forces he could aſſemble: but the province of Arragon declaring for him, at the ſame time, he marched into Saragoſſa, where he received the ſubmiſſion of the ſeveral towns of that province, who ſwore allegiance to him. Here he unhappily ſpent ſo much time, partly in bull-feaſts and other diverſions, and partly in an ill-tim'd fit of devotion, that King Philip aſſembled an army ſuperior to that of the allies, and obliged them to quit Madrid.

King Charles joins the allies too late.

Toledo, Salamanca, and the reſt of the towns in Caſtille, which had declared for King Charles, were forced to return to the obedience of King Philip, and when it was too late, the former, with the earl of Peterborough, joined the marquis das Minas and the earl of Galway, at Guadalaxara, the 6th of Auguſt, with ſix or ſeven regiments. Their retreat to Portugal was now cut off; and Alcantara, which, as we have ſeen above, was taken by the Portugueſe, in the begining of the campain, was retaken by the Spaniards, as was likewiſe Carthagena, which had been taken by admiral Leake. There was therefore now no other remedy but to retire into Valencia, and take up winter-quarters there: and thus the campain in Spain, which begun ſo gloriouſly, ended unhappily.

Death of the King of Portugal.

Before I leave theſe parts, I muſt juſt mention, that in the begining of December died don Pedro, King of Portugal, in the 58th year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, don Juan the IVth, who, on his acceſſion, declared, that he would punctually obſerve all his father's ingagements with the allies: but to return to the fleet.

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Ivica ſubmits to King Charles.

Sir John Leake having, according to his orders, detach'd ſir John Jennings, with twelve men of war, and a fireſhip, for Liſbon, and watered in Altea-Bay, ſailed from thence, the 26th of Auguſt, towards Ivica. He arrived there, the 29th, and found the governor and inhabitants of that place ſo well diſpoſed for King Charles III, that upon the firſt appearance of the fleet, they ſent deputies on board to make their ſubmiſſion.

Majorca reduced.

The 2d of September, the fleet ſailed from Ivica, and was the next day before Majorca, where the Conde de Alcudia, the viceroy, with ſome few who favored the duke of Anjou's intereſt, offered to reſiſt; but two bomb veſſels being ſent into Palma, the capital of the iſland, upon their throwing in three or four ſhells, the inhabitants obliged the vice-roy to retire to the palace, and deſire a capitulation, which was concluded the 7th.

Sir John Leake returns home.

Sir John having left a gariſon of a hundred marines, with a captain and lieutenant, in the caſtle of Porto-Pin, and two men of war to tranſport the viceroy and his adherents, who were deſirous to remove, ſailed the 12th, from Majorca, and paſs'd thro' the Streights the 21ſt. The 23d, being off the ſouthward cape, he detached ſir George Byng, purſuant to orders he had received from the lord high admiral, with a ſquadron, towards Liſbon, and with the reſt of the fleet, proceeded on his voyage home. He arrived, the 6th of October, at St. Helens, came ſome days after to London, and, having waited on the Queen, and her royal conſort, received from them both that gracious and generous reception, which his long, eminent, and ſucceſsful ſervices, had ſo well merited.

A deſcent upon France deſign'd, but fruſtrated.

The confederates had formed a deſign, this year, of making a deſcent upon France, by way of diverſion, and to ſupport the Proteſtants, whom a ſevere perſecution had prepared for a general revolt: to this end, the grand fleet, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, ſail'd from England, with 10,000 land-men on board, about the middle of Auguſt, but being detained a conſiderable time, by contrary winds, that deſign was laid aſide (1), and the earl of Rivers, with the land-forces on board, ſail'd for the river of Liſbon, where they arrived, the 18th of October. The earl propoſed the joining a body of the Portugueſe troops, and marching directly for Madrid: but the Portugueſe being ill provided for ſuch an expedition, and the earl inſiſting, that he would be commanded by none but the King, they did not think fit to come into thoſe meaſures. His lordſhip hereupon ſail'd for Alicant, and having landed the troops there, he returned to England, the inſuing ſpring, together with the earl of Eſſex, brigadier Gorges, and ſeveral other officers, who imbark'd on the firſt deſign, leaving the fleet, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, at Liſbon.

The campain in Italy.

In Italy, the French had ſome ſucceſs, in the begining of the campain; for having attack'd the Imperialiſts at Calcinnato, in the abſence of Prince Eugene, they drove them from their poſts, and obliged them to quit the Breſcian, with the loſs

(1) The 10th of Auguſt, the wind being eaſterly, and a briſk gale, ſir Cloudeſly, with the whole Engliſh fleet, ſet ſail in the morning, believing the Dutch could not be far off, the wind having been fair the night before: but, whatever was the cauſe, they did not come to St. Helens till the 12th in the morning, which fatal delay proved the overthrow of the whole deſign; and was the occaſion of the project of a deſcent being laid aſide. When the Dutch arrived at St. Helens, the 12th, in the morning, they anchor'd a tide to get intelligence of ſir Cloudeſly, and to take in freſh water, the Engliſh fleet, in the mean time, appeared off of Plymouth, that ſame day, about noon, and lay by till the evening; but was not joined by the Dutch till the 14th in the morning, when the whole fleet, being come near the mouth of the channel, was forc'd into Torbay, by a ſtrong weſterly wind, which continuing ſeveral weeks, the firſt and ſecond-rate ſhips were laid up, and the whole deſign dropp'd. Lediard's naval hiſt. Vol. II. p. 811.

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of 3000 men kill'd or taken, beſide their cannon and baggage. This ſucceſs incourag'd the French King to order the duke de la Feuillade to beſiege Turin. Accordingly, the French begun to batter the town and citadel the 8th of June, and the 15th the beſiegers fired red-hot bullets, many of which falling near the duke of Savoy's palace, his royal Highneſs ſent the royal family to Quieraſco, and followed himſelf two days after, leaving a numerous gariſon under command o the Imperial general Thaun. Soon after, his royal Highneſs received advice from Prince Eugene, that he had paſs'd the Adige, and was advancing to join him. About the ſame time, the duke de Vendôme was called out of Italy to command the French army in Flanders, and the duke of Orleans took upon him the command of the army in Italy, which was intended to oppoſe Prince Eugene's march: but the Prince appear'd to be the greateſt general; for, notwithſtanding all the duke could do to prevent it, he joined the duke of Savoy the firſt of September.

The city of Turin was, by that time, reduced to great diſtreſs, moſt of their powder being ſpent; and the enemy, having made a lodgment on the counterſcarp, afterwards attack'd a half moon and two counter-guards, which they carried. The Imperialiſts indeed beat them out again; but as they were in ſo great want of ammunition, it would have been impoſſible for them to reſiſt many ſuch attacks. His royal Highneſs and Prince Eugene found themſelves therefore under a neceſſity of marching immediately to the relief of Turin. This they did accordingly, and, on the 7th, happened that memorable battle which changed the whole face of affairs in Italy. The confederates march'd by break of day towards the enemy, and by noon the victory was intirely theirs, and the city delivered; for the enemy abandoned the attack, and their camp, with the greateſt precipitation, retiring, with the remains of their army, on the other ſide of the Po. The reſt of the day was ſpent in taking ſeveral caſſines and redoubts poſſeſs'd by the enemy, who all ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners of war, and his royal Highneſs enter'd triumphantly his capital the ſame evening. As a ſmall allay however to this ſucceſs, the French, under the command of count Medavi, defeated the Prince of Heſſe, and a body of Germans, two days after the battle of Turin, near Medoli, in the Milaneſe. This was nevertheleſs but a trifle, if compared with the numerous loſſes which France ſuſtain'd in theſe parts, about this time: for the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, in order to improve their late victory, march'd immediately into the Milaneſe, where almoſt all the towns ſurrendered to them at their approach. The 24th of September, the city of Milan itſelf ſent a deputation, offering to ſubmit to his Imperial Majeſty and the houſe of Auſtria, and, on the 26th, Prince Eugene made his triumphant entry into that city. The duke of Savoy, having reduced Piccighitone, Tortona, Alexandria, Modena, and ſeveral other places of leſs note, appeared on the 16th of November, before Caſal, which ſurrendered the 6th of December, the gariſon, which conſiſted of near 2000 men, being made priſoners of war. In this place, his royal Highneſs found ſeventy-ſix pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition and proviſions. Thus the campain in Italy ended very gloriouſly for the allies, and all the troops, except a body under the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who were left to block up Cremona, were ſent into winter-quarters. The 14th of December, Prince Eugene went to Milan, of which duchy he was made governor for King Charles III, his Imperial Majeſty having granted the inveſtiture thereof to the King of Spain. The caſtle continued however in the poſ-

ſeſſion of the enemy till the next ſpring, when the marquis de St. Pater arrived there with the ratification of a treaty, by the French King, for the quiting of all places, which he or King Philip held in the Milaneſe, Mantuan, Cremoneſe, and Montſerrat, on condition that their troops ſhould be ſafely conducted to Suza.

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Her Majeſty and the States-general continued, in the mean time, their mediation between the Emperor and the malecontents in Hungary; but to very little purpoſe: the negociations were broken off, and each ſide again prepared to renew the war. And of Hungary.

I come now to the grand affair of this year, and indeed of this reign; I mean the union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; a work of ſo great importance, that it had been attempted, tho' in vain, in almoſt every reign from that of Henry VIII, down to the glorious reign of Queen Ann, for which it ſeem'd reſerv'd. Her Majeſty, ſoon after the riſing of the parliament, in purſuance of ſeveral acts paſs'd in each kingdom, iſſued a commiſſion, under the reſpective great ſeals, conſtituting a certain number of lords, and others, of either kingdom, commiſſioners, to treat of an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. Theſe commiſſioners met, the firſt time, at the Cock-pit, at Whitehall, the 16th of April, and their commiſſion being read, the lord-keeper Cowper made a ſpeech, in the name of the Engliſh commiſſioners, as the earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor of Scotland, did on behalf of the commiſſioners of that nation, and then they adjourn'd to the 22d. The treaty of union begun.

The commiſſioners, on both ſides, being met again on that day, the lord Cowper, in the name of the lords-commiſſioners of England, deliver'd to the board the following preliminary articles, which were read: Preliminary articles.

1. "That all propoſals, made by either ſide, "be made in writing, and every point, when "agreed, ſhall be reduced into writing.

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effect on the Spaniards. They were oppreſs'd by the French, inſulted and trampled on by a people whom they heartily deſpis'd and hated; they, therefore feared no alteration for the worſe: this favorable juncture was, however, unhappily loſt, thro' the abundant caution or obſtinacy of the Portugueſe, who, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the confederate generals to induce them to advance towards Madrid, during the ſiege of Barcelona, perſiſted in their reſolution, not to leave their own frontiers, till the fate of Barcelona was determined; they therefore march'd towards Cividad Rodrigo, which they inveſted the 21ſt of May, and took the 26th. The next day, upon the news of the raiſing the ſiege of Barcelona, it was unanimouſly agreed to march to Madrid.

Cividad Rodrigo taken.

King Philip quits Madrid.

The 7th of June, the confederate army arrived at Salamanca; and, on the 18th, incamp'd at Eſpinal, whither deputies came, from the Eſcurial, to make their ſubmiſſion. King Philip, in the mean time, was ſo hard preſs'd by the earl of Peterborough, after his raiſing the ſiege of Barcelona, that he was forced to retire to the frontiers of France, where he left his army, and went, by the way of Navarre, to Madrid; but receiving intelligence that the Portugueſe were advancing thither, he again retired, with his court, to the confines of France.

King Charles proclaim'd there.

The 24th, the marquis das Minas and the earl of Galway, took poſſeſſion of that capital, and cauſed King Charles III to be proclaimed there, the 27th. This had ſuch an influence on the Spaniards, that Toledo immediately declared for him; cardinal Portacarero himſelf, wrote to the marquis das Minas, aſſuring him of his ſubmiſſion to King Charles III, and even the courts of judicature adminiſtered juſtice in his name. Upon this ſucceſs, the confederate generals ſent expreſs after expreſs to King Charles, to haſten his march and join them, before King Philip could be re-inforced, with all the forces he could aſſemble: but the province of Arragon declaring for him, at the ſame time, he marched into Saragoſſa, where he received the ſubmiſſion of the ſeveral towns of that province, who ſwore allegiance to him. Here he unhappily ſpent ſo much time, partly in bull-feaſts and other diverſions, and partly in an ill-tim'd fit of devotion, that King Philip aſſembled an army ſuperior to that of the allies, and obliged them to quit Madrid.

King Charles joins the allies too late.

Toledo, Salamanca, and the reſt of the towns in Caſtille, which had declared for King Charles, were forced to return to the obedience of King Philip, and when it was too late, the former, with the earl of Peterborough, joined the marquis das Minas and the earl of Galway, at Guadalaxara, the 6th of Auguſt, with ſix or ſeven regiments. Their retreat to Portugal was now cut off; and Alcantara, which, as we have ſeen above, was taken by the Portugueſe, in the begining of the campain, was retaken by the Spaniards, as was likewiſe Carthagena, which had been taken by admiral Leake. There was therefore now no other remedy but to retire into Valencia, and take up winter-quarters there: and thus the campain in Spain, which begun ſo glorioufly, ended unhappily.

Death of the King of Portugal.

Before I leave theſe parts, I muſt juſt mention, that in the begining of December died don Pedro, King of Portugal, in the 58th year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, don Juan the IVth, who, on his acceſſion, declared, that he would punctually obſerve all his father's ingagements with the allies: but to return to the fleet.

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Ivica ſubmits to King Charles.

Sir John Leake having, according to his orders, detach'd ſir John Jennings, with twelve men of war, and a fireſhip, for Liſbon, and watered in Altea-Bay, ſailed from thence, the 26th of Auguſt, towards Ivica. He arrived there, the 29th, and found the governor and inhabitants of that place ſo well diſpoſed for King Charles III, that upon the firſt appearance of the fleet, they ſent deputies on board to make their ſubmiſſion.

Majorca reduced.

The 2d of September, the fleet ſailed from Ivica, and was the next day before Majorca, where the Conde de Alcudia, the viceroy, with ſome few who favored the duke of Anjou's intereſt, offered to reſiſt; but two bomb veſſels being ſent into Palma, the capital of the iſland, upon their throwing in three or four ſhells, the inhabitants obliged the vice-roy to retire to the palace, and deſire a capitulation, which was concluded the 7th.

Sir John Leake returns home.

Sir John having left a gariſon of a hundred marines, with a captain and lieutenant, in the caſtle of Porto-Pin, and two men of war to tranſport the viceroy and his adherents, who were deſirous to remove, ſailed the 12th, from Majorca, and paſs'd thro' the Streights the 21ſt. The 23d, being off the ſouthward cape, he detached ſir George Byng, purſuant to orders he had received from the lord high admiral, with a ſquadron, towards Liſbon, and with the reſt of the fleet, proceeded on his voyage home. He arrived, the 6th of October, at St. Helens, came ſome days after to London, and, having waited on the Queen, and her royal conſort, received from them both that gracious and generous reception, which his long, eminent, and ſucceſsful ſervices, had ſo well merited.

A deſcent upon France deſign'd, but fruſtrated.

The confederates had formed a deſign, this year, of making a deſcent upon France, by way of diverſion, and to ſupport the Proteſtants, whom a ſevere perſecution had prepared for a general revolt: to this end, the grand fleet, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, ſail'd from England, with 10,000 land-men on board, about the middle of Auguſt, but being detained a conſiderable time, by contrary winds, that deſign was laid aſide (1), and the earl of Rivers, with the land-forces on board, ſail'd for the river of Liſbon, where they arrived, the 18th of October. The earl propoſed the joining a body of the Portugueſe troops, and marching directly for Madrid: but the Portugueſe being ill provided for ſuch an expedition, and the earl inſiſting, that he would be commanded by none but the King, they did not think fit to come into thoſe meaſures. His lordſhip hereupon ſail'd for Alicant, and having landed the troops there, he returned to England, the inſuing ſpring, together with the earl of Eſſex, brigadier Gorges, and ſeveral other officers, who imbark'd on the firſt deſign, leaving the fleet, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, at Liſbon.

The campain in Italy.

In Italy, the French had ſome ſucceſs, in the begining of the campain; for having attack'd the Imperialiſts at Calcinnato, in the abſence of Prince Eugene, they drove them from their poſts, and obliged them to quit the Breſcian, with the loſs

(1) The 10th of Auguſt, the wind being eaſterly, and a briſk gale, ſir Cloudeſly, with the whole Engliſh fleet, ſet ſail in the morning, believing the Dutch could not be far off, the wind having been fair the night before: but, whatever was the cauſe, they did not come to St. Helens till the 12th in the morning, which fatal delay proved the overthrow of the whole deſign; and was the occaſion of the project of a deſcent being laid aſide. When the Dutch arrived at St. Helens, the 12th, in the morning, they anchor'd a tide to get intelligence of ſir Cloudeſly, and to take in freſh water, the Engliſh fleet, in the mean time, appeared off of Plymouth, that ſame day, about noon, and lay by till the evening; but was not joined by the Dutch till the 14th in the morning, when the whole fleet, being come near the mouth of the channel, was forc'd into Torbay, by a ſtrong weſterly wind, which continuing ſeveral weeks, the firſt and ſecond-rate ſhips were laid up, and the whole deſign dropp'd. Lediard's naval hiſt. Vol. II. p. 811.

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of 3000 men kill'd or taken, beſide their cannon and baggage. This ſucceſs incourag'd the French King to order the duke de la Feuillade to beſiege Turin. Accordingly, the French begun to batter the town and citadel the 8th of June, and the 15th the beſiegers fired red-hot bullets, many of which falling near the duke of Savoy's palace, his royal Highneſs ſent the royal family to Quieraſco, and followed himſelf two days after, leaving a numerous gariſon under command o the Imperial general Thaun. Soon after, his royal Highneſs received advice from Prince Eugene, that he had paſs'd the Adige, and was advancing to join him. About the ſame time, the duke de Vendôme was called out of Italy to command the French army in Flanders, and the duke of Orleans took upon him the command of the army in Italy, which was intended to oppoſe Prince Eugene's march: but the Prince appear'd to be the greateſt general; for, notwithſtanding all the duke could do to prevent it, he joined the duke of Savoy the firſt of September.

The city of Turin was, by that time, reduced to great diſtreſs, moſt of their powder being ſpent; and the enemy, having made a lodgment on the counterſcarp, afterwards attack'd a half moon and two counter-guards, which they carried. The Imperialiſts indeed beat them out again; but as they were in ſo great want of ammunition, it would have been impoſſible for them to reſiſt many ſuch attacks. His royal Highneſs and Prince Eugene found themſelves therefore under a neceſſity of marching immediately to the relief of Turin. This they did accordingly, and, on the 7th, happened that memorable battle which changed the whole face of affairs in Italy. The confederates march'd by break of day towards the enemy, and by noon the victory was intirely theirs, and the city delivered; for the enemy abandoned the attack, and their camp, with the greateſt precipitation, retiring, with the remains of their army, on the other ſide of the Po. The reſt of the day was ſpent in taking ſeveral caſſines and redoubts poſſeſs'd by the enemy, who all ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners of war, and his royal Highneſs enter'd triumphantly his capital the ſame evening. As a ſmall allay however to this ſucceſs, the French, under the command of count Medavi, defeated the Prince of Heſſe, and a body of Germans, two days after the battle of Turin, near Medoli, in the Milaneſe. This was nevertheleſs but a trifle, if compared with the numerous loſſes which France ſuſtain'd in theſe parts, about this time: for the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, in order to improve their late victory, march'd immediately into the Milaneſe, where almoſt all the towns ſurrendered to them at their approach. The 24th of September, the city of Milan itſelf ſent a deputation, offering to ſubmit to his Imperial Majeſty and the houſe of Auſtria, and, on the 26th, Prince Eugene made his triumphant entry into that city. The duke of Savoy, having reduced Piccighitone, Tortona, Alexandria, Modena, and ſeveral other places of leſs note, appeared on the 16th of November, before Caſal, which ſurrendered the 6th of December, the gariſon, which conſiſted of near 2000 men, being made priſoners of war. In this place, his royal Highneſs found ſeventy-ſix pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition and proviſions. Thus the campain in Italy ended very gloriouſly for the allies, and all the troops, except a body under the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who were left to block up Cremona, were ſent into winter-quarters. The 14th of December, Prince Eugene went to Milan, of which duchy he was made governor for King Charles III, his Imperial Majeſty having granted the inveſtiture thereof to the King of Spain. The caſtle continued however in the poſ-

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Affairs of the North.

As to the affairs of the North, I have hitherto paſs'd them by, as having no immediate connexion with our hiſtory; but I ſhall be obliged now to make ſome mention of them, becauſe the proceedings of the King of Sweden begining to raiſe a jealouſy in the allies, they were obliged to take ſome ſteps which might prevent the evil conſequences that might poſſibly attend them. The northern Hero, who was reſolutely bent upon dethroning his ſworn enemy, Auguſtus, King of Poland, obſerving that he ſhould never be able to do it effectually, unleſs he could cut off the ſupplies which he conſtantly received from Saxony, marched thro' Sileſia and Luſatia, into that Electorate, plundered the open country, and obliged the rich city of Leipzick, and other towns, to pay him contribution, and took up his winter-quarters there, to the great terror of the reſt of the Empire, as well as Saxony: but of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, in my relation of the tranſactions of the inſuing year.

And of Hungary.

Her Majeſty and the States-general continued, in the mean time, their mediation between the Emperor and the malecontents in Hungary; but to very little purpoſe: the negociations were broken off, and each ſide again prepared to renew the war.

The treaty of union begun.

I come now to the grand affair of this year, and indeed of this reign; I mean the union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; a work of ſo great importance, that it had been attempted, tho' in vain, in almoſt every reign from that of Henry VIII, down to the glorious reign of Queen Ann, for which it ſeem'd reſerv'd. Her Majeſty, ſoon after the riſing of the parliament, in purſuance of ſeveral acts paſs'd in each kingdom, iſſued a commiſſion, under the reſpective great ſeals, conſtituting a certain number of lords, and others, of either kingdom, commiſſioners, to treat of an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. Theſe commiſſioners met, the firſt time, at the Cock-pit, at Whitehall, the 16th of April, and their commiſſion being read, the lord-keeper Cowper made a ſpeech, in the name of the Engliſh commiſſioners, as the earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor of Scotland, did on behalf of the commiſſioners of that nation, and then they adjourn'd to the 22d.

Preliminary articles.

The commiſſioners, on both ſides, being met again on that day, the lord Cowper, in the name of the lords-commiſſioners of England, deliver'd to the board the following preliminary articles, which were read:

1. "That all propoſals, made by either ſide, "be made in writing, and every point, when "agreed, ſhall be reduced into writing.

2. "That no point, tho' agreed on, and re- "duced into writing, ſhall be obligatory, on ei- "ther ſide, till all matters be adjuſted in ſuch man- "ner as will be proper to be laid before the "Queen, and the two parliaments, for their ap- "probation.

3. "That there be a commitee appointed, con- "ſiſting of a certain number of each commiſſion, "to reviſe the minutes of what paſſes, which are "not to be inſerted by the ſecretaries in their re- "ſpective books, but by order of the ſaid com- "mitee, having firſt made report thereof to the "reſpective commiſſioners, and received their ap- "probation of the ſame.

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4. " That all proceedings of the commiſſioners " of both kingdoms, during the treaty, be kept " ſecret."

With theſe, the lord-keeper likewiſe delivered the following propoſal, which was read ;

A previous propoſal.

" That the two kingdoms of England and " Scotland be for ever united into one kingdom, " by the name of Great-Britain : that the united " kingdom of Great-Britain be repreſented by " one and the ſame parliament, and that the ſuc- " ceſſion of the Monarchy of the united king- " dom of Great-Britain, in caſe of failure of heirs " of her Majeſty's body, be according to the li- " mitations mentioned in an act of parliament, " made in England, in the twelfth and thirteenth " year of the reign of the late King William, " intitled, an act for the farther limitation of the " crown, &c."

To theſe preliminaries, the commiſſioners for Scotland agreed, with this proviſo only ; " That " all the ſubjects of the united kingdom of Great- " Britain, ſhould have full freedom and intercourſe " of trade and navigation, to or from any part " or place, within the ſaid united kingdom, and " plantations thereto belonging ; and that there be " a communication of all other privileges and ad- " vantages, which do or may belong to the ſub- " jects of either kingdom." This the commiſ- ſioners for England acquieſc'd in, under ſuch terms, as in the farther progreſs of this treaty ſhould be found for the common advantage of both kingdoms. Theſe generals being agreed on, the commiſſioners proceeded to particulars.

I ſhall not detain the reader, with the ſeveral propoſals and anſwers on every head ; but only obſerve, that after fourty-four ſeveral days of meeting, at two of which the Queen was perſonally preſent, the articles of this treaty were brought to maturity, and ſign'd by the reſpective commiſſioners, on the 22d of July. The next day, they were preſented to the Queen, and were of the following tenor :

The particular articles of the union agreed on.

An abſtract thereof.

I. " That the two kingdoms of England and " Scotland ſhall, from the firſt of May 1707, " be united into one kingdom, by the name of " Great-Britain.

II. " That the ſucceſſion be to the Princeſs " Sophia and her heirs, and that all Papiſts, and " perſons that marry Papiſts, ſhall be for ever ex- " cluded inheriting the crown.

III. " That the united kingdom ſhall be repre- " ſented by one parliament.

IV. " That the ſubjects of the united kingdom " ſhall have freedom of trade and navigation to all " places within the ſame, and plantations belonging " to it, and a communication of all other ad- " vantages.

V. " All ſhips belonging to Scotſmen, at the " time of the union, to be deem'd ſhips of Bri- " tiſh built, the owners making oath that the ſame " belong to them,

VI. " All parts of the united kingdom to be " under the ſame regulations of trade, and liable " to the ſame cuſtoms and duties.

VII. " The united kingdom to be liable to the " ſame exciſe, except that a barrel of ale in Scot- " land ſhall not pay above two ſhillings, on ac- " count of the preſent exciſe in England.

VIII. " Foreign ſalt, in Scotland, ſhall pay " the ſame duty as in England ; but ſalt made in " Scotland ſhall be exempted, for ſeven years, " from the Engliſh duty ; ſeveral conditions re- " lating to the ſalt duty, were likewiſe inſerted in " this article.

IX. " When 1,997,765 l. ſhall be inacted to " be raiſed in England, on land, Scotland ſhall add " a farther ſum of 48,000 l.

X. " Scotland is exempted from ſtamp duties, " now in force.

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XI. " As alſo from the duty on windows ; " and,

XII. " From the duties on coals and culm.

XIII. " Scotland ſhall not pay the malt-duty, " which expires June 24 1707.

XIV. " Scotland ſhall not be charged with " any other duties, impoſed by the parliament of " England, before the union, except thoſe con- " ſented to in this treaty ; and if the parliament, " in their proviſion for the ſervice of the year " 1707, ſhall lay any farther cuſtoms, Scotland " ſhall have an equivalent for the ſhare there- " of they will be liable to : malt made in Scot- " land not to be charged during this war.

XV. " Scotland ſhall have an equivalent for " what ſhe ſhall be charged towards payment of " the debts of England, the ſum of 398,085 l. " for the cuſtom and exciſe they will be liable " to, towards paying the ſaid debts : and an equi- " valent ſhall be farther allowed, for the propor- " tion Scotland ſhall hereafter pay, by reaſon of " the increaſe of the cuſtoms, by the increaſe of " trade (which ſhall be the happy effect of this " union) and alſo for the ſalt-duty, which they " ſhall be obliged to pay after ſeven years. The " ſaid 398,085 l. to be applied to the paying the " public debts of Scotland ; to the refunding to " the African company their principal ſtock, and " the intereſt of it ; to ſatisfy ſuch as may be " loſers by the alteration of the coin, and ſuch " other uſes as commiſſioners appointed by her " Majeſty ſhall think fit : the African company to " be diſſolved as ſoon as an act paſſes in England " for paying the equivalent,

XVI. " The coin to be of the ſame ſtandard, " throughout the united kingdom, as now in Eng- " land, and a mint to be continued in Scotland, " under the ſame rules as in England.

XVII. " The ſame weights and meaſures to be " uſed as now in England, and ſtandards to be " kept in the burghs, agreeable to the ſtandard in " the exchequer.

XVIII. " The laws for the regulation of trade, " cuſtom, and ſuch exciſes to which Scotland is " liable, to be the ſame with England : other " laws in Scotland to remain as before, but alter- " able by parliament. Laws which concern the " public and civil government may be the ſame " throughout the united kingdom ; but no altera- " tion may be made in the laws which concern pri- " vate right, except for evident utility of the ſub- " jects of Scotland.

XIX. " The court of ſeſſion, and other courts, " ſhall remain in Scotland, with ſuch regulations " as are therein mention'd.

XX. " All heritable offices, and offices for life, " are reſerv'd to the owners, as rights of pro- " perty.

XXI. " The rights of the royal burghs in Scot- " land ſhall remain intire.

XXII. " Sixteen of the peers in Scotland ſhall " ſit and vote in the houſe of lords, and forty-five " repreſentatives of Scotland in the houſe of com- " mons, of the parliament of Great-Britain ; the " choice whereof to be according to the act paſs'd " in Scotland to that purpoſe : in caſe her Ma- " jeſty ſhall, on the 1ſt of May, declare this pre- " ſent parliament to be the firſt parliament of " Great-Britain, the preſent parliament of Eng- " land may be ſo, on the part of England, and " the ſixteen peers, and the forty-five commoners, " for Scotland, to ſit with them ; ſuch parliament " to continue no longer than the Engliſh parlia- " ment is by law allowed to continue.

XXIII. " The ſixteen peers of Scotland ſhall

" have

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" have all privileges of parliament, which the " peers of England have, and, in caſe of trials of " peers, when no parliament is in being, the peers " of Scotland, who ſat in the laſt parliament, ſhall " be ſummon'd; and all the peers of Scotland " ſhall be peers of Great-Britain, and ſhall injoy " all privileges, as fully as the peers of England, " except ſiting in the houſe of lords, and upon " trials of peers.

XXIV. " There ſhall be one great ſeal for the " united kingdom; a ſeal to be ſtill uſed in Scot- " land, in things relating to private right, as " uſual: that the privy-ſeal, ſignet, caſſet, &c. " now uſed, be continued; and that the crown, " ſcepter, ſword of ſtate, records, rolls and re- " giſters, public and private ſhall be ſtill in Scot- " land. Laſtly,

" All laws and ſtatutes, inconſiſtent with the " terms of theſe articles, to be void.

Upon preſenting theſe articles to her Majeſty, the lord-keeper, in the name of the commiſſioners for England, and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, for thoſe of that nation, made each a ſpeech to her Majeſty, ſuitable to the occaſion; and her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to the commiſſioners:

My lords,

The Queen's ſpeech to the commiſſioners on preſenting them.

" I give you many thanks, for the great pains " you have taken in this treaty; and am very well " pleaſed to find your indeavors and applications " have brought it to ſo good a concluſion: the " particulars of it ſeem ſo reaſonable, that I hope " they will meet with approbation, in the parlia- " ments of both kingdoms. I wiſh, therefore, " that my ſervants of Scotland may loſe no time " in going down to propoſe it to my ſubjects of " that kingdom: and I ſhall always look upon it, " as a particular happineſs, if this union (which " will be ſo great a ſecurity and advantage to both " kingdoms) can be accompliſh'd in my reign."

News of the duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs arrives in England.

The firſt news of the ever-memorable victory of Ramellies, was brought to England by colonel Richards, aid de camp to the duke of Marlborough, who arrived in London, the 16th of May; and his account was confirmed, the 21ſt, by captain Pit, another of his grace's aids de camp, with a farther relation of the glorious progreſſes of her Majeſty's arms, and thoſe of her allies. Her Majeſty having at the ſame time, received an account of the ſucceſs of her fleet and forces in Spain, the ſame day captain Pit arrived at Kenſington, a proclamation was ordered, in council, to be publiſhed, for a public thankſgiving, to be held the 27th of June. At the ſame time, another order was made in council, and publiſh'd, to open a free trade with the Spaniſh Netherlands, which was another happy conſequence of the ſucceſs of her Majeſty's arms, under the wiſe conduct of his grace the duke of Marlborough.

Proclamation for a thankſgiving.

A free trade with the Spaniſh Netherlands open'd.

The Dutch Envoy congratulates with her Majeſty on account of the victory.

The ſame day, monſieur Vrybergue, envoy extraordinary from the States-general, had, ſeverally, private audiences of the Queen and Prince, to congratulate with them, in the name of their High-mightineſſes, upon the ſignal victory obtained by the arms of her Majeſty, and her allies in Brabant. Two days after, her Majeſty and her Royal-conſort, went to Windſor, where her Majeſty was attended by congratulatory addreſſes, from moſt parts of her dominions. Among the reſt the loyal city of London, as on all other, ſo on this occaſion, was moſt forward to expreſs their zeal and affection to her Majeſty's auſpicious government, by an addreſs.

Congratulatory addreſſes from all parts.

Particularly from the city of London.

The 27th of June, the day appointed for a public thankſgiving, was celebrated with the uſual ſolemnities; and her Majeſty repair'd, for that end, to the cathedral of St. Paul's, with the ſame ſtate as ſhe had done, upon the like occaſions, in preceding years.

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France makes offers for a peace.

While the duke of Marlborough was at the Hague, after his return from the campain, it was reſolved to communicate to the allies ſome propoſals, that had been made to the States, by monſ. d'Alegre, in order to remove all ſuſpicions of clandeſtine negociations, and incourage the ſeveral members of the grand alliance to redouble their efforts againſt the next campain. The States having therefore deſired the miniſters of the allies, reſiding at the Hague, to be preſent, the 21ſt of November, at an extraordinary congreſs, their deputies for forein affairs made a notification to them, which gave great ſatisfaction.

" They own'd, that France had formerly, by " ſome private perſons, made general intima- " tions of their willingneſs to treat of peace; and " that, laſt winter, the marquis d'Alegre had " preſented to the States a formal memorial, on " the ſame ſubject, the ſubſtance of which was " read to the congreſs: that they had given no ear " to theſe advances, nor communicated them to " the allies; becauſe they did not judge them " worth imparting. But that in October paſt, " the Elector of Bavaria, had writen a let- " ter to the duke of Marlborough, and another to " the field-deputies of the States, which two let- " ters, and the anſwers that had been returned to " them, were alſo communicated to the congreſs.

Theſe pieces being read, the deputies of the States made a ſpeech to the congreſs, purſuant to the inſtructions given them by their principals, for that purpoſe, in which they repreſented: " That their " High-mightineſſes were firmly reſolved to obſerve " their alliances, in every part, and to do nothing " contrary thereunto: That a peace would be ex- " treamly agreeable to them, and without doubt " to all the other allies, provided it could be on " ſuch terms, as might reaſonably promiſe its being " firm and laſting. But that the conferences pro- " poſed by France, without a more particular de- " claration of her intentions, did not ſeem to be " a proper means for attaining it, but would " tend much rather to divert the thoughts of " war, and of the great preparations the enemy " make; and to lull ſome of the allies aſleep by " the hopes of peace. That their High-mighti- " neſſes, for their parts, were reſolved to abide, " by the meaſures they had taken, and the al- " liances they had made, which God had hitherto " ſo wonderfully bleſs'd, and therefore would not " enter into any negociation, but jointly with their " high allies, expecting that they would do no " leſs, on their part."

Reaſons why the French ſued for a peace.

The French had very ſubſtantial reaſons, to induce them to ſue for a peace, at this time: the raiſing of the ſiege of Barcelona; the loſs of the battle of Ramellies, and the conſequences that attended it; the total defeat of their army, before the walls of Turin, by the duke of Savoy, and Prince Eugene, which, as I have ſaid above, intirely chang'd the face of affairs in Italy; the ſtreights to which the King's treaſury was reduced, and which were but ill remedied, by forcing and impoſing mint-bills, upon the nation, inſtead of ready mony: all theſe, I ſay, concur'd to caſt the court of France into the utmoſt conſternation and perplexity, and obliged them to make theſe public advances towards a peace. The allies did not however think them ſo ſincere as to enter into any negociation thereupon (1).

The

(1) Theſe overtures towards a peace on the ſide of France, being look'd on to be too general to ground a treaty upon, and being, for that reaſon rejected; reflections were caſt upon the principal perſons concern'd, on the ſide of the allies, as if they acted rather with private views, than for the public good. It was no wonder (ſays a French author) " that theſe advances made " by

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The duke of Marlborough arrives at London.

The duke of Marlborough having ſetled ſeveral important affairs with the States, particularly (at the inſtances of the duke of Savoy) the continuation of the Heſſian troops in Italy, his grace ſail'd from the Maeſe, the 26th of November, N. S. and, three days after, came to London. But to return to the affair of the union.

The Queen's letter to the parliament of Scotland.

The parliament of Scotland meeting, the 3d of October, her Majeſty's letter was read, in which ſhe acquainted them: "that the treaty of "union was concluded by the commiſſioners of "both nations, and ſaid ſhe hop'd the terms of "it would be acceptable to them; for ſhe ſhould "eſteem it the greateſt glory of her reign to ſee "it perfected, being perſuaded it muſt prove the "greateſt happineſs of her people." Upon this occaſion, ſhe likewiſe "renewed her aſſurances "of maintaining the government of their church, "as by law eſtabliſh'd; declaring, they had now "an opportunity of doing what was neceſſary for "ſecuring their church, after the union, within "the limits of Scotland; and obſerved, that there "was no reaſon to doubt, but the parliament of "England would do what was neceſſary, on "their part, after the readineſs they had ſhewn, "to remove what might obſtruct the entering on "that treaty. She alſo deſired, that they would "provide the neceſſary ſupplies, till the parlia-"ment of Great-Britain could provide for theſe "matters, and recommended to them calmneſs "and unanimity in this great and weighty af-"fair."

Proceedings concerning the union.

The duke of Queenſberry, as lord high commiſſioner, and the earl of Seafield, as lord-chancellor, made each a ſpeech to inforce what her Majeſty had inſiſted on in her letter, and then the treaty of union was ordered to be read and printed, together with the proceedings of the lords commiſſioners of both kingdoms, in relation thereunto: which done, the parliament was adjourned for a week. At their next meeting, on the 15th, it being put to the vote; "Whether they ſhould "proceed preſently to the conſideration of the ar-"ticles of the union, or refer it." It was carried to proceed, 116 voices againſt fifty-two. In this, the ſtrength of the court-party appeared, and, notwithſtanding the clamor from the other ſide, they proceeded with all the ſedateneſs imaginable. The duke of Roxburg, who in former parliaments had expreſs'd a great averſion to an union, was now at the head of a party which went over to the court, and this was the occaſion of ſome ſevere reflections upon him, in the debates, and particularly by duke Hamilton.

Tumults on that account.

The articles of the union met with ſo bad a reception, without doors, that the mob at Edinburg was raiſed, and aſſaulted the houſe of ſir Patrick Johnſton, provoſt of that city, and one of the commiſſioners, and the privy-council were obliged to call in the foot-guards for their ſecurity, at midnight, and a proclamation was iſſued againſt tumults. The averſion of a good part of the commonalty to an union was farther evident, by their inſtructions to their reſpective members, and the petitions and repreſentations againſt it, from moſt parts of the kingdom, in which they inſiſted; "that by devolving the power of the Scotiſh par-"liament, into the hands of a ſmall number of "lords, barons and burgeſſes, allowed to ſit and "vote with all the lords and commons of England, "in the parliament of Great-Britain, was diſho-"norable and prejudicial to the kingdom of Scot-"land, tending to the deſtruction of their ancient "conſtitution, and all their rights and privileges, "as a free people, in general, and to every indi-"vidual perſon and ſociety in the kingdom, in "particular: that they ſhould intirely loſe their "ſovereinty and independency, and give up the "birth-right of the peers, and the privileges of "the barons and burghs: that the rights and "intereſts reſerved to them, by the articles of "union, were capable of no ſecurity, ſeing the "plurality of voices, in the parliament of Great-"Britain, muſt determine whatever was brought "before them: that their being let into the trade "of England, would be little or no advantage "to them, under the regulations and reſtrictions "the Engliſh trade was at preſent, in the ſeveral "companies, and they were under great apprehen-"ſions of danger to their kirk, from the twenty-"ſix biſhops, who were to ſit in the Britiſh parlia-"liament; whereas their kirk would have none to "repreſent them. They objected alſo to the ſa-"cramental teſt being the condition of acceſs to "all places of profit or truſt; and it was a farther "grievance, that the ſoverein was obliged to be "of the communion of the church of England." The aſſembly of the kirk alſo petitioned againſt the "making the ſecurity of the church of England, "a fundamental article of the union; for hereby, "they ſaid, they would involve the whole nation "in great guilt, by conſenting to the eſtabliſh-"ment of the hierarchy, and ceremonies of a "church, which they held to be ſinful and abo-"minable (1)."

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Petitions againſt the union.

Reaſons alledged.

The articles of union, burnt in Scotland.

At Dumfreis, the articles of the union were publicly burnt, and the people cried aloud, that their commiſſioners muſt either be ſimple, ignorant or treacherous, if not all together; and that the ratification of this treaty would bring them and their poſterity to be tributary and bond-ſlaves to their neighbors. Even in Edinburg, the lord high commiſſioner was inſulted, and ſtones thrown at him in his coach, while he was ſurrounded

"by France, however ſincere, had no effect; becauſe the three principal powers, on whom this accommodation depended, "were govern'd by three perſons, whoſe private intereſt it was to continue the war, that is Prince Eugene, the duke of "Marlborough, and penſionary Heinſius. It is well known (continues my author) that Prince Eugene, beſide the particular "enmity he had conceived againſt France, his native country, was intirely in the ſentiments of the Emperor, who contri-"buting little or nothing to this war, which was begun in his favor, and in which he could loſe nothing, but had a pro-"ſpect of gaining much, it was his intereſt to ſee it continued; that the duke of Marlborough had an abſolute power over "the minds, not only of the Queen, but of the parliament, and the more, as the principal offices of the kingdom were filled "with his creatures; and laſtly, that penſionary Heinſius, being ſubſervient to the wills of Prince Eugene and the duke of "Marlborough, was ſo intirely maſter of the republic of Holland, that it was, as it were, wholly rob'd of its former liber-"ty; and the good of the public ſacrific'd to his private intereſt." De Quincy, Hiſt. mil. de Louis le grand, Tome V. p. 273.

Here, indeed, is a direct charge of private intereſt againſt the penſionary, tho' not ſupported by th e leaſt ſhadow of proof; but for our two warriors, I find nothing like it alledg'd in particular or circumſtantially.

(1) It may not, however, be improper to obſerve, in order to ſet this matter in a true light, that tho' the numerous addreſſes againſt the union in Scotland, ſeem'd to ſhew a great averſion to it, in that nation; yet this oppoſition was far from being the general ſenſe of the nation, as was inſinuated by many: for it is remarkable, that of thirty-four ſhires in Scotland, only thirteen addreſs'd, and of all theſe the better and more ſubſtantial part of the gentlemen refuſed to join with the reſt: That of ſixty-ſix boroughs only, ſeventeen ſent up addreſſes, and moſt of theſe not abſolutely againſt the union, but only for rectification of the articles: that of ſixty-eight preſbyteries, only three, and of 938 kirks and pariſhes, only ſixty addreſs'd againſt an union, by the viſible influence of the great men who thwarted it in the ſenate-houſe. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 271.

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with the guards; and, on the 30th of November, the mob entered the parliament close, with loud clamors for rejecting the articles of union, all which circumstances gave the government such apprehensions, that it was thought convenient to march several regiments of horse and dragoons, to the north of England, to be in a readiness to protect the ministry.

The articles of the union ratified in Scotland.

However, notwithstanding all the opposition and clamor that was made, the act for the ratification of the union pass'd, on the 16th of January, by a majority of 110, against sixty-nine. But tho' all the articles were, at length, agreed to, it was with some explanations and alterations (1), and an act pass'd, at the same time, for the security of their kirk, as a fundamental and essential condition of the union. They afterwards proceeded to an act, prescribing the manner of electing the members of Scotland to be their representatives in the first parliament of Great-Britain. An act of supply likewise pass'd this session, by which an eight months cess was granted, amounting to 576,000 l. 15 s. and 4 d. Scots. The remainder of the session, which was continued till the 25th of March of the insuing year, was spent in several other public and private affairs, and then the lord high commissioner, having given the royal sanction to twenty other public and private acts, and made a speech, the parliament was adjourn'd to the 22d of April.

The parliament adjourn'd.

Having thus given a brief account of the proceedings of the parliament of Scotland, with regard to the union, let us now return to England, where we shall soon see what reception that treaty met with there.

The English parliament meets.

The 3d of December, the parliament of that kingdom met, pursuant to its last prorogation, and was open'd by the following speech from the throne.

The Queen's speech to both houses of parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I hope we are all met together, at this time, "with hearts truly thankful to Almighty God, "for the glorious successes with which he has "bless'd our arms, and those of our allies, thro' "the whole course of this year; and with serious "and steady resolutions, to prosecute the advan- "tages we have gained, till we reap the desired "fruit of them, in an honorable and durable "peace.

"The goodness of God has brought this happy "prospect so much nearer to us, that, if we be "not wanting to ourselves, we may, upon good "grounds, hope to see such a balance of power "established in Europe, that it shall no longer be "at the pleasure of one Prince, to disturb the "repose, and indanger the liberties of that part of "the world,

"A just consideration of the present posture "of affairs, of the circumstances of our enemies, "and the good disposition of our allies, must "needs excite an uncommon zeal, and animate "us to exert our utmost indeavors, at this critical "juncture."

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"As I am fully persuaded you are all of this "mind, so I must earnestly desire you, to grant "me supplies sufficient for carrying on the war "next year, in so effectual a manner, that we "may be able to improve every where the advan- "tages of this successful campain; and I assure "you, I shall make it my business to see all you "give, applied to those ends, with the greatest "care and management."

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My lords and gentlemen,

"In pursuance of the power vested in me, by "acts of parliament, both in England and Scotland, "I have appointed commissioners to treat of an "union between the two kingdoms; and tho' this "be a work of such a nature, as could not but be "attended with great difficulties; yet such has "been the application of the commissioners, that "they have concluded a treaty, which is at this "time before the parliament of Scotland: and I "hope the mutual advantages of an intire union of "the two kingdoms will be found so apparent, "that it will not be long before I shall have an op- "portunity of acquainting you with the success "which it has met with there.

"Your meeting at this time being later than "usual, I cannot conclude without earnestly re- "commending to you, to give as much dispatch "to the public affairs, as the nature of them will "admit, it being of the greatest consequence, "that both our friends and our enemies should be "fully convinced of your firmness, and the vigor "of your proceedings."

This speech met with an uncommon applause, both within doors and without; and, on the 5th, the two houses, each in a body, attended the Queen with their congratulatory addresses.

Addres of the lords.

The lords, after having congratulated her Majesty on the great success of her arms this wonderful year; observed, "That nothing could be "more glorious, than the opening the campain "by the ever-memorable victory gained at Ra- "mellies, under her wise and valiant general, the "duke of Marlborough, and nothing more sea- "sonable, at the close of the campain, than the "compleat victory gain'd by the duke of Savoy "and Prince Eugene, before the walls of Turin: "and if they should not do all that lay in their "power, towards improving the advantages divine "providence had given her Majesty and her allies, "they should be inexcusable: nor could they suf- "ficiently express the universal satisfaction of the "people, on the declaration her Majesty and the "States had made to the ministers of the rest of "the allies; that no negociations of peace should "be entered upon, but in junction with all the "members of the grand alliance. That the ex- "ample of her Majesty and the States ought to "inspire the rest of the allies, with a noble emu- "lation of acting with the like vigor. If any of "them had failed formerly, they hoped her Ma- "jesty would find proper means to let them see, "that the only right amends they could make to "the cause of liberty, was by doubling their ef- "forts at this important juncture, which was the "true way to obtain such a peace, as might secure "the Protestant succession; the advantages of trade "and commerce; restore the whole Mouarchy of "Spain to King Charles III; fix a barrier for the "States-general as might be to their satisfaction, "and procure such terms for the rest of the allies, "as might be just, safe, and honorable; con-

(1) There was a small alteration in the fifth article: several additions and explanations in the sixth. An amendment to the fourteenth, importing that, during the present war, Scotland should be exempt from the malt-tax. Some alterations and amendments in the fifteenth and sixteenth. An amendment to the nineteenth, with respect to qualifications: an addition of the word superiorities: some amendments to the second paragraph of the twenty-second, relating to the calling the representatives of Scotland, to the parliament of Great-Britain: and an explanatory clause to the twenty-fourth. All which explanations and alterations were not so very essential, but that the lord high commissioner and the court party, readily come into them, and thereby, gradually brought over several to that side, who, in the begining, shewed a total aversion to the union.

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" cluding with their thanks, for her Majeſty's in-
" deavors to compleat the union of the two king-
" doms."

Addreſs of the commons.

The commons, beſide their congratulations, aſſured her Majeſty, " that as her allies had ſhewn " their firmneſs and good diſpoſition to carry on " the war vigorouſly, ſo they were determined, " that no ſpecious pretences of peace ſhould di- " vert them from their ſteady reſolution of inabling " her Majeſty to improve, in all places, the ad- " vantages of this ſucceſsful campain. The ex- " perience they had of the prudent adminiſtra- " tion, and the great care and management in the " application of the public treaſure, incouraged " them to aſſure her Majeſty, they would chear- " fully give ſuch ſpeedy and effectual ſupplies, " as by God's bleſſing might eſtabliſh the balance " of power in Europe, by a ſafe, honorable and " laſting peace: and they returned her Majeſty " their thanks for her care in promoting the union " of the two kingdoms."

The duke of Marlborough coming, the ſame day, to the houſe of peers, the lord-keeper, by direction from their lordſhips, made the following ſpeech to his grace:

The lord-keeper's ſpeech to the duke of Marlborough.

My lord duke of Marlborough,

" I am commanded by this houſe, to give your " grace their acknowledgments and thanks for the " eminent ſervices you have done, ſince the laſt " ſeſſion of parliament, to her Majeſty and your " country, together with their confederates, in " this juſt and neceſſary war.

" Tho' your former ſucceſſes againſt the power " of France, while it remain'd unbroken, gave " moſt reaſonable expectation that you would not " fail to improve them, yet what your grace has " performed, this laſt campain, has far exceeded all " hopes, even of ſuch as were moſt affectionate and " partial, to their country's intereſt, and your " glory; the advantages you have gain'd againſt " the enemy, are of ſuch a nature, ſo conſpicuous " of themſelves, ſo undoubtedly owing to your " courage and conduct, ſo ſenſibly and univerſally " beneficial in their conſequences, to the whole " confederacy, that to attempt to adorn them, " with the coloring of words, would be vain and " inexcuſable, and therefore I decline it, the ra- " ther, becauſe I ſhould certainly offend that " great modeſty which alone can and does add " luſtre to your actions, and which, in your grace's " example, has ſucceſsfully withſtood as great trials, " as that virtue has met with in any inſtance what- " ſoever; and I beg leave, to ſay, that if any " thing could move your grace to reflect, with " much ſatisfaction on your own merit, it would " be this, that ſo auguſt an aſſembly does, with " one voice praiſe and thank you: an honor, which " a judgment, ſo ſure as that of your grace's, to " think rightly of every thing, cannot but prefer " to the oſtentation of a public triumph."

His grace's anſwer to this ſpeech was:

His grace's anſwer.

" I eſteem this a very particular honor, which " your lordſhips are pleaſed to do me; no body in " the world can be more ſenſible of it than I am, " nor more deſirous to deſerve the continuance of " your favour and good opinion."

The commons had, the day before, unanimouſly voted;

The commons vote thanks to the duke.

" That the thanks of this houſe be given to his " grace the duke of Marlborough, for his eminent " ſervices to her Majeſty, and this kingdom, in " the great and glorious victories, and ſucceſſes " obtain'd over the common enemy, in the laſt " campain." And the commitee appointed by the commons having, this day, attended the duke, with the thanks of that houſe, his grace made the following anſwer. " If any thing could add

His anſwer.

" to my ſatisfaction, in the ſervices I have indea- " vored to do the Queen and my country, it would " be the particular notice, which the houſe of " commons is pleaſed to take of them, ſo much " to my advantage."

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At the begining of this ſeſſion, the houſe of commons came to the following reſolutions, in relation to their privileges.

Reſolution of the commons as to their privileges.

1. " That no peer has a right to give his vote " at the election of a commoner.

2. " That where the houſes judge a petition, " touching an election, to be frivolous and vexa- " tious, they will order ſatisfaction to be made to " the perſon petition'd againſt.

3. " Where a perſon procures himſelf to be " elected, by bribery or corruption, they will " proceed with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt him.

4. " That where any perſon ſhall tamper with " the witneſſes, or deter any from appearing as " witneſſes, at a controverted election, they are " guilty of a miſdemeanor, and ſhall be proſe- " cuted with the utmoſt ſerverity.

5. " That if any perſon give falſe evidence " to the houſe, he ſhall be proſecuted with the ut- " moſt ſeverity.

6. " That for any peer, or lord-lieutenant of a " county, to concern himſelf in the election of a " member, is a high infringement of the liberties " and privileges of the commons."

Supplies voted.

The commons were likewiſe not only juſt to themſelves, but as good as their words to her Majeſty, in voting the neceſſary ſupplies, with all the diſpatch and unanimity that could be wiſh'd. I ſhall give the reader a liſt of them in one view, without regard to the particular days on which they were voted, and they were as follows: " For " 40,000 men in the ſea ſervice, including the " 8000 marines, at 4 l. per man, per month, " for thirteen months. For the ordinary of the " navy, 120,000 l. For guards and gariſons, " 357,000 l. For 40,000 land-men, to act in con- " junction with the allies, 893,706 l. For the ad- " ditional 10,000 men, and for her Majeſty's " proportion of 3000 Palatines, 211,762 l. For " paying a years intereſts of unſatisfied deben- " tures, 49,000 l. For the wharf and ſtore-houſe, " at Portſmouth, 10,000 l. For the ordnance for " land-ſervice, 120,000 l. For tranſport-ſervice, " 144,000 l. For circulating exchequer-bills, " 3500 l. For the Queen's proportion of ſubſides, " to the King of Denmark, for the year 1707, " 37,000 l. For the Queen's proportion of the " charges of 13,000 men, in the ſervice of the King " of Portugal, for the year 1707, 150,000 l. For " the Queen's proportion of ſubſidies to the duke " of Savoy, 160,000 l. For ſubſidies to the Land- " grave of Heſſe-caſſel, 5952 l. For ſubſidies to " the Elector of Triers, 5952 l. For ſubſidies to " to the Elector-Palatine, 4761 l. For the Queen's " proportion of the charge of 8000 men, ſent " to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy, 50,000 l. " For the charge of maintaining 20,562 men, " part of her Majeſty's forces to be imployed in " Spain and Portugal, next year, and for the " gariſon of Gibraltar; for general officers, hoſ- " pitals and contingencies, 445,350 l. For 8833 " men, additional forces, to ſerve next year in " Spain, and Portugal, 186,296 l. For ſo much " advanced by the Queen to the duke of Savoy, " for the better defence of Turin, laſt year, " 50,000 l. For her Majeſty's ſhare of a loan to " the Emperor, for the ſervice in Italy, laſt " year, 47,500 l. For the expence of levying, " paying, and contingencies of the forces, in the " expedition under the earl of Rivers, 63,661 l. " For the pay of the general officers, of the " 13,000 men, in Portugal, 3014 l. For her

" Majeſty's

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" Majeſty's ſhare of the pay of 3000 Palatines, " in the laſt year, 26,692 l. For the agio, bread " and forage-mony of the Pruſſians, in the " Queen's ſervice in the Netherlands, 37,012 l. " For an additional ſubſidy to the Landgrave " of Heſſe-Caſſel, and for defraying diverſe ex- " pences, on his troops, for next year, 20,000 l. " For the agio and bread-mony of the Pruſſians, " for the year paſt, 19,755 l. For the Queen's " proportion of extraordinary expences, on the " Heſſe-Caſſel troops, in the laſt year, 11,780 l. " or levy-mony to recruit horſes of the forein " troops, in our pay, kill'd laſt year in Flanders, " 34,607 l. For the ſame recruit for the Engliſh " troops, 1140 l. For the horſes of the Engliſh " troops, which died in 1705, 7532 l. For the " ſame in the year 1706, 11,298 l. For the " horſes of the Danes, in thoſe two years, 16,055 l. " For the Hanover horſe, 1775 l. For proſecuting " the ſucceſſes of King Charles, for recovering " the monarchy of Spain, 150,000 l. In all, " 5,540,131 l. not reckoning 398,085 l. for the " equivalent allowed the Scots, by the union, " which was likewiſe granted this ſeſſion."

Ways and means.

To raiſe this vaſt ſum, the parliament gave a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, and the duty upon malt, for one year. The duties upon low-wines, the ſtamp-duty, and that upon hawkers, which had been continued to 1710, were now continued for ninety-ſix years, to be a fund for 1,155,000 l. to be taken in for annuities, at ſixteen years parchaſe. The duty upon houſes was continued, for circulating exchequer-bills, by which 1,500,000 l. was raiſed. The old tonage and poundage, and ſeveral other duties at the cuſtom-houſe, which were already continued to 1710, for paying off deficiences, were now continued for two years more, for a loan of 822,381 l. at ſix per cent. intereſt.

Creations and promotions.

About this time, her Majeſty was pleaſed to make the following promotions among the nobility: Henry, earl of Kent, was created viſcount Goderick, earl of Harold, and marquis of Kent: Robert, earl of Lindſey, was created marquis of Lindſey, in the county of Lincoln; Evelin, earl of Kingſton, marquis of Doncaſter, in the county of Dorſet; Thomas lord Wharton, viſcount Winchindon, in the county of Bucks, and earl of Wharton, in the county of Weſtmorland; John, lord Poulet, of Hinton St. George, viſcount Hinton St. George, in the county of Sommerſet, and earl of Poulet; Sidney, lord Godolphin, viſcount Rialton, and earl of Godolphin, in the county of Cornwall; Hugh lord Cholmondley, viſcount Malpas, and earl of Cholmondley, in the county of Cheſter; Henry, lord Walden, ſon and heir of the earl of Suffolk, baron of Cheſterford, in the county of Eſſex, and earl of Bindon, in the county of Dorſet; the lord keeper Cowper, lord Cowper, and baron of Wingham, in the county of Kent; and ſir Thomas Pelham, lord Pelham, and baron of Laughton, in the county of Suſſex.

The 17th of December, the houſe of lords preſented the following addreſs to the Queen, in favor of the duke of Marlborough.

The lords addreſs in favor of the duke of Marlborough.

" We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and obedient " ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in par- " liament aſſembled, having, with much ſatiſ- " faction, conſider'd the many great actions which " the duke of Marlborough has performed in your " Majeſty's ſervice, to the honor of his country, " and for the good of the common cauſe of Eu- " rope (ſuch actions as the wiſeſt and greateſt " people have rewarded with ſtatues and triumphs) " are extreamly deſirous to expreſs the juſt ſenſe " we have of his merit, in a peculiar and diſtin- " guiſhing manner, and in order to perpetuate the " memory thereof, to ſettle and continue his titles " and honors, with his right of precedence in his " poſterity, by act of parliament, as the method " moſt effectual for that end, and beſt ſuiting ſo " great an occaſion: but yet having always a juſt " regard for the prerogatives of the crown (your " Majeſty being the ſole fountain of honor) we " thought it our duty, in the firſt place, to have " recourſe to your Majeſty, for your royal allow- " ance, before any order given for bringing in " a bill of ſuch nature, and, at the ſame time, to " deſire your Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, " to let the houſe know, in what manner it will " be moſt acceptable to your Majeſty, that the " ſaid titles and honors ſhould be limited."

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Her Majeſty's anſwer to this addreſs ran thus.

ANN R.

The Queen's anſwer.

" Nothing can be more acceptable to me than " your addreſs; I am intirely ſatisfied with the " ſervices of the duke of Marlborough, and there- " fore cannot but be pleaſed you have ſo juſt a " ſenſe of them.

" I muſt not omit to take notice, that the re- " ſpectful manner of your proceeding, in deſiring " my allowance for bringing in the bill, and my " direction for the limitation of the honors does " give me great ſatisfaction.

" My intention is, that after the determination " of the eſtate, which the duke of Marlborough " now has in his titles and honors, the ſame ſhould " be limited to his eldeſt daughter, and the heirs " male of her body, and then to all his other " daughters ſucceſſively, according to their priority " of birth, and the heirs male of their reſpective " bodies, and afterwards, in ſuch manner, as may " effectually anſwer my deſign, and yours, in " perpetuating the memory of his merit, by conti- " nuing, as far as may be done, his titles and " name to all his poſterity.

" I think it would be proper, that the honor " and manor of Woodſtock, and the houſe of " Blenheim, ſhould always go along with the " titles, and therefore I recommend that matter " to your conſideration."

Then the duke of Marlborough, on this occaſion, ſpoke to the Lords in theſe words:

My lords,

The duke of Marlborough's ſpeech on that occaſion.

" I cannot find words ſufficient to expreſs the " ſenſe I have of the great and diſtinguiſhing " honor which the houſe has been pleaſed to do " me, in their reſolution, and their application to " her Majeſty. The thoughts of it will be a con- " tinual ſatisfaction to me, and the higheſt in- " couragement; and the thankful memory of it " muſt laſt as long as any poſterity of mine.

" I beg leave to ſay a word to the houſe, in " relation to that part of her Majeſty's moſt gra- " cious anſwer, which concerns the eſtate of Wood- " ſtock and the houſe of Blenheim; I did make " my humble requeſt to the Queen, that thoſe " might go along with the titles; and I make the " like requeſt to your lordſhips, that after the " ducheſs of Marlborough's death, upon whom " they are ſettled in jointure, that eſtate and houſe " may be limited to go always along with the " honor."

The ſtandards and colors taken at Ramellies hung up in Guild-hall.

The 19th, her Majeſty having been pleas'd, at the requeſt of the city of London, to order, that the ſtandards and colors taken at the famous battle of Ramellies, which were lately brought from the Netherlands, ſhould be put up in Guild-hall, a detachment of her Majeſty's horſe-guards, and horſe-grenadiers, and a battalion drawn out of both regiments of her Majeſty's foot-guards, were drawn up, on the parade, in St. James's park, and having received the ſaid colors and ſtandards, which had been laid up at Whitehall, they proceeded

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ceeded in the following manner: firſt the troop of horſe-grenadiers, then the detachment of the three troops of her Majeſty's horſe-gards, twenty-ſix of the gentlemen in the center, carrying each a ſtandard taken from the enemy. The battallion of foot-guards cloſed the march, ſixty-three of the pike-men, inſtead of their pikes, each carrying one of the enemy's colors advanced. In this manner, they march'd thro' the Park, and St. James's Meuſe, where her Majeſty was pleaſed to ſee them paſs by, from the right honorable the lady Fitz-harding's lodgings, the guns in the Park being fired at the ſame time. Thence they proceeded down Pall-mall, the Strand, &c. to Guild-hall, where the ſtandards and colors were put up, to remain there, as trophies of that ſignal victory, wherewith it pleaſed Almighty God to bleſs the arms of her Majeſty, and her allies, under the conduct of his grace the duke of Marlborough; and as a laſting monument of the immortal honor gained by her Majeſty's arms, on that memorable day.

The duke of Marlborough dines with the lord-mayor.

The duke of Marlborough having been invited by the lord-mayor and court of aldermen to dine with them, in the city, his grace went thither, the ſame day, about noon, accompanied by the lord high-treaſurer, and the duke of Sommerſet and Ormond, in one of her Majeſty's coaches, and was follow'd by a train of other coaches, in which were ſeveral of the nobility, the forein miniſters, and other perſons of quality, with the generals, and other chief officers of the army. They were received, at Temple-bar, by the city-marſhal, and were conducted to Vintner's hall, where a ſplendid entertainment was provided for them, by ſir Robert Bedingfield, lord-mayor, the court of aldermen, and ſir William Benſon, and ſir Ambroſe Crawley, ſheriffs, and they were followed, both going and coming, with great acclamations from the people.

The bill in favor of the duke of Marlborough paſs'd.

The 20th, the bill from the lords, intitled; "an act for the ſettling the honors and dignities "of John, duke of Marlborough, upon his po-"ſterity, and annexing the honor and manor of "Woodſtock, and houſe of Blenheim, to go along "with the ſaid honors," was read three times, by the houſe of commons, and paſs'd, nemine contradicente; and, the next day, it had the royal aſſent.

Extract of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons ſpeech to her Majeſty.

At the preſentation of this, together with the land and malt-tax bill, &c. the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons made a ſpeech to her Majeſty, importing; "that as the glorious victory obtain'd "by the duke of Marlborough at Ramellies was "ſo ſurprizing, that the battle was fought before "it could be thought the armies were in the "field; ſo it was no leſs ſurprizing, that the "commons had granted ſupplies to her Majeſty, "before her enemies could well know, that her "parliament was ſiting;" and the Queen, on her part, in her moſt gracious ſpeech, to both houſes, was pleaſed to expreſs herſelf, as follows, in favor of the duke:

Part of her Majeſty's ſpeech.

"The particular notice you have taken of the "eminent ſervices of the duke of Marlborough, "is alſo very agreeable to me; and I make "no queſtion, but it will be ſo to the whole "kingdom."

A general thankſ-giving.

The laſt day of the year, being appointed a general thankſgiving for the wonderful ſucceſſes of her Majeſty's arms, &c. her Majeſty went, with the uſual ſtate and ſolemnity, to the cathedral of St. Paul's; and thereby gave her ſubjects, and eſpecially the city of London, the joyful ſpectacle of two triumphs in one year.

An' 1707.

The parliament was no ſooner met again, after the Chriſtmas-holidays, than the houſe of commons having, on the 7th of January, taken into their conſideration "the eminent ſervices of John, "duke of Marlborough," that they might not be behind hand with the lords, agreed upon the following addreſs to the Queen:

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Moſt gracious ſoverein,

Addreſs of the commons in favor of the duke of Marlborough.

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal "ſubjects, the commons of England in parlia-"ment aſſembled, taking into our conſideration "the many eminent ſervices of John duke of "Marlborough, whereby the glory of your Ma-"jeſty's government, the honor and ſafety of your "kingdom, and the intereſts of the common cauſe, "have been ſo highly advanced, do, with all "ſubmiſſion, addreſs ourſelves to your Majeſty's "moſt ſacred perſon, humbly to deſire, that as "your Majeſty is, at your expence, graciouſly "pleaſed to erect the houſe of Blenheim, as a "monument of his glorious actions; and the "houſe of peers, by your Majeſty's permiſſion, "have given riſe to a law for continuing his honors "to his poſterity; we, your moſt obedient com-"mons, may be permited to expreſs our ſenſe of "ſo diſtinguiſhing a merit, and our ready diſpo-"ſition to inable your Majeſty to make ſome pro-"viſion for the more honorable ſupport of his "dignity, in his poſterity, in ſuch a manner, as "ſhall be moſt agreeable to your Majeſty."

This addreſs being preſented, the next day to the Queen, by the whole houſe, her Majeſty was pleas'd to give the following anſwer:

Gentlemen,

The Queen's anſwer.

"I am very glad you have ſo juſt a ſenſe of the "repeated ſervices of the duke of Marlborough: "I will conſider of your addreſs, and return an "anſwer very ſpeedily."

Accordingly, on the 9th of January, mr. ſecretary Harley deliver'd to the houſe the following meſſage, ſign'd by her Majeſty.

Ann R.

A meſſage from the Queen to the houſe of commons in his grace's favor.

"Her Majeſty, in conſideration of the great "and eminent ſervices, performed by the duke "of Marlborough, in the firſt year of her reign, "as well by his prudent negociations, as her ple-"nipotentiary at the Hague, as by his valor "and good conduct in the command of the con-"federate armies abroad, thought fit to grant him "and the heirs male of his body, the title of a "duke, of this realm; and as a farther mark "of her favor and ſatisfaction with his ſervices, "and for the better ſupport of his dignity, her "Majeſty granted to the ſaid duke, and the "heirs male of his body, during his life, a pen-"ſion of 5000 l. per annum, out of the revenue "of the poſt office, and an act having paſs'd "this ſeſſion, for ſettling the honors and dignities "of the duke of Marlborough, upon his poſte-"rity, and annexing the honor and manor of "Woodſtock, and houſe of Blenheim to go along "with the ſaid honors, it would be very agreable "to her Majeſty, if the penſion of 5000 l. per "annum, be continued and limited, by act of "parliament, to his poſterity, for the more "honorable ſupport of their dignities, in like "manner, as his honors, and the honor and ma-"nor of Woodſtock, and houſe of Blenheim, "are already ſettled and limited," Kenſington, January 9, 1707.

A bill paſs'd thereupon.

Upon the reading of this meſſage, the houſe reſolved, "That a bill be brought in purſuant to "the tenor of the ſaid meſſage;" which having paſs'd both houſes, receiv'd the royal aſſent, the 28th: and thus this matter, which had been oppoſed, with ſo much warmth, in a former parliament, paſs'd in this, by an emulation in the houſe of commons, not to be out done by the houſe of peers, in ſhewing a true ſenſe of the duke of Marlborough's great merit.

At

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At the ſame time that the Queen gave the royal aſſent to this bill, in favor of the duke of Marlborough, ſhe made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

"Having acquainted you, at the opening of "this ſeſſion, that the treaty for an union be-"tween England and Scotland, which had been "concluded here, by the commiſſioners appointed "for that purpoſe, in purſuance of the powers "given by the parliaments of both kingdoms, "was then under the conſideration of the par-"liament of Scotland; I can now, with great "ſatisfaction, inform you, that the ſaid treaty "has been ratified, by act of parliament, in Scot-"land, with ſome alterations and additions.

"I have directed the treaty, agreed to by the "commiſſioners of both kingdoms, as alſo the "act of ratification from Scotland, to be laid be-"fore you; and, I hope, it will meet with your "concurrence and approbation.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"It being agreed, by this treaty, that Scot-"land is to have an equivalent for what that "kingdom is obliged to contribute towards pay-"ing the debts of England, I muſt recommend "to you, that, in caſe you agree to the treaty, "you would take care to provide for the payment "of the equivalent to Scotland accordingly.

My lords and gentlemen,

"You have now an opportunity before you, "of puting the laſt hand to a happy union of the "two kingdoms; which, I hope, will be a laſt-"ing bleſſing to the whole iſland; a great addi-"tion to its wealth and power, and a firm ſecurity "to the Proteſtant religion.

"The advantages that will accrue to us all "from an union, are ſo apparent, that I will add "no more, but that I ſhall look upon it as a par-"ticular happineſs, if this great work, which has "been ſo often attempted without ſucceſs, can "be brought to perfection in my reign."

Debates in the houſe of commons about the union.

The articles of the union being ſoon after laid before both houſes, together with the Scotiſh act of ratification, and a copy of the minute-book of the proceedings of the commiſſioners, the houſe of commons took that matter into conſideration, and it was moved to addreſs her Majeſty, that the minutes of the proceedings of the commiſſioners appointed to treat of an union, in the firſt year of her reign, might be laid before them; but, upon the queſtion, it paſs'd in the negative. Sir John Packington urged, that this union, being a thing of the higheſt importance, required the moſt deliberate conſideration. That the people without doors had been, long ſince, tongue-tied, by an order of council (to forbid wagering, &c. about the union) but that ought to have no influence within thoſe walls; every gentleman ought freely to communicate his thoughts about it there; as he, for his part, ſhould: that he was abſolutely againſt this incorporating union, "becauſe it was "like marrying a woman againſt her conſent: "that this union had been carried on in Scotland, "by corruption and bribery within doors, and "by force and violence without:" but ſeveral members taking notice of this laſt bold expreſſion, as reflecting highly, not only on her Majeſty's miniſters, but on the Scotiſh commiſſioners in Scotland, he ſoftned it, by ſaying, "he was told, "that in Scotland they ſaid ſo:" adding, however, "that the promoters thereof, in thus baſely "giving up their independent conſtitution, had "actually betray'd the truſt repos'd in them; "and he appeal'd to the judgment of the houſe, "whether men of ſuch principles were fit to be "admited to ſit amongſt them; that among the "many inconveniencies and irreconcileable con-"tradictions this union was liable to, there was "this material one, that the Queen was oblig'd "by oath, to maintain the church of England, as "by law eſtabliſh'd, and bound likewiſe to main-"tain and defend the kirk of Scotland, in one "and the ſame united kingdom: that the church "of England look'd upon their eſtabliſhment as "Jure Divino, and the Scots pretended their kirk "was ſo likewiſe; and how two nations, who "claſh'd in ſo eſſential a point, could unite, he "could not ſee; and he thought it very proper to "conſult the convocation in this matter." To this it was anſwered, by colonel Henry Mordaunt, "that he did not look either upon the one "church or the other to be Jure Divino, any "farther, than that they were eſtabliſh'd by God "Almighty's permiſſion; and ſo they might "both be ſaid to be Jure Divino. As for con-"ſulting the national ſynod or convocation, in "matters of religion, this, he ſaid, any gentle-"man might do, for his private ſatisfaction; but "he thought it derogatory to the rights of the "commons of England, to adviſe, on this occa-"ſion, with an inferior aſſembly, who had no "ſhare in the legiſlature." Little was ſaid, in anſwer to this ſpeech, only ſome members moved, "that the firſt article of the treaty, which implies "a peremptory agreement to an incorporating "union, might be poſtponed; and that the houſe "ſhould proceed to the conſideration of the terms "of that intended union, contained in the other "articles." This being rejected by a great majority, ſeveral members, who were againſt the union, left the houſe; upon which the four firſt articles were read and approved, without oppoſition: and the 8th, in a commitee of the whole houſe, they went thro' and approved the remaining articles.

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The main objection of the oppoſite party was, that the houſe was too precipitate, or, as it was expreſs'd, went poſt-haſte, in a buſineſs of the higheſt importance: to which ſir Thomas Littleton, purſuing the allegory, anſwered ſmartly enough; "that they did not ride poſt-haſte, but "a good eaſy trot; and that, for his own part, "as long as the weather was fair, the roads good, "and their horſes in heart, he was of opinion "they ought to jog on, and not take up, till they "got home.".

Proceedings thereupon in the houſe of lords.

The houſe of peers, in the mean time, brought in a bill for the ſecurity of the church of England, to be inſerted in the act of ratification, as the act for the ſecurity of the kirk of Scotland was to be, on their part. When this bill was paſs'd and ſent down to the commons, it was offer'd, by way of amendment, that ſo much of the act of the 13th Car. II. "for the well governing and re-"gulating corporations," as was not repeal'd; and alſo, that ſo much of the act of the 25th Car. II. "for preventing dangers which may happen from "Popiſh recuſants," as was unrepeal'd, might be recited in it; but it was carried againſt this amendment; as it had likewiſe with regard to the latter act, in the houſe of lords; and this was thought the harder, by the ſticklers for the church; becauſe the Scots had recited the material parts of their acts, for the eſtabliſhment of their kirk: but it was anſwered, that theſe matters were effectually and ſufficiently provided for in the bill. It was alſo propoſed, that the commitee might receive a clauſe, "that the two univerſities of this "kingdom might continue for ever, as they were "now by law eſtabliſh'd;" and another clauſe, "that the ſubjects of this kingdom ſhould be, for "ever, free of any oath, teſt or ſubſcription, within "this kingdom, contrary to, or inconſiſtent with

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" the true Proteſtant religion, worſhip, and diſ-
" cipline of the church of England, as now by
" law eſtabliſh'd;" the queſtion was put for in-
ſerting theſe clauſes; but, notwithſtanding, it was obſerved, that the Scots had ſecured their church and univerſities in the very ſame words, they both paſs'd in the negative. Another clauſe was offer'd in favor of the convocation and clergy, but this was treated ludicrouſly, tho' the privileges of the general aſſembly of the Scotiſh kirk was expreſly reſerved and ſtipulated for. The 11th, this bill was read the third time, paſs'd without any amendment, and ſent back to the lords.

During the debates, in the commitee of the houſe of peers, the lord Haverſham made a very remarkable ſpeech, the Queen being, at the ſame time, preſent: he began by telling their lordſhips, that he hop'd it would be evident to them, with what diſpoſition he came thither, by the motion he had made laſt year, for repealing certain clauſes that were grievous to Scotland; and that he would do any thing for the benefit and good of both nations. He then obſerved, among other things;

The lord Haverſham's ſpeech.

" that theſe articles came to their lordſhips with
" the greateſt countenance of authority; and tho'
" authority, he ſaid, was the ſtrongeſt motive to
" incline the will, it was the weakeſt argument in
" the world, to convince the underſtanding: that
" it was the argument the church of Rome made
" uſe of for their ſuperſtitious worſhip, where there
" were ten Ave-Mary's for one Pater-noſter;
" which he thought juſt as unreaſonable, as if ten
" times the application and addreſs were made to
" a ſhe-favorite as to the perſon of the ſoverein,
" which was a kind of ſtate-idolatry. He ſaid
" he was not againſt a fœderal union, an union
" in intereſt, and in the ſucceſſion: but this was
" a matter of a different nature, where two na-
" tions, independent in their ſovereinties, that had
" diſtinct laws and intereſts, and, what he could
" not forget, different forms of worſhip, church-
" government and order, ſhould be united into
" one kingdom: an union, he ſaid, made up of
" ſo many miſmatch'd pieces, of ſuch jarring in-
" congruous ingredients, that he feared it would
" require a ſtanding force to keep us from falling
" aſunder, and breaking in pieces every moment."

He ſaid, by this act, " above 100 Scotiſh
" peers, and as many commoners, were excluded
" the Britiſh parliament; gentlemen, who as little
" thought of being excluded a year or two ago,
" as any of their lordſhips did now; that their
" rights too were as well and ſtrongly fenced and
" ſecured to them, as their lordſhips preſent, by
" the fundamental laws of their kingdom, by the
" claim of right, and by act of parliament; where-
" by it was made treaſon to make any alteration
" in the conſtitution of that kingdom.

" That the lords, the biſhops, had once been
" voted out of the houſe by the temporal lords;
" and who knew what queſtion might ariſe here-
" after: that, for his part, he would venture his
" life for the church of England, tho' he owned
" himſelf an occaſional conformiſt: but if the
" lords, the biſhops, would weaken their cauſe ſo
" far, as to give up the two great points of epiſ-
" copal ordination and confirmation; if they
" would approve and ratify the act, for ſecuring
" the Preſbyterian church of Scotland, as the true
" Proteſtant religion, and purity of worſhip, ac-
" cording to the words in the Scotiſh act; they
" gave up that which had been contended for, be-
" tween them and the Preſbyterians, many years,
" and what had been defended by the greateſt and
" moſt learned men of the church of England;
" and he hoped their lordſhips would give ſome
" light to one who deſired inſtruction, that he
" might not ignorantly do any thing to their pre-
" judice in this matter."

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His lordſhip added; " that the act for ſecuring
" their Preſbyterian church-government, and ge-
" neral aſſemblies of their kirk, ſeemed to him
" like thoſe little clouds, in a warm calm ſummer's
" day, that were generally the ſeeds and attrac-
" tives of approaching tempeſts and thunder. That
" he ſaw no neceſſity for this incorporating union,
" ſince Scotland had offered to come into the ſuc-
" ceſſion without it; and he thought it a very
" dangerous experiment to both nations."

Notwithſtanding theſe and other oppoſitions, in both houſes, which however were not very conſiderable, the " act of ratification of the union," including an act " for ſecuring the Proteſtant reli-
" gion, and Preſbyterian church-government in
" Scotland," and an act " for ſecuring of the
" church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed," paſs'd both houſes, in a very ſhort time: ſeveral lords having nevertheleſs entered their proteſts, in the houſe of peers, ſome againſt all the articles in general, and others againſt ſome in particular only. This act having, I ſay, paſs'd both houſes, received the royal aſſent, together with ſeveral other acts, on the 4th of March, on which occaſion her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The act of ratification of the union paſſes both houſes:

And receives the royal aſſent.

My lords and gentlemen,

" It is with the greateſt ſatisfaction that I have
" given my aſſent to a bill for uniting England
" and Scotland, into one kingdom.

" I conſider this union as a matter of the great-
" eſt importance to the wealth, ſtrength and
" ſafety of the whole iſland, and, at the ſame
" time, as a work of ſo much difficulty and
" nicety, in its own nature, that, till now, all at-
" tempts which have been made towards it, in
" the courſe of above a hundred years, have
" proved ineffectual: and therefore I make no
" doubt, but it will be remembered, and ſpoke of
" hereafter, to the honor of thoſe who have been
" inſtrumental in bringing it to ſuch a happy con-
" cluſion. I deſire and expect from all my ſub-
" jects of both nations, that from henceforth they
" act with all poſſible reſpect and kindneſs to one
" another; that ſo it may appear to all the world,
" they have hearts diſpoſed to become one people."

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes, on that occaſion.

" This will be a great pleaſure to me, and will
" make us all quickly ſenſible of the good effect
" of this union.

" And I cannot but look upon it as a particular
" happineſs, that, in my reign, ſo full a proviſion
" is made for the peace and quiet of my people,
" and for the ſecurity of our religion, by ſo firm
" an eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion
" throughout Great-Britain."

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I take this occaſion to remind you of making
" effectual proviſion for the payment of the equi-
" valent for Scotland, within the time appointed
" by this act; and, I am perſuaded, you will
" ſhew as much readineſs in this particular, as you
" have done in all the parts of this great work.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The ſeaſon of the year being now pretty far
" advanced, I hope you will continue the ſame zeal,
" which has appeared throughout this ſeſſion, in
" diſpatching what yet remains unfiniſhed of the
" public buſineſs before you."

The 11th, both houſes attended her Majeſty with an addreſs, in the following words:

Addreſs of both houſes, on this occaſion.

" We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful ſubjects, the
" lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in
" parliament aſſembled, return our moſt humble
" thanks to your Majeſty, for your gracious ac-
" ceptation of the ſhare we had in bringing the
" treaty of an union, between your two kingdoms

" of

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" of England and Scotland, to a happy conclu-
" ſion: a work that, after ſo many fruitleſs in-
" deavors, ſeems deſign'd by Providence to add
" new luſtre to the glories of your Majeſty's reign.
" The ſucceſs of your arms having ſecured us from
" all attempts from abroad, and the care your Ma-
" jeſty has taken of the firm eſtabliſhment of the
" Proteſtant ſucceſſion, having given a great and
" laſting ſecurity to our religion, as, in the church
" of England, by law eſtabliſh'd, we beg leave
" humbly to aſſure your Majeſty, that our indea-
" vors ſhall never be wanting to ſupport your go-
" vernment at home, and ſo to eſtabliſh the peace
" of this iſland, that no diſpute may remain among
" us, but how to acknowledge, in the moſt dutiful
" manner, the auſpicious conduct of ſo great and
" ſo renowned a Queen.

To this addreſs, her Majeſty anſwered:

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I am glad to find your opinion ſo perfectly
" agrees with mine, concernion this union: you
" cannot do me a more acceptable ſervice, than
" by uſing your utmoſt indeavors to improve all
" the good conſequences of it."

The remaining part of this ſeſſion was ſpent in voting a ſupply for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland, in finding ways and means, and in preparing bills to prevent the runing of forein goods to Scotland, and their importing them duty-free into England, after the 1ſt of May, when the union was to take place; but the houſes diſagreeing about the expedients propoſed for the latter, thoſe bills came to nothing: upon which, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, the 24th of April, and having given the royal aſſent, to ſuch acts as lay ready for that purpoſe, her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The Queen's ſpeech at proroguing the parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I return you my hearty thanks for the great
" zeal and affection which you have ſhewn for my
" ſervice and the public good, in the ſeveral af-
" fairs which have been before you, eſpecially
" in that of the union with Scotland; which I
" doubt not, will prove a laſting happineſs to
" this iſland.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I am to thank you, in particular, for the great
" diſpatch you have made in providing the largeſt
" and moſt effectual ſupplies that have ever been
" given to the crown, for the current ſervice, in
" any one ſeſſion of parliament: I am very much
" concerned, that the public occaſions require the
" raiſing of ſuch great ſums from my people: I
" will take care they ſhall be applied to the uſes
" for which they are given; and, I hope, by
" GOD's bleſſing, we may obtain advantages
" from them, anſwerable to ſo great an expence.

My lords and gentlemen,

" It is proper for me, before we part, to com-
" municate to you, that I think it expedient, that
" the lords of parliament of England, ſhould
" be members of the reſpective houſes of the firſt
" parliament of Great-Britain, for, and on the
" part of England: and therefore I intend, with-
" in the time limited, to publiſh a proclamation
" for that purpoſe, purſuant to the powers given
" me by the acts of parliament of both king-
" doms, ratifying the treaty of union: and, after
" we have ſo fully compleated this great work,
" I aſſure myſelf, that, when you return to your
" ſeveral countries, you will omit no opportunity
" of making my ſubjects ſenſible of the ſecurity,
" and the other great and laſting benefits they
" may reaſonably expect from this happy union.

" This will conduce very much to make it prove
" ſo, and be a good preparation to the ſucceſs of
" our next meeting; when, I hope, we ſhall all
" join our ſincere and hearty indeavors, to pro-
" mote the welfare and proſperity of Great-Bri-
" tain."

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The parliament prorogued.

After this, the lord-keeper, by her Majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament, till Wedneſday the 30th of the ſame month of April, that being the longeſt day they could be prorogued to as a parliament of England; and the day preceding it a proclamation was iſſued, declaring the lords and commons of the preſent parliament, to be members of the firſt parliament of Great-Britain, for England.

Acts paſſed.

The principal acts paſs'd this ſeſſion, beſide thoſe already mention'd, were, 1. " An act for the
" better preventing eſcapes out of the Queen's
" bench and fleet priſons. 2. An act for the
" better preſervation of the game. 3. An act for
" the better recruiting the land-forces and ma-
" rines. 4. An act for the incouragement of the
" royal Luſtring company. 5. An act relating to
" bankrupts. 6. An act for diſcharging ſmall
" livings from the firſt fruits and tenths. 7. An
" act for ſecuring her Majeſty's purchaſe of the
" Cotton-library. 8. An act for incouraging the
" diſcovery of houſe-breakers, &c. by day or
" night. 9. An act for continuing an act for
" puniſhing mutiny, nd deſertion. 10. An act
" to repeal all the laws prohibiting the importation
" of forein lace made with thread. 11. An act
" for raiſing the militia for the year 1707. And,
" 12. An act for continuing ſeveral laws therein
" mention'd, relating to the poor, &c." with ſeveral other acts of leſs moment.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, the convocation was aſſembled as uſual: but upon the lower houſe ſhewing an inclination to apply againſt the union, they were prorogued, by virtue of her Majeſty's command, in a letter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and nothing worthy the reader's attention happen'd in that aſſembly.

Thankſgiving for the union.

The union commencing the 1ſt of May, that day was obſerved as a thankſgiving; when her Majeſty went to St. Paul's, in the uſual ſtate, and a ſermon was preach'd on the occaſion by the biſhop of Oxford. Her Majeſty likewiſe, on this account, received congratulatory addreſſes from moſt of the cities, towns and corporations in England; but it was obſervable, that tho' the univerſity of Cambridge was one of the forwardeſt on this topic, that of Oxford never addreſs'd at all; nor did hardly any thing of that nature appear from Scotland.

Promotions.

The 4th, the lord Cowper was conſtituted lord-chancellor; the 10th, there was a promotion of general officers: and, on the 20th, James duke of Montroſs, James earl of Seafield, John earl of Mar, and Hugh earl of Loudon, noblemen of North-Britain, were ſworn of the privy-council.

Proclamation for holding the firſt parliament of Great-Britain

The 5th of June, her Majeſty's proclamation was publiſh'd, declaring her pleaſure for holding the firſt parliament of Great-Britain, at Weſtminſter, on the 23d of October. And, the next day, commiſſioners were appointed for managing the equivalent due to Scotland, according to the treaty of union.

The 23d, at a council held at Windſor, her Majeſty was pleas'd to make a new appointment (on occaſion of the union) of the lord chancellor, and lord-high treaſurer, who, for ſome time, had left their places of poſt, at the council-table, and ſat only according to their rank of peerage; but now, her Majeſty was pleas'd, after reading a public inſtrument, to re-inveſt them with the titles of lord-chancellor, and lord-high treaſurer of Great-Britain, and new patents paſs'd the ſeal for that purpoſe. In like manner, his Royal-Highneſs Prince

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Prince George of Denmark, took a new oath, in the court of chancery, as lord-high admiral of Great-Britain, &c. and, by a new commiſſion, appointed his council.

Affairs of Ireland.

Before I proceed to give an account of forein affairs, I ſhall juſt mention thoſe of Ireland. The earl of Pembroke, lord-preſident of the council, having been appointed, on the 27th of April, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, his excellency arrived at Dublin the 24th of June. The 7th of July the parliament met, and his excellency made a ſpeech to them, in which among other things, having recommended unanimity among themſelves, as the means to attain to the bleſſing of a future poſterity and ſecurity, he told them, "that her Majeſty conſidering the number of "Papiſts in Ireland, would be glad of any ex-"pedient for ſtrengthening the intereſt of her "Proteſtant ſubjects in that kingdom; and that "he did not doubt but they would make proviſion "of the neceſſary ſupplies for payment of the "army, as well as for defraying the charges of "the government." The lords and commons having preſented their reſpective addreſſes of congratulation, on the accompliſhment of the union between England and Scotland, and of thanks to the lord-lieutenant, on the 10th of July, the commons ordered heads of a bill to be brought in "for explaining and amending an act to pre-"vent the farther growth of Popery:" which bill was however afterwards rejected, and another preſented in the room of it, "for the better ſe-"curing the Proteſtant religion and intereſt in "that kingdom, againſt Popery. The 14th they appointed a commitee to inſpect the public accounts, and the next day unanimouſly voted a a ſupply. The 28th, the commitee of the whole houſe went on the ſupply, and reſolved, 1. "That "the funds formerly granted by parliament, and "the revenue of the kingdom, were ſufficient to "ſupport the government, and diſcharge the public "debts, to and for Michaelmas, 1707. 2. That "the ſupply granted to her Majeſty, be a ſum "ſufficient to make good the neceſſary branches "of the eſtabliſhment, from Michaelmas 1707, "to and for Midſummer 1709." The 4th of Auguſt, the commons reſolved "to grant 135,000 l. to "her Majeſty, for the ſupport of the neceſſary bran-"ches of the eſtabliſhment, from Michaelmas, "1707, to Midſummer, 1709." Till the 24th of October, was ſpent in the preparing ſeveral as well public as private acts, and in ſundry interruptions and adjournments, occaſion'd by ſeveral bills being ſent to England, for the royal approbation. That day, the lord-lieutenant went in ſtate to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſuch acts as were ready, made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them; "That he had ſeen, with "great ſatisfaction, their chearfulneſs in the pro-"ſecution of her Majeſty's ſervice, and, in par-"ticular, the unanimity of the commons, in "granting the neceſſary ſupplies for the eſtabliſh-"ment."

The 30th, the lord-lieutenant came again to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal ſanction to the remaining public and private acts, made a ſpeech to both houſes. This done, the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament to the 6th of May next inſuing, and, about a month after, the lord-lieutenant returned to Great-Britain. I come now to forein affairs.

The conſtant ſeries of prodigious ſucceſſes, in almoſt all parts, with which the confederate arms were attended, the laſt campain, made it generally believed, that the King of France would never be able to retrieve ſo many and ſo great misfortunes, and would ſoon be obliged to lay aſide his pre-tenſions to Spain, to obtain a peace, which his ſubjects ſtood in great need of, and which they implor'd of him, in the moſt ſolemn manner; but, notwithſtanding the great hopes conceived, at this time, the year I am now entering upon will not furniſh us with ſo much matter for triumph as the foregoing; on the contrary, we ſhall ſee the enemy, who was look'd upon as totally overwhelm'd, raiſing his head again, and triumphing, at leaſt in ſome places, in his turn.

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The duke of Marlborough goes to Holland.

The duke of Marlborough, who, in the foregoing years of her Majeſty's reign, made ſo ſhining a figure by his glorious military atchievements, beſpeaks our attention this year, chiefly by his important negociations. For which he had as happy a talent, and as much ſkill and ſagacity, as conduct and bravery when at the head of an army. The plan for the operations of the campain being concerted, as far as they could be at London, his grace departed thence for Holland; but having been detained nine or ten days, by contrary winds, at Margate, he imbark'd there, the 2d of April in the evening, deſigning to reach Oſtend; the wind however changing, he landed at the Briel, the 16th, N. S. at night.

Acquaints the States with his deſign of going into Saxony.

The next day, the duke arrived at the Hague, where he had ſeveral conferences with the forein miniſters and the deputies of the States, on the affairs of the preſent juncture, and, among other things, he told the latter; "That the troubles of "Saxony occaſioning a great diſtraction in the "Empire, which brought infinite prejudice to the "common cauſe, the Queen, his miſtreſs, had "thought fit, to ſend him thither, to pay a com-"pliment to the King of Sweden, and indeavor "to ingage him to remove the juſt jealouſies, his "long ſtay, in the heart of Germany, gave to "ſome of the high allies. For which purpoſe, "he had the neceſſary powers from her Majeſty, "and deſired to have the ſame from the States."

Which they approve of.

The penſionary having, the next day, acquainted the States of Holland and Weſt-Friezland, with the neceſſity of the duke of Marlborough's journey, the matter was thought of ſo great importance to the common cauſe, that they readily concur'd in thoſe meaſures, and his grace ſet out the ſame evening for Leipſick, by the way of Hanover: while monſ. d'Auverquerque, in the mean time, went for Bruſſels, to aſſemble the confederate troops againſt the duke's return.

The eyes of all Europe on the King of Sweden.

The eyes of all Europe were now on the King of Sweden, who had, with his victorious army, poſſeſs'd himſelf of Saxony, reduced Auguſtus to the neceſſity of making an inglorious peace, with the loſs of his crown, which he had been obliged to renounce in favor of King Staniſlaus. The King of Sweden was in the heart of Germany, in a formidable poſture, with an army fluſh'd with ſucceſs; which, tho' he had concluded a peace with Auguſtus, and had only the Muſcovites, and a ſmall party of Poles to incounter with, he was recruiting in all the neighboring provinces of the Empire, and equiping, in the moſt powerful manner, with the ſpoils of Saxony. This gave great apprehenſions to the allies, and indeed their jealouſies ſeem'd to be but too well-grounded.

The allies under apprehenſions of him.

The 26th, in the morning, his grace arrived at Hall, a famous univerſity belonging to the King of Pruſſia, about five German miles diſtant from Leipſick. Here his grace was met by mr. Robinſon, her Majeſty's envoy-extraordinary, by count Zinzendorf the Imperial envoy, and by monſieur Cranenburg, the Dutch miniſter. After dinner, his grace received the compliments of the magiſtrates and of the univerſity; and then proceeded, accompanied by mr. Robinſon, and monſ. Cranenburg, to Alt-Ranſtadt, about two German miles

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The duke of Marlorough arrives at the King of Sweden's quarters near Leipſick.

miles from Leipſick, where the King of Sweden had his head-quarters. He went directly to count Piper's quarters, which were not far from thence, where he had a conference with that prime miniſter, for about an hour, and then retired to the quarters the King of Sweden had ordered to be prepared for him, at Tauche, a village about two German miles diſtant from Leipſick, and not far from thoſe of the King's.

Has audience of the King of Sweden.

The 27th of April, in the morning, the duke of Marlborough was complimented on his arrival, by the miniſters and general officers; at half an hour paſt eight, he went in a coach of count Piper's to Alt-Ranſtadt, and, about ten, had his firſt audience of the King, which laſted about two hours; when his Majeſty received him with all demonſtrations of eſteem and honor. He preſented to his Swediſh Majeſty a letter from the Queen of Great-Britain, and, at delivering it, made him the following compliment:

His compliment to the King.

Sir, "I preſent to your Majeſty a letter, not "from the chancery; but from the heart of the "Queen, my miſtreſs, and written with her own "hand. Had not her ſex prevented it, ſhe would "have croſs'd the ſea, to ſee a Prince admired by "the whole univerſe. I am, in this particular, "more happy than the Queen; and I wiſh I could "ſerve ſome campains under ſo great a general "as your Majeſty, that I might learn what I yet "want to know, in the art of war."

Some authors call the genuineneſs of this ſpeech in queſtion, and think it too mean an adulation to proceed from the mouth of one of the duke of Marlborough's rank and experience: but I rather take it to be an evidence of his ſkill in mankind. He knew the character of Charles, and his foible, and could not have ſuited his words more to the purpoſe. They pleas'd not only the King, but his whole army, who ador'd him, as much as ever Frenchman did his grand Monarch. At leaſt, I heard the very words in the mouths of his officers, for many months afterwards.

Very acceptable to his Majeſty.

This well-timed compliment, I ſay, was exceeding agreeable to the King of Sweden, and, no doubt, contributed not a little to incline him in favor both of the duke's perſon and errand.

The ſubſtance of the King's anſwer to his grace's ſpeech was as follows:

The King's anſwer.

"The Queen of Great-Britain's letter, and your "perſon, are both very acceptable to me, and I "ſhall always have the utmoſt regard for the in"terpoſition of her Majeſty of Great-Britain, and "the intereſts of the grand alliance. It is likewiſe "much againſt my will, if I have been obliged to "give the leaſt umbrage to any of the parties in"gaged in it: but your excellency cannot but be "convinced, that I had juſt cauſe to come into this "country with my troops. On the other hand, "you may aſſure the Queen, my ſiſter, that my "deſign is to depart from hence, as ſoon as I have "obtained the ſatisfaction I demand; but no ſooner. "However I ſhall do nothing that can tend to "the prejudice of the common cauſe, in general, "or to the Proteſtant religion in particular; of "which I ſhall always glory to be a zealous pro"tector."

The duke had the honor to dine with his Majeſty in public; and after dinner he had a ſecond audience on buſineſs, at which were preſent count Piper, and monſieur Harmelin, the two chief of his Swediſh Majeſty's miniſters, together with mr. Robinſon. And the audience being over, the duke ſpent the evening in viſits.

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The duke has his audience of leave.

The duke having had ſeveral conferences with the Swediſh and other miniſters, and having waited on King Auguſtus, at Leipſick, had, on the 29th, his audience of leave of the King of Sweden. At this audience, the duke had ſufficient aſſurances of what had been before concerted with count Piper, and therefore left the King, extreamly well ſatisfied, not only with his reception at that court, but with his negociations. During this audience, King Staniſlaus came in, and was complimented by his grace, who however could enter into no farther conference with him; becauſe the Queen had not acknowledg'd him as King of Poland. The duke ſoon after took his leave, and went to Leipſick, from whence, without making any ſtay, he proceeded on his journey to Berlin.

Succeſs of his negociation.

Has an opportunity of complimenting King Staniſlaus.

The ſucceſs of the duke of Marlborough's negociations, at the court of Sweden, was generally thought to be owing, not only to the perſonal eſteem which the King expreſs'd to have for his grace, or to the ſoothing and cheriſhing his natural inclination, which luckily happen'd to chime with the duke's wiſhes; but likewiſe to a large ſum of mony, opportunely given to count Piper, who, in return, perſuaded his maſter to that march, which remov'd him to ſo great a diſtance, as freed the allies from any farther apprehenſions on his account (1).

The campain in Flanders,

The duke of Marlborough having, in his return from Saxony, been at the courts of Berlin and Hanover, and having given an account of the ſucceſs of his negociation, to the States-general at the Hague, joined the confederate army, the 21ſt of May, it being then incamp'd, with the right at Bellingen, and the left at Lembeck, having Hall in the rear. Upon advice that the French, who had been drawing together about the ſame time, continued quiet in their lines, the duke of Marlborough advanced nearer to them, in order to meet them half way, for a battle, which they had given out they would offer the confederates; or, if they declined it, to lay ſiege, either to Mons or Charleroy: but, on the 24th, his grace received unexpected information, that the enemy were come out of their lines, and were incamp'd at Haine, St. Paul and Peronne, where the Elector of Bavaria, and the duke de Vendôme, took a review of their army, the 25th. The confederate army, hereupon advanced towards them. The 27th, the duke of Marlborough, accompanied by ſeveral generals, advanced with twelve ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, to view the ground, and the avenues to the enemy's camp: and, upon intelligence, that they were incamp'd in the plain of Flerus, a council of war was held, in which it was reſolved to march to Nivelle, in order to attack them. Accordingly, a detachment was ſent to view the paſs at Ronquieres, thro' which they were to march. The generals, who were ſent thither reported, that the enemy ſuſpecting the deſign of the allies, had made a detachment to ſecure that important poſt, and would undoubtedly advance, upon the firſt motion of the confederates, to hinder them from

The confederates reſolve to attack the enemy.

(1) This, as well as ſome other circumſtances above mention'd, are either flatly contradicted, or otherwiſe related, in Voltaire's hiſtory of Charles XII. It may therefore be neceſſary to obſerve, that what is here alledg'd is on the beſt authority, and chiefly on perſonal knowledge, I having been an eye-witneſs to moſt of theſe tranſactions. And for the ſum of mony ſaid to be given to count Piper, the ſuppoſition is grounded upon a much better foundation than common fame. To enter into a diſcuſſion of theſe matters cannot be expected here: but thoſe who are curious to be farther inform'd, will find a very exact and circumſtantial account of this whole negociation, in Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. II. from p. 161. to p. 179. inclusive.

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marching thro' it; or elſe, would charge the firſt troops which ſhould paſs, with ſo much advantage, that it was not thought adviſable to move that way.

But they prevent it.

This report being maturely weigh'd, in a council of war, and, beſide, the generals wiſely conſidering, that the enemy had drain'd all their gariſons, and got together all their forces, probably with no other view, but to plunder the open, great and wealthy cities of Brabant, particularly Louvain and Bruſſels, as ſoon as they ſhould find the confederates ingaged in any ſiege; which they might have done in leſs time than the bringing up of the heavy artillery and ammunition would require; all theſe things, I ſay, conſidered, it was reſolved to march back to Bruſſels.

This prudent reſolution was executed with ſo much aſſiduity, that the 1ſt of June, the army was poſted at Meldert, the enemy not daring to venture an ingagement, tho' they were ſuperior by thirty-four ſquadrons and twenty-four battalions; and ſo both armies continued above two months, in their reſpective camps, during which time, no action paſs'd between them worth mentioning.

The duke of Marlborough reſolves to attack the enemy.

At length, upon certain advice that the French had detach'd thirteen battalions, and twelve ſquadrons, from their army, towards Provence, the duke of Marlborough, in concert with monſ. d'Auverquerque, and the deputies of the States, reſolved to march from Meldert, towards Genap, in order to attack the enemy, with leſs diſadvantage, in their fortified camp at Gemblours. Accordingly, the 9th of Auguſt, N. S. the diſpoſition was made for the army to paſs the Deule, at the abby of Florival; and, late the ſame evening, orders were given for the march of the heavy baggage towards Bruſſels, and the laying of four bridges over the Deule. At the ſame time, the troops which were incamp'd near Louvain, under major-general Week, and the regiment of Bothmar, were ordered to march to Florival, and the battalions in Bruſſels, to advance to Waterloo. The 10th, in the morning, the artillery was commanded to paſs the Deule at St. Joriſwert, and, about three in the afternoon, the duke of Wirtemberg march'd, with fourteen ſquadrons, to Pieterbais, with orders to ſtay there till morning, to obſerve the enemy, and afterwards to make the rear-guard. At four, the whole army decamp'd from Meldert, and, according to the diſpoſition that had been made, paſs'd the Deule at Florival; and, marching all night, arrived, the 11th, at break of day, about the heights of Waveren, where they made a ſhort halt, and then continued their march towards Genap, where they incamp'd, having made a march of ſeven leagues. The enemy no ſooner received advice that the duke of Wirtemberg was advancing with his detachment to Pieterbais, and that the army of the allies was in motion, than they were extreamly alarm'd, and immediately ordered their troops to arms. They likewiſe cut down ſeveral trees in the roads and paſſages which led to their camp. About midnight, they got certain information which way the allies were moving; whereupon, they begun their march, with all imaginable precipitation, towards Flerus and Heſpenay, intending to be that evening at Goſſeliers, and take poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Pieton. The 12th, in the morning early, the confederate generals received advice, that the French army had made but a ſhort halt at Goſſeliers, and were advanced to Seneff about midnight, the Elector of Bavaria having taken his head-quarters in the caſtle of Vanderbeck, and the duke de Vendôme in the farm-houſe of Rel, between Vanderbeck and Seneff, having the river Pieton before them.

Diſpoſitions made for that purpoſe.

The confederate army decamps.

The enemy retires with precipitation.

The duke of Marlborough and monſ. d'Auverquerque, having confer'd together, upon the receit of this advice, it was reſolved to march directly to Nivelle, in order to attack the enemy; and accordingly the army march'd about one in the afternoon, and came into that camp the ſame evening. It was too late to attack the enemy that night, the neceſſary diſpoſitions were therefore made to do it in the morning; and as they had reaſon to believe that the enemy would attempt to retire, in the night, in order to gain the camp at Cambron, all poſſible diligence was uſed to prevent their effecting it. To this end, count de Tilly, with forty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, which were commanded, under him, by the earl of Albermarle, and the major-generals count d'Erbach and Roſs, and a detachment of between five and 6000 grenadiers, commanded by lieutenant-general Scholten and major-general Zoutland, was ordered to poſt himſelf between the two armies, with the left at Corneliz, and the right towards the road from Bink to Nivelle; and, in caſe the enemy decamp'd, to fall upon their rear, and keep them in play, till the whole army could come up. Theſe troops, notwithſtanding they march'd with all poſſible diſpatch, could not reach their reſpective poſts before midnight. The French, in the mean time, foreſeeing what was the duke of Marlborough's deſign, and perceiving that it would not be poſſible for them to avoid an ingagement if they continued in their camp till the morning, reſolved to decamp in the night; that they might, if poſſible, avoid coming to any action with the army of the allies, the valor and experience of whoſe generals, and the courage and activity of their ſoldiers, they very well knew and dreaded.

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The duke of Marlborough purſues them.

Thus the confederates continued to purſue, and the enemy to retreat before them, till the latter, at length, retired under the cannon of Liſle, and into their lines: and thus was the remainder of the campain ſpent in fruitleſs attempts to bring the enemy to a battle.

The campain ends without any ſucceſs.

The duke of Marlborough finding it therefore impoſſible to bring the cautious duke de Vendôme to an ingagement, their camp being cover'd with the Scheld, and with their intrenchments, his grace left the camp at Helchin, the 4th of October, N. S. and went for the Hague. He arrived there the 6th, at nine in the morning, and immediately made a viſit to the grand penſionary, and monſ. de Slingerland, ſecretary of the council of ſtate. The ſame afternoon his grace had a conference with the deputies of the States-general, wherein he communicated the orders he had received from the Queen of Great-Britain, his miſtreſs, to repair to Franckfort, and to confer with the Electors of Mentz and Hanover, about the operations of the next campain. The next morning his grace had another conference with thoſe deputies, and, in the evening, ſet out for the army, to give the neceſſary orders for their marching into winter-quarters, which they, as well as the French army, did very ſoon after.

The duke of Marlborough goes to the Hague.

Confers with the deputies of the States.

Returns to the army.

The 15th, the duke of Marlborough ſet out on his journey to Germany, and the 21ſt reach'd Franckfort. His grace found the Elector of Hanover (our late moſt gracious ſoverein King George I.) who had been prevailed upon to command the army on the Rhine, this ſummer, and at whoſe inſtances this interview was appointed, arrived before him, as was likewiſe the Elector of Mentz.

Arrives at Frankfort.

They had ſeveral conferences together, but nothing could be concluded till count Wratiſlau, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, arrived there the 27th; nor indeed then neither; becauſe the latter declared he was not fully inſtructed: whereupon the conferences broke off, and, on the 29th, the two Electors

Has ſeveral conferences with the Electors of Mentz and Hanover.

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tors of Mentz and Hanover ſet out from Frankfort, the firſt for his reſidence, and the ſecond for the Imperial army; the duke of Marlborough departing, at the ſame time, for the Hague, whither he was attended by count Wratiſlau, and arrived there the 3d of November.

Returns to the Hague.

The duke, during his ſtay at the Hague, communicated to the States-general what paſs'd at Franckfort; and their deputies having had ſeveral conferences with the Imperial miniſters, their High-mightineſſes reſolved to uſe all poſſible means to ingage the Empire to make greater efforts for the future than they had hitherto done. In order to this, they wrote a preſſing letter to the diet of Ratiſbon, wherein, after having repreſented the great deficiencies and delays of the Germanic body, from time to time, in the performance of what they were by treaty bound to, and the evil conſequences which had hitherto attended them, they concluded by ſaying; "that their High-mightineſſes would continue to contribute their utmoſt, "towards bringing about the great work they "had, jointly with them, undertaken; but that "they expected the like from his Imperial Ma-"jeſty, and the Empire, ſeeing they were obliged "to it by their alliances and common intereſt; "and in caſe of non-performance, their High-"mightineſſes proteſted againſt all the ill conſe-"quences thereof."

And returns to England.

The duke of Marlborough having concluded ſeveral weighty affairs with the States-general, imbark'd for England, and came to St. James's the 7th of November, O. S.

Having thus given a brief account of the little ſucceſs we had this year in Flanders; let us now ſee how matters went in other parts, and we ſhall find that none was more ſenſible of this fatal turn of affairs as Spain, by the loſs of the battle of Almanza. The grand deſign of the allies, in the ſouthern parts of Europe (excepting that of Naples, which ſucceeded, and for which the Imperial court neglected every thing elſe) was the ſiege of Toulon: but as all theſe tranſactions had ſome connection with our maritime affairs, I ſhall interſperſe them with the account I am now going to give of them.

Proceeedings of the confederate fleet.

The confederate fleet, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, ſailed the 11th of January, with the land-forces on board, from Liſbon to Alicant, where they arrived the 28th; and the troops (which having been expoſed to all the inconveniencies that attend long voyages, for above ſix months, were reduced to ſeven thouſand men) being landed, left Alicant again the 17th of February, and returned to Liſbon the 11th of the next month.

Sir George Byng detached with ſupplies for the army

There being, at this time, great want of mony, cloaths, proviſions, and other neceſſaries, in the army in Spain, the admiral ordered ſir George Byng to proceed to Alicant with ſupplies, who accordingly ſailed the 30th of March. When he came off of cape St. Vincent, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza; and therefore, purſuant to the lord Galway's deſire, he proceeded for Tortoſa in Catalonia (whither his lordſhip propoſed to retreat with the poor remains of his army) taking with him the ſick and wounded men, at Denia, Gandia and Valencia, which imployed almoſt the whole month of April; after which he proceeded for Barcelona, where ſir Cloudeſly Shovel joined him the 20th of May: but before I proceed to give a farther account of the tranſactions of our fleet, it will be neceſſary to relate the ill ſucceſſes of our land-forces in Spain.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel joins him.

The campain in Spain.

It had been reſolved, in a general council of war, held at Valencia in December 1706, on the operations of the inſuing campain, that the allies ſhould unite all their forces, and act in one body, in order to penetrate into Caſtile again, by the way of Arragon, where the paſſage of the Tagus was moſt practicable. King Charles however receiving intelligence of the great re-inforcements that either had joined, or were about to join the duke of Berwick from France, alter'd his mind, and march'd, with two or three regiments of the army, into Catalonia, in order to defend that province from the attacks of the French from Rouſillon. He, at the ſame time, propos'd it, as his advice to the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas, to diſpoſe the army in ſuch a manner as to cover the frontiers of Arragon and Valencia, from the inſults of the enemy, till ſupplies came from Italy or England. But theſe generals not reliſhing this advice, aſſembled their army, which ſcarce amounted to 16,000 men, and marched to the frontiers of Caſtile, where they deſtroyed ſome of the enemy's magazines; after which they returned and laid ſiege to the town of Villena in Valencia. Before they had made any great advances in this ſiege, they got intelligence, that the duke of Berwick had aſſembled his army near Almanza, being at leaſt one third more numerous than the allies, and that he expected to be joined, in a few days, by the duke of Orleans, with 8000 men more from France; upon which it was reſolved, in a council of war, the 24th of April, to raiſe the ſiege of Villena, and advance to fight the duke of Berwick at Almanza, before he ſhould be joined by the duke of Orleans. Accordingly, the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas immediately began their march, and arrived in the plains of Almanza the next day about noon, where they found the enemy drawn up in battalia, ready to receive them; whereupon the confederate generals formed their line of battle alſo, about a mile from the enemy, and, to ſupply their want of cavalry, interlined a brigade of foot with each wing of horſe. The earl of Galway was ſo complaiſant (for which he was afterwards cenſured) to ſuffer the Portugueze to take the right (or poſt of honor) from the Engliſh; and having placed himſelf at the head of the Engliſh dragoons, on the left, marched, about three in the afternoon, to attack the enemy's right wing of horſe. The Portugueſe were ordered to take the charge, as it ſhould come to them gradually from the left, but not before the Engliſh and Dutch were actually ingaged, who preſſing on to come to a cloſe ingagement, little execution was done on either ſide by the cannon. As ſoon as the left wing was advanced within one hundred paces of the enemy's horſe, they likewiſe advanced out of their line to meet the charge, and the conflict on both ſides was obſtinate and bloody. The enemy, by the weight of their ſquadrons, forced the allies to retreat fifty paces, but Southwell's and Wade's regiments of foot coming up, gave fire upon the enemy's flank and rear, and the cavalry renewing, at the ſame time, their charge in the front, drove them, in diſorder, thro' their own lines, with a very great ſlaughter. By this time, the Engliſh and Dutch foot, under the command of lieutenant-general Erle and baron Freſhem, were ſharply ingaged in the center, and broke thro' the enemy's firſt and ſecond lines, bearing down all before them as far as the walls of Almanza; but this ſucceſs did not laſt long; for the enemy's ſquadrons of the ſecond line fell in upon their flank, and forced back the infantry of the allies with great loſs: and colonel Hill's and the lord Mark Ker's regiments, who had been interlined with the horſe of the ſecond line, marched up and attacked ſome Spaniſh regiments, to favor their retreat.

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The battle of Almanza.

The enemy obſerving that the cavalry of the confederate's

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confederate's right did not advance with their left wing, detached ſome ſquadrons, who marched boldly to attack the right of the Portugueſe, and their line followed ſlowly to ſuſtain them, but did not come time enough to ingage; for the detached ſquadrons, with their firſt charge, broke the Portugueſe, and the whole right wing made off and left their infantry, who were ſurrounded, and moſt of them either killed or taken priſoners. Two Portugueſe battalions, which were poſted at ſome diſtance, when their cavalry was retiring, gave them a volly, and killed and wounded ſeveral of their own men, miſtaking them for the enemy. The Spaniſh forces continued charging on the left, with freſh ſquadrons, but without ſucceſs; for the horſe, both Engliſh and Portugueſe, favored by the fire of the Engliſh battalions which were interlined, broke the enemy, and drove fifteen or ſixteen of their ſquadrons in the rear of their line, whence they could not be brought to charge again.

At length, finding their indeavors to break the left of the confederates with horſe only, fruitleſs, they ſent for nine battalions, and drew them up before their front line of horſe, in oppoſition to the Engliſh brigade of foot, which conſiſted of Southwell's, Blood's, Wade's, and Mountjoy's regiments, and were re-inforced by lieutenant-general Steward's regiment, from the rear-line. They brought up, at the ſame time, ſeveral freſh ſquadrons, to make another charge, on the left wing of the confederate horſe, which had ſuffered very much, brigadier Carpenter being the only commanding officer who remained unhurt. In this condition they were not able to ſupport the charge, but gave way; and, at the ſame time, the nine French battalions charged the Engliſh brigade of foot, in front and flank, and intirely broke them. The two French regiments who fell in upon their flank, being too far advanced, the lord Tyrawly ordered colonel Roper, who commanded major-general Harvey's horſe, to attack them, which was done with ſo much vigor, that they broke thro' them, and made them beg for quarter, before the enemy's cavalry could come to their aſſiſtance.

The enemy had now nothing remaining but to ſurround the confederate foot, which were broke on the plain: and to whom for ſome time they gave no quarter. In this ſtate of deſpair, major-general Shrimpton, brigadier Macartney, colonel Britton, colonel Hill, with ſeveral other officers, who had ingaged in the center, took a bold reſolution, and having aſſembled the ſtragglers of the Engliſh regiments, into a body, join'd ſome of the Dutch and Portugueſe, who had been rallied by count de Dhona and don Juan Emanuel, and form'd a body of near 2000 men, who retreated two leagues, the enemy's horſe ſtill purſuing, tho' often repuls'd by the fire of the confederate infantry. Being tired with the fatigues of the day, and wanting both ammunition and proviſions, the men were unable to march farther than the hills of Caudetta, and, the next morning, being ſurrounded by two lines of foot, the commanding officers agreed to the ſame capitulation that was granted the French at Blenh eim

During the action, the enemy's loſs was much greater, than that of the confederates (1): but the infantry of the latter, being at length broken, and expoſed to the enemy's cavalry, were moſt of them kill'd, wounded, or taken priſoners. The earl of Galway, who during the whole action, ſhew'd more bravery than conduct, was ſo cloſely ingaged with the enemy's horſe, that he received two cuts in the face, near the right eye. Brigadier Killigrew being wounded, in the firſt aſſault, ſtill kept the field, and was killed in a ſecond. The colonels Dormer, Roper, Lawrence, Green and de Loche, were killed, at the head of their ſquadrons, after a gallant behavior. Colonel Pierce, and mr. Hara, ſon to the lord Tyrawly, were wounded. Of the foot, the colonels Hamilton, Woollet, and mr. Neal, who commanded regiments, were killed, the lord Mark Ker and colonel Clayton wounded.

This unfortunate battle being thus loſt, the earl of Galway fled, with the cavalry, conſiſting of 3500 men, to the frontiers of Catalonia, to join King Charles; and the duke of Orleans, arriving in the French army, the day after the battle, march'd into Valencia, and before the middle of May, reduced almoſt all that province, as he did afterwards the whole kingdom of Arragon; of all which places, he diſarmed the inhabitants, and made them not only ſubſiſt his army with proviſions, but buy their peace with great ſums of mony. I return now to the confederate fleet.

The attempt on Toulon concerted.

And now an attempt upon Toulon having been concerted by the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, and their troops being actually on their march towards that important city, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, who was to aſſiſt with the fleet in this expedition, ſet ſail for the coaſt of Italy, and the begining of June appeared off of Genoa. The 5th, the fleet came to on anchor before Final, and the ſame day a council was held at Turin, from whence ſir John Norris (who had been ſent thither with diſpatches from King Charles, to the earl of Galway and ſir George Byng) ſet out two days after, and brought word to ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, that Prince Eugene was coming to confer with him. The latter end of this month, the fleet anchored between Nice and Antibes, at the former of which, the admiral had his firſt interview with the duke of Savoy. The paſſage of the Var, where the enemy had intrenched themſelves, being reſolved upon, the laſt of June, four Britiſh men of war, and one Dutch, under the command of ſir John Norris, attended by about 600 ſeamen and marines, in open boats, ſail'd into the mouth of that river, and being advanced within muſket-ſhot of the enemy's works, made ſuch a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry, and many of their foot, who expected no attack on that ſide, quited their intrenchments. Sir Cloudeſly himſelf followed ſir John Norris to the place of action, and obſerving the diſorder of the enemy, commanded him to land with the ſeamen and marines, and flank them in their intrenchments. This ſervice ſir John performed with ſo much conduct, and his men advanced with ſuch valor and reſolution, that the French fled in confuſion from their works, of which ſir John took poſſeſſion, and open'd a way for the duke of Savoy, who paſſed the river, about half an hour after, without any oppoſition, where he expected to have found a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, and march'd towards Toulon. This brave action, I ſay, opened a paſſage for the duke's march, which, it was generally believed, would otherwiſe have been effectually ſtopp'd, by the works the French had raiſed on that river.

The fleet anchors before Final.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel confers with duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene

A brave action under the conduct of ſir John Norris.

This ſervice being done, the fleet ſailed to the iſles of Hyeres, and, the 15th of July, the army came to la Valette, the admiral having promis'd, if occaſion required, or he could not retreat by land, to convoy the duke and his army away by ſea.

The confederate army comes before Toulon.

(1) This the French writers themſelves, who, in their accounts, vary very little from what I have ſaid above, in a great meaſure own; adding only, that they took all our cannon, with 105 ſtandards and colors.

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The French deſtroy their own ſhips in the harbor.

The enemy being now juſtly apprehenſive of a bombardment, were in ſuch a conſternation, that they ſent away their gallies, the 21ſt, for Marſeilles, and, to prevent their whole fleet, which conſiſted of forty-ſix men of war, from 110 to fifty-ſix guns, and twenty-nine frigats and other ſmaller veſſels, being fired, they ſunk about twenty of their men of war, ten or more of which were of three decks, in the harbor, in ſuch manner as render'd them unfit for ſervice ever after.

The fleet comes into the road of Toulon.

The 2d of Auguſt, the batteries on both ſides began to play; and the ſame day the confederate fleet came to an anchor in the road, where they met with ſome ſucceſs, as well that day as the following: particularly a ſquadron under rear-admiral Dilkes forced the enemy to abandon a battery of ten guns, which the French having nailed up, and rendered uſeleſs, the allies threw them into the ſea. The next day, ſome ſhips of the fleet advanced farther into the road, to ſhut up the harbor cloſe, and fort Lewis was battered with ſuch ſucceſs, that all the guns which defended it were ſilenced. The 4th early, the beſieged made a vigorous ſally, forced moſt of the confederates out of their works, and took poſſeſſion to the right, where they continued all day, and upon going off deſtroyed them, drawing ten guns into the town. In this action, William Prince of Saxe-Gotha, uncle to her Royal-Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, one of the braveſt of the confederate-generals, was kill'd. He was not timely ſupported, and choſe rather to die on the ſpot, than to quit his poſt.

The ſame day, the wind was ſo violent that the ſhip on board of which ſir George Byng had hoiſted his flag, loſt her anchors, and fell foul of a Dutchman of war, which received ſome damage thereby. Notwithſtanding the confederates had ſome ſucceſs after this, yet the duke and Prince Eugene were now convinc'd of the impoſſibility of carrying on the ſiege with ſucceſs, and therefore began to withdraw ſome cannon, in order to be ſhip'd again, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to imbark their ſick and wounded.

The town and harbor of Toulon bombarded.

The 10th, the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for the march of the army; and, at the ſame time, the fleet drew as near the place as poſſible, and five bomb-veſſels, ſupported by the light frigats, and the boats of the men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St. Lewis, and, notwithſtanding the enemy's great fire, bombarded the town and harbor, from that day at noon till the next morning five o'clock, with great ſucceſs. They ſet fire to the great magazine of cordage, quite ruin'd ſeveral ſtately buildings, and deſtroy'd or made unfit for ſervice, eight men of war, from ninety-two, to fifty-ſix guns. But the enemy, at length, brought ſo many guns and mortars againſt thoſe veſſels, as obliged them to retire, not a little damaged. The ſame night, the confederate army quited the camp at la Vilette, and marched away in five columns, taking the ſame rout as they did when they came to Toulon.

The ſiege of Toulon raiſed.

The retreat was made in ſo good order, that nothing was left in the camp at la Vilette that could be of any uſe to the enemy; and altho' the marſhal de Teſſe, who commanded in the town, could not but judge that the allies were upon the point of decamping, yet he did not think fit to purſue them, till the 12th, and then only at a diſtance, and either durſt not, or could not come up with them.

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Thus ended this chargeable expedition againſt the moſt conſiderable poſt the French have in the Mediteranean: but tho' it was not attended with all the ſucceſs which was expected from ſo great preparations, it was far from being fruitleſs: beſide the great damage the enemy ſuſtained in their ſhiping; the burning of above 160 houſes in Toulon, and the devaſtations commited in Provence by both armies, to the value of thirty millions of French livres, this enterprize brought the farther advantage to the common cauſe, that it gave a great diverſion to the enemy's forces, whereby their army in Germany was weakned; the duke of Orleans's progreſs, after the battle of Almanza, was retarded in Spain; the ſuccouring of Naples was prevented, and the conqueſts of the allies in Italy, were ſecured.

Sir Cloudeſly returns for England.

Sir Cloudeſly, being however not a little mortified at the miſcarriage, bent his courſe homewards, with the beſt part of the fleet, leaving ſir Thomas Dilkes with a ſquadron for the ſervice on the coaſt of Italy, who dying at Leghorn, that ſquadron returned to Liſbon the begining of the inſuing year.

Is loſt among the iſlands of Scilly.

Sir Cloudeſly coming into the Soundings, the 23d of October, he had ninety fathom water in the morning, and in the afternoon he brought the fleet to, and lay by, with a very freſh gale, at S. S. W. but hazy weather. At ſix that night, he made ſail again, and ſtood away under his courſes, E. and by N. believing, as it was preſumed, that he had the chanel open, and ſaw the light at Scilly: ſoon after which, ſeveral of the ſhips made the ſignal of danger, as he himſelf did. Sir George Byng was not then half a mile to windward of him, who ſaw the breaches of the ſea, and in a little time the rocks of Scilly above water; on one of which, known by the name of the Biſhop and his Clerks, the admiral ſtruck, and in leſs than two minutes, there was not any thing of his ſhip ſeen. Beſide the Aſſociation (in which ſir Cloudeſly with many officers and gentlemen and eight or 900 ſeamen periſhed) the Eagleman of war, commanded by captain Hancock, with all her company, underwent the ſame fate. The Phœnix was loſt, but all her crew ſaved; and two fireſhips ſtruck, but came off with ſome loſs.

Thus (ſays biſhop Burnet) one of the greateſt ſeamen of the age was loſt, by an error in his own profeſſion: for, as I have already obſerved, he had lain by all the afternoon before, and ſet ſail at night, believing he would have time enough next morning to guard againſt running on thoſe rocks. The body of this brave commander being taken up, inbalmed and brought to London, was magnificently inter'd in Weſtminſter-abby, at the Queen's expence. I ſhall not detain the reader with a relation of other tranſactions at ſea, of leſs moment; but only in general obſerve, that as the royal navy had no great ſucceſs to boaſt of this year, ſo great complaints were made of the vaſt loſſes our merchants ſuſtain'd for want of due and regular convoys (1).

Suſa taken by Prince Eugene.

Notwithſtanding the confederates were diſappointed, in their expectations before Toulon, they were ſtill in condition to attack Suſa, which ſur-

(1) France (ſays biſhop Burnet) ſet out no fleet this year; and yet we never had greater loſſes at ſea. The Prince's council was very unhappy, in the whole conduct of the cruiſers and convoys. The merchants made heavy complaints, and not without reaſon. Convoys were ſometimes denied them, and when they were granted, they were often delayed, beyond the time limited for the merchants to get their ſhips ready; and the ſailing orders were ſometimes ſent them ſo unhappily (but, as many ſaid, ſo treacherouſly) that a French ſquadron was then laying in their way to interrupt them. This was liable to many ſevere reflections: for many of the convoys, as well as the merchant-ſhips were taken. Hiſtory of his own times.

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render'd to Prince Eugene within a fortnight after he came before it, and then the army went into winter-quarters.

The kingdom of Naples reduced by the Imperialists.

When the grand army of the allies, in Italy, entered Provence, in order to beſiege Toulon, count Thaun was diſpatch'd to Naples, with a body of 15,000 men, to reduce that kingdom to the obedience of King Charles; and this expedition was reſolved upon, and undertaken, by the Imperialiſts, notwithſtanding the repeated repreſentations of all the other allies, that ſo great a detachment would, in all probability, break all their meaſures, and ruin their deſigns in Provence, as indeed it happen'd: for the want of thoſe troops may truly be ſaid to have been the occaſion of their precipitate retreat from Toulon, and that the vaſt expence the confederates had been at, both by ſea and land, was, in a great meaſure loſt. The kingdom of Naples was found a very eaſy conqueſt, the people in general being well affected to the houſe of Auſtria. The viceroy retired to Gaeta, the only place that made any reſiſtance; but it was taken by ſtorm, and the caſtle, in which the grandees who were in King Philip's intereſt had retired, ſurrendered at diſcretion ſoon after. Thus was this kingdom reduced with very little bloodſhed: but it was urged by the allies, that it would have fallen of itſelf, had they ſucceeded in other places; and the making ſuch a detachment, at that time, was the occaſion of their ill ſucceſs every where elſe (1).

The campain on the Rhine.

On the Rhine, the marſhal de Villars having ſurpriz'd the Germans, and paſs'd that river, and their lines, laid the circles of Suabia and Franconia under contribution; and had penetrated into Bavaria, if he had not been obliged to weaken his army, and ſend large detachments into Provence: after which he repaſs'd the Rhine, and notwithſtanding things took a better appearance on that ſide, upon the Elector of Hanover's taking the command of the army of the Empire, there happened no farther action. The Emperor had indeed enough to do to defend his hereditary dominions: for the Hungarians were ſtill in arms; and, at the ſame time, the King of Sweden began to call the Emperor to an account for incroaching upon the Proteſtants of Sileſia. The Bavarians were alſo ready to revolt, and give a farther diverſion to his troops: and, in theſe circumſtances, it was no wonder the Imperial army did not purſue the French, in their turn, over the Rhine; they were happy in being able to defend the frontiers of Germany from any farther inſults.

The firſt parliament of Great-Britain meets.

The firſt parliament of Great-Britain met, according to their ſummons, on the 23d of October, when they were directed to chuſe a ſpeaker; and the choice falling upon mr. Smith, ſpeaker of the then late houſe of commons of England, he was preſented to and approved by her Majeſty the 30th, after which both houſes adjourned to the 6th of November, when the Queen made the following ſpeech to them:

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The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

"It is with all humble thankfulneſs to Almighty God, and with intire ſatisfaction to "my ſelf, that I meet you here in this firſt parliament of Great Britain, not doubting but you "come with hearts prepared, as mine is, to make "this union ſo proſperous, as may anſwer the "well-grounded hopes of all my good ſubjects, "and the reaſonable apprehenſions of our enemies.

"To this end, nothing is ſo immediately material as to convince, as ſoon as poſſible, both "our friends and our enemies, that the uniting "of our intereſts has not only improved our abilities, but our reſolutions alſo, to proſecute this "juſt and neceſſary war, till we obtain a ſafe "and honorable peace for ourſelves, and for our "allies.

"In ſo great and extenſive a war as this, many "things may be uſefully undertaken, which are "not fit to be communicated before hand: the "attempt upon Toulon was of this nature; and "tho' it had not wholly its deſired effect, has "nevertheleſs been attended with many great and "and obvious advantages to the common cauſe, in "this year, and has made our way eaſier, I hope, "to greater in the next.

"As the French have gained ground upon us "in Spain, ſo they have been wholly driven out "of Italy; by which it is become more eaſy for "all the allies to join their aſſiſtance next year, "for inabling the King of Spain to recover his "affairs in that kingdom, and to reduce the whole "Spaniſh Monarchy to his obedience.

"The weakneſs and ill poſture of affairs upon "the Rhine, in the begining of the year, has "given an opportunity to the French to make "themſelves ſtronger in all other parts; but this "defect ſeems in a very promiſing way of being "fully remedied againſt next campain, by the "conduct and authority of the Elector of Hanover, whoſe ſeaſonable acceptance of that command has ſtrengthened and obliged the whole "confederacy.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"The juſt application of the ſupplies given me "by former parliaments; the plain neceſſity of "continuing this war, the reaſonable proſpect of "puting a good end to it, if we be not wanting "to ourſelves, and the honor of the firſt parliament of Great-Britain, are, I make no doubt, "ſufficient arguments to incite you to provide "the neceſſary ſupplies, which I am obliged to "deſire of you, for the inſuing campain, in all

(1) It is hardly poſſible to paſs over the unaccountable events of this campain without reflection. A late author ſpeaking of the year 1706, being called a year of wonders, will needs have it, that the year 1707 was evidenly a year of blunders, of which he fears ſome were willful. Certain it is, our misfortunes in Spain might have been prevented, had we remained upon the defenſive there till re-inforcements could have been ſent thither from Italy or England, which both King Charles and the earl of Peterborough inſiſted upon, as it appears by a letter, written by the latter the winter before the battle of Almanza, to the Portugueſe embaſſador at King Charles's court, and by a memorial preſented to the Queen, by count Gallas, the Imperial miniſter at London, afterwards. It is as certain, that there was no neceſſity of fighting at this time; for they had forces enough to defend the territories of Valencia and Arragon, and might have been ſupplied with proviſions from the Engliſh fleet. But, to excuſe theſe generals, it is ſaid, that brigadier Stanhope, her Majeſty's miniſter, declared in a council of war, that it was her Majeſty's poſitive orders, they ſhould ſeek the enemy. The obſtinacy of the Imperial court in perſiſting upon dividing their forces, to reduce Naples, when they were wanted intirely elſewhere, proved fatal, as I have already obſerved, to the deſign on Toulon. The duke of Marlborough was not free from cenſure, on account of his pacific campain in Flanders: can we imagine (are the words of the ſame author) "that the duke of Marlborough, at the head of the fineſt army the world ever ſaw (100,000 veteran "troops) who had beaten the enemy the year before, deſtroyed and taken 20,000 of their beſt troops, and taken towns "before their faces, without number, either wanted courage or ſtratagems this campain, to alarm and diſtreſs his baffled "enemy, who fled before him the laſt, and were not yet recovered from their panic? Had the duke of Marblborugh (continues "my author) acted with the ſame vigor he had done hitherto, and the duke of Savoy enter'd Provence at the ſame time, with "60,000 men, inſtead of 40,000, as he might have done, the French King would probably have been brought upon his knees, "and readily have yielded up Spain and the Weſt Indies, as well as the reſt of the Spaniſh territories, notwithſtanding his "victory at Almanza." Salmon's Modern hiſt. Vol. XXV. p. 402 and 409.

"parts;

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" parts; and particularly for the timely ſupport " of the King of Spain, and the making good " our treaty with Portugal; as alſo for ſtrengthen- " ing the confederate army, under the command " of the duke of Savoy. All which ſervices I " don't doubt but you will think ſo neceſſary, " that they ought not to be neglected, even tho' " they ſhould require an augmentation.

" The ſums already expended in this war have " been very great, and they are ſufficient proofs " how well ſatisfied my ſubjects have always been " with the ends of my government; of which I " am ſo ſenſible, as never to aſk any ſupplies of " them but what are abſolutely neceſſary for the " preſervation of their religion and liberty; and " I look upon it as my great happineſs, that " I have not the leaſt intereſt ſeparate from that " of all my good ſubjects.

My lords and gentlemen,

" In a work ſo great and new in its kind as " that of the union, it is impoſſible but that ſome " doubts and difficulties may have ariſen; which " however, I hope, are ſo far overcome, as to " have defeated the deſigns of thoſe who would " have made uſe of that handle to foment di- " ſturbances.

" There are ſeveral matters expreſly made " liable, by the articles of the union, to the con- " ſideration of the parliament of Great-Britain; " which, together with ſuch others, as may rea- " ſonably produce thoſe advantages that with " due care muſt certainly ariſe from that treaty, I " earneſtly recommend to your ſerious conſidera- " tion.

" On my part, nothing ſhall be wanting to " procure to my people all the bleſſings which can " follow from this happy circumſtance of my " reign; and to extinguiſh, by all proper means, " the leaſt occaſions of jealouſy, that either the " civil or religious rights of any part of this my " united kingdom can ſuffer, by the conſequences " of this union.

" Such a ſuggeſtion ſhall never, in my time, " have any foundation, how reſtleſs ſoever our " enemies may be, in their indeavors and arti- " fices, to diſturb our peace and happineſs; thoſe " great and valuable bleſſings cannot but be al- " ways ſecure to us, if we heartily indeavor to " confirm and improve our preſent union: I hope " therefore you will ſuffer nothing to prevail with " you to diſunite among yourſelves, or abate your " zeal in oppoſing the common enemy."

Addreſs of the commons.

This ſpeech had a various effect on the two houſes: the commons, on the 10th, readily and unanimouſly voted and preſented an addreſs of thanks, in which they aſſured the Queen; " that " no diſappointments ſhould diſcourage them from " making their utmoſt efforts to inable her Ma- " jeſty, in conjunction with her allies, to reduce " the whole Spaniſh Monarchy to the obedience " of King Charles, &c." They concluded, by telling her; " that her Majeſty, thro' her whole " reign, had ſhewn ſhe had no intereſt ſeparate " from her people, and they were ſo ſenſible of " it, as never to be wanting on all occaſions to " expreſs their gratitude to the beſt of Queens; " promiſing all unanimity and diſpatch in the " public buſineſs and ſupply."

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The lords fall upon the grievances of the nation.

The lords, inſtead of addreſſing her Majeſty, fell upon grievances, and particularly, among other things, the decay of trade, occaſioned by the want of cruiſers and convoys. After ſome debate on this topic, the 12th, it was ordered, that the ſtate of the nation ſhould be taken into conſidera- tion on the 19th, in a commitee of the whole houſe. The lord Henry Herbert of Cherbury be- ing choſen chairman of the commitee that day, and the Queen preſent, incognito, a petition given in by the two ſheriffs of London, and ſubſcribed by about 200 conſiderable merchants, was read, complaining of their loſſes at ſea, and deſiring ſome ſpeedy remedy. This petition, which was preſented by the earl of Wharton, being read, his lordſhip began the debate, with laying open the miſerable condition of the nation, and the great decay of trade. Several other peers ſpoke to the ſame effect: and, among the reſt, the lord Haver- ſham made a ſpeech, on this occaſion, in which he obſerved; " that our ſhips had been taken " by the enemy, as the Dutch take herrings, by " ſhoals, upon our coaſts, and that the royal " navy it ſelf had not eſcap'd: that by theſe " misfortunes our merchants were beggar'd, our " commerce broke, our trade was gone, our ma- " nufactures ruin'd, the Queen loſt her cuſtoms, " and the parliament muſt make good the defi- " ciencies; while our allies had an open and flou- " riſhing trade, and the enemy made uſe of our " ſhips and ſeamen againſt us: that they were " now upon the inquiry, who brought them into " this miſerable condition; but wherever they " began, if they did not end with the miniſtry, " they ſhould be in a worſe condition, than they " were before: that he took the root of all their " misfortunes to ly in the miniſtry, and without " a change of miniſtry, in his opinion, no other " remedy would be effectual. He ſaid, if he was " not confident he ſtood upon ſure grounds, " he ſhould not have ventured to have ſaid ſo " much; but he had his juſtification in his hand: " the Prince he excuſed, and ſaid he thought " the navy ſafer in his hands, than any man's, " as not being capable of being influenced by " any great miniſter; but if his council had " been faulty, it was fit they ſhould have what " they deſerved: nor did he lay any blame " upon the Queen; he ſaid ſhe was a Princeſs of " too conſummate wiſdom to act without the " advice of her miniſtry; that their lordſhips had " long ſince addreſs'd her Majeſty, that particular " care might be taken of theſe points, and none " but they who had her Majeſty's ear could pre- " vail to the contrary; and the want of following " their lordſhips advice had coſt the nation near " ten millions, and therefore it evidently followed, " that the miniſtry had been the occaſion of all " theſe loſſes.

Lord Haver- ſham's ſpeech on that oc- caſion.

" In ſhort, ſaid he, to conclude, let our miſ- " fortunes be ſkinned over as they will, if they " feſter and throb, and are foul at bottom, they " will certainly break out with incredible rage " and fury."

Thus was the old queſtion revived; " whether " the land or ſea-ſervice ought to be moſt attended " to" (1). But the debate growing high, ſome members indeavor'd to allay it, by propoſing ways

Debates thereupon

(1) Tho' our fleet and our trade (ſays a late author) is univerſally acknowleged to be of the greateſt importance to the nation, and tho' we were maſters at ſea, yet the enemy domineer'd in the Soundings, and in the Channel, and hardly ſuffer'd a merchant to eſcape them, and, as the lord Haverſham obſerved, even our men of war fell into their hands; and the Prince, bearing the title of admiral, the miniſtry thought themſelves ſufficiently ſcreen'd againſt any complaints, on this head: but the nation could no longer be blinded by the glittering and eclat of our arms in Flanders: The merchants grew clamorous, our manufactures were ruin'd, the workmen and their families were ſtarving, and even the name of the Prince, her Majeſty's deareſt royal conſort, whom the people ſo much adored, could no longer ſtop the mouths of that multitude of ſufferers. Salmon's Modern hiſtory, Vol. XXV. p. 420.

and

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and means to retrieve our losses at sea; and, among the rest, the lord Hallifax moved; that a committee be appointed to receive proposals for incouraging of trade and privateers in the West-Indies; which motion, being back'd by the lord-treasurer, was carried in the affirmative: after which their lordships appointed that day sevennight, to hear, in a grand commitee, what the merchants had to alledge, to prove the suggestions of their petition.

Supplies voted.

The commons, in the mean time, made good their assurances to the Queen, and chearfully voted the necessary supplies; the particulars of which, to the 22d of December, I shall again give the reader in one connexion, without regard to the particular days they were granted on; viz.

	l.	s.	d.
For 40,000 seamen ——	2,080,000	00	00
The ordinary of the navy ——	120,000	00	00
The 40,000 men in Flanders	894,272	03	06
The additional 10,000 men	177,511	03	06
The proportion of the Palatines	34,251	13	04
The proportion of the Saxons	43,251	12	06
The proportion of Bothmar's dragoons	9,269	16	06
The forces in Spain and Portugal	586,671	12	06
The subsidies to the allies ——	494,689	08	06
The duke of Savoy's augmentations	500,000	00	00
The guards and garisons, invalids, and 500 men on board the fleet	511,734	08	06
The duke of Savoy's special service in 1707	100,000	00	00
Compleating the payment of the Hessians	22,957	02	00
The fortifications at Gibraltar	12,284	19	06
The payment of 1 ½ years interest on debentures	60,334	19	06
A store-house and wharf at Portsmouth	10,000	00	00
Circulating Exchequer-bills	3,500	00	00
Transporting land-forces ——	144,000	00	00
The land-ordnance ——	120,000	00	00
For a debt to captain Roch	2,126	18	06
In all	5,933,657	17	04

Ways and means.

The ways and means for raising these large sums were, the land-tax of four shillings in the pound; the malt-duty; upon the several duties granted last year for annuities, a farther sum was now inacted of 640,000 l. for like annuities of 40,000 per ann. at the same price; customs laid for ninety-five years, on which one million was to be taken in for purchasing more annuities at sixteen years purchase. The East-India-company proposed to advance 1,200,000 l. for the service of the war, if they might have their time inlarg'd to 1726, contenting themselves with the same interest they already received, for the two millions they formerly advanced, which was complied with and inacted accordingly; and the general mortgage, as it was call'd (that is diverse duties at the custom-house) was continued from 1712 to 1714, for a loan of 729,067 l.

Resolution of the commons about the sea-service.

Notwithstanding this, the commons, upon a petition of several merchants of London, complaining of the want of cruisers in the Channel and Soundings, resolved, on the 19th of November, to address her Majesty for an account of all monies annually granted by parliament, for the sea-service, and annually issued for the same, since the commencement of the war: as also, an account of what number of ships were imployed at sea every month the last year, and on what stations. The 27th the commons, in a grand committee, took into consideration the state of the navy and trade of the nation, and several merchants who were admited into the house to make good the allegations of their petition, made long and bold speeches against the admiralty, whom they charg'd with frauds, malice and ignorance: but after all this, the farther inquiries in both houses, into past mismanagements were dropp'd for the present, and the whole affair ended in a bill, "for the future well government "of the navy, in relation to cruisers and convoys, "whereby forty-four ships of war were appointed "to be imployed as cruisers and convoys to mer-"chant-ships, between the coast of England and "Cape Finisterre in Spain; and an account was "to be laid before the parliament annually how "those cruisers were imployed." It was likewise farther inacted; "That all ships taken from the "enemy during the war, and condemn'd as prize, "should be the property of the captors, that is, "the commanders, officers, and seamen; and "that a bounty should be given to the said cap-"tors of 5 l. for every man that should be found "on board such prizes when taken, and 10 l. for "every gun the prize carried.

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Resolutions concerning Scotland.

About the same time, several resolutions were taken with regard to the Scots, and the union; as "an address from the commons to her Majesty, "for the relief of several merchants in Scotland, "who had brought French wines and other goods "to England, after the 1st of May, which had "been seized; a bill was order'd to be brought "in, to repeal the acts passed in Scotland, for "security of that kingdom, and about peace and "war, and another to make the union more com-"pleat.

Acts pass'd

The 18th of December, the Queen came to the house of lords, to give the royal assent, 1. "To "the act for a land-tax; 2. An act for repealing "two acts pass'd in Scotland, for security of the "kingdom, and anent peace and war; and, "3. An act for better securing the duties of East-"India goods:" On which occasion, her Ma-"jesty made the following speech to both houses:

The Queen's speech to both houses

My lords and gentlemen,

"I am very well pleased with the occasion of "my coming hither at this time, and desirous of "taking this opportunity of expressing to you, "the satisfaction I have in seeing so good a pro-"gress made in the public business.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I am extreamly sensible of the readiness and "affection with which you have provided so con-"siderable a part of the supplies.

"As I am fully persuaded it must give the "greatest satisfaction to all our allies, so I look "upon it as a sure pledge of your being disposed "to make good those hearty assurances which you "gave me in the begining of the session.

"I told you, at the opening of this parlia-"ment, that I did hope you would look upon the "services relating to Spain, Portugal, and the "army under the command of the duke of Savoy, "to be of so much importance in the prosecution "of this war, that they might deserve an aug-"mentation; which I cannot but think will be "of the greatest use to the common cause; both "with regard to those particular services, and "to the puting ourselves in a condition to improve "such favorable opportunities as may arise in the "insuing year.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I shall only add, that as nothing is more es-"sential to my own quiet, and the happiness of "all my good subjects, than the bringing this war "to a safe and honorable conclusion, so I must think

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"think myself obliged to look upon all those who "are willing and desirous to support me in it, "for attaining that end, as the most proper ob- "jects of my favor and incouragement.

"I cannot conclude, without once more repre- "senting to you, to confirm and improve the ad- "vantages of our happy union, not doubting but, "at the same time, you will have a due regard to "what shall be found necessary for preserving the "public peace throughout the whole island of Great- "Britain."

This speech, as it was supposed, to be occa- sion'd by a suggestion, that some persons, in the house of commons, had, by their whispers and in- trieques, slacken'd their forwardness in granting some parts of the supplies then not determined, was very much resented by some members, in both houses, and the next day occasion'd a long and memorable debate in the house of lords, in relation to the affairs of Spain, the Queen being present, incognito, till five of the clock in the afternoon. The earl of Rochester spoke first, and, having com- mended the earl of Peterborough's courage and conduct, and inumerated his services, said it had been a constant custom, that when a person of his rank, who had been imployed abroad in so emi- nent a post as his lordship had, return'd home, he had either thanks given him, or was called to an account: urging that the same ought to be done in relation to the earl of Peterborough. The lord Hallifax, who spoke next, inlarg'd likewise on the earl of Peterborough's successful services, but dex- trously put off the returning him thanks till the whole tenor of his conduct had been examin'd, than which the earl himself profess'd he had nothing more at heart: the lord Haversham was not silent; but having highly extolled the earl of Peterbo- rough's labor, skill and successes, made a side- wind reflection on the earl of Galway, saying, "It was no wonder our affairs in Spain went so ill, "since the management of them had been intrusted "to a foreiner." Hereupon, several members shew'd the necessity of carrying on the war, till the whole Monarchy of Spain was recover'd, and King Charles setled on his throne; and, among the rest, the earl of Peterborough said, "That "they ought to give the Queen nineteen shillings "in the pound, rather than to make peace upon "any other terms; adding, that if it was thought "necessary, he was ready to return to Spain, and "serve even under the earl of Galway." This na- turally brought on the consideration of ways and means to retrieve the affairs of Spain, in relation to which the earl of Rochester said: "That we "seemed to neglect the principal business, and "mind only accessaries;" adding, he remembred the saying of a great general, the old duke of Schomberg, viz. "That the attacking of France "in the Netherlands, was like taking a bull by the "horns." And therefore his lordship proposed, "That we should stand on the defensive in "Flanders, and send from thence fifteen or 20,000 "men into Catalonia."

Debate about the affairs of Spain.

That noble peer was seconded by the earl of Nottingham, who complain'd of Spain being in a manner abandon'd; but the duke of Marlborough shew'd, with some warmth, the danger of such an indigested council, and the necessity of augmenting rather than diminishing our forces in Flanders. The two chief reasons his grace urg'd were, first, "That most of the enemies strong places there "might be kept with one battalion in each; "whereas the great towns of Brabant we had con- "quer'd, requir'd twenty times that number of "men for their preservation. Secondly, that if "our army in the Netherlands was weakened, and "the French, by their great superiority, should "gain any considerable advantage, which it was "not improbable they might, the discontented "party in Holland, who were not a few, and bore "with impatience the necessary charges of the "war, would not fail crying aloud for peace." Hereupon the earl of Rochester said, "He won- "der'd that noble peer, who had been ever con- "spicuous for his calmness and moderation, should "now be out of his temper; adding, that there "being an absolute necessity to succor Spain, his "grace would oblige their lordships, if he would "let them know, where they might get troops to "send thither; and the more, because the earl of "Peterborough had that very day assur'd them, "that he had heard Prince Eugene say, that the "German soldiers had rather be decimated than "sent into Spain." The duke of Marlborough wisely answered the reproach of having shewed some warmth, by saying, "The thing was of "too great importance to be spoken of without "concernment." And as for the question propo- sed by the earl, he added, "That altho' it was "improper to disclose secret projects in so great "an assembly (to which that day many strangers "had been admited by the favor of the Queen's "presence) because the enemy would not fail being "inform'd of them; yet, to gratify their lord- "ships, he might assure them, that measures had "been already concerted with the Emperor, for "the forming an army of 40,000 men (whom "he specified under the command of the duke of "Savoy) and for sending powerful succors to "King Charles; adding, it was to be hoped, "that Prince Eugene might be prevailed with to "go and command in Spain, in which case "the Germans would gladly follow him thither. "The only difficulty which his grace said might "be objected against this scheme, was the usual "slowness of the court of Vienna, to which pur- "pose he took notice, that if the 7000 German "recruits, which the Emperor had promised for "the army in Piedmont, had arrived time enough; "the enterprize against Toulon, might have been "attended with success; but that it was to be "hoped, and he durst ingage his word for it, that, "for the future, his Imperial Majesty would punc- "tually perform his promises."

This put an end to the debate, and a commitee was appointed to draw up an address to the Queen, which was presented the same day, and in which they "thank'd her for her most gracious speech, "and the spirit and resolution she had been plea- "sed to express for the vigorous carrying on the "war in Spain and Portugal, and strengthning the "army of the duke of Savoy; assuring her, they "would do all that lay in their power for supporting "her Majesty in this just war, till brought to a "safe and happy conclusion." And so zealous were both houses, at this time, in profecuting the war, till the whole Spanish Monarchy was reco- vered, that they joined in a farther address to her Majesty, on that subject, in which they offered it as their opinion; "That no peace could be ho- "norable or safe for her Majesty, or her allies, "if Spain, the West-Indies, or any part of the "Spanish Monarchy, was suffered to remain under "the power of the house of Bourbon:" they took occasion, at the same time, to observe; "that if "some of our allies, who seemed principally con- "cerned, and had reaped the most immediate ad- "vantage, had seconded her Majesty, with a vi- "gor equal to the efforts of Great-Britain, a much "greater impression might have been made on the "enemy: they besought her Majesty to make "the most pressing instances on this head, to the "Emperor; concluding, that they believed no- "thing could be refused to the earnest interposi-

Addres of the lords.

Addres of both houses.

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" tions of her Majeſty, who had done ſuch great " things for the houſe of Auſtria, in which aſſu- " rance they hoped, by God's aſſiſtance, the next " would prove a glorious and happy campain." To both which addreſſes the Queen gave moſt gracious and ſuitable anſwers: and, the next day, her Majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and paſs'd the act " for continuing the duties upon malt."

Gregg executed for treaſonable practices.

The laſt day of the year, mr. William Gregg, a clerk in mr. ſecretary Harley's office, whoſe extravagancies had run him in debt, and who to ſupply his neceſſities had entered into a treaſonable correſpondence with the court of France, which was diſcovered by the poſt-maſter of Bruſſels, was firſt taken into cuſtody of a meſſenger, and, after ſeveral examinations, commited to Newgate: from whence he was afterwards carried to his trial at the Old-bailey, condemn'd and executed for high-treaſon, taking upon himſelf the whole guilt, and, to the laſt moment of his life, acquiting every body elſe from having any knowledge of his crime.

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Situation of the court, at this time.

Before I reſume the proceedings of parliament, at the begining of the new year, I ſhall take this opportunity to make a brief obſervation or two on the ſituation of the court of Great-Britain at this time. The miniſtry continued ſtill the ſame, tho' ſeveral attempts were made to ſupplant it. Beſide what was level'd at the duke of Marlborough, in the memorable debate I have mentioned above, complaints were alſo made of his grace for continuing the war; tho' it was ſaid, that, at the concluſion of the year 1706, the French had offered to yield up Spain and the Weſt-Indies: but this (ſays biſhop Burnet) was a falſe ſuggeſtion. Whether France did actually make that offer or no, I ſhall not pretend to ſay: but if Spain had not been neglected (by whom it is not for me to determine) in the winter of 1706, nothing is more probable, than that the grand Monarch muſt have condeſcended to ſeek peace on thoſe terms. Be this as it will, the duke of Marlborough, and his friends had, at this juncture, ſeveral uneaſineſſes to incounter with; for the better underſtanding whereof, I muſt previouſly inform the reader of ſome things, which were, as I may ſay, a prelude to what infued.

The ducheſs of Marlborough declines in the Queen's favor.

The ducheſs of Marlborough, who hitherto had almoſt ingroſs'd the Queen's favor, began now very much to decline in her Majeſty's eſteem, and in the credit ſhe had formerly held. Her grace had introduced a relation of hers, one mrs. Maſham, into the Queen's ſervice (1); and this lady had found means to inſinuate herſelf ſo far into the Queen's good graces, that ſhe began to eclipſe the ducheſs, and to become almoſt her Majeſty's only favorite. She had this advantage of her predeceſſor, that while ſhe began to ſlight her Majeſty's favors, and inſiſt much on the duke's merit, claiming a kind of right to direct the Queen in diſpenſing of her favors; mrs. Maſham, on the contrary, aſſumed no ſuch liberty, but was all obedience and ſubmiſſion. Mr. Harley (afterwards earl of Oxford) then ſecretary of ſtate, and at the head of the party which oppoſed the duke and his adherents, and was indeavoring to ſupplant them at court, began likewiſe to grow daily in the Queen's favor, and to have great influence over her meaſures; in which he was ſupported by the new ſhe-favorite.

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Mrs. Maſham and mr. Harley gain her eſteem.

It has been ſaid, that the Prince begining to be jealous of the too great power of the miniſtry, obſerved that he was in a manner excluded from the adminiſtration, and therefore concured with mr. ſecretary Harley in indeavoring to procure a change in the miniſtry; which the two great ſtateſmen, who yet managed every thing, diſcovering, reſolved to be before-hand with him, and, if poſſible, to drive him from court. Biſhop Burnet gives us the following account of their management of this affair.

The duke of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin make complaints againſt mr. Harley,

" The duke of Marlborough and the lord-treaſurer (ſays the biſhop) having diſcovered " many of mr. Harley's practices, laid them be- " fore the Queen: ſhe would believe nothing " that was ſuggeſted to his prejudice; nor would " ſhe enter into any examination of his ill con- " duct; but was uneaſy when ſhe heard it ſpoke " off: ſo theſe lords wrote to the Queen, that " they could ſerve her no longer, if he was con- " tinued in that poſt. The Sunday following, " when they were ſummoned to a cabinet-council; " they both went to the Queen, and told her, " they muſt quit her ſervice, ſince they ſaw ſhe " was reſolved not to part with Harley. She " ſeemed not much concerned at the lord Godol- " phin's offering to lay down, and it was believed " to be part of mr. Harley's new ſcheme to re- " move him; but ſhe was much touched with the " duke of Marlborough's offering to quit, and " ſtudied, with ſome ſoft expreſſions, to divert him " from that reſolution; but he was firm, and ſhe " did not yield to them; ſo they both went away, " to the wonder of the whole court. Immediate- " ly after, the Queen went to the cabinet-council, " and mr. Harley opened ſome matters relating " to forein affairs: the whole board was very " uneaſy; the duke of Somerſet ſaid, he did not " ſee how they could deliberate on ſuch matters, " ſince the general was not with them; he repeated " this, with ſome vehemence, while all the reſt " looked ſo cold and ſullen, that the cabinet-coun- " cil was ſoon at an end; and the Queen ſaw, " that the reſt of her miniſters, and the chief offi- " cers, were reſolved to withdraw from her ſervice, " if ſhe did not recall the two that had left it. It

And offer to lay down their places.

(1) This mrs. Maſham, afterwards lady Maſham, having had a great ſhare in the univerſal change of the miniſtry, which the reader will find in the ſequel of this hiſtory, it may be proper to give a brief account here who ſhe was, and by what means ſhe came to have ſo great an influence over her Royal Miſtreſs. The ducheſs of Marlborough, either weary of a conſtant and cloſe attendance at court, or, as ſome would have it, thinking herſelf, as a Princeſs of the Empire, above it, had prefer'd mrs. Abigail Hill, her kinſwoman, to be one of her Majeſty's dreſſers and chamber-women, thinking ſhe might ſecurely eaſe herſelf, by leaving a dependant and relation, in whom ſhe intirely confided, near the Queen. Mrs. Hill diſcharg'd her duty with great obſequiouſneſs, and having a tolerable ſhare of wit and good humor, made herſelf ſo agreeable, that, as the ducheſs of Marlborough let ſometimes whole months paſs, without waiting on the Queen, ſo her Majeſty very eaſily diſpenſed with her abſenſe. On the other hand, the growing favorite as eaſily forgot her benefactreſs, and reſolved to ſet up for herſelf. Her principal adviſer was mr. ſecretary Harley, who judging her a proper inſtrument for his deſigns, apply'd himſelf to her, with all the cunning and addreſs he was maſter of; ſhew'd her more regard than ſhe had reaſon to expect from a perſon in his poſt, and infuſed ſuch notions into her as ſoon taught her to ſet a ſuperior value on herſelf. At length, there grew ſuch an intimacy and confidence between them, that mrs. Hill being ſmiten with mr. Maſham, a comely youth, formerly a page to the Queen, but afterwards gentleman of the bed-chamber to Prince George, ſhe did not ſcruple to diſcloſe the ſecret to mr. Harley, by whoſe means the match was made. Mrs. Hill (now mrs. Maſham) having thus her wiſhes, became, out of gratitude, intirely devoted to the perſon to whom ſhe was indebted for obtaining them; ſo that, by her means, mr. Harley had freer acceſs to the Queen, than any other miniſter. This advantage he improved ſo dextrouſly, by entertaining her Majeſty with diverting ſtories of the town, that, on pretenſe of buſineſs, he was, at laſt, admited into her pleaſurable retirements; where he had opportunities, not only to ſtudy and humor her inclinations, but alſo to inſinuate ſuch hints of perſons and things as were agreeable to his deſigns: and thus was the foundation laid to thoſe great and unexpected events, which will be the ſubject of the concluſion of this hiſtory.

" was

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"was ſaid, that ſhe would have put all to the hazard, if mr. Harley himſelf had not apprehended "his danger (or, as his friends ſaid, finding the torrent run ſo ſtrong againſt him, deſired her Majeſty's leave to reſign his poſt and retire, rather than her affairs ſhould ſuffer any prejudice by her indeavoring to protect him unſeaſonably) and, "reſolved to lay down. The Queen ſent the "next day for the duke of Marlborough, and "after ſome expoſtulations, told him, Harley "ſhould immediately leave his poſt, which he did "within two days; but the Queen ſeem'd to carry "a deep reſentment of his and the lord Godolphin's behavior, on this occaſion; and tho' they "went on with their buſineſs, they found they had "not her confidence (1). The ducheſs of Marlborough abſtained for ſome weeks, from court; "but afterwards that breach was made up, in "appearance, tho' it was little elſe but appearance. "As mr. Harley laid down, ſir Simon Harcourt "then attorney-general, ſir Thomas Manſel "comptroler of the houſhold, and mr. St. John, "ſecretary of war, went and laid down with him. "The Queen took much time to conſider, how "ſhe ſhould fill up ſome of their places, but mr. "Boyle, uncle to the earl of Burlington, was, the "next day, made ſecretary of ſtate."

Mr. Harvey and ſeveral others lay down their places.

Mr. Boyle made ſecretary of ſtate.

The 19th of January, a proclamation was publiſhed for incouraging ſeamen and landmen to enter themſelves on board her Majeſty's ſhips of war; and, on the 26th, his royal highneſs Prince George appointed the commanders of her Majeſty's fleet, who were as follows: ſir John Leake, admiral of the white, and admiral and commander in chief of her Majeſty's fleet; ſir George Byng, admiral of the blue; ſir John Jennings, vice-admiral of the red; ſir John Norris, vice-admiral of the white; the lord Durſley, vice-admiral of the blue; ſir Edward Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red; and John Baker, eſq; rear-admiral of the white.

Promotion of admirals.

As ſoon as the commons ſat again, they went upon the affairs of Spain, and after having called for ſeveral papers and accounts, they reſolved, "that it appeared to them, that of near 30,000 "men, provided for by parliament for the ſervice "of Spain and Portugal, in the year 1707, there "were but 8,669 men, beſide officers and ſervants, in Spain and Portugal, at the time of the "battle of Almanza." This they repreſented to the Queen in an addreſs, on the 5th of February, and, at the ſame time, deſired her Majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to uſe her utmoſt indeavors, that the war in Spain might be vigorouſly and effectually proſecuted. To this her Majeſty anſwered: "that what they deſired ſhould be care-"fully examined, and ſhe would ſend them an "anſwer in a ſhort time." The Queen being about this time indiſpoſed with the gout, a commiſſion under the great ſeal was granted to ſeveral lords, for giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as had been agreed to by both houſes, which they did accordingly on the 13th. The 18th, the lord Coningſby delivered the anſwer her Majeſty had promiſed to the houſe; which proving unſatisfactory (2), they ordered, that their former addreſſes to her Majeſty be renew'd: however, a motion being made, and the queſtion put, on the 24th, "that the deficiency of the Engliſh troops, in "Spain and Portugal, at the time of the battle of "Almanza, had been chiefly occaſioned by the "want of timely and effectual recruits being ſent "thither." It paſs'd in the negative; and, on the contrary, it was reſolved; "that an addreſs "be preſented to her Majeſty, returning her the "thanks of the houſe, for her taking meaſures to "reſtore the affairs in Spain, and for providing "forein troops for that ſervice."

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To this addreſs, her Majeſty was pleaſed to return an anſwer, importing, "that ſhe had always "look'd upon the war of Spain to be of ſo great "importance to us, that ſhe could never fail of "continuing her utmoſt application to ſupport it "in the moſt effectual manner; and that the ſatiſfaction they had expreſs'd, in their addreſs, for "her indeavors, in this matter, was extreamly acceptable to her."

The 23d, the Queen went in perſon to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſtate, and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills.

The lords had, all this while, the ſame matter, together with the grievances of the merchants, under their conſideration, and, in reference to the firſt, they beſtowed ſeveral ſittings on the examination of the earl of Peterborough's conduct, which appearing to be altogether blameleſs (3), his lordſhip's friends labored to have the thanks of the houſe returned him, which however they could not carry. The firſt of March, the lords preſented a long addreſs to her Majeſty (4) about the miſ-

Proceedings in parliament about the affairs of Spain.

(1) In this manner were the ſeals taken from mr. Harley; however, by the good offices of his truſty friend mrs. Maſham, he had ſtill privately the Queen's ear and favor, which he continued to injoy, till, at length, he defeated and triumph'd over all his enemies, and put himſelf at the head of a triumvirate, who govern'd as abſolutely as their predeceſſors had done before them, the latter years of this reign.

(2) The ſubſtance of her Majeſty's anſwer was: that the number of officers and ſervants, which were included in that provided for by parliament, made a full fourth of the whole, according to the eſtabliſhment allowed: that the forces under the earls of Peterborough and Galway had been reduced by death, ſickneſs, &c. before that battle to 8207 men, beſide 1792 priſoners with the enemy: that the regiments under the earl of Rivers, which, when they went from Torbay were 8297 men, when they arrived at Valencia were reduced to 4500, and the battle happened ſo ſoon after the vote of parliament for imploying 29,395 men in Spain and Portugal, that it was impoſſible more of the intended number could be there: but that the Queen compleated four regiments, which were on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, and ſent them to Portugal, in April, 1707; and three regiments more were ſent thither ſoon after. That to ſupply the loſs at Almanza, the Queen had hired 7000 Palatines, 3000 Germans, and 12000 Italians, which were imbark'd for Barcelona, in her Majeſty's pay; and that ſhe was treating for 6000 Germans more: tho', it has been obſerved, that if theſe forces were taken into the Queen's pay, they were not ſent to Spain till a great while after.

(3) Biſhop Burnet, who would gladly have had the earl of Peterborough thought criminal, gives a very whimſical proof of it. "The earl (ſays he) brought ſuch a number of papers, and ſo many witneſſes, to juſtify his conduct, that after ten or "twelve days ſpent in reading papers, and examining witneſſes, both houſes (without paſſing one vote againſt him) thought "fit to let the charge brought againſt him fall." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 492.

(4) This addreſs, which, when printed, made a large pamphlet, is too long to be either inſerted or abridged here: but the concluſion of it gives ſo glorious an idea of the illuſtrious body which preſented it, that I muſt not omit it. "It is a moſt "undoubted maxim (ſay their lordſhips) that the honor, ſecurity, and wealth of this kingdom does depend upon the pro-"tection and incouragement of trade, and the improving and right managing the naval ſtrength Other nations, who were "formerly great and powerful at ſea, have by negligence and miſmanagement loſt their trade, and ſeen their maritime ſtrength "intirely ruined. Therefore we do, in the moſt earneſt manner, beſeech your Majeſty, that the ſea-affairs may always be "your firſt and moſt-peculiar care. We humbly hope, that it ſhall be your Majeſty's chief and conſtant inſtruction to all who "ſhall have the honor to be imployed in your councils, and in the adminiſtration of affairs, that they be continually intent "and watchful in what concerns the trade and fleet; and that every one of them may be made to know, it is his particular "charge to take care that the ſeamen be incouraged, the trade protected, diſcipline reſtored, and a new ſpirit and vigor put into "the whole adminiſtration of the navy."

managements

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managements of the navy: to which ſhe anſwered; "that ſhe would make the moſt uſeful obſervations "upon the ſeveral particulars of it: that it was "always her opinion, that the incouragement of "trade and ſeamen, and the good management of "the navy, were of the greateſt importance to the "proſperity of the kingdom; and therefore ſhe "would uſe her utmoſt indeavors to incourage all "thoſe whoſe duty it was effectually to perform "thoſe ſervices."

Great Britain threatned with an invaſion.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the nation was ſuddenly alarmed with the threats of an invaſion (1). Great preparations were carrying on for this expedition at Dunkirk, with all imaginable diligence, and with ſuch ſecrecy, that the deſign was rather gueſs'd at than known, till the Pretender himſelf ſet out from St. Germains the 24th of February; but then it was no longer a ſecret that he intended a deſcent upon Scotland.

The 4th of March, mr. ſecretary Boyle acquainted the houſe of commons with the advices the Queen had received: upon which both houſes addreſs'd her Majeſty, promiſing to ſtand by her with their lives and fortunes; as they did afterwards more fully on the 13th of the ſame month. The 6th, her Majeſty iſſued her royal proclamation, declaring the pretended Prince of Wales, and all his accomplices, adherents and abettors, to be traitors and rebels, and for apprehending them, and requiring all Popiſh recuſants not to depart above five miles from their dwellings; and baniſhing Papiſts ten miles from London and Weſtminſter. A bill was alſo brought in for ſuſpending the Habeas-corpus act, by impowering her Majeſty to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons as ſhe ſhould ſuſpect were conſpiring againſt her perſon and government. But to return to the fleet.

Sir George Byng ſent out with a ſquadron.

The admiralty, in the mean time, had fited out a fleet with ſuch incredible diligence, that (without diminiſhing the convoy provided for the Liſbon-fleet) ſir George Byng and the lord Durſley, ſailed from Deal, towards the coaſt of Dunkirk, the 27th of February, in the morning, with twenty-three Engliſh, and three Dutch men of war. The ſame day, about noon, ſir George came to an anchor in Graveling-pits, and immediately after went into a ſmall frigat, and ſailed within two miles of Flemiſh road for intelligence. The French were ſurprized when the Britiſh fleet appeared off of Mardyke, and put a ſtop to the imbarkation of their troops; but their King was ſo fully bent on the deſign, that he ſent poſitive orders to re-imbark the troops, and put to ſea with the firſt fair wind.

To be likewiſe prepared to reſiſt all attempts on ſhoar, and deſigns of landing, not only ten battalions were ſent from Oſtend to Tinmouth, but the firſt and ſecond troops of horſe-guards, and ſeveral other regiments, march'd to the north of England, and the earl of Leven, governor of Edinburg-caſtle, and commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, was ſent thither, and ſeveral regiments in Ireland were commanded to the North, to ly ready to be tranſported to Scotland: but all theſe wiſe precautions by land proved altogether needleſs, by the diſappointment of the enemy's deſign at ſea, as the reader will ſoon find.

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The 6th of March, at four in the afternoon, the French fleet ſailed from the road of Dunkirk; but the wind changing about ten, they were obliged to come to an anchor in Newport-pits, where they continued till the 8th in the evening, when, the wind chopping about, they ſet ſail again, ſteering their courſe for Scotland.

The enemy fails from Dunkirk.

Sir George Byng, who in the mean time had been driven from his ſtation by contrary winds, and was come back with his fleet into the Downs the 2d of March, being conſiderably re-inforced, ſet ſail again the 6th; and, on the 9th, at ten in the morning, being between Dunkirk and Calais, he received intelligence, by major-general Cadogan from Oſtend, of the ſailing of the Dunkirk ſquadron from the pits of Newport. He immediately purſued them, leaving rear-admiral Baker, with his diviſion, and four other men of war, to convoy ſuch troops as might be thought neceſſary to ſend from thence to Scotland or England; and, the 13th, ſaw the French fleet in the mouth of the Firth, off of which place he anchored the night before.

Sir George purſues them.

Diſcovers them on the coaſt of Scotland.

Monſ. Forbin, who commanded the French ſquadron, heard, it ſeems, the ſignal for our ſhips to come to anchor, and knowing the meaning of it, immediately ſent a boat on board of every ſhip in his ſquadron, ordering them to put out their lights, and to ſail, one by one, out of the Firth, and ſteer a north-eaſt courſe, till they ſhould come off of the town of St. Andrews (2). This they did; but both wind and tide being againſt them, ſir George diſcovered them in the morning, and purſuing, took the Saliſbury, in which was a great number of French, Engliſh and Iriſh officers, and, among others, the lord Clermont, mr. Middleton, and the lord Griffin. When there was no farther proſpect of coming up with the enemy, they returned to Leith, where they remained till ſir George was informed of their return to Dunkirk (which was on the 25th of March) and then, purſuant to orders ſent him, returned to the Downs; from whence he came to London, and was graciouſly received by the Queen and his royal highneſs.

Continues the purſuit; and takes the Saliſbury.

The French return to Dunkirk.

The priſoners taken in the Saliſbury being brought to London, the lord Griffin, together with the lord Clermont and Charles Middleton, eſq; (two ſons of the earl of Middleton) and colonel Wauchope were commited to the Tower, and about twenty Iriſh officers to Newgate, for high-treaſon. Several priſoners of note were likewiſe brought from Scotland; particularly duke Hamilton and the lord Belhaven; but moſt of them, after examination, were admited to bail (3).

The priſoners brought to town and commited.

The parliament having, by this time, finiſh'd the

(1) What incouraged France to ſuch an attempt, at this time, was the report, that the Scots were ſo highly diſcontented, on account of the union, as to be ripe for a revolt, and ready to declare for the pretended Prince of Wales, on his arrival among them. De Larrey ſays, that while the preparations were making at Dunkirk, the chevalier de Nangis, captain of a French man of war, was privately ſent to Edinburgh, with credentials and inſtructions to ſound the nobility and people; that he was received by the malecontents with great joy, and found every thing ripe for a revolution: that he landed ſome arms and ammunition; and that he was made to hope there were 30,000 Scots ready to receive the Pretender as ſoon as he ſhould land in Scotland. Hiſt. de France ſous Louis XIV.

(2) Monſ. de Forbin ſays, that while they were in the Firth of Edinburg, they put out ſignals, lit up fires, and fired cannon, to give notice to the friends of the Pretender to riſe in his favor; but to no purpoſe, not a ſoul appear'd. Memoires de Forbin.

F. Daniel will have it, the Pretender did not want friends, at that time, in Scotland; but they were awed by the Britiſh fleet, and the numerous body of troops which were there. Hiſt. de France.

(3) When the news firſt came to London of ſir George Byng's having fight of the French ſquadron, near the Firth at Edinburg, it was thought every ſhip of them would be deſtroyed; but theſe too early hopes being diſappointed, the admiral was blamed and railed at, as if he had been deficient in his duty; others pretended to ſay, that he had actually taken the Pretender, and might have taken the whole fleet; but that he had private orders from the Queen to let both him and them

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the buſineſs before them, the Queen who had been at the houſe, the 11th and the 20th of March, and had given the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private bills, came again to the houſe of peers, the 1ſt of April, and having given the royal ſanction to the bills which lay ready for it, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I cannot conclude this ſeſſion, without acknowledging the wiſe and ſpeedy proviſions " which you have made for the public ſecurity.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I am alſo to thank you in particular, for the " large and timely ſupplies which you have provided for the effectual proſecution of the war. I " aſſure you, they ſhall be carefully and punctually " applied to the uſes for which they are appointed.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I take theſe, eſpecially at this juncture, to be " ſuch undeniable proofs of your zeal and affection to my ſervice, as muſt fully convince every " body of your doing me the juſtice to believe, that " all which is dear to you is perfectly ſafe under " my government; and muſt be irrevocably loſt, " if ever the deſigns of a Popiſh Pretender, bred " up in the principles of the moſt arbitrary government, ſhould take place.

" I am ſatisfied, that every falſe repreſentation " of the true inclinations and intereſts of my people " muſt have been made by ſome of my ſubjects, " who have given incouragement to this deſperate " attempt; ſince, without ſomething of that nature, it ſeems very little conſiſting with the " uſual precautions of our enemies, to hazard the " expence and diſappointment of ſo vain and ill-grounded an undertaking.

" However, it is certain, we muſt be all inexcuſable if we do not take warning, from " this attempt, to compleat what may be neceſſary " for our ſecurity at home, and the diſcouraging " the like for the future; to which, by God's " bleſſing, nothing ſhall be wanting on my part.

" And, to the ſame end, I muſt recommend to " you, at your return into your ſeveral countries, " to uſe your utmoſt care and diligence, in puting " the laws in execution againſt Papiſts, and all " others diſaffected to my government; and in " making them pay towards the public taxes, to " the full of what the law requires of them; nothing being more reaſonable, than that they, " who by their principles and practices incourage, " if not actually foment, ſuch diſturbances, ſhould " doubly contribute to the charge of quieting " them, and ſecuring the kingdom's peace, and " ſhould know themſelves, on all ſuch occaſions, " to be reſponſible for the many inconveniencies " that may inſue."

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The parliament was then prorogued to the 30th of the ſame month.

The parliament prorogued.

The principal acts paſs'd this ſeſſion, beſide thoſe relating to taxes, which I have mentioned already, were: " 1. An act to repeal two acts " made in Scotland, one for the ſecurity of the " kingdom, and the other anent peace and war. " 2. An act for rendring the union of the two " kingdoms more intire and compleat. 3. An " act for the ſecurity of her Majeſty's perſon and " government, and of the ſucceſſion of the crown " in the Proteſtant line (1). 4. An act for the " better ſecuring the trade of this kingdom by " cruiſers and convoys. 5. Another act for the " better ſecuring her Majeſty's perſon and government (2). 6. An act for raiſing 1,200,000 l. " by extending the term of the privileges of the " Eaſt-India-company. 7. An act to make farther proviſion for electing and ſummoning " ſixteen peers of Scotland to ſit in the Britiſh " houſe of peers, and for the farther regulating of " voters in election of members, &c. 8. An act " for the farther directing the payment of the equivalent mony in Scotland. 9. An act for eſtabliſhing a court of Exchequer in Scotland. 10. An " act for aſcertaining the rate of forein coins in her " Majeſty's plantations in America. 11. An act " for the better preventing miſchiefs that may " happen by fire; and, 12. An act for the incouragement of the trade to America."

Promotions.

After the riſing of the parliament, major-general Stanhope was appointed envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to King Charles III, and commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in Spain; and the earl of Cholmondley was made comptroler of her Majeſty's houſhold. The Queen was likewiſe pleaſed to make ſeveral promotions of general-officers, and John Smith, eſq; was made chancellor of the Exchequer. Purſuant to the act for rendering the union of the two kingdoms more compleat, a privy-council was alſo conſtituted for the whole united kingdom.

A new parliament called.

The 15th of April, a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the preſent parliament, and, the 22d, another for the calling of a new parliament, to meet the 8th of July next inſuing.

The 15th of May, the lord Griffin was brought to the bar of the Queen's-bench, and a rule made for his execution on his former outlawry: but tho' her Majeſty ſign'd the warrant, he was reprieved for a fortnight, and afterwards from month to month, till he died a natural death in the Tower.

Campain in Flanders.

The ſtorm which threatned Great-Britain being happily diſpel'd, as I have ſhewn above, and the

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them eſcape. But the houſe of commons, after having examin'd into the number and condition of the ſhips imployed in this expedition, laying nothing to his charge, ſufficiently removed all objections againſt his conduct. It is certain, and monſ. Forbin himſelf owns it, that the French fleet conſiſted of the beſt ſailing runners and privateers that could be found in Dunkirk. Compleat Hiſt. of Europe.

Lewis XIV had conceived vaſt hopes from this undertaking: he imagined, that as ſoon as his fleet had ſet the Pretender on ſhoar, in Scotland, the whole kingdom would riſe in his favor; and that the leaſt advantage gain'd on this ſide would ſoon have brought about a ſuperiority of his troops in Flanders; for he fondly believed Queen Ann would ſoon be oblig'd to draw, at leaſt, thirty battalions out of thoſe parts; and this he concluded would quickly oblige the States-general to accept of the terms he ſhould propoſe them, to quit the grand alliance, and to make a ſeparate peace. But this vaſt project vaniſh'd into air. Contrary winds prevented their fleet puting to ſea till the whole matter was diſcover'd. An ague hinder'd the Pretender from imbarking when he ſhould have done; and he imbark'd afterwards, when it was too late, and when all reaſonable hopes of affecting any thing to the purpoſe were loſt; inſomuch that it was next to a miracle, that he, together with his little fleet, did not fall into the hands of the Engliſh; all which gave occaſion to a report, that Lewis XIV would willingly have loſt his ſhips to have been rid, at the ſame time, of his gueſt; and that this ſquadron was fited out with that view, if it ſhould fail of ſucceſs: but if this was the deſign, the officers of the fleet do not ſeem to have been in the ſecret. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 234.

(1) It was, among other things, hereby inacted; " that the parliament ſhould not be diſſolved by the death of the Queen, " or her ſucceſſors; but ſhould continue to act ſix months, unleſs prorogued or diſſolved by the ſucceſſor: if ſuch parliament " were prorogued or adjourn'd, it ſhould immediately meet, and in caſe there ſhould be no parliament, on the demiſe of the " crown, the preceding parliament ſhould meet and act. A regency was alſo appointed, in caſe of a demiſe, and all officers " and miniſters impower'd to act ſix months, unleſs removed by the ſucceſſor, as in the former acts of ſettlement.

(2) By this act, all officers, civil and military, in Scotland, were required to take the abjuration-oath, and the other oaths mentioned in this act.

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necessary measures for the security of the government taken, the duke of Marlborough left London, the 29th of March, and arrived the next night late at the Hague, where he found Prince Eugene arrived before him. They had several conferences with the deputies of the States, the result of which were then kept a secret; but afterwards appear'd to be:

Resolutions taken thereupon.

"That most of the Imperialists imployed, the "year before, on the Upper-Rhine, with the "Saxons and Hessians, in the pay of Great-Britain "and Holland, and the troops which the Elector "Palatine was to furnish, in consideration of his "Imperial Majesty's restoring him to the pos-"session of the Upper-Palatinate, with the prero-"gatives injoy'd by his ancestors, should march "into the Netherlands, to act there under Prince "Eugene, in concert with the British and Dutch "forces, commanded in chief by the duke of "Marlborough, and, under him, by Velt-marshal "d'Auverquerque." As by these resolutions, the army on the Upper-Rhine, under the command of the Elector of Hanover, would be extreamly weakned, and obliged to act on the defensive only, that Prince's consent to this scheme was absolutely necessary; to obtain which, both our generals went to that court, and having, with some difficulty, brought the Elector into their measures, Prince Eugene went for Vienna, and the duke returned to the Hague; where it was industriously reported, and every where believed, that the former was to command a separate army on the Mosel, which obliged the enemy to send a considerable number of forces that way.

Dispositions of the French.

The French King had given the command of his army in Flanders, this year, to the duke of Burgundy, as generalissimo, to be assisted by the duke de Vendôme, and accompanied by the duke of Berry and the Pretender. The Elector of Bavaria was to command on the Rhine, with the duke of Berwick under him; the marshal de Villars being recall'd, and appointed to command in Dauphiny.

Force of both armies.

The confederate army was formed by the latter end of May, and incamp'd at Billinghen and Hall; within three leagues of the enemy's army, which was incamp'd near Soignies; the former consisting of 112 battalions and 180 squadrons, and the latter of 124 battalions and 197 squadrons.

The enemy take Ghent and Bruges by treachery.

Notwithstanding this superiority in number, it soon appear'd that the French had no inclination to ingage, but indeavored to post themselves on the banks of the Deule, to prevent the allies from passing that river, and to seize Louvain, in which the duke of Marlborough prevented them by an expeditious march. However, tho' they were defeated in this enterprize, they succeeded in another, which was the taking of Ghent and Bruges (where the confederates had left no garisons but the militia and burghers) by treachery; the former opening their gates to the French brigadiers la Faille and Pasteur, and the latter to the count de la Motte.

Damme attempted by them in vain.

This done, the count de la Motte march'd immediately to Damme, hoping to meet with the same success there; but as this place was fortified and garison'd, the governor open'd the sluices, and put the whole country under water, which oblig'd the count to retire. From thence he march'd to Plassendahl, a little fort on the canal which leads from Bruges to Ostend, and is a security to the communication of these two places. The officer, who commanded in it, refus'd to surrender, upon which the count attack'd and took it sword in hand.

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Fort Plassendahl taken.

The duke of Marlborough was too sensible of the importance it would be to recover Ghent and Bruges not to be thoughtful of the speediest methods to effect it; but none seem'd to him so conducive thereunto, as to bring the enemy to a battle, the happy success of which must of course be attended with the recovery of those places; he therefore directed all his measures to this end: which he afterwards attain'd to, in the famous battle of Oudenarde. I shall not detain the reader with an account of the several marches and countermarches, which preceded this memorable action, but only observe, that the French, flush'd with this success, had the vanity to lay siege to Oudenarde, the only pass the allies had left on the Scheld, and intended to have taken possession of the advantageous camp of Lessines: but having before received intelligence that Prince Eugene was bringing a re-inforcement, of about 30,000 men, with all expedition from Germany, and finding now that he advanc'd too quick upon them to think of taking Oudenarde, as they had flatter'd themselves, before he could join the confederate army, they were glad to quit that siege, with precipitation. They were likewise disappointed of taking the camp of Lessines, by an almost incredible march of the duke of Marlborough's army, which made five leagues in a very close country, where they had their ways to make, and pass'd the Dender in less than twenty-four hours. The enemy perceiving themselves disappointed of this camp, left their road towards it, in which they had march'd several hours, and advanced towards Gavre, in order to pass the Scheld there.

Oudenarde attack'd by the enemy in vain.

The battle of Oudenarde.

The 11th of July, in the morning, upon intelligence that the enemy had quited Oudenarde, major-general Cadogan was sent, with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons, to make the ways and bridges to that town. The army began to march at eight, in four columns; and after the news came that the enemy were still passing at Gavre, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene (who had left his detachment on the march, which did not arrive till after the battle) resolved, if possible, to bring them to an ingagement. In order to this, they continued their march with such diligence, that by two in the afternoon the head was at the bridges, over which major-general Cadogan's sixteen battallions were then passing.

Major-general Rantzau, with eight squadrons, and the quarter-masters, being posted on an eminence, behind a narrow but marshy rivulet, which runs into the Scheld, saw several French squadrons drawn up on the plain, on the other side the rivulet; and the march of the French army being directed towards the right, they had thrown seven battalions into the village of Heynem, thro' which the highway runs along the Scheld (1). By these appearances they could not judge, with any certainty, whether the true design of the enemy was to op-

(1) The design of the duke de Vendôme in placing the seven battalions in the village of Heynem, and the squadrons that the confederates had discover'd on the plain, which were to the number of twelve, was to have advanced towards the bridge, over which the allies were passing, to a certain distance, to have waited till half their troops were pass'd, and then to have attack'd them, with all the advantage which his superiority of number could have given him, not doubting but he should easily have defeated them before the other half of their army could come to their assistance. It was with that intent these troops were advanc'd, and the duke would soon have follow'd with the whole army; but happily the duke of Burgundy did not approve of this project. He had all along shewn an inclination to retire towards Ghent, and this propensity appear'd now stronger than ever; he order'd the troops to stop short in their march at Gavre, in the greatest perplexity, not knowing which way to move. He even recall'd the squadrons which were in the plain, and prepar'd to retire: and to this the French attribute their misfortune which insued. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 260.

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poſe the duke of Marlborough's paſſage over the Scheld, or to gain their own lines between Liſle and Tournay, which they might reaſonably think they had time enough to do.

Miſconduct of the enemy before the battle.

It would have been an eaſy matter for the French, either to have cut off the detachment of the allies, which had advanced, and laid bridges over the Scheld, or, at leaſt to have deſtroy'd thoſe bridges, before the whole confederate army could come up; and if then they had ſupported their left at Heynem, poſted their horſe behind the caſtle of Beveren, towards the mill of Oycke, and placed their center on the height between Wertigem and Heurne, they would undoubtedly have had all the advantage the moſt difficult ground could give them; and perhaps the choice would have been on their ſide, whither to ingage in a general action or not? But the dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme, who had been at variance for ſome days before, what courſe they ſhould take, ſtill differed in their opinions, and were both yet ſtrangely at a loſs what meaſures they ſhould reſolve upon, and what diſpoſitions to make. This irreſolution laſted till three in the afternoon, when moſt of the young commanders in the French army, who had more fire than prudence, and who, to make their court to the duke of Burgundy, thwarted all that was adviſed by the duke of Vendôme, declared loudly for an ingagement, which, in a great meaſure, determined the duke of Burgundy; and the duke of Vendôme was obliged to ſubmit.

Diſſentions among their generals.

The enemy prepare to begin the attack.

Major-general Grimaldi was therefore ordered by the duke of Burgundy, with the horſe of the King's houſhold, to begin the attack on the right, and diſlodge major-general Rantzau from the eminence on which he was poſted; but when they came to the rivulet, and found it marſhy, they were diſcouraged from attempting the paſſage, and retired towards their own right. Tho' their army had 12,000 men more in number, than the confederates, and ſeveral other advantages (1).

But are diſcouraged.

Upon this, major-general Cadogan, who had paſs'd the river with twelve of his ſixteen battalions, between three and four o'clock, attack'd the village of Heynem, with ſuch reſolution (brigadier Sabine, with his brigade being at the head) that they ſoon made themſelves maſters thereof, and found ſeven French battalions in it, three intire, and the greater part of the other four were taken priſoners.

M. Gen. Cadogan begins the attack.

Immediately after, major-general Rantzau, with the eight ſquadrons, and the quarter-maſters, paſs'd the rivulet, and advanced into the plain, where the French horſe had been drawn up, between the villages of Singhem and Mullem. Several of the ſquadrons of their rear-guard (French authors ſay four) being ſtill paſſing thro' the plain, the eight ſquadrons, with the quarter-maſters, attack'd them with great vigor, and drove them into the cloſe ground, and the highway, which led into the march of their own army.

And is ſeconded by M. Gen. Rantzau.

Bravery of his preſent Majeſty of Great-Britain.

In this action, the Electoral Prince of Hanover, (his preſent Majeſty of Great-Britain) who had joined the army, the 22d of June, to ſerve as a volonteer, gave diſtinguiſh'd proofs of his early courage and activity. He charg'd, ſword in hand, at the head of a ſquadron of Bulau's dragoons; his Highneſs's horſe was ſhot under him, and colonel Luſchki, who commanded the ſquadron, was kill'd fighting bravely by him. Lieutenant-general Schulenburg, and ſeveral other volunteers, behaved with great reſolution, and led up the ſquadrons. Here the French regiment of la Bretêche, and ſeveral other regiments, were intirely broken; and the colonel himſelf, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken, together with a great many other officers, and twelve ſtandards and kettle-drums.

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Part of the French army defeated.

The confederate army continued, in the mean time, to paſs the bridges, with all imaginable diligence. The Pruſſian horſe formed themſelves upon the right, in the ſame plain, where the advanced guard was, and the reſt of the horſe as they paſs'd, followed the Pruſſians, thro' the village of Heurne, into the plain; but the foot, becauſe of the length of the march, and the horſe having galloped a good part of the way, came later to the bridges; ſo that none but the above mentioned ſixteen battalions were there till five o'clock.

All the confederate horſe paſs the Scheld.

The duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, being at the head of the horſe, which were forming in the plain, and obſerving the great want there was of infantry, ſent orders to the foot, which had been imployed in attacking the village, to leave their poſt there, and fling themſelves into the hedges, on the other ſide of the plain, whither the enemy ſeemed to be marching with great diligence. On that ſide of the plain were no more than two battalions, of major-general Colliar's and brigadier Grumko's, and thoſe the enemy attack'd with great fury, but they maintained their poſt with equal bravery, till more foot came up to their aſſiſtance.

The ingagement continued.

The duke of Marlborough hereupon diſpatched orders after orders to the foot, to preſs their march, the enemy being then forming and ready to attack the infantry which was already there, with very unequal numbers. In the interim, the duke of Argyle arrived, with twenty battalions; which were ſcarcely placed, when the French attack'd them very briſkly, and drove ſome Pruſſian battalions from their poſt; but, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, about ſix in the evening, they retook it again, ſword in hand. By this time, count Lottum was coming up, to ſuſtain this attack, with the remainder of the foot of the right; and the duke perceiving that the great ſtreſs of the battle would ly on the right, ſent to the left for twenty battalions. The left wing arrived ſomething later than the right, and having paſs'd their horſe thro' Oudenarde, and their foot on bridges below the town, had formed themſelves into two lines, with the village of Moreghem behind them.

The confederate infantry comes up.

The ſucceſs which the confederates had already obtained in the ſeveral ingagements near the villages of Heynem, Mullem and Heurne, made the French generals ſenſible they ſhould ſoon be attack'd on all ſides: they therefore found themſelves under a neceſſity of making a ſtand, to which end they poſted their foot very advantageouſly, before the villages of Wanigen, Lede and Huyſe, having in their front ſeveral defilees, fenced with incloſures of hedges, ditches or thickets, and placed moſt of their cavalry on their right, near the villages of Oycke and Wertegem.

The enemy at a ſtand.

And ſeek ſhelter.

As ſoon as the confederate foot arrived, they formed themſelves into two lines before the horſe, and then attack'd, in very good order, the incloſures and villages in their front, where the French were poſted; inſomuch that about ſeven o'clock, the fire grew general, both on the right and on the

The attack general.

(1) This attack the duke of Vendôme diſapprov'd of; and, therefore ſent monſieur Jennet, his aid de camp to the left, to attack the allies on that ſide. But the duke of Burgundy countermanded it upon information, as it was ſaid, that there was an unpaſſable moraſs on that ſide; which, however, the duke of Vendôme had paſſed over but an hour before. The marquis de Quincy, to clear the duke of Burgundy from the imputation of this miſcarriage, pretends, that monſieur Jennet was kill'd, going from the right to the left of their army; and that therefore the duke of Vendôme's orders, not being delivered, could not be executed, which (continues he) gave the allies a great advantage. Hiſt. mil. de Louis le Grand.

left

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left; and tho' the enemy gave way in moſt places, yet being ſuſtained with freſh troops, the action was maintained very obſtinately a good while after.

The fight very obſtinate.

There was before the left of the left wing, a kind of an opening, thro' which run a road that led into the plain, on the top of the hill, and which the Prince of Orange-Naſſau, at the head of the Dutch foot, cleared, with great vigor and reſolution. At the ſame time, the duke of Marlborough diſpatch'd orders to the velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque, and the count de Tilly, who were on the top of the hill near Oycke, to preſs the enemy as much as poſſible, on that ſide. Theſe orders were punctually obeyed, and monſieur d'Auverquerque order'd major-general Weck to march, with the brigades of Waſſenaer and Oudenburg, which being ſupported by count Tilly, with the Daniſh cavalry under his command, paſſed thro' a narrow defilee, into a field, where all the French houſhold were drawn up. The confederate troops no ſooner approach'd, than the French, who did not in the leaſt apprehend being attack'd on that ſide, retired, and indeavored to ſhelter themſelves under the hedges, between Wertigem, and the caſtle of Beveren, or Broan, towards the main body of their army, where the fire was very hot: but the Prince of Orange-Naſſau, with count Oxenſtiern, coming up with four brigades of infantry, led them on with great gallantry, paſs'd ſome defilees, attack'd the enemy in flank, and obliged them to give way. Thoſe who were thus retiring being forced back into the incloſures, in great diſorder; and it growing dark, many battalions, and more ſquadrons flung themſelves out, in a deſperate manner; ſome of them, piercing thro' others, were cut in pieces; others paſs'd thro' unperceived, and again others deſired to capitulate,

Bravery of the Prince of Orange-Naſſau.

The French houſhold retires,

And is drove to deſpair.

During theſe tranſactions, on the left, the duke of Marlborough who, till then, had been the whole time in company with Prince Eugene, viſiting the field of battle, leading on, poſting and ranging the reſpective bodies of troops, but thinking now it would be more advantageous to ſeparate, and direct in different places, arrived there; having left the care of the right to Prince Eugene, who ſhewed great pleaſure and ſatisfaction in leading on the Engliſh troops, whom he ſaw perform wonders; inſomuch that at laſt, the enemy finding themſelves charg'd, and born down on all ſides, by the confederate forces, retired in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving great numbers of priſoners behind them. Their dragoons favor'd their retreat, and to ſave the troops of the houſhold, receiv'd ſeveral diſcharges from the confederate infantry, and were moſt of them either kill'd or taken.

The enemy's army retires, in the utmoſt confuſion.

Their dragoons almoſt all cut off, or taken.

The night coming now on, and the fire being directed ſo many ſeveral ways at once, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh friends from foes, the confederate generals gave poſitive orders to their troops to give over firing, and to let the routed enemy eſcape, rather than to venture puting themſelves into diſorder. This put an end to the ſlaughter, and ſaved the remainder of the enemy's army: for had there been but two hours more of day-light, in all probability, their whole body of foot, and their right wing of horſe, would have been intirely cut off, they being ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide.

Night puts an end to the ſlaughter.

During this whole memorable action, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, diſpens'd their orders, with ſo much compoſedneſs of mind, and clearneſs of judgment, as ſeem'd peculiar alone to thoſe two heroes of the age. They expoſed their perſons to the greateſt dangers, when neceſſity required it; and yet had both the good fortune to come off unhurt: nor did the Electoral Prince of Hanover (now our moſt gracious ſoverein) come far ſhort of their glory, conſidering his youth. At the head of his father's cavalry, he charged the celebrated troops of the French King's houſhold, bearing down all that oppos'd his career of glory. Next to him, hiſtory muſt juſtly commemorate the due praiſe of the young Prince of Orange-Naſſau, ſtadtholder of Friezland, and father of the Prince of Orange, now ſo nearly allied to the crown of Great-Britain, by his marriage with our illuſtrious Princeſs Ann, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf equally by his martial ardor, bravery and conduct. The brave velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque, tho' worn out with the fatigues of above thirty campains, and in a languiſhing condition, exerted his expiring vigor, and was on horſeback at the head of his troops, in the hoteſt of the fire. Count Tilly, the Prince of Wirtemberg, lieutenant-general Rantzau and Natzmer, major-generals Webb and Cadogan, brigadier Sabine, and in ſhort, all the generals and officers, animated the ſoldiers every where, by their own brave example. Nor were the different troops, of which the confederate army conſiſted, leſs worthy of the greateſt applauſe.

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Juſt encomiums of the confederate generals, officers and troops.

If we may believe ſome of the French writers, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the Pretender, had a great ſhare in this battle: but if the Dutch accounts are to be credited, they, or at leaſt the two latter, only beheld the ingagement, from the ſteeple of an adjacent village; and conſulted betimes for their ſafety, by a retreat.

The French indeavored, by their partial relations, to palliate their defeat, and make a drawn battle of it; for which they had only one poor pretence, that of having ſaved their baggage, as well they might, ſince they left it behind them, as they did likewiſe their artillery, having only made uſe of four or five pieces of cannon, during the whole action. But the field where the battle was fought, of which the confederates remained maſters, with ſix or 700 of the enemy's officers, and about 6000 (ſome accounts ſay 7000) private ſoldiers, that were taken priſoners, together with ten kettle-drums, and above one hundred ſtandards and colors taken, were all evidences of an indiſputable victory, on the ſide of the great duke of Marlborough, and his companion in glory, Prince Eugene.

The victory indiſputable, on the ſide of the allies.

The enemy retired, under favor of the night, by the road which leads thro' the village of Huyſe, from Oudenarde to Ghent. And no ſooner was the word given for a general retreat, than every one, as well general and other officers as ſoldiers, fled with the utmoſt precipitation. The confederates, in the mean time, continued under arms, hoping to renew the ingagement the next morning; and impatient for day, to have a true information, how far their victory had extended: but, when morning appear'd, they found they had nothing to do, but to purſue a flying enemy; which they did, tho' to no great purpoſe.

The enemy retreat in the night.

As to the killed and wounded on either ſide, the allies reckoned among the firſt, major-general Berenſdorf, the colonels Adercaſz and Bolzen, count Rantzau, and ſir John Matthews, with captain Dean of the Britiſh guards, and about 800 private men; and among the wounded, lieutenant-general Natzmer, major-generals Gaudecker and Berner, the colonels Groves, Pennyfeather, and four others, 160 other officers, and about 2000 private ſoldiers: which loſs was abundantly repair'd by deſerters and priſoners, Germans, Switzers, and Savoyards, who liſted themſelves voluntarily in the ſervice of the allies. The French indeavored to conceal their loſs with all poſſible induſtry; but that it was infinitely greater than that of the allies, is beyond diſpute. The largeſt account I have ſeen makes their loſs to have been 9800 priſoners (including two lieutenant-generals, two major-generals, five brigadiers

Loſs on both ſides.

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brigadiers, about thirty colonels, above 100 officers of the ſtate-major, and 400 ſubalterns) 4200 killed and wounded, 2400 deſerted, together 19400, beſide ten pieces of cannon, fifty-ſix pair of colors, fifty-two ſtandards, eight pair of kettle-drums, and 4500 horſes taken: on the other hand, the loweſt computation I have ſeen on our ſide, amounts together to 14,700 killed, wounded and priſoners, without mentioning deſerters, and the loweſt calculations given by the French themſelves, allows their loſs to have been upwards of 10,000 men.

The French lines level'd.

The confederates, having gained this advantage, level'd the French lines between Ipres and the Lys, and raiſed contributions in Artois and Picardy, and a detachment took poſſeſſion of Lens, which was abandon'd by the French: and to demonſtrate their ſuperiority, as well as to ſhew the contempt they had of the French, as ſoon as they had receiv'd their heavy artillery, they reſolved upon the ſiege of Liſle (1).

The ſiege of Liſle.

Prince Eugene ſat down before this important place, the 13th of Auguſt, N. S. while the duke of Marlborough covered the ſiege with the reſt of the army, and, on the 22d, the trenches were open'd. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme, having join'd the duke of Berwick, who was come with a re-inforcement from the Moſel, march'd towards the duke of Marlborough's camp, which they cannonaded for ſeveral days together, whereupon Prince Eugene joined him, with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, from the ſiege: but the allies finding the deſign of the French was only to retard the ſiege, the duke of Marlborough intrench'd himſelf, and Prince Eugene returned to Liſle, where the ſiege went on but ſlowly, the French diſputing every inch of ground, with the greateſt obſtinacy. The two warmeſt actions which happen'd at this ſiege, were the attack of the counterſcarp, on the 7th of September, and of the outworks, on the 21ſt, at the former of which the allies had near 2000 officers and men, with ſixteen ingineers, kill'd or wounded, and at the latter, in which Prince Eugene himſelf was wounded in the head, by a muſket-ball, about half the number. The deputies of the States diſcouraged at the great difficulties which attended this ſiege, were for raiſing it; but Prince Eugene ſtrenuouſly perſiſting in the continuance of it, they at length acquieſced, and while the Prince was confined to his tent, by his wound, the duke of Marlborough commanded at the ſiege.

The marſhal de Bouflers having informed the duke of Vendôme, that ammunition begun to be wanting in the town, the duke detach'd the chevalier de Luxembourg, with 2000 horſe and dragoons, each of them carrying a fuſee and a bag with ſixty pound of powder behind him, to indeavor to break thro' the lines of circumvalation, and throw themſelves into Liſle: accordingly having put green boughs in their hats (the ſign whereby the allies diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in an ingagement) they advanced along the cauſway which leads from Douay to Liſle, and meeting with ſome of the out-guards, they pretended to be Germans belonging to the duke of Marlborough's army, who were carrying ſome priſoners to the camp; but an officer being about to examine them more ſtrictly, they rode full gallop along the cauſway, and got into the line of circumvalation. Upon this the guard fired, and the confederate troops, taking the alarm, purſued them to the barrier of the town, where, by ſome accident, ſeveral bags of powder took fire, and about ſixty of the enemy were blown up with their horſes. However 1200 (tho' ſome accounts make them but 300, and others again ſay 1800) of them got into the town (2), and the reſt, by the favor of the night, and the confuſion the beſiegers were in, retired to Douay, except thirty who were blown up by their own powder that was ſcattered on the cauſway, and took fire by their horſes trampling on it.

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The diſtreſs of the beſiegers, for want of ammunition, was not leſs than that of the beſieged, for their communication with Bruſſels was, in a manner, cut off by the duke of Vendôme: the duke of Marlborough therefore found himſelf under a neceſſity of geting ſupplies by the way of Oſtend, where a body of Engliſh troops, under the command of general Erle, being lately landed, who had been imploy'd in alarming the coaſt of France, very much favored that deſign: and the duke of Marlborough ſent 700 waggons, under a ſtrong guard to Oſtend, which, with the troops already there, were thought ſufficient to protect the carriages: but the French underſtanding, that the ſucceſs of this ſiege depended on theſe ſupplies, detach'd the count de la Motte, with a great body of horſe and foot, to intercept the convoy: of which the duke of Marlborough having notice, commanded major-general Webb, to march with twelve battalions more, and join the other detachments on the road, whereupon inſued the memorable battle of Wynendale, in which general Webb, and the Engliſh nation, gained immortal honor. Of this battle, I ſhall give the reader an account, as written by major-general Webb himſelf; interſperſing however in parentheſes, and adding, at the concluſion of it, ſuch other circumſtances and obſervations, as I ſhall find elſewhere.

Some reflections on the battle of Wynendale.

Before I proceed to give this account, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Prince of Heſſe, in a letter to the States-general, aſcribes the whole

(1) The city of Liſle, which the confederate generals had reſolved to beſiege, is a large, rich and well fortified place, with a very ſtrong citadel; the capital of French Flanders, the ſtaple of all the trade between the Netherlands and France, and, next to Paris, was reckon'd the chief place of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's dominions. It is ſituate among pools and marſhes, about fifteen miles Weſt of Tournay, twenty-eight North of Douay, thirty-ſix South-Weſt of Ghent, thirty-ſeven South-Eaſt of Dunkirk, and thirty-eight almoſt Weſt of Mons. The merchants of that place were of conſiderable ſervice to the grand Monarch, and a great annoyance to his enemies, eſpecially the maritime powers, as they were the principal owners of the Dunkirk privateers, which, without their aſſiſtance, could not have been fited out in near ſo great numbers. As they were rich, they generally ſupplied the wants of the French King's armies, and the cuſtoms they paid him were a conſiderable part of his revenue. Liſle was the firſt and faireſt of all Lewis XIV conqueſts, and one of the principal keys of France; and as his Majeſty always expreſs'd a more than ordinary value for this place, the famous ingineer, monſieur de Vauban, had exerted his utmoſt ſkill in the fortifications of it, and, at an immenſe charge, rendered it almoſt impregnable. The reduction of a place every way ſo important, could not but redound very much to the honor as well as the advantage of the confederates: and, on the other hand, this great importance of it made the French uſe all humane means for its preſervation. Beſide the preſence of the marſhal de Bouflers, governor of all French Flanders, the lieutenant-generals de Surville, Lee, and other officers of diſtinction, they threw into the place twenty-one battalions, of the beſt troops of France, beſide ſix ſquadrons of dragoons, 140 horſe, and ſeven or 800 invalids, who were yet in a condition to ſerve; a little army rather than a garriſon. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 303.

(2) The marquis de Quincy, in his account of this action, makes the number of troops, which enter'd the town, to have been, as F. Daniel ſays, 1800, but adds, that they carried into the place with them, 80,000 l. of powder, and 1200 muſkets. Be this as it will, the attempt was bold, and well conducted; and the chevalier de Luxembourg was rewarded for it, by the French King, with the imploy of lieutenant-general.

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honor of this glorious action to major-general Cadogan, without ſo much as mentioning major-general Webb; and the London-gazet, of the 20th and 23d of September, O. S. by wrong information, has the ſame miſtake. This induced major-general Webb to come over to England, to ſet this matter in a true light; and, the 6th of October, he had the honor to preſent to her Majeſty the relation I am now about to give, which was afterwards publiſh'd, by authority, in the Gazet. Reflections were, on this account, caſt on a great man, who was eſteem'd a friend and patron of major-general Cadogan, as if done deſignedly to advance his glory and reputation, by eclipſing that of his competitor; but this report ſeems to have been more the effect of malice and envy, than grounded on any reaſonable foundation. Wynendale, which gave name to this remarkable action, is an inconſiderable place in Spaniſh Flanders, adjoining to a wood, call'd the wood of Wynendale, hardly worthy of notice, but on account of this memorable battle. It is eleven miles South-weſt of Bruges, and twenty-eight North of Liſle.

An account of the battle and victory.

" After that the detachments, which were ſent " to cover the march of the waggons from Oſtend " to the ſiege of Liſle, had joined at Turout, the " 27th of September, general Webb (who, as " eldeſt major-general, commanded in chief) received advice, that major Savory, of the regiment of Gethem, had poſſeſs'd himſelf of the " poſt at Oudenburg; whereupon he ſent 600 " grenadiers, under the command of colonel Preſton, a battalion of Orkney's, under the command of colonel Hamilton, with that of Fune, " commanded by colonel Vogt, the whole under " the command of brigadier Landſberg, to reinforce that poſt. The 28th, at eight in the " morning, all the horſe (under the command of " major-general Cadogan) were ordered to Hoglede, to wait the arrival of the convoy there, " except 150 horſe, which were ſent, the night " before, under the command of count Lottum, " to Oudenburg, to carry orders to the two battalions, and 600 grenadiers, to guard the convoy " to Cocklaer, and afterwards to rejoin the foot " at Turout. About noon, count Lottum returned to Turout, with advice, that, in his way " to Ichtegem, he met with an advanced guard " of the enemy, which he puſhed into the plain, " where he obſerved ſixteen ſquadrons, mounting " in great haſte, on the alarm, which their advanced guard gave them; hereupon he thought " it neceſſary to return, in all haſte, to give the " general an account of it.

" On this advice, all the foot, conſiſting of " twenty-two battalions, count Lottum, with his " 150 horſe, making the advanced guard, with " the quarter-maſters, and grenadiers that were " not detach'd, were ordered to march immediately to gain the village of Ichtegem, by the way " of Wynendale. As ſoon as the advanced guard " got to Wynendale, they perceived the enemy in " the opening of the plain; whereupon the quarter-maſters and grenadiers were drawn up in " order of battle. Major-general Webb, and " count Naſſau-Woudenburg, at the head of the " 150 horſe, advanced, to reconnoitre the enemy, " giving orders, at the ſame time, to the foot, to " advance and form themſelves, as faſt as poſſible, " in the plain. The 150 horſe were left, at the " opening of the plain, under the command of " count Lottum, to amuſe the enemy; and to " imbarraſs them the more, the quarter-maſters " and grenadiers were poſted in a low coppice, on " that ſide of the plain where the enemy were expected to paſs.

" As ſoon as our troops paſs'd out of the defilee, into the plain, major-general Webb drew " them up in battle, poſting them in the opening, " between the wood of Wynendale, and the coppice, on the other ſide, where the quarter-maſters and grenadiers were poſted. We had " ſcarce got ſix battalions into the opening, when " the enemy began to cannonade us with forty " pieces of cannon, whereof ten were of three " bores." (A relation printed at the Hague, by the printer in ordinary to the States, from which monſ. Rouſſet has likewiſe copied, ſays only nineteen pieces; nine whereof were of a triple bore) " But notwithſtanding the great fire of the enemy, " the 150 horſe kept their ground, which produced the deſired effect, in giving the general " time to form his foot in two lines. The left " wing was extended beyond the low coppice, as " well to prevent the enemy from paſſing that " way, as to cover our flank. On our right " flank was poſted, in the wood of Wynendale, " the regiment of Heukelum; and, on our flank, " on the left, the regiment of the hereditary Prince " of Pruſſia, commanded by colonel Rhader, with " orders not to diſcover themſelves, nor fire, till " they could take the enemy in flank. Some platoons of grenadiers were advanced forty paces " upon the right and left, with the ſame orders; " and the quarter-maſters were alſo poſted in a " road, on the left, that croſſed thro' the aforemention'd low coppice.

" The enemy, after three hours cannonading, " advanced towards us, on the plain, in twelve " lines, ſix whereof were foot, and ſix horſe." (The Hague relation, which I have mentioned above, ſays only four lines of foot, and as many of horſe) " Count Lottum was hereupon ordered " to retire, and poſt himſelf 300 paces behind the " foot, which he did in very good order. The " French continued to march ſtrait up to us, with " forty battalions and ſixty ſquadrons (the Hague " relation ſays only forty-eight ſquadrons) but " the general perceiving they extended themſelves " to the right, in the coppice, he ſent count " Naſſau to obſerve their motion, who immediately ordered thither the regiment of Grumkau, commanded by colonel Beſchefer; and " brigadier Eltz being come up with the laſt regiment, was poſted, on the right, in the wood " of Wynendale.

" About half a quarter of an hour before the ingagement began, brigadier Landſberg, with the " two battalions, and 600 grenadiers that had " been detached, having advice that the enemy " advanced to attack us, rejoined us juſt time " enough to form a third line. Some minutes " after, the enemy began the attack, marching " within 150 paces (the Hague relation ſays fifteen) of our flank, on the right, where the " battalions who hid themſelves (another account " ſays they lay flat on the ground) according to " the general's order, and who were not to fire " till the French flank came oppoſite to them, " gave them ſuch a warm welcome, that their left " wing gave into their center; and the regiment " of the hereditary Prince, which was poſted on " the flank, on our left, much about the ſame " diſtance, did not miſs the opportunity of their " diſorder, to give them a very vigorous diſcharge, which put their whole line in confuſion. Nevertheleſs, the enemy puſh'd on, and " put two of our battalions in diſorder; but the " Swiſs regiment of Albemarle, under the command of colonel Hertzell, advancing upon their " horſe, that were indeavoring to penetrate, ingaged them long enough to give time to the " general, and count Naſſau, to bring up the regiments of Bernſdorf, Gauvain, and Lindeboom (the

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(the Hague relation does not mention Gauvain's regiment) "to ſupply the room of thoſe that "were preſs'd, which was done in a moment. "However, the enemy, ſupported by ſo many "lines, made another attempt to penetrate; but "our battalions rather advanced than gave way; "tho' the general gave orders againſt advancing, "fearing leſt that might render the fire of our "flanks uſeleſs. This precaution had all the de-"ſir'd ſucceſs; the regiments and grenadiers ma-"king ſuch a continual fire, as forced their two "wings upon their center, and obliged the whole "to retire in the greateſt confuſion, notwithſtand-"ing all the efforts their officers could make, by "incouragement, or violence, to keep them up; "ſo that they only fired, at a great diſtance, on "our lines, which ours returned, advancing by "platoons, as at their exerciſe, with all the order "imaginable.

"Major-general Cadogan, who came up ſome "time after the action began, offered to charge "the enemy, in their diſorder, with two ſqua-"drons of horſe, the other four, which he had "ſent for, not being arrived till near ſeven at "night; but it was not thought adviſable to ex-"poſe ſo ſmall a number to charge the enemy, "who had brought up all their horſe to favor "their retreat. The battle laſted two hours, and "was very hot, in which we had 912 officers and "ſoldiers kill'd or wounded." (According to a liſt ſent to the States-general, the allies had three colonels, and two lieutenant-colonels, wounded; two majors killed, and one wounded; four captains killed, and eighteen wounded; four lieutenants killed, and thirty-eight wounded; 111 private men killed, and 680 wounded) "The ene-"my, as we were aſſured by letters from Ghent "and Bruges, and by report of priſoners and "deſerters, loſt between ſix and 7000 men (the "Hague account ſays only three or 4000) They "made their retreat in ſo great confuſion, that "they left moſt of their cannon in a wood, which "they did not carry off till next day at eleven "o'clock, after hearing that our convoy were "paſs'd Rouſſelaer. We remained on the field of "battle till two o'clock the next morning, having "firſt carried off all our wounded, and ſeveral of "the enemy. This victory is the more ſurprizing, "that, by reaſon of ſeveral detachments, we had "not above 6000 men in the action, and the "enemy, by their own accounts, had 24,000." (The Hague account ſays between ſix and 7000, and the enemy between twenty-three and 24,000.)

The French and Spaniards lay the blame on each other.

The Spaniſh troops were the greateſt ſufferers in this action; and they made terrible complaints of the French, who form'd the left wing of the enemy's detachment, for not having ſupported them, as they might, or ought to have done; but the French, on their ſide, were as forward in complaining of the Spaniards, and laid the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize on their want of courage and conduct.

The marquis de Quincy, who allows the French detachment to have been far ſuperior to that of the allies, and gives general Webb the honor of the victory, pretends this misfortune was owing to the orders given by monſ. de la Motte not having been duly executed: and leſſens the number of the kill'd and wounded, on their ſide, to about 2500 men. But even this account, partial as it is, does great honor to our brave Britiſh officers, and the troops under their command.

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Major-general Webb's juſt praiſe.

Notwithſtanding this great ſuperiority of the enemy, major-general Webb made this bold and noble ſtand with ſo much preſence of mind, poſted his men ſo advantageouſly, aſk'd the advice of the officers under him with ſuch modeſty (a rare and commendable virtue in ſo young a commander!) and ſuſtained the enemy's repeated efforts with ſo much bravery, reſolution and conduct, as will tend to his immortal honor: and as this critical victory, which prevented the raiſing of the ſiege of Liſle, was owing chiefly to his prudent management, and other military abilities; ſo that eminent ſervice was afterwards deſervedly acknowledg'd, not only by the unanimous thanks of the commons of Great-Britain, but alſo, in a diſtinguiſhing manner, by the King of Pruſſia, who beſtowed upon him the Order of Generoſity. To give this brave and prudent commander the honor juſtly due to him; tho' he could not venture, being ſo inferior in number, to leave the advantageous ground he was in, to purſue the enemy, which, in the conſternation they were in, might probably have ended in the total deſtruction of their whole detachment; yet ſo unequal an action, and ſo ſhameful a flight of the enemy, with ſuch a conſiderable loſs, was look'd upon as one of the moſt extraordinary things which had happened during the whole war.

His eminent ſervice publicly acknowledg'd.

The convoy under his command arrives ſafe in the army.

While major-general Webb ingaged the enemy, with ſo unequal a force, at Wynendale, the convoy march'd on undiſturb'd, arrived that night, in ſafety, at Rouſſelaer, the next day at Menin, and, on the laſt of September, N. S. paſs'd thro' the duke of Marlborough's army (which, the day before, moved from Lanoy to Roncq, with the right at Pont à Marque, and the left at Menin) in its way to the camp before Liſle.

The duke of Vendôme being convinced of what importance it was to cut off the communication of the beſiegers with Oſtend, marched himſelf towards Bruges, with a ſtrong detachment, and cauſed the dykes to be cut, and laid the country under water; inſomuch that it was with infinite hazard and difficulty, that the allies brought over their ammunition afterwards in boats, to the places where the waggons waited to carry it to the camp: but the allies having ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, on the 23d of October N. S. the town of Liſle ſurrendered upon articles, and, on the 25th, the garriſon march'd into the caſtle (1). Some days before, the velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, very much lamented by every one; by whoſe death, the command of the Dutch troops fell proviſionally on the count de Tilly.

Liſle ſurrender'd.

A fruitleſs attempt on Bruſſels.

The caſtle of Liſle ſtill continued to make a vigorous defenſe, and, while the allies lay before it, the Elector of Bavaria made an attempt to reduce Bruſſels, which he had very near executed: but the duke of Marlborough march'd himſelf to its relief, with the army (2). The 8th of December,

(1) Many cauſes were aſſigned for the length of this ſiege, beſide the ſtrength of the place, and the brave reſiſtance of the gariſon. Much blame was laid on the conduct of ſome of the chief ingineers, which fell very ſhort of what had been experienced in Cohorn. It was ſuſpected that there was treachery among ſome of the officers of the allies. It was openly ſaid, that the city was attack'd in the very ſtrongeſt part of it. It was aſſured, that the beſieged had always intelligence of the time and place, when and where any attack was to be made; becauſe they were always found in a perfect good poſture of defenſe. It was even affirm'd, that the fire of the beſieged was more ready and more violent, than that of the beſiegers; and that many of the bombs of the latter had but very little effect; becauſe they frequently went quite over the town; and that in attacks, the beſieged were ſo prepar'd for their defenſe, that they fired upon the aſſailants, from ſeveral places, and made them indure a greater fire, than was that from without. Le Clerc Hiſt. des Prov. Unies.

(2) Biſhop Burnet mentions upon this occaſion a ſtratagem of the duke of Marlborough's, which, tho' I do not find it mentioned elſewhere, I ſhall relate, as it perfectly anſwers the character of our great commander. "The duke of Marlborough (ſays

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ber, N. S. the citadel of Liſle beat a parley, and the 10th, the marſhal Bouflers marched out with the gariſon, with the uſual marks of honor, and was conducted to Douay.

The citadel of Liſle ſurrender'd.

The 18th, the duke of Marlborough inveſted Ghent, where the count de la Motte commanded, with thirty battalions; the 24th, the trenches were opened, and notwithſtanding the numerous gariſon, the town ſurrender'd the 30th. The 2d of January, the magiſtrates of Bruges came to Ghent to make their ſubmiſſion, and acquainted his grace, that the French march'd out of that place the day before. About the ſame time, they abandon'd Plaſſendael and Leffinghen, and retreated within their own limits.

Ghent taken.

Bruges and other places abandon'd by the French.

Prince Eugene ſet out, the 3d in the morning, for Bruſſels, whither he was follow'd, the next day, by the duke of Marlborough; and having there ſettled the winter quarters, for the confederate troops, the command of which was given to count Tilly, they ſet out together, the 9th of January, from thence for the Hague. Thus theſe two great commanders put an end to their glorious campain, which, for its lengh, and the variety of critical turns, as well as important ſucceſſes of it, is hardly to be parallel'd in hiſtory; and proved as much to the advantage, as well as glory of the confederates, as themſelves cou'd have wiſh'd or deſired.

The duke of Marlborough ends his glorious campain;

And goes to the Hague.

The campain on the upper Rhine was this year inconſiderable, and produced nothing very material, or, at leaſt, nothing that occaſion'd any alteration in the general affairs of Europe; I ſhall therefore paſs them by without any farther notice. In Piedmont, the duke of Savoy obtained ſeveral advantages over the marſhal de Villars, who commanded on that ſide. In Italy, the moſt remarkable incident of this year was the differences between the courts of Rome and Vienna, the Pope having, by his manifeſt partiality for the houſe of Bourbon, ſo far incur'd the indignation of the Emperor, that he was reſolved to curb the haughtineſs and pride of his ſpiritual father. The old gentleman, in the mean time, buoy'd up by the vain promiſes of the French, talked of chaſtizing his rebellious ſon, with temporal as well as ſpiritual ſcourges, and began to raiſe an army for that purpoſe: but count Thaun having invaded the Papal territories; and the Holy-father being apprehenſive of a bombardment at Civita Vecchia, from the Engliſh fleet, his ſtomach came down.

Campain on the Rhine.

And in Italy.

I have reſerved my account of the maritime tranſactions of this year to the laſt, in order to combine them with thoſe of Spain. Sir John Leake ſet ſail from England, with the fleet under his command, the begining of March, and arrived the 27th at Liſbon, where he found a ſquadron under commadore Hicks. Having there provided what tranſports he could get, he ſet ſail the next day, with the Dutch vice-admiral Waſenaer, from thence for the Streights. His fleet then conſiſted of one ſecond-rate, twelve third-rates, two fourth-rates, a fire-ſhip and ſome bomb-veſſels, together, with as many tranſports as would carry 1500 horſes, and twelve Dutch ſhips of the line; having firſt appointed cruizers off of the Terceras and Streights mouth, and ordered thoſe ſhips which were not ready, to follow him.

Maritime Affairs,

Sir John Leake ſent to the Mediteranean.

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The 11th of May, being on the coaſt of Catalonia, he had the good fortune to intercept a French convoy of about ninety Sattees and Tartanes, bound with wheat, oil, and barley to Peniſcola, for the uſe of the enemy's army, of which he took about ſeventy, and ſo diſpers'd the reſt, that few arrived at their port. King Charles having received this welcome news, ſent a felucca with letters to the Britiſh and Dutch admirals, congratulating their arrival and ſucceſs, and deſiring that the corn and other proviſions might be diſpoſed of for his Magazines, which was granted. The 15th, in the morning, the fleet came to an anchor before Barcelona, where they found four more of her majeſty's ſhips. The admirals going on ſhoar, were received with great marks of eſteem by his Catholic Majeſty.

Takes a large convoy of proviſions.

Arrives at Barcelona;

King Charles having lately married the Princeſs of Wolfembuttel, by proxy, and ſhe being arrived at Milan, in her way to Barcelona, ſir John Leake was appointed, as well to convoy that Princeſs, as to bring the troops from Italy, which were to reinforce the army in Spain. To this end, the fleet ſail'd again, from Barcelona, the 19th, and arrived the 28th off of Vado.

And Vado.

The 17th of June, ſir John Leake having left his fleet at Vado, to take in the troops, arrived at Milan, where he was received with all poſſible marks of eſteem by her Catholic Majeſty, who, at his preſſing inſtances, ſet out the 24th; and, the 2d of July, imbarking on board the Albemarle, near Genoa, for Catalonia, arrived at Mataro, near Barcelona, the 14th. The Queen landed the next day, received the firſt viſit from King Charles, the 17th, and, the 21ſt, having made her public entry into Barcelona, the marriage was the ſame day ratified, in the church of St. Mary, by the archbiſhop of Terragona.

Convoys the Queen of Spain to Barcelona:

Admiral Leake having concerted matters at Barcelona for the reduction of the iſland and kingdom of Sardinia, and, for that purpoſe, taken a few troops on board the fleet, commanded by the conde de Ciſuentes, arrived before Cagliari, the capital of the iſland, the 1ſt of Auguſt, which, with the whole iſland, ſoon ſubmited to the Conde, who had been declared viceroy for King Charles.

Subdues the Iſland of Sardinia;

Sir John, with the aſſiſtance of lieutenant-general Stanhope, was no leſs ſucceſsful in the reduction of the iſland of Minorca. He left Cagliari, the 18th of Auguſt, and arrived before Port-mahon the 25th; from whence he ſent two third-rates to Majorca, to haſten the imbarkation of the troops which were to be furniſh'd from that iſland. They returned the 1ſt of September, with a ſmall number of Satties, laden with materials of war, for the army; and, the 3d, the Milford, and three Dutch men of war, with the lieutenant-general, arrived, being followed by five third-rates and fifteen tranſports, with the land-forces. That and the following day the troops were all landed; upon which the

And Minorca.

" (ſays he) hearing of the Elector of Bavaria's deſign to attack Bruſſels, made a ſudden motion towards the Scheld; but, to " deceive the enemy, it was given out, that he deſign'd to march towards Ghent, and this was not only believed by the whole " army, but was probably carried to the enemy; for they ſeem'd to have no notice nor apprehenſion of his deſign on the Scheld. And what the biſhop adds, is no leſs remarkable: " The lines (ſays he) were ſo ſtrong, that it was expected, the breaking " thro' them muſt have been a very hot action. Some of the general officers (continues he) told me, that they reckoned it " would have coſt them 10,000 men; but to their great ſurprize, as ſoon as they paſs'd the river, the French ran away, without " offering to make the leaſt reſiſtance. Their conduct was a ſurprize to all the world: their counſels ſeem'd to be weak, and the " execution of them was worſe; ſo that they, who were ſo long the terror, were now become the ſcorn of nations." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol II. p. 510.

The Elector of Bavaria was inraged at this diſapointment, and complained loudly of the court of France, which, he ſaid, ſacrificed him in the midſt of his enterprize,, when they might have ſupported him, by puting a ſtop to Prince Eugene's and the duke of Marlborough's paſſage over the Scheld: and he had the more reaſon to be diſſatisfied, if, as the marquis de Quincy ſays, he was put upon this enterprize, by the French, againſt his will: Memoires du Prince Eugene, Tom. II.

inhabitants

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inhabitants declared for King Charles: but the enemy had yet three ſtrong holds in their hands.

Sir John returns to England.

It being ſoon after reſolved, in a council of war, that ſir John Leake, with part of the fleet, after they had landed what was neceſſary for the ſiege, ſhould return to England, he ſet ſail the 6th, leaving ſir Edward Whitaker, with his ſquadron, before Port-mahon. Being informed, off of Gibraltar, that ſome French men of war from Cadiz had taken ſome of our merchant-men, near cape Spartel, and carried them into that port, he left a ſquadron to cruiſe in that ſtation, and, purſuing his voyage, arrived at St. Helens the 19th of October.

Port-mahon taken.

Sir John Leake being departed, ſir Edward Whitaker made preparation for attacking the caſtles of Port-mahon: but while the artillery and all things neceſſary were puting on ſhoar, he ordered captain Butler, in the Dunkirk, and captain Fairborn, in the Centurion, to go and batter fort Fornelle, that the tranſports might ſafely ride in the harbor of that name. They anchored before it the 9th; and, after ſome reſiſtance, obliged the gariſon, of about fifty men, to ſurrender priſoners of war. They found in the harbor a Tartan laden from Marſeilles, and a good quantity of corn. The 11th, at the ſight of a detachment of our troops, and two of our men of war, the gariſon of Ciutedella, conſiſting of 100 French-men and 100 Spaniards, ſurrender'd likewiſe. The 17th, they began to play from their batteries on the two middlemoſt towers, and the line they ſupported; and having beat down the former, and made ſome breaches in the latter, they attacked and took the lines by ſtorm, notwithſtanding the enemy's fire from the three forts, with the loſs only of captain Stanhope, of the Milford-galley, the general's brother, and about forty men kill'd and wounded. The enemy beat a parley the next morning, and the capitulation being agreed to, the general took poſſeſſion of this important place the 19th (1).

Campain in Spain and Portugal.

Port-mahon being thus reduced, we ſhall leave ſir Edward Whitaker, with the ſquadron under his command, continuing his ſervices for his Catholic Majeſty; who however was not very fortunate in his affairs on land. The duke of Orleans preſs'd the allies in Catalonia, and beſieged Tortoſa, which ſurrender'd the 11th of July, as did, afterwards, the towns of Denia and Alicant in Valencia. Count Stahremberg had indeed been ſent from Italy to Catalonia, with a ſmall re-inforcement of troops, the begining of the year, which inabled him to ſave the remainder of Catalonia; but he was not in a condition to act offenſively till the latter end of it; for the marquis das Minas, the Portugueſe general, and the earl of Galway, with the Portugueſe forces in Catalonia, had been tranſported from thence to Portugal, to defend that kingdom, which was now become neceſſary: the troops, which were afterwards tranſported from Italy to Catalonia, might indeed have inabled the allies to act offenſively there, in the autumn-campain, the forein troops being commanded by count Stahremberg, and the national troops by general Stanhope; but his Catholic Majeſty was ſo taken up with the ſolemnity of his wedding, and the feſtivals which inſued, that there was no farther action in Catalonia this campain.

Succeſs of commadore Wager in the Weſt-Indies.

Before I return to England, I muſt not omit mentioning a glorious action perform'd this ſummer by commadore (now ſir Charles) Wager, who had the good fortune to meet with the Spaniſh gallions off of Carthagena: but tho' he did all that could be expected from a brave and ſkilful commander, being ill ſeconded by captain Bridges in the Kingſton, and captain Windſor in the Portland, moſt of them eſcaped. However, the Spaniſh admiral, which was the richeſt among them, computed to be worth three millions of pieces of eight, blew up, while the commadore was ingaged with him. He was ſo fortunate afterwards to take the rear-admiral with a conſiderable booty; and tho', by the neglect of thoſe two commanders, a much greater eſcap'd, yet the loſs ſuſtain'd by the Spaniards, in this action, as well as the benefit and honor which accrued thereby to the nation, was very great.

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Promotions at court.

Having thus given an account of the principal occurrences abroad, I ſhall now take notice of ſome few which happen'd, in the mean time, at home. In the begining of October, the earl of Cholmondley was appointed treaſurer of the houſhold, in the room of the earl of Bradford, deceaſed, and ſir Thomas Felton was made comptroler of the houſhold; ſir James Montague was made attorny-general, in the room of ſir Edward Northey, and Roberty Eyres, eſq; was made ſollicitor-general.

Death of Prince George.

The ſame month, his royal highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, having been long afflicted with an aſthma, was taken very ill; his aſthma increaſed, and was attended with a cough, a ſpiting of blood and a coma or ſleepineſs, which, being followed by convulſions, ended his life the 28th, to the unſpeakable grief of her Majeſty and the whole nation. The Queen conſtantly attended her royal conſort in his laſt illneſs, and they were allowed to have been the moſt illuſtrious inſtance of conjugal affection that ever adorn'd a court. His corpſe was brought from the palace of Kenſington, where he died, on the 11th of November, and laid in ſtate, in the Painted-chamber, till the 13th, when it was privately interr'd in Weſtminſter-abbey.

Other promotions at court.

The 25th of the ſame month, the earl of Pembroke was conſtituted lord-high admiral; the lord Sommers, preſident of the council; the earl of Wharton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and the earl of Dorſet, conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and lord-warden of the Cinque-ports.

The new parliament meets.

The 16th, being the day appointed for the meeting of the new parliament, purſuant to the laſt prorogation, her Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint commiſſioners to repreſent her perſon: accordingly the lord-chancellor Cowper, in the name of the commiſſion, after the ſpeaker (ſir Richard Onſlow) was choſen and preſented, open'd the parliament, with the following ſpeech, on the 18th:

My lords and gentlemen,

The lord chancellor's ſpeech.

" In purſuance of the authority given us by her " Majeſty's commiſſion, under the great ſeal, a- " mong other things, to declare the cauſes of her " Majeſty's calling this parliament;

" We are, by her Majeſty's command, in the " firſt place, to obſerve to you, that the extra- " ordinary length of this year's campain hath " obliged her Majeſty to defer your meeting longer " than otherwiſe ſhe would have done, that you " might be inform'd, with the greater certainty, " of the ſtate and poſture of the war, in order to " take your reſolutions for the inſuing year.

" This neceſſary delay has now ſo far ſhewn us " the ſucceſs of affairs abroad, as that, whether " you conſider the places acquired by the allies,

(1) In the caſtles and forts they found about 100 pieces of cannon, 3000 barrels of powder, and all things neceſſary for a good defence. The gariſon, conſiſting of about 1000 men, half French, half Spaniards, were to be tranſported to their reſpective countries; but the former were detained by way of reprizals for the gariſon of Xativa, treated by the French in the ſame manner. Thus we became poſſeſs'd of Port-mahon, the advantage of which to our fleets, when in the Mediterranean, we have ſufficiently experimented, and ſhall do more, ſhould the happy peace we have ſo long injoyed, ever be turned into a war with France and Spain, ſince we are ſtill in poſſeſſion of it. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 832.

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" or the farther and continued proofs, given this " laſt year, of their ſuperior courage and conduct " (which, as to the future part of the war, is " equal to all other advantages) we may, with " thanks to God, and juſtice to thoſe he has been " pleas'd to uſe as inſtruments of this great work, " conclude, that, upon the whole, we are brought " much nearer than we were, the laſt ſeſſion, to " the end of our undertaking this war, the re- " ducing the dangerous power of France, and " ſettling ſuch a peace as may ſecure itſelf from " being violated.

" Her Majeſty therefore commands us to aſſure " you, ſhe has not the leaſt doubt, but that this " parliament will be of the ſame opinion with her " laſt, as to the vigorous proſecution of the war, " and the ends of it; believing it impoſſible the " repreſentatives of the Britiſh nation can indure " to think of loſing the fruits of all our paſt in- " deavors, and the great advantages we have " gain'd (particularly in this preſent year) by ſub- " miting at laſt to an inſecure peace.

" And therefore, ſince probably nothing can " hinder our ſucceſs abroad, for the time to come, " but miſunderſtandings among ourſelves at home, " we have in command to conjure you, by your " duty to God and to her Majeſty, your zeal for " the Proteſtant religion, your love for your " country, and the regard you cannot but have " for the liberty of Europe in general, to avoid " all occaſion of diviſions, which are ever hurtful " to the public; but will more eſpecially be ſo " at this juncture, when the eyes of all our neigh- " bors are upon you, with a very particular con- " cern, and your unanimity and good agreement " will be the greateſt ſatisfaction and incourage- " ment to all our allies.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" You cannot but be convinced, that the ſe- " veral parts of the war, which were provided " for by the laſt parliament, will require your " ſupport, at leaſt, in the ſame degree; but in " Flanders the nature of the war is much alter'd, " by the great advances made there towards en- " tering into France, which has ſo far alarm'd our " enemies, that they are drawing more troops " daily to that ſide, for the defence of their own " country: and therefore her Majeſty hopes you " will have ſo right a ſenſe of our preſent advan- " tages, as to inable her Majeſty to make a con- " ſiderable augmentation for preſerving and im- " proving them; which, by the continuance of " God's bleſſing on our arms, muſt ſoon put a " glorious period to this long and expenſive war.

" As to the condition of the fleet, we have it " in command from her Majeſty to acquaint you, " that the conſtant and remote ſervices, in which " the ſhips have been imployed, have made a " greater ſum requiſite than uſual, as well for the " extraordinary repairs, as the building of new " ſhips: and the taking of Port-mahon, as it has " afforded the means of having a part of the fleet " operate, with more readineſs and effect on the " enemy, or wherever it may be uſeful to the " common cauſe in thoſe parts; ſo the making " ſuch proviſions, at ſo great a diſtance, as will " be proper for that ſervice, muſt of neceſſity " cauſe ſome extraordinary expences. All which, " her Majeſty recommends to your ſerious con- " ſideration, deſiring you to provide timely and " effectual ſupplies for thoſe ends; and likewiſe, " for the carrying on ſuch fortifications, for the " ſecurity of our ports, and extinguiſhing the " enemy's hopes of profiting by diſturbances in " Scotland, as you ſhall think fit.

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My lords and gentlemen,

" The union is eſteem'd by her Majeſty to be " ſo happy and great a part of the ſucceſſes of her " reign, and her Majeſty has ſo much at heart " the confirming and improving it, that ſhe is " pleaſed to command us to remind you of pre- " paring ſuch bills as ſhall be thought conducing " to that end; and particularly to make the laws " of both parts of Great-Britain agree as near as " may be for the common intereſt of both people, " eſpecially as to thoſe laws which relate to cri- " minal caſes and proceedings, and ſettling the " militia on the ſame foot throughout the united " kingdom.

" Her Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed we ſhould " alſo aſſure you, that if you can propoſe any " means for the improvement of our trade or " manufactures, or better imploying of the poor, " her Majeſty will take the greateſt ſatisfaction " in inacting ſuch proviſions, there being nothing " ſhe ſo earneſtly deſires, as that God would bleſs " her with more and more opportunities of doing " all poſſible good to ſo well-deſerving a people, " ſo firm and affectionate to her intereſt.

" And as her Majeſty does not doubt, by " God's bleſſing, and your good affections, to " continue to defeat the deſigns of the Pretender, " and his open and ſecret abettors; ſo her Majeſty " will always indeavor, on her part, to make her " people happy to ſuch a degree, as that none " (except of deſperate fortunes) ſhall enter into " meaſures for the diſturbance of her government, " the Union, or the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as by law " eſtabliſh'd, without acting, at the ſame time, " manifeſtly againſt their own true and laſting in- " tereſt, as well as their duty."

The 20th, the houſe of peers preſented an addreſs to her Majeſty, in a private manner, by the earl of Dorſet, in which they ſaid; " they could " not forbear condoling her Majeſty, upon the " great loſs ſuſtain'd in the perſon of the Prince, " whoſe eminent virtues muſt render his memory " ever dear to them and the whole kingdom: but " they beged ſhe would moderate her grief, and " take care of her health; upon which the hopes of " her people, and the ſafety of Europe ſo much " depended. Addreſs of the lords.

" They congratulated her Majeſty on the ſucceſs " of the campain, and promiſed her their aſſiſtance " in proſecuting the war; being (they ſaid) con- " vinced, that no peace could be ſafe or honorable " till the whole Monarchy of Spain was reſtored " to the houſe of Auſtria: and as her own ſubjects " made ſuch extraordinary efforts, they deſired ſhe " would preſs her allies, who were more nearly " concerned, to ſhew an equal vigor.

" That they ſhould do every thing, on their " parts, towards perfecting the union; and that " they would ſupport her Majeſty and the Prote- " ſtant ſucceſſion, againſt all pretenders, and all " her enemies."

To this addreſs her Majeſty anſwered: " that " ſhe thanked the houſe of peers very kindly for " their addreſs, as well as for the manner of ſend- " ing it to her on that occaſion." Her Majeſty's anſwer.

The clergy of the province of Canterbury met likewiſe in convocation, but, the 19th, before the divine ſervice and ſermon, which were to precede the choice of a prolocutor, they were unexpectedly prorogued, by the metropolitan, purſuant to the Queen's writ to him directed (1). The convocation meets, but is prorogued.

(1) This ſudden diſmiſſion was generally aſcribed to the late indeavors of the lower-houſe, to withdraw themſelves from the legal and ancient authority of their metropolitan; and to the bold attempts of ſome of their members, who, to maintain their pretended right and privilege of adjourning themſelves, and holding intermediate ſeſſions, invaded her Majeſty's royal ſupremacy.——— It was obſerved, that, inſtead of entertaining the thoughts of peace, ſome time before the new parliament was to meet, great intereſt was uſed in making a party for the chuſing dr. Atterbury prolocutor, which (ſays my author) look'd like a new inſult upon the archbiſhop and biſhops, and an expreſs defiance to them. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 360.

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The commons having ſpent three or four days in qualifying themſelves by taking and ſubſcribing the oaths, voted two addreſſes to her Majeſty, one of condolance, and the other of congratulation, which, according to her deſire, were preſented the 25th, by ſuch members of that houſe as were of the privy-council, and very graciouſly received.

Addreſſes of the commons.

In their addreſs of condolance, "They bewail'd the loſs her Majeſty and the kingdom had "ſuſtained in the death of the Prince, whoſe tender affection to her Majeſty, and love to this "kingdom, had gained him the hearts of all her "ſubjects. They beſought her Majeſty, not to "indulge her juſt grief, and aſſured her of their firm "reſolution to ſupport her againſt all her enemies."

In their addreſs of congratulation they tell her, "That thoſe ſignal advantages, which had been ſo "wonderfully obtain'd, and ſo vigorouſly proſe-"cuted and improved, were repeated inſtances, "that no difficulties were inſuperable to her great "commanders, and that no force of the enemy "was able to ſtop her victorious arms.

"That they had ſeen ſuch fruits of their former "zeal, that they ſhould never be wanting to give "ſuch ſupplies as might be moſt effectual for re-"ducing the power of the common enemy, and "force him to accept ſuch a peace as her Majeſty "and her allies ſhould think honorable and laſting; "that they would do every thing on their parts, to "improve and ſtrengthen the union, but above all, "it ſhould be their utmoſt care to defend her Ma-"jeſty's perſon, to ſupport her undoubted title to "the crown, to diſappoint the hopes and deſigns "of the Pretender and his abettors, and to main-"tain the Proteſtant ſucceſſion."

Proceedings on the ſupply.

The ſame day, the commons unanimouſly voted a ſupply, and having called for ſeveral accounts and eſtimates, the next day went upon ſome of the ſeveral ſums for the reſpective ſervices of the inſuing year, of which, with what were afterwards voted, at different times, I ſhall here give the reader a liſt, in one view.

	l.	s.	d.
For 40,000 ſeamen, at 4 l. per man, per month	2,080,000	00	00
The ordinary of the navy	120,000	00	00
For 40,000 landmen	901,827	00	00
For 10,000 additional forces	177,511	00	00
For her Majeſty's proportion of 3000 Palatines	34,251	00	00
For her Majeſty's proportion of 3,439 Saxons	43,251	00	00
For her Majeſty's proportion of Bothmar's regiment	9,269	00	00
For augmenting the troops that were to act in Flanders with the allies	220,000	00	00
For guards, gariſons, and invalids, including 5000 men to ſerve on board the fleet	549,235	00	00
For the ordnance for land-ſervice	180,000	00	00
For a year's intereſt of unſatisfied debentures	49,310	00	00
For circulating old exchequer bills	3,500	00	00
For maintaining the forces in Spain and Portugal	1,081,083	00	00
For tranſport-ſervice	144,000	00	00
For ſubſidies to the allies	553,845	00	00
For extraordinary ſervices already incur'd	310,748	00	00
In all	6,457,830	00	00

To raiſe theſe ſums they gave, at ſeveral times, the land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, the malt-tax, and 2,500,000 l. by exchequer-bills: for the bank of England propoſed to add 400,000 l. upon the old fund granted to them, and upon condition of their being continued a corporation for twenty-one years longer, they propoſed to receive ſubſcriptions for doubling their ſtock, to inable them to circulate 2,500,000 l. in exchequer-bills; praying that a fund be appointed for paying off and cancelling the ſaid bills, in ſome certain time; and that a fund be granted for paying 150,000 l. yearly, being the intereſt for the ſaid ſum, at ſix pound per cent, with ſome other conditions relating to the iſſuing the ſaid bills: which propoſal was received by the parliament, and inacted accordingly.

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Ways and means.

Votes againſt the eldeſt ſons of the peers of Scotland.

The 3d of December, the queſtion being put in the houſe of commons, "That the eldeſt ſons "of the peers of Scotland were capable, by the "laws of Scotland, at the time of the union, to "elect, or be elected as commiſſioners of ſhires or "burghs to the parliament of Scotland; and there-"fore, by the treaty of union, were capable to "elect, or be elected, to repreſent any ſhire or "burgh of Scotland, to ſit in the houſe of com-"mons of Great-Britain? It paſs'd in the nega-"tive."

Land-tax act paſs'd.

The 23d, the Queen having granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal for paſſing the royal aſſent to a "bill for granting an aid to her Majeſty, "to be raiſed by a land-tax in Great-Britain, for "the ſervice of the year 1709," the lords-commiſſioners gave the royal aſſent to that bill accordingly, after which, both houſes adjourned to the 10th of January. Before they adjourned, they had agreed on an addreſs to the Queen, which was preſented the ſame afternoon, by the lord-chancellor, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. In this addreſs, "They congratulated her ſucceſs in "the reduction of Ghent, the laſt great effort of "this glorious year, which (they ſaid) would be "ever famous in hiſtory; as well for the intire "diſappointment of all the attempts and hopes of "her enemies, as for the many wonderful ſucceſſes "with which GOD had bleſs'd her arms. That "the unuſual length of the campain, the variety "of events, and the difficulty and importance of "the actions, had given many opportunities to her "Majeſty's general, the duke of Marlborough, "to ſhew his conſummate ability, and all the great "qualities neceſſary for ſo high a truſt."

Addreſs of both houſes on the reducing of Ghent.

The 30th, the Queen ſign'd proclamations for a public thankſgiving, on the 17th of February, throughout the whole united kingdom.

Proclamations for a thankſgiving.

AN' 1709.

Two days after the meeting of the parliament again, viz. the 12th of January, a complaint was made to the houſe of a printed pamphlet, intitled, "Of the ſacramental teſt; to a member of this "parliament, who was for the occaſional bill in "the former, when that bill was on foot, &c." and the ſame being delivered in at the table, where the title and ſeveral paragraphs were read, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "that the ſaid pamphlet "was a ſcandalous and malicious libel, and tended "to create miſunderſtandings among her Majeſty's "ſubjects:" ordered, "that the ſaid libel be burnt "by the hands of the common hangman, and a "commitee was appointed to examine, who was the "author and printer of the ſaid libel."

A printed pamphlet cenſured.

Lord Haverſham's ſpeech concerning the invaſion.

The ſame day, the houſe of peers, having ſummon'd their members to attend, took into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, in reſpect to the late intended invaſion of Scotland. The lord Haverſham open'd the debate with a long ſpeech; which he concluded by moving; "That her Majeſty "will pleaſe to order, that there may be laid be-"fore this houſe, at what time her Majeſty "received

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" received the first account of the intended invasion? What orders were thereupon issued into Scotland, with relation either to the forces or garisons? What was the number of regular troops there, at the time of this intelligence? What was the state of the garisons there at that time? What augmentation was made, or forces sent thither, from the time of the intelligence to the time of the invasion? What orders had been given with relation to the garisons, and when, both before and since the invasion, from the time of the first intelligence?"

Papers relating thereunto call'd for.

The lord Haversham having ended his speech, several other peers spoke, tho' with more temper, on the same subject. The house, hereupon appointed a commitee to inquire into the state of the nation, with respect to the intended invasion; and ordered an address to be presented to her Majesty, to desire that the papers concerning that affair might be laid before them, which was readily complied with.

The 22d, the house of commons resolved to address the Queen, for a "list of the ships of war "which were imploy'd upon account of the late "intended invasion, under the command of vice-admiral Byng and rear-admiral Baker; and of "the names of the captains who were imployed in "that expedition, and what journals had been deliver'd in relation to the same. As also for such "treaties or agreements as had been made, in relation to contributions:" which papers were accordingly laid before the house.

The commons vote their solemn thanks to the duke of Marlborough.

The same day likewise they unanimously resolved, "That the commons of Great-Britain, "being truly sensible, not only of the great and "eminent services, perform'd by his grace, the "duke of Marlborough, the last successful cam-"pain, so much to the honor of Great-Britain, "and the advantage of all Europe, but also the in-"defatigable zeal he persevered in, for the service "of the common cause abroad, while he might "with reason, expect to be receiv'd with all the "marks of honor and satisfaction at home, did "with a just regard to his glorious actions, return "him the thanks of the house." And order'd their speaker to transmit the same to his grace; which being done accordingly, the duke of Marlborough was pleased to return the following answer:

Brussels, February 13, 1709.

Sir,

His grace's answer.

"I am extreamly sensible of the great honor "which the house of commons have done me, in "the vote you have been pleased to transmit to "me by their order; nothing can give me more "satisfaction than to find the services I indeavor "to do the Queen, and my country, so acceptable "to the house of commons: and I beg the favor "of you to assure them, I shall never think any "pains or perseverance too great, if I may (by "God's blessing) be instrumental in procuring a "safe and honorable peace for her Majesty, and "my fellow-subjects. I am with truth,

SIR,

Your most faithful
Humble Servant,
Marlborough.

The parliament address her Majesty to marry again.

An order having been made, on the 13th of January, by the privy-council, pursuant to her Majesty's pleasure to them signified, "That in the "form of prayer, with thanksgiving, to be used "every year, on the 8th of March, the words, "for making her a happy mother of children, &c. "be left out;" this occasion'd an address from "both houses; "That she would not indulge "her just grief, so much as to decline the thoughts "of a second marriage;" she thank'd them for the frequent marks they gave her of their duty and and affection; and said, "the provision she "had made for the Protestant succession would be "always a proof how much she had at heart "the future happiness of the kingdom: but the "subject of that address was of such a nature, "that she was persuaded they did not expect a "particular answer."

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Acts pass'd.

The 26th of January, the lords-commissioners gave the royal assent to the "act for the speedy "and effectual recruiting of the land-forces and "marines."

The 17th of February, the thanksgiving was observed with the usual solemnities; and the 24th, the lords-commissioners, impower'd by the Queen for that purpose, gave the royal assent to the malt-bill, and some private acts. The 25th, the lord Haversham again made a long and memorable speech, concerning the Scotish invasion, and the ill-state that part of Great-Britain was then in, to resist the attempts of the enemy, concluding with the following words:

Part of lord Haversham's speech.

"I will not trouble you farther: I think this "matter is now very plain before your lordships; "I could wish I had not said one word of truth, in "what I have said to you: but the vouchers shew "it to be so; and if all this be true, it is a very "strange, a very surprizing, and a very astonishing "truth.

"I shall not move any thing to your lordships "farther in this matter: I believe there has been "enough now said, to justify those lords for "moving this inquiry, and shall add but this "word; that if there be no greater care taken "for the future, than there was at this time, of "such imminent danger, it will be the greatest "miracle in the world, if without a miracle, "the Pretender be not placed on the throne."

Debates on this matter.

The duke of Buckingham, and several other peers, spoke to the same purpose, and some observations were made upon the papers communicated by the ministry, at the desire of their lordships: upon which it was ordered, that this important affair should be considered in a full house. Accordingly, on the 1st of March, their lordships debated the dangers to which this kingdom had been exposed, by the Pretender's attempt to land in Scotland, with French forces; and, thereupon resolved to address her Majesty: "That she would "be pleas'd to cause an account to be laid before "them of the stores, garisons and fortifications, in "that part of the united kingdom; as also of its "revenues since the union, and of the distribution "of the equivalent mony."

The duke of Marlborough arrives in England.

The same day, the duke of Marlborough, who had staid longer than usual in Holland, on account of some negociations for a peace, which had been set on foot privately, arrived at London. The house of lords being then siting, and it being generally believed, that he brought over with him proposals made by the enemy for a peace, which the miseries and necessity of France seem'd to drive them to; the lord Sommers, president of her Majesty's council, moved for an address to be made to the Queen, "That her Majesty would be pleas'd "to take care, at the conclusion of the war, that "the French King might be oblig'd to own her "Majesty's title, and the Protestant succession; "that her Majesty's allies might be guarantees of "the same; and that the Pretender might be re-"moved out of the French dominions:" this motion was unanimously approved of, and a commitee thereupon appointed to draw up the address. This done their lordships ordered the lord-chancellor to return the thanks of their house to his grace the the duke of Marlborough, for the eminent services performed by his grace, the last campain.

Accordingly,

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Accordingly, his grace having the next day taken his ſeat in the houſe of peers, the lord chancellor return'd him the thanks of that illuſtrious and auguſt aſſembly, in the following words:

Thanks of the houſe of peers return'd to the duke of Marlborough.

My lord duke of Marlborough,

"I have the honor to be again commanded by "this houſe, to give your grace their hearty and "unanimous thanks, for the great and eminent "ſervices you have perform'd this laſt campain; "particularly to her Majeſty and her kingdoms, "and in general to all the allies.

"When I laſt obey'd the like commands, I "could not but infer from your grace's former "ſucceſſes, we had ſtill moſt reaſonable expecta- "tions, you could not fail to improve them.

"I beg leave to congratulate your grace, that "the obſervation then made has proved, as it was "indeed intended, perfectly true.

"I hope, I ſhall not be thought to exceed my "preſent commiſſion, if, being thus led to con- "template the mighty things your grace has done "for us; I cannot but conclude, without acknow- "leging, with all gratitude, the providence of "GOD, in raiſing you up to be an inſtrument of "ſo much good, in ſo critical a juncture, when it "was ſo much wanted."

To which compliment his grace made the following anſwer:

My lords,

The duke of Marlborough's anſwer.

"I hope you will do me the juſtice to believe, "there are very few things could give me more ſa- "tisfaction than the favorable approbation of my "ſervice by this houſe.

"And I beg leave to aſſure your lordſhips, it "ſhall be the conſtant indeavor of my life to de- "ſerve the continuation of your good opinion."

Addreſs of both houſes to the Queen.

The ſame day, the lords ſent down their addreſs to the commons, for their concurrence: whereupon, mr. ſecretary Boyle repreſented, "That the Britiſh "nation having been at a vaſt expence of blood "and treaſure, for the proſecution of this neceſſary "war, it was but juſt they ſhould reap ſome bene- "fit by the peace: and the town of Dunkirk, being "a neſt of pirats, that infeſted the ocean, and did "infinite miſchief to trade, he therefore moved, "that the demoliſhing of its fortifications and har- "bor be inſiſted upon, in the inſuing treaty of "peace, and inſerted in the addreſs;" which, with that amendment, being unanimouſly approved of, it was carried back to their lordſhips, by mr. ſecretary Boyle, and preſented to her Majeſty, the next day, accordingly. Her Majeſty received and anſwered it very very favorably; and this addreſs was highly acceptable to the whole nation, and to all our allies.

The commons approve the conduct of the government.

The 10th, the commons took into conſideration the papers relating to the deſign'd invaſion in Scotland, and the proceedings thereupon, and againſt the lord Griffin, and others taken in rebellion; as alſo relating to the perſons taken up on ſuſpicion, and to the gariſons in Scotland, and, thereupon approved the conduct of the government on that occaſion: notwithſtanding, when the ſame papers which had been laid before the houſe of lords, were, by their deſire, laid before them likewiſe, they produced the like obſervations there, as had been made in the houſe of lords, by the lord Haverſham, and others.

Acts paſs'd.

The 23d, the lords-commiſſioners, impower'd thereunto by the Queen, gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private acts. The 24th, the commons took into conſideration the report from the commitee, to whom it was refer'd, to examine the accounts, which had been laid before the houſe, of what ſhips had been imploy'd as cruizers and convoys, over and above the ſhips for the line of battle, and for convoys to remote parts; and alſo the eſtimate of the debt of her Majeſty's navy, as it ſtood on the heads mentioned in the ſaid eſtimate, the 30th of September, 1708. whereupon it was reſolved; "That an addreſs be preſented "to her Majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to "give directions to the proper officers, to lay be- "fore the houſe, an account of all ſums of "mony granted or voted, ſince her Majeſty's ac- "ceſſion to the crown, and how far the ſame had "proved deficient;" and ordered, "That the "commiſſioners of the navy do lay before this "houſe, the cauſes of the increaſe of the debt of "the navy:" but no anſwer was return'd to that addreſs.

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An addreſs of the commons not anſwer'd.

All the other buſineſs of parliament being finiſh'd, the lords-commiſſioners, impower'd by the Queen, gave the royal aſſent to twenty-two public, and thirty-one private bills, and then the lord chancellor, in the name of them all, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The lord chancellor's ſpeech to both houſes.

"Being now, by the Queen's directions, to put "an end to this ſeſſion, we have it in command "from her Majeſty, to aſſure you, ſhe is extreme- "ly ſenſible of the zeal and affection you have "ſhewn for her ſervice, and the good of her "people, and of the prudence and diſpatch with "which you have compleated the important buſi- "neſs of this ſeſſion.

"The vigor and firmneſs of your proceedings "have already had a very good effect on affairs "abroad, and there is ground to hope, by GOD's "bleſſing on her Majeſty's indeavors, that this "will every day appear more evident.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"We are to return you, in particular, her Ma- "jeſty's thanks, for your having provided, ſo "timely and ſo effectually, the ſupplies found ne- "ceſſary to the proſecution of this war; with an "augmentation of thoſe forces, which, in con- "junction with our allies, have, by GOD's aſſi- "ſtance, procured us the preſent advantages over "the common enemy.

"Your chearfulneſs, in giving ſuch large ſup- "plies, at this juncture, and the ready advances "which have been made for their being effectual, "with ſo little burden to the people, ſhew you "perfectly underſtand how to make a right uſe of "our paſt ſucceſſes, and that nothing is too diffi- "cult for ſo dutiful and affectionate ſubjects, acting "in defenſe of ſo good a cauſe.

My lords and gentlemen,

"Her Majeſty, thro' the whole courſe of her "reign, having ever been deſirous to ſhew all poſ- "ſible inſtances of goodneſs and clemency to her "ſubjects, has now, for the ſtrengthening the union, "and quieting the minds of all her ſubjects, "throughout the united kingdom, thought fit to "grant them an act of grace and free pardon, in "a more full and beneficial manner, than has been "formerly uſed; not doubting but all her people "will make a right uſe of, and ſuitable returns, on "their parts, for ſo extraordinary an indulgence.

"Her Majeſty having alſo been graciouſly plea- "ſed to give the royal aſſent to the ſeveral bills you "have preſented during this ſeſſion, commands us "to obſerve to you, on that occaſion, that the life "and benefit of all laws, how wiſely ſoever they "are framed, do chiefly conſiſt in a due and re- "gular execution of them; and therefore to exhort "you, that when you return to your countries, "you would think it indiſpenſably your duty, to "ſet a good example towards an impartial and "ſteady obſervation of the many good laws "which have been inacted (eſpecially ſince the laſt "revolution) and which fall within your provinces "to execute; it being but too evident, that the "defect at preſent attending us, is not ſo much

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" the want of new laws, as the neglect and dif-
" regarding of thoſe already made."

The parliament prorogued.

After this, the lord chancellor declared, it was her Majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, that this parliament ſhould be prorogued to the 19th day of May next enſuing.

Acts paſs'd.

The moſt important acts, which received the royal aſſent this ſeſſion, beſide thoſe already mentioned, were: " 1. An act for the naturalization " of forein Proteſtants: 2. Two acts for inlarging " the powers of commiſſioners of Sewers in Lon- " don, and elſewhere: 3. An act for preſerving " the privileges of embaſſadors, and other public " miniſters of forein Princes and States (1): 4. " An act for the better preſervation of parochial " libraries, in that part of Great-Britain call'd " England: 5. An act to prevent laying wagers " relating to the public: 6. An act for making " more effectual the act for the better preventing " miſchiefs that may happen by fire: 7. An act " for the public regiſtring of deeds, wills, and " other incumbrances on lands, &c. in the county " of Middleſex, after the 29th of September 1709. " 8. An act for improving the union of the two " kingdoms: 9. An act for the Queen's moſt " gracious, general and free pardon: 10. An act " for incouraging the bringing in of forein coins " and plate to be coined, and for making provi- " ſion for the mints in Scotland: 11. An act for " appointing commiſſioners to agree for ſuch lands " and tenements as are proper to be purchaſed, " for the better fortifying of Portſmouth, Cha- " tham and Harwich: 12. An act for inlarging " the capital ſtock of the bank of England, and " for raiſing a farther ſupply to her Majeſty, for " the ſervice of the year 1709: 13. An act for " circulating a farther ſum in exchequer-bills, &c. " 14. An act for raiſing the militia for the year " 1709, &c."

Occurrences out of parliament.

Having thus finiſh'd my account of parliamentary proceedings, I ſhall juſt mention ſome occurrences out of parliament, during this time.

The 11th of January, George Brudenel, earl of Cardigan, renounced Popery, and qualified himſelf to ſit in the houſe of peers.

The 3d of February, the Queen, in council, was pleaſed to declare; " that the public buſineſs in- " creaſing, her Majeſty had thought fit to ap- " point a third ſecretary of ſtate of Great-Britain; " but that her Majeſty intended, nevertheleſs, to " continue the forein affairs, for the preſent, in " the courſe of diſpatch they were now in: where- " upon James, duke of Queenſberry and Dover, " was ſworn into that office, and the province " aſſign'd him was Scotland;" and, at the ſame time, John duke of Argyle was ſworn of her Majeſty's privy-council, as were, the 3d of March, the dukes of Marlborough and Roxburg.

The begining of April, the following promotion of general officers was made: His grace the duke of Argyle and major-general Webb, were made lieutenant-generals; the lord North and Gray, ſir Richard Temple, and the earl of Stair, major-generals, and colonel Lalo brigadier-general; and, the begining of May, the major-generals Cadogan, Mordaunt and Palmes were made lieutenant-generals; and brigadier Ogilby major-general.

There being a great ſcarcity of corn in France this year, occaſioned by the preceding hard winter, the Dutch, in order to diſtreſs the enemy, publiſhed a placart, prohibiting all neutral ſhips to carry any corn to France, or the dominions of Spain, in the poſſeſſion of King Philip: and, on the 28th of April, an order of council, of the ſame tenor, was publiſhed in England; declaring, that all corn, which ſhould be taken by the ſhips of the confederates going thither, ſhould be ſeized, and condemn'd as lawful prize.

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Negociations for a peace.

As I have mention'd above, that his grace the duke of Marlborough remain'd ſome time in the Low-countries, on account of propoſals made by the French for a peace; it may not be amiſs to give a brief account of that matter, as being neceſſary to give a better idea of what will follow. The reader will remember, that ſoon after the battle of Ramellies, the Elector of Bavaria gave out hopes of a peace; and that the King of France would come to a treaty of partition, by allowing Spain and the Weſt-Indies to go to King Charles, provided the dominions of Italy were given to King Philip. They hoped that England and the States would agree to this, as leſs concern'd in Italy: but they knew the court of Vienna would never hearken to it; for they valued the dominions in Italy, with the iſlands near them, much more than all the reſt of the Spaniſh Monarchy. But at the ſame time that Lewis XIV was tempting us with the hopes of Spain and the Weſt-Indies, that King, by a letter to the Pope, offered the dominions in Italy to King Charles. The parliament had always declared, the ground of the war to be the reſtoring the whole Spaniſh Monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, ſo the duke of Marlborough could not hearken to this: he convinced the States of the treacherous deſigns of the court of France, in this offer, and it was not entertained.

The court of Vienna was ſo alarm'd at the inclinations which ſome had expreſs'd towards the entertaining this project, that this was believ'd to be the ſecret motive of the treaty, the ſucceeding winter, for evacuating the Milaneſe, and of their perſiſting ſo obſtinately, the ſummer after, in their deſigns upon Naples; for by this means they became maſters of both. The French being now reduced to great extremities, by their conſtant ill ſucceſs, and by the miſeries of their people, but more eſpecially by the general decline of public credit, the moſt eminent bankers of Paris and Lions having been oblig'd to ſtop payment, began to entertain ſerious thoughts of a peace, and reſolved to try the States again. When the duke of Marlborough came over to England, monſ. de Rouillé was therefore ſent to Holland, with general offers of peace, deſiring them to propoſe what it was they inſiſted on: and he offer'd them as good a barrier for themſelves as they could aſk. The States, contrary to their expectation, reſolved to adhere firmly to their confederates, and to enter into no ſeparate treaty, but to act in conjunction with their allies. However, upon the arrival of monſ. de Rouillé at Antwerp, they appointed monſ. Buys, penſionary of Amſterdam, and monſ. Vanderduſſen, penſionary of Gouda, to have a conference with him at Moerdyke. Upon the report of what paſs'd in this interview, their High-mightineſſes permited this French miniſter to come to Woerden, a place between Leyden and Utrecht, that he might be nearer at hand, for the intended negociation; and then the deputies of the States had another conference with him, in which he made ſome looſe propoſals towards a general peace, which however he refuſed to give in writing. The States-general being, as I have ſaid above, very cautious of making any advances in ſo important an affair, without the participation of their allies, gave im-

The preſident de Rouillé comes to Holland.

Conferences with him.

(1) This law was occaſioned by the arreſting the Muſcovite embaſſador, at the ſuit of mr. Morton, a lace-man, in Covent-garden, for 50l. and his being carried to and detained in a ſpunging-houſe till he gave bail.

mediate

mediate notice of what had paſs'd to the courts of Vienna and Great-Britain. Prince Eugene, who, during this interval, was gone to Vienna, return'd, hereupon, from thence to Bruſſels, on the 27th of March, N. S. with full powers from his Imperial Majeſty; and, on the 8th of April, came to the Hague, where the duke of Marlborough likewiſe arrived the next day from England.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough come to the Hague.

The overtures made by France debated.

Theſe two Princes had a long conference with the great penſionary Heinſius, meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, and other deputies of the States, where they debated the overtures made on the part of France, which being thought inſufficient to be the ground of a treaty of peace, orders were given for carrying on the warlike preparations with all poſſible application and diligence, in order to open the campain, as ſoon as the backwardneſs of the ſeaſon would permit, and purſue the late advantages with the utmoſt vigor.

Monſ. de Roui. é, having been informed by the deputies of the States, that his overtures were not ſatisfactory, diſpatch'd an expreſs for new inſtructions, who was immediately ſent back, with directions (as it appear'd in the ſequel) to amuſe the allies, with a ſeeming compliance with all their demands; but not to ſign any thing.

The marquis de Torcy comes to the Hague.

The deputies of the States, having had a conference with monſ. de Rouilié, after the return of his courier, made a report of what had paſs'd to the duke of Marlborough, who thereupon reſolved to return to England. During his abſence, the French court ſent the marquis de Torcy, ſecretary of ſtate for forein affairs, to the Hague, but the States gave him to underſtand, by their deputies, that they could come to no reſolution till they were informed of the ſentiments of her Majeſty of Great-Britain, by the return of the duke of Marlborough. His grace, who made but a ſhort ſtay in England, returned to the Hague the 18th of May, N. S. and with him the lord Townſhend, as plenipotentiary.

The preliminaries agreed on:

To give a particular account of the tranſactions of every day, during the courſe of this memorable negociation, would carry me too far: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that on the 27th in the morning, the laſt reſolutions of the allies being communicated to the French miniſters, and the duke of Marlborough having ſent them word, that he and Prince Eugene had determined to ſet out for Flanders, within two days, they promiſed to return a final anſwer, the ſame evening, at a conference to be held for that purpoſe. At this conference, which was held at the grand penſionary's, and laſted till two the next morning, the French, after many diſputes, ſeemed to comply with all the preliminary-articles inſiſted upon by the confederates; which being ordered to be fairly drawn in writing, and afterwards examin'd in a conference held the 28th about ten in the morning, another meeting was appointed, in the afternoon, in order to ſign theſe articles. But how great was the ſurprize of every one to find, that after the Imperial, Britiſh, and Dutch plenipotentiaries had ſign'd the articles, the French miniſters refuſed to ſet their hands to them, alleging that they had no directions to do it. However, the marquis de Torcy told the miniſters of the allies, that he would immediately ſet out for Paris, to lay the whole tranſaction before the moſt Chriſtian King, and indeavor to procure his ratification, promiſing an anſwer by the 4th of next month.

But the French miniſters refuſe to ſign them.

As theſe preliminaries ſhew the ſenſe of the allies, at that time, and are a very neceſſary illuſtration of what inſues, an abſtract of them will undoubtedly be acceptable to the reader.

Abſtract of them.

1. "That a firm and laſting peace be forthwith "treated of, &c.

2. "That, to this end, preliminary articles be "agreed on, &c.

3. That the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall acknow- "lege King Charles III King of Spain, &c.

4. "The treaty ſhall be finiſh'd in two months, "during which time Sicily ſhall be put into the "hands of King Charles, and the duke d'Anjou "ſhall evacuate Spain; which if he refuſes to con- "ſent to, the French King and the allies ſhall "enter into proper meaſures, that this article may "have intire effect.

5. "That the French King ſhall, within that "time, withdraw his troops out of Spain, &c. "and not aſſiſt the duke d'Anjou, for the future, "with troops, artillery, ammunition or mony.

6. "The Monarchy of Spain ſhall remain in- "tire in the houſe of Auſtria, and no Prince of "the houſe of France ever become ſoverein of any "part thereof.

7. "France ſhall never poſſeſs the Spaniſh "Weſt-Indies, or trade thither.

8. 9. "The French King ſhall deliver up "Straſburg, Fort-Kehl and Briſac, to the Em- "peror.

10. "The French King ſhall poſſeſs Alſace, in "the literal ſenſe of the treaty of Munſter, except "Landau, which ſhall belong to the Emperor.

11. "He ſhall demoliſh New-Briſac, Fort- "Lewis and Hunninghen.

12. "Rheinfels ſhall be poſſeſs'd by the Land- "grave of Heſſe, till otherwiſe agreed.

13. "The clauſe concerning religion, in the "treaty of Ryſwick, ſhall be refered to the ne- "gociation.

14. 15. "The French King ſhall acknowlege "the Queen of Great-Britain, and the Proteſtant "ſucceſſion.

16. "The French King ſhall reſtore to Great- "Britain what he is poſſeſs'd of in Newfoundland, "and whatever either party has taken in the In- "dies ſhall be reſtored.

17. "Dunkirk ſhall be demoliſh'd.

18. "The Pretender ſhall retire out of France.

19. A treaty of commerce ſhall be ſettled with "Great-Britain.

20. "The King of Portugal ſhall injoy all that "is ſtipulated for him by the allies.

21. "The French King ſhall acknowlege the "King of Pruſſia, and not diſturb him in the in- "joyment of Neufchattel.

22. "The French King ſhall deliver up Furnes, "Menin, Ipres, Warneton, Commines, Wer- "wick, Poperingen, Liſle, Condé and Maubeuge, "for the barrier of the States.

23. "He ſhall reſtore all the towns and forts "he has taken in the Netherlands, with the ar- "tillery and ſtores, provided the Catholic reli- "gion ſhall ſtill be profeſſed there.

24. "None of the cannon or ſtores to be re- "moved from this time.

25. "The States, as to their commerce, ſhall "have what was ſtipulated at the treaty of Ryſ- "wick, and the Tariff of 1664 only ſhall be in "force.

26. "The French King ſhall acknowlege the "9th Electorate.

27. "The duke of Savoy ſhall injoy all that "has been yielded to him by the Emperor, and "whatever has been taken from him ſhall be re- "ſtored.

28. "The French King ſhall make over to him "Exilles, Feneſtrilles and Chamont, with the "vally of Pragelas, and all on this ſide the moun- "tains, for a barrier.

"29. The pretenſions of the Electors of Ba- "varia and Cologn ſhall be refer'd to the general "negociation; but the Elector Palatine to remain "in

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" in poſſeſſion of the Upper-Palatinate, &c. The " gariſons of the States, &c. to remain in Huy, " Liege and Bonn, till otherwiſe agreed with the " Emperor and Empire.

30. 31. 32. " The farther demands, on either " ſide, ſhall not interrupt the ceſſation of arms: " the other allies being allowed to make farther " demands at the general congreſs.

33. 34. " The negociation ſhall be finiſh'd in " two months; and in the mean time a ceſſation " of arms be made.

35. " Upon the ratification of theſe articles, " the French King ſhall evacuate Namur, Mons, " Charleroy, Luxemburg, Condé, Tournay, Mau- " beuge, Newport, Furnes and Ipres, and raze " the fortifications of Dunkirk.

36. " The French King to execute what has been " ſtipulated, with reſpect to the other allies, with- " in two months after the concluſion of the treaty.

37. " And if he executes all that is above- " mentioned, and the whole monarchy of Spain " ſhall be delivered up to Charles III, as is ſti- " pulated, within the limited time, then the ceſ- " ſation of arms ſhall continue till the ratifications " of the peace.

38. " All this ſhall ſerve as the baſis and foun- " dation of the inſuing treaties of peace.

39. " The ratification of the preliminary ar- " ticles to be performed by the French King, " the Queen of Great-Britain and the States, be- " fore the 15th of June; and by the Emperor, " by the 1ſt of July, and what is ſtipulated in " favor of each of the allies reſpectively, to be " ſet about as ſoon as they have ratified the pre- " liminaries.

40. " The congreſs to begin the 20th of " June, at the Hague, and to prevent diſputes " about the ceremonial, no embaſſador ſhall take " upon him his character 'till the day of the " ſigning of the peace."

The marquis de Torcy was punctual to his word; for on the 4th of June, Prince Eugene received a letter at Bruſſels from him, to acquaint him, that the moſt Chriſtian King could not accept of the project of peace agreed upon at the Hague; and monſ. de Rouillé upon making the ſame declaration at the Hague, ſaid he in particular, excepted againſt the 10, 11, 28, 29, and 37 (1).

The negociation broke off.

The miniſters of the allies, having hereupon held a conference, among themſelves, came to a reſolution, that no alteration ought to be admited in the preliminary articles: monſ. de Rouillé hereupon declared, " that if the allies would be contented " with the fifth article in relation to Spain, without " inſiſting on the others relating to the delivering up " of the Spaniſh Monarchy, he thought the King of " France would be induced to depart from his other " exceptions;" but the miniſters of the allies continuing firm in their reſolutions, the negociation broke off, and monſ. de Rouillé returned to Paris.

The campain in Flanders open'd.

The allies being juſtly provoked by this unfair proceeding of France, reſolved to improve their late advantages, by a vigorous proſecution of the war; and tho' the campain in Flanders, which was the principal ſcene of action, for this year, was opened pretty late, it did not (as ſome imagined) proceed from any amuſement ariſing from the negociation of peace, but from the extraordinary backwardneſs of the ſeaſon, after an exceſſive hard winter, and the great rains which inſued: for the duke of Marlborough, truſting little to the ſhews of peace, had prepared every thing for opening the campain, as ſoon as he ſaw what might be expected from the court of France, and the ſeaſon would admit.

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The confederate troops deſign'd for this campain, to the number of above 110,000 men, being aſſembled about Courtray and Menin, form'd the army, the 21ſt of June, N. S. near the laſt place, and march'd the 22d towards Liſle, incamping between Linſelle, Turcoin and Rabax. The next day, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene put themſelves at the head of the army; the right wing of which, under the command of the latter, paſſed the Lower Deule, as did, at the ſame time, the left, under the duke, the Mark, and the army incamp'd in the plain of Liſle, on both ſides the Upper Deule.

The confederate army aſſembles.

They find it impracticable to attack the French camp.

The French army was in the mean time advantageouſly poſted, between Pont à Vendin, Cambrain and Beauvrain, their right and left being covered by moraſſes, made unpaſſable by the late tedious rains, and their front by ſome villages, which they had fortified, and their intrenchments were ſtrengthen'd by numberleſs outworks, double ditches, and batteries at convenient diſtances. The 25th, the lieutenant-generals Dopf and Cadogan were ſent out with detachments, to take a narrower view of the enemy, and, upon their report of the almoſt inſuperable difficulties, which muſt neceſſarily attend the attacking the enemy, in their advantageous and fortified camp, the duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene and the field-deputies of the States, came to the reſolution to beſiege the important fortreſs of Tournay, the gariſon whereof, as well as of ſeveral other neighboring towns, had been very much weaken'd by the marſhal de Villars, to re-inforce his army, on the approach of the confederates. The generals kept this reſolution very private, and the more to increaſe the enemy's jealouſy, the artillery was ſent for up the Lys to Menin; and a council of war was held, the 26th, to take, as it was induſtriouſly reported, proper meaſures to attack the French. The baggage was hereupon ſent to Liſle, which confirm'd the belief in the armies that there would be an action.

Tournay inveſted.

The confederate troops being prepoſſeſs'd with this opinion, decamp'd, about nine in the evening, from the banks of the Deule, and march'd part of the night, without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet, towards the enemy; but they were ſurprized, when on a ſudden, they received orders to turn to the left, and arrived, the 27th before Tournay, which was ſoon after inveſted: ſo that the enemy, having no notice, nor ſo much as a ſuſpicion of this deſign, the place was ill-provided to hold out a ſiege, and the marſhall de Villars very much blamed on that acconnt, by thoſe who envied his former ſucceſſes (2).

The trenches before Tournay were opened the 7th

(1) As to the 10th he required Landau to be reſtored to him; to the 11th he would not conſent to the demoliſhing of Hunninghen, New Briſac, and fort Louis. He excepted againſt the whole 28, and would have it refer'd to a farther diſcuſſion: and for the 29th, would have it, likewiſe refer'd to the negociations of a general peace; with the proviſo that the upper Palatinate, &c. ſhould not be confirmed to the Elector Palatine, and that the intereſt of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn ſhould be ſettled in the preliminaries: laſtly, as to the 37th, he would have the term inlarg'd for delivering up the Spaniſh Monarchy: but conſented to recall his own troops out of Spain, by the time limited. Lediard's Life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 439.

(2) Thus was this great general, famous for nothing more than his ſtratagems, outdone in his own way, and caught in his own ſnare, while he was huging himſelf in his own ſecurity. He thought himſelf ſo ſecure of his intelligence, that of the three attacks which the allies made a ſhew of attempting, he pretended to conclude two feign'd and one only real, to oppoſe

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7th of July, and the allies having taken poſſeſſion of St. Amand and Mortagne, two poſts neceſſary to cover the ſiege, and the artillery being arrived, the attacks advanced with ſucceſs. I ſhall not detain the reader with the particulars of this ſiege, which was carried on as uſual; but only obſerve, that the beſiegers making the neceſſary preparations for a general ſtorm, on the 28th, the beſieged prevented it by deſiring to capitulate; and the gariſon, according to agreement, march'd into the citadel, which held out till the 3d of September, and then ſurrender'd, on condition, that all the officers and ſoldiers ſhould retain their ſwords and baggage, and be permited to return into France, provided they did not ſerve, till a like number of officers and ſoldiers of the allies, ſhould be exchanged for them (1).

Beſiged,

And taken.

The ſiege of Mons reſolv'd on.

The important town and citadel of Tournay (which the French thought impregnable, as appeared by the lofty inſcription they had cauſed to be affix'd to one of the half moons) being ſurrendered to the victorious arms of the allies, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were immediately intent on new exploits, and reſolved upon another as important conqueſt as that of Mons, the capital of the province of Hainault. But the marſhal de Villars having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the ſtrong camp of Blaregnies or Malplacquet, in the woods of Sart or Sanſart, it was found impracticable to form the ſiege, till the French were driven from that poſt; which brought on the bloodieſt battle that ever was fought in that country (2).

Situation of the enemy's army.

The 8th of September, the duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and monſ. Goſlinga, one of the field-deputies of the States, with a ſufficient guard, ſpent the whole day in viewing the ground between the two armies; and when they came over againſt Blaugies and Lamberchies, they diſcovered the enemy's whole army, which was in motion, and poſting themſelves in the plain of Blaugies. The next morning, the French made a motion as if their deſign was to march towards Boſſu: but the confederate-generals, advancing to take a narrow view of their army, ſoon perceived, that the motion of their left was only a feint to cover the march of their right, which filed off at the ſame time, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the woods of Lagniere, la Merte, Taiſniere, and Sart, with the hedges that incompaſs them, where they placed their infantry; and, taking poſſeſſion likewiſe of the hedges of a village call'd Placquet, or Malplacquet, ranged their cavalry in the openings between theſe woods. The confederate-generals, hereupon, order'd their army to march by the left, and face the enemy, the right extending to Sart, the left to Bleron, on the edge of the wood of Blagniere, where they placed their cannon; the center being near Bleron, and the head-quarters not far from thence at Blaregnies. By this means, the left of the confederate army came ſo near to the enemy, about two in the afternoon, that they cannonaded each other till the evening. But the right wing of the allies being too far off to come up to the place of action in time, there was too little day-light left to attack the enemy. The duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the Prince Royal of Pruſſia, therefore paſs'd the night with monſ. Goſlinga, that they might be ready if the enemy ſhould make any attempt. But tho' they were much ſuperior in number, and more eſpecially in infantry; yet they were ſo far from deſigning to attack the allies, that, on the contrary, they began to fortify their camp (tho' it was, by nature, very ſtrong and advantageous) with all the induſtry and application imaginable. Beſide the thick hedges, which, like a chain, ran along their whole camp, they made deep lines to cover their foot; and, on their right, caſt up three intrenchments, one behind the other, tho' the acceſs was without that very difficult, becauſe of a marſhy ground which lay before them. Their center, which was in a little plain, was likewiſe ſecured by ſeveral intrenchments, defended, in convenient places, with a good artillery; and beſide all this, they cut down a great number of trees, which they laid a-croſs the ways to obſtruct the paſſage of the confederate-horſe: they alſo cut down the hedges, behind their lines, for the more eaſy march of their cavalry to ſupport their infantry, as occaſion might require; ſo that their camp might not be very improperly call'd a regular, fortified citadel.

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Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, on the other hand, who had, on the 9th, in concert with monſ. Goſlinga, taking the reſolution to attack the French, finding, on the 10th, that they had made uſe of the preceding night to improve the advantage of their ſituation, reſolved only, without altering their deſign, to put off the execution of it till they were re-inforced by eighteen battalions, which had been imploy'd in the ſiege of Tournay. To theſe, orders were immediately diſpatch'd, that they ſhould march, with all poſſible expedition, to join the grand army, which they did, that very night, under the command of count Lottum and baron Schulemburg.

The troops that came from Tournay, having, on the 11th of September, in the morning, joined the right wing, over-againſt the wood by Sart, where the enemy's left was poſted, Prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the field-deputies, viz. meſſieurs Rantwyck, Hooft, and Goſlinga, rode together, along the line, between the two armies, and ſeveral men were, in their preſence, kill'd by the enemy's cannon ſhot. A little after eight o'clock, the ſignal for the attack being given, by a diſcharge of fifty pieces of cannon, and the cannon-

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oppoſe which he detach'd ſeventy-three battalions, and order'd 100 pieces of cannon to be placed on the eminences thereabouts. Nay, his vanity and ſecurity was ſo great, that a trumpeter of the confederate-army happening to be in his camp, he ſent a meſſage by him to the generals of the allies, to acquaint them, "that he wondered at their delay, and that, if his intrench-"ments were in their way, he would order them to be levell'd immediately." Rouſſet hiſt. mil. du Pr. Eugene, &c. Tome II. p. 215.

The marquis de Quincy, not to allow that monſ. de Villars was outwited in this manner, pretends the duke of Marlborough was obliged to undertake this ſiege to ſtop the mouths of his troops, who murmured at his not attacking the French camp, in order to beſiege Ipres, which was his real deſign, till he found it impracticable, on account of the good diſpoſitions made by the marſhal. Hiſt. mil. de Louis le grand.

(1) "The manner of fighting in this ſiege (ſays the author of the Tatler) diſcovered a gallantry in our men, unknown to "former ages; their meeting with adverſe parties under ground, where every ſtep was taken with apprehenſions of being "blown up with mines below them, or cruſhed by the fall of the earth above them, and all this acted in darkneſs, has "ſomething in it more terrible than ever is met with in any other part of a ſoldier's duty: however this was performed with "great chearfulneſs. Vol. II. p. 60.

(2) This battle was the more remarkable, in that it was, in reality, a battle between two ſeparate armies on each ſide. Prince Eugene commanded a compleat army of 50,000 men, with wings of horſe, on the right and left; and the duke of Marlborough another intire army, of which the Engliſh form'd the right, and the Dutch the left. On the other ſide, the marſhal de Villars commanded a ſeparate army of the French, on the left, drawn up againſt that of Prince Eugene, and the marſhal de Bouflers (who arrived at the French camp the 7th) another upon the right, which ingaged that under the command of the duke of Marlborough.

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ading continuing very briſk on both ſides, Prince Eugene advanc'd with his right into the wood of Sart; and thirty-ſix battalions of that wing, commanded by general Schulemburg, the duke of Argyle, and other generals, and twenty-two other battalions, under the command of count Lottum, attack'd the enemy with ſuch bravery, that, notwithſtanding the barricadoes of fell'd trees, and other impediments they met in their way, after an hour's reſiſtance, they drove the French out of their intrenchments, in the woods of Sart, and Taiſniere. The deſign of this attack was to drive the enemy out of the wood, and then to attack them in the flank of their intrenchments on the plain; which ſucceeded very happily, and thereby all the enemy's infantry on the left wing were ruin'd. General Withers, with nineteen battalions, attack'd the enemy in another intrenchment, beyond the woods of Taiſniere and Great-Blagniere, with the like vigor and good ſucceſs. Thirty-ſix Dutch battalions, commanded by the Prince of Naſſau-Frieſeland (or Orange) and baron Fagel, who attack'd the enemy's right, poſted in the wood of la Merte, and in an opening, cover'd with three intrenchments, met with greater reſiſtance, and loſt abundance of men before they could penetrate into the intrenchments. The fight was here deſperate; but the Dutch ſoon drove the enemy from off their advantageous ground into their intrenchment, taking their colors. They likewiſe drove them out of their firſt intrenchment; but as they were marching on to the ſecond, they were charg'd with a great deal of vivacity by the enemy, and obliged to retire to their former poſts. The duke of Marlborough hereupon order'd lieutenant-general Withers, to march with the body under his immediate direction, to ſuſtain them; but, upon farther deliberation, and notice that the lieutenant-general was actually ingag'd with the enemy, and that all things went well on the right, his grace thought fit rather to preſs on the advantages there, than to hazard a new motion towards the left, in the heat of the action. As ſoon as the enemy's left went to retire, and draw off their cannon, the duke of Marlborough commanded the earl of Orkney, with fifteen battalions, to attack them, and force them from their intrenchments in the plain, between the woods of Sart and Janſart, with directions, if he ſucceeded, to poſt himſelf there, and cover the horſe, as they ſhould file off, thro' the woods into the plain, in order to charge the enemy's cavalry, which were there drawn up. This was executed with ſuch reſolution and ſucceſs, that after a ſhort diſpute, the enemy quited thoſe intrenchments; which gave the horſe an opportunity to enter them: and tho' the firſt ſquadrons, led by the Prince of Heſſe, had much ado to form themſelves, and were put into ſome diſorder by the French King's houſhold troops, yet being immediately rallied by the duke of Marlborough, and ſeconded by the ſquadrons of Prince Eugene's army, they advanced together into the plain. Being there cover'd by their own foot, and having formed themſelves into very good order, they charg'd the enemy's cavalry, who being ſoon broke and defeated, their whole army fell into diſorder, and made off towards the plain of Bavay, leaving ſome of their cannon behind them. The allies made a good uſe of the begining of the victory, and all their troops moved on with freſh reſolution. General Vinck having with the horſe ſurrounded ſeveral battalions of the enemy's right, ſummon'd them to ſurrender priſoners of war, but the French being cover'd by a moraſs, made their retreat along the edge of a wood; three regiments of Daniſh cavalry falling at the ſame time on the enemy, made a terrible ſlaughter among them, till having gain'd a ſecond wood, they found means to eſcape. Eighteen ſquadrons being detach'd to indeavor to diſperſe them in their retreat towards Quievrain, met their whole left wing on this ſide the little river Quaiſnau, conſiſting of about 100 ſquadrons, commanded by the marſhal de Bouflers in perſon, and perceiving only at firſt the enemy's rear, poſted at the corner of a wood, the dragoons made up to them, and drove them without reſiſtance. But colonel de la Lippe, and a cornet, advancing too far, were taken, without being perceiv'd by their own men. The wood being forc'd, the eighteen ſquadrons advanc'd into the plain, but perceiving before them the enemy's whole left wing, in three columns, one of which retreated in good order, the other two in ſome confuſion, they made a ſhort halt, and were ſomewhat ſurprized to ſee the enemy face about, and draw up in order of battle. However this ſmall body of the confederate horſe kept their ground, and poſted themſelves upon an eminence, with the wood of Elonge on their right, expecting to be attack'd; but they immediately perceiv'd, that the enemy made a ſtand, with no other deſign than to paſs a gutter that was in their way to a defilee, leading to Bavay, which they gained before the allies, who purſued them full gallop, could come up with them. However the latter followed the chaſe as far as the village of Quievrain, where the French having poſted a brigade of foot, and, at the ſame time, ſome of their ſquadrons poſting themſelves on an advantageous ground near the little river of Haiſnau, the confederates thought fit to give over the purſuit, and ſo the enemy paſſed that rivulet, and marched unmoleſted to Bavay. The reſt of their broken army retired in great confuſion, ſome to Maubeuge and Valenciennes, and others to Condé, leaving the allies in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, with ſixteen of their cannon, twenty colors, twenty-ſix ſtandards, and other indiſputable marks of victory; not to mention abundance of priſoners. Some of theſe were taken in the action, others in the purſuit, and the far greater number the next morning in Bavay, and other neighboring places, either their wearineſs or wounds not permiting them to follow the groſs of their army, which having that night paſs'd the rivulet of Ronelle, incamp'd with their right at Queſnoy, extending their left towards Valenciennes.

The battle of Blareignies, or Malplaquet.

The allies gain the victory.

The confederate generals upon viewing, after the battle, the advantageous poſts from whence they had driven the enemy, were themſelves aſtoniſh'd to ſee what difficulties they had ſurmounted; and indeed all the troops, as well officers as ſoldiers, ſhew'd as great reſolution, intrepidity and firmneſs, in this obſtinate action, as were ever known in theſe latter times, or ſtand recorded in ancient hiſtory. The enemy, whether incouraged by their intrenchments, or animated by the ſhame of their former defeats, fought with a bravery beyond what was expected from them, from half an hour paſt eight in the morning, 'till half an hour paſt two in the afternoon. They were however at length forced to yield to the ſuperior courage and good fortune of the allies, whoſe generals, the great duke of Marlborough, and the brave Prince Eugene, the gallant count Tilly, and the Prince of Naſſau, were, during the whole fight, continually at the head of their troops, in the hoteſt of the fire.

Bravery of the confederate troops.

Great numbers fell in this bloody action; and the allies frankly own'd, that they had above 18,000 men, either killed or wounded, according to the underwritten liſt (1)

Of

(1) "Had this ingagement, (ſays the author of the Tatler) happen'd in the time of the old Romans, and ſuch things "been acted in their ſervice, there would not be a foot of the wood, which was pierced, but had been conſecrated to ſome deity, "or

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Loſs of the confederates.

Of Prince Eugene's army.

Nations and Bodies.	Battal.	Col. Killed	Col. Wounded	L.Col. Killed	L.Col. Wounded	Maj. Killed	Maj. Wounded	Capt. Killed	Capt. Wounded	Subalt. Killed	Subalt. Wounded	Serj. and com. Sol. Killed	Serj. and com. Sol. Wounded	Total killed and wounded
Imperialiſts.	7	0	3	1	1	0	0	2	6	4	11	183	307	518
Danes.	8	1	1	1	2	0	2	5	9	8	42	519	694	1284
Saxons.	7	1	1	1	2	0	2	3	6	10	22	184	477	709
Palatines.	7	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	9	1	7	83	253	359
Dutch.	12	2	0	2	1	1	2	7	23	16	44	683	818	1590
Heſſians.	6	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	12	5	20	128	350	527
Wirtembergers.	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	11	15	120	272	422

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Of the duke of Marlborough's army.

Nations and Bodies.	Battal.	Col. Killed	Col. Wounded	L.Col. Killed	L.Col. Wounded	Maj. Killed	Maj. Wounded	Capt. Killed	Capt. Wounded	Subalt. Killed	Subalt. Wounded	Serj. and com. Sold. Killed	Serj. and com. Sold. Wounded	Total killed and wounded.
Britiſh.	19	4	2	4	3	0	3	13	26	13	61	541	541	1866
Pruſſians.	18	2	4	1	1	1	6	2	17	9	33	294	294	1203
Hanoverians.	12	0	1	1	2	0	4	2	12	10	44	285	285	1417
Dutch.	30	6	6	5	11	5	14	42	116	85	242	2238	2268	8463
Sum total.	129	16	20	16	27	9	36	79	238	169	441	5238	5258	18353

And of the French.

The French were very induſtrious in leſſening and concealing their loſs to the public: but ſome private accounts from their army own'd, that they had about 540 officers kill'd on the ſpot, and 1068 wounded; beſide 301 taken priſoners: and the number of their private men, killed, wounded or taken, was modeſtly computed at 15,000 (1).

The marſhal de Bouflers wrote two letters to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to leſſen and conceal the loſs his army had ſuſtain'd, one the day of the battle, the other two days after, thro' the vanity and adulation of which, the advantage the confederate army had over that of the enemy, was, however, ſufficiently diſcover'd: and the greater the reſiſtance on that ſide was (which the marſhal extols above the ſkies, and makes every one to

" or made memorable by the death of him, who expired in it, for the ſake of his country. It had been ſaid on ſome " monument at the entrance, Here the duke of Argyle drew his ſword, and ſaid March. Here Webb, after having an " accompliſh'd fame for gallantry, expoſed himſelf like a common ſoldier. Here Rivet, who was wounded at the begining " of the day, and carried off as dead, returned into the field, and received his death. Medals had been ſtruck for our " generals behavior when he firſt came into the plain. Here was the fury of the action, and here the hero ſtood as fearleſs " as if invulnerable. Such certainly had been the cares of that ſtate for their own honor, and gratitude to their heroic " ſubjects.

" The wood intrench'd, the plain made more impaſſable than the wood, and all the difficulties oppoſed to the moſt gallant " army, and moſt intrepid leaders, that ever the Sun ſhone on, would each have furniſh'd matter for the ableſt pens to have " recorded them in eulogiums and panegyrics

(1) In the marſhal's account of this action, we muſt make ſome allowance for the vivacity of a French genius, and the neceſſity he lay under of blinding the old King his maſter, and hiding his loſs: and indeed he trifles ſo egregiouſly, that it is difficult to account for his want of reſpect to his ſoverein; unleſs we will ſuppoſe he believed his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in the ſtate of dotage, and that the moſt palpable falſities, when covered with glavering flattery would go down. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 533.

We have theſe letters very prettily epitomized in the Tatler, in the following words:

SIR,

" This is to let your Majeſty underſtand, that to your immortal honor, and the deſtruction of the confederates, your troops " have loſt another battle. Artagnan did wonders; Rohan perform'd miracles; Guiche did wonders, Gattion perform'd mi- " racles; the whole army diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and every body did wonders. And to conclude the wonders of the day, I " can aſſure your Majeſty, that tho' you have loſt the field of battle, you have not loſt an inch of ground. The enemy marched " behind us with reſpect, and we ran away from them as bold as lions."

have

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have performed wonders) the greater was the glory of the allies, in ſurmounting ſuch difficulties; and obtaining a compleat victory, in ſpite of ſo much valor and conduct.

It is hard to ſay, whether theſe letters contain more inſtances of vanity and flattery, or more inconſiſtencies; but the latter are too palpable to need any illuſtration; I ſhall therefore, only aſk, "if "the French officers and troops perform'd ſuch "wonders, as even ſurpaſs'd human nature (as "monſieur de Bouflers expreſſes himſelf) what muſt "not thoſe officers and troops of the confederate "army have done, who ſubdued theſe ſupernatural "perſons, and drove them from the field of battle, "their fortified camp, and treble intrenchments? "Sure they muſt have been ſomething more than "ſupernatural!" and as for the pretended ſuperiority of the number of the confederate troops, tho' it be not ſo in fact, yet ſuppoſing it to be truth, and that they had been twice the number, the advantages of the enemy's camp, as well with regard to the ſituation as the fortifications of it, rendered the attempt very hazardous, and the glory of the victory incomparable.

Mons beſieged and taken.

After the victory of Blaregnies or Malplacquet, the confederate army march'd towards Mons, to which the retreat of the French had now left a free paſſage. That city was inveſted the 21ſt of September, and ſurrendered the 20th of the inſuing month of October (1); which finiſhed the campain in Flanders, and both armies went into winter-quarters. The duke of Marlborough, having ſetled the repartition, arrived at the Hague the 3d of November, as did Prince Eugene the 7th. The 12th their highneſſes had a long conference with ſome of the deputies of the States, in which ſeveral important affairs relating to the inſuing campain were ſetled.

France makes new advances towards a peace.

The campain in the Netherlands was no ſooner at an end, than the French court thought fit to make new advances, towards ſeting a negociation for a peace on foot again. To this end, ſignior Foſcarini, the Venetian embaſſador, who came to Holland about this time, took a turn to Amſterdam, to feel the pulſes of the Burgo-maſters of that city. On the other hand, monſieur Pettecum, reſident of the duke of Holſtein at the Hague, who had been imploy'd the laſt winter, underhand, in the negociation of peace, and had ſince continued to hold a correſpondence with the marquis de Torcy, made ſome new overtures on the ſide of France, and deſired paſſes for their commiſſioners to come to the Hague. The Imperial, Britiſh and Dutch miniſters, having taken this matter into conſideration, and a report of their conferences having been made to the aſſembly of the States-general, their High-mightineſſes refuſed the paſſes, but conſented, that monſieur Pettecum ſhould go to the French court, purſuant to their deſire, to know what farther offers they had to make. That miniſter accordingly ſet out for Paris, about the middle of November, as did, not many days after, the duke of Marlborough for London, and Prince Eugene for Vienna.

Monſieur Pettecum goes for that end, to Paris.

The duke of Marlborough departs for England.

Monſ. Pettecum was received at the court of France with more reſpect than was due to a miniſter of ſuch inferior rank; and with an affected oſtentation, to make the murmuring and half famiſh'd people believe, peace was near; not without ſome vain inſinuations, that he was ſent from the allies themſelves, to make advances towards it; tho' nothing is more certain, than that he had no ſuch power or direction given him on their parts. He confer'd for ſome days, with the marquis de Torcy, and the other French miniſters, and having received a preſent for the trouble and expences of his journey, he returned to the Hague with the anſwer, and the propoſals of the court of France.

Monſ. Pettecum returns to the Hague.

The propoſals made by France rejected.

Theſe propoſals having been examined by the States-general, were unanimouſly rejected with diſdain, and vigorous reſolutious thereupon taken for the continuation of the war.

Campain on the Rhine;

The Elector of Hanover, who commanded the Imperial army on the Rhine, having conſented to ſend large detachments, this campain, to Flanders, could not attempt any thing of moment himſelf in thoſe parts: he therefore only ſent count Merci into the Upper Alſace, to make a diverſion, but he was ſurprized by the French general, count de Bourg, and defeated.

And in the north.

The northern affairs having no immediate connexion with thoſe of the grand alliance, I have only mentioned them on occaſion of the duke of Marborough's journey into Saxony, in the year 1707. The fatal turn of affairs to the diſadvantage of the King of Sweden, which happen'd this year, being, as it were, the conſequence of the counſels and meaſures which were thought to be concerted when the duke was there, and in which, it was believed, he had no ſmall hand, I ſhall juſt hint at them. This great but unfortunate Monarch, having reſolv'd to invade Muſcovy, and being fluſh'd with the ſucceſs he had met with in Poland, thinking to dethrone the Czar with the ſame eaſe he had done Auguſtus, ingaged himſelf ſo far in the Ukraine, that there was no poſſibility of his retreating; and this brought ſuch a cataſtrophe on his affairs, that he was never able to diſintangle himſelf from, till death put a ſtop to the career of his intrepidity.

He ingaged a great body of Coſſacs to join him, who were eaſily drawn to revolt from the Czar: he had met with great misfortunes in the end of the foregoing year, but nothing could divert him from his deſigns againſt Muſcovy: he paſs'd the Nieper and beſieged Pultowa. The Czar march'd to raiſe the ſiege, with an army much ſuperior in number to the Swedes; but the King of Sweden, who had not forgoten the battle of Narva, where he triumph'd with a far greater inequality of number, reſolved to venture on a battle, in which he received ſuch a total defeat that he loſt his camp, his artillery, and his baggage: a great part of his army got off, for the preſent; but being cloſely purſued by the Muſcovites, and having neither bread nor ammunition, they were all made priſoners of war. The King himſelf, with a ſmall number about him, paſs'd the Nieper, and got into the Turkiſh dominions, where he ſettled, and was under a ſort of voluntary, tho' unavoidable confinement, at a town of Moldavia call'd Bender. This fatal day ſet Auguſtus again on the throne of Poland, and freed the allies from all apprehenſions of this enterprizing Prince's intermedling between them and the common enemy, to the ſupport of the latter.

Maritime affairs.

Our affairs at ſea this year were very inconſiderable, I ſhall therefore be as brief in my relation of them; and paſſing by thoſe in the channel and

(1) The ſpeedy reduction of this important place, after the memorable and bloody battle of Malplacquet, was a plain demonſtration, that the allies obtain'd, in that action, ſomething more ſubſtantial than the name of a victory; ſince the enemy, who had hazarded a battle to prevent the ſiege of this town, did not make the leaſt motion to relieve it; notwithſtanding the aſſurances given by the marſhal de Villars and Bouflers to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he would not loſe an inch of ground by that action; and their boaſting of marching towards the confederate army, if the King's ſervice required it. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 553.

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the Soundings, which conſiſted chiefly in ingagements between ſingle ſhips, ſhall only take notice of the ſquadron under ſir George Byng, admiral of the blue, who, towards the latter end of the year 1708, was appointed to carry the Queen of Portugal to Liſbon. Her Majeſty being arrived at Portſmoth, from Holland, under convoy of a Britiſh ſquadron, commanded by rear-admiral Baker, went on board the Royal Ann, the 6th of October; and the next morning, the fleet commanded by admiral Byng ſailed from Spithead, arrived the 14th at Caſcais, and the 16th went up the river of Liſbon, where her Majeſty was received with great ſtate and magnificence. About the middle of November, he received orders to proceed to Port-Mahon, and to winter in the Mediterranean, leaving ſir John Jennings at Liſbon. The 27th of December, he got under ſail, and the 12th of January 1709, after having ſuffered much by tempeſtuous weather, which had ſeparated his ſquadron, he arrived at Port-Mahon, where he found moſt of his ſhips arrived before him. Here he diſpatch'd orders to ſir Edward Whitaker, who was on the coaſt of Italy, to join him, which he did, on the 19th of February, with about 3500 men, land-forces, general Stanhope being arrived the 14th. With theſe troops, and the general, he put to ſea, with a deſign to relieve the caſtle of Alicant. The 5th of April, he arrived in that bay, but after ſome attempts, finding the relief of that place impracticable, the 7th the general ſent a flag of truce on ſhoar, with propoſals for ſurrendering the caſtle, which being agreed to, the gariſon was imbarked.

The admiral now proceeded towards Barcelona, and, in his way, landed general Stanhope, with the troops at Terragona; at Port Mahon, he was joined by ſir John Jennings, whom he had ordered to meet him there. Having diſpatch'd ſome ſhips for Genoa and Final, he ordered ſir John Jennings to guard the corn-ſhips to Barcelona, where ſir George joined him, the 8th of June, with the reſt of the Britiſh and Dutch men of war, and there ſir Edward Whitaker likewiſe arrived, with his ſquadron from Italy, and above 2000 recruits for the army.

The whole fleet being now together, a council of war was called to conſider how it might be imployed; and the reſolution was, that ſir John Jennings ſhould return to guard the coaſt of Portugal; and ſir George Byng ſail to a ſtation ten leagues S. of Cape-Toulon, to intercept the enemy's troops, and as much as poſſible to alarm them. They both ſailed together, and ſir George arrived before Toulon the 21ſt of June, where having cruiſed ſome time he returned to Barcelona-road.

There were now two grand ſchemes propoſed, one for the reduction of Sicily, at which ſir Edward Whitaker was to command, and the other an attempt on Cadiz, on which the admiral propoſed to proceed himſelf, with general Stanhope; but both deſigns came to nothing, partly becauſe the Dutch could not aſſiſt them for want of proviſions, and partly becauſe the ſhips were required by the King of Spain for ſo many particular ſervices, that it was impoſſible to keep a ſufficient body together. Our ſhips were however, after their being cleaned at Port Mahon, ſucceſsful in taking a great number of prizes. Among others, they took twenty-two loaden with corn, three ſhips from Turky, three from Marſeiles, and three from Carthagena, the Dutch having ſeized on three more. The Antelope and Worceſter, having been cruiſing up the Levant, took three French merchant-ſhips, and when ſir Edward Whitaker appeared, with his ſquadron, off of Roſes, he diſcovered there about forty imbarkations, which were imployed to tranſport proviſions to the enemy's army in the Ampourdan, thirty of which he took; whereby they were put to great Streights, for want of the ſupplies they hoped for by ſea: however theſe advantages were but ſmall, in conſideration of the great expence of the fleet.

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Sir George Byng being arrived at Gibraltar, and not finding there the ſquadron he expected, under rear-admiral Baker, with the troops intended for the attempt on Cadiz, that deſign was wholly laid aſide, and it was reſolved, at a council of war, that ſir Edward Whitaker ſhould remain with a ſquadron in the Streights, and ſir George return to Great-Britain: purſuant to which reſolution, he paſs'd the Streights, the 22d of September, and arrived at Spithead the 25th of October. The troops I have mentioned above were imbark'd about the middle of Auguſt; but being long detained, on the coaſt of England, by contrary winds, did not make the coaſt of Portugal till the begining of October; and then, by the directions of the earl of Galway, ſailed directly for Barcelona.

Affairs in Spain and Portugal.

In Spain, this ſummer paſs'd over without any conſiderable action: there was indeed an ingagement on the frontiers of Portugal, in which the Portugueſe behaved themſelves very ill, and were beaten; and which occaſioned the loſs of three regiments, chiefly Engliſh-men, which were taken priſoners together with their officers: among whom were major-general Sankey, the earl of Barrimore, and brigadier Pearce. The Spaniards, however, did not purſue the advantage they had by this action; for they, apprehending that our fleet might have a deſign upon ſome part of their Southern-coaſts, were forced to draw their troops from the frontiers of Portugal, to defend them: tho' we gave them no diſturbance on that ſide.

The King of France, to make it more believed he deſign'd a peace, withdrew his troops out of Spain, but, at the ſame time, took care to incourage the Spaniſh nobility, and to ſupport his grandſon: and ſince it was viſible, that either the Spaniards or the allies, were to be deceived by him, it was much more reaſonable to believe, that the allies, and not the Spaniards, were to feel the effects of his fraudulent proceedings. The French general Beſons, who commanded in Arragon, had indeed orders not to venture on a battle, for that would have been to act too groſs and open, to be, in any wiſe, palliated; but he continued all this ſummer commanding their armies. In Catalonia, count Stahremberg, after he received re-inforcements from Italy, advanced towards the Segra, and having, for ſome days, amuſed the enemy, he paſſed the River. The Spaniards deſign'd to give him battle; but Beſons refuſed to ingage: this provoked the Spaniards ſo much, that King Philip, after having writ to monſ. Beſons, thought it was neceſſary to leave Madrid, and go to the army: Beſons produced his orders from the King of France, to avoid all ingagements, with which he ſeemed much mortified. Stahremberg advanced and took Balaguer, and made the gariſon priſoners of war; and with that the campain, on that ſide, was at an end.

In Dauphiny.

Nothing of importance paſs'd on the ſide of Dauphiny: the Emperor continued ſtill to refuſe complying with the duke of Savoy's demands, about ſome territories in the duchy of Milan, which were to have been deliver'd to him: ſo he would not make the campain in perſon, and his troops kept on the defenſive. On the other hand, the French, as they ſaw they were to be feebly attack'd, were too weak to do any thing more than to cover their own country.

Affairs of Ireland.

Before I return to England, I ſhall juſt ſay a word

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word or two of the affairs of Ireland. The earl of Wharton, having been appointed lord-lieutenant, arrived at Dublin the 21ſt of April. The 5th of May, the parliament met, and his excellency made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he recommended "the conſideration of ſome new bills to prevent "the growth of Popery, and cultivate a good "underſtanding among Proteſtants, of whatever "denomination; and urged them, in her Majeſty's "name, to a perfect union and friendſhip among "themſelves, from a conſideration of the happy "union between England and Scotland."

The lords, in an addreſs to his excellency, took the opportunity, from this, to obſerve; "that "her Majeſty did, with juſtice, account the union "one of the greateſt glories of her reign; and, "on this occaſion, they begg'd leave to hope, in "due time, her Majeſty would perfect that great "work, by bringing her kingdom of Ireland alſo "into the union: and they depended upon his "excellency's goodneſs, that as he had been ſo con-"ſiderable an inſtrument in effecting the one, ſo "he would contribute his good offices to accom-"pliſh the other:" but his excellency anſwered, that he had no directions from her Majeſty to ſay any thing on that ſubject. Nothing remarkable having happen'd farther in this parliament, I ſhall only mention, that the lord-lieutenant came to the houſe of peers, the 30th of Auguſt, and having given the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, prorogued the parliament to the 13th of March next inſuing.

Having thus taken a view of the moſt material tranſactions abroad, during the year 1709, I ſhall now mention ſome domeſtic occurrences which happened in the ſame ſpace of time.

The poor Palatines come to England.

This ſummer came over from Holland ſix or 7000 poor people, who were recommended as great objects of charity, having been driven, as it was ſaid, out of their own country, by the French; and to excite the benevolence of well-diſpoſed people, they called themſelves Proteſtant Palatines, and ſo probably the groſs of them were, tho' it afterwards appeared, that many Papiſts herded among them. They were, for ſome time, provided for by the government, and being furniſhed with tents from the Tower, they incamp'd on Blackheath, and in a large field near Camberwel, where the compaſſionate citizens made them charitable viſits; and afterwards a brief was procured to raiſe money for them, which moſt of the biſhops incouraged by circular letters. However, it was thought convenient in the end, to ſend ſome of them back again, and others to Ireland and the plantations.

Addreſſes of the city and lieutenancy of London.

Upon advice of the glorious action and compleat victory of Malplacquet, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of the loyal city of London, in their formalities, waited on the Queen at Windſor, on the 10th of September, with an addreſs of congratulation, on that account. The 17th of the ſame month, the lord-mayor, and the reſt of her Majeſty's commiſſioners of lieutenancy for the city of London, preſented an humble addreſs to her Majeſty, on the ſame occaſion.

Proclamations for a thankſgiving.

The third of October, her Majeſty in council ordered proclamations to be iſſued, for a general and public thankſgiving, to be obſerved, on the 27d of November, for the ſignal and glorious ſucceſs of her Majeſty's arms, and thoſe of her allies, this campain.

The plague at Dantzick.

The plague being this year at Dantzick, and ſeveral other towns in the Baltick, an order of council was publiſh'd, that all ſhips, coming from thoſe parts to England ſhould perform quarentain.

Commiſſioners of the admiralty.

The begining of November, the Queen appointed Edward earl of Orford, ſir John Leake, ſir George Byng, George Dodington, eſq; and Paul Methuen, eſq; commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, in the room of the earl of Pembroke; on whom her Majeſty was pleaſed to beſtow a penſion of 3000 l. per annum, payable out of the revenue of the poſt-office, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices.

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Promotion of admirals.

She likewiſe appointed Matthew Aylmer, eſq; admiral and commander in chief of her Majeſty's fleet; the lord Durſley, vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, eſq; rear-admiral of the red; ſir John Jennings admiral, and ſir Edward Whitaker, vice-admiral of the white; and ſir John Norris admiral, and John Baker, eſq; vice-admiral of the blue.

The duke of Marlborough arrives at St James's.

The 8th of November, the duke of Marlborough landed at Alborough in Suffolk, from Holland, and, on the 10th, came to St. James's.

The parliament of Great-Britain meets.

The 15th of November, the parliament of Great-Britain met, and the Queen being come to the houſe of peers, and the commons ſent for up, her Majeſty made the following moſt gracious ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes:

"It is a great ſatisfaction to me, that I am able "to give you ſo good an account of the progreſs "of the war, ſince the laſt ſeſſion of parliament.

"In the begining of this year, our enemies "made uſe of all their artifices, to amuſe us with "falſe appearances, and deceitful inſinuations of "their deſire of peace, in hopes that from hence, "means might be found to create ſome diviſions "or jealouſies among the allies; but they were "intirely diſappointed in their expectations, and "ſuch meaſures were taken on that occaſion, as "made it impoſſible for them long to diſguiſe "their inſincerity. The operations of the war "were not delay'd; and the campain, which, not-"withſtanding the backwardneſs of the ſeaſon "immediately followed, has been at leaſt as glo-"rious for the allies, as any of thoſe which have "preceded it.

"God Almighty has been pleaſed to bleſs us "with a moſt remarkable victory, and with ſuch "other great and important ſucceſſes, both before "and after it, that France is thereby become much "more expoſed and open to the impreſſion of our "arms, and conſequently more in need of a peace, "than it was in the begining of this campain.

"However, the war ſtill continuing, I find "myſelf obliged again to deſire you, gentlemen of "the houſe of commons, to grant me ſuch ſupplies "as you ſhall judge neceſſary for the aſſiſting our "allies in all parts, and the vigorous proſecution of "our advantages; that we may put the laſt hand "to this great work, of reducing that exorbitant "and oppreſſive power, which has ſo long threatned "the liberties of Europe.

"I aſſure you, that all you give ſhall be care-"fully applied to the uſe of the war, if it continues, "or to the leſſening of the debts it has neceſſarily "occaſion'd, in caſe of a peace, which, tho' the "many wants and diſtreſſes of our enemies may "naturally lead us to expect, yet our own late ex-"perience may fully convince us, is not to be de-"pended upon any other way, than by being in a "condition to compel them to ſuch terms as may "be ſafe and honorable for all the allies.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I think it proper to take notice to you, that "the great dearth and ſcarcity under which our "neighbors abroad have ſuffered this year, begins "to affect us, in ſome meaſure, at home, by the "temptation of profit, in carrying out too much "of our corn, while it bears ſo high a price in fo-"rein parts.

"This occaſions many complaints from the "poor; for whoſe ſake I earneſtly recommend to "you, to take this growing evil into your con-

"ſideration;

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" ſideration; having not neglected any thing on " my part, towards the remedying of it, that the " law would allow.

" I cannot conclude, without obſerving to you, " of what great advantage it will be, at this time, " to the end we all propoſe to ourſelves, that the " greateſt diſpatch be given to the neceſſary prepa- " rations for carrying on the war."

The commons vote thanks, and a congratulatory compliment to the duke of Marlborough.

The firſt thing the commons did, on the day of their ſiting, after they had voted an addreſs to her Majeſty,, was the coming to this unanimous reſolution; " That the late victory obtained by his " grace the duke of Marlborough, and the other " great and important ſucceſſes of the laſt campain, " were ſo remarkable, that this houſe thought itſelf " obliged to expreſs how ſenſible they were of the " honor and advantage which this kingdom, and " the whole confederacy had received by his emi- " nent ſervices: and that mr. comptroler, mr. ſe- " cretary Boyle, mr. chancellor of the Exchequer, " mr. Onſlow, lord Coningſby, mr. Nevil, lord " William Powlet, mr. Craggs, mr. Compton, " mr. Walpole, mr. Dolben, ſir Charles Hedges, " lord Lumley, and ſir Charles Cox, ſhould give " his grace the thanks of this houſe, and congra- " tulate his grace's ſafety and return to Great-Bri- " tain." The commitee appointed by the commons, having on the 22d of November waited on his grace, with this reſolution, his grace was pleas'd to make the following anſwer:

His grace's anſwer.

" It is a very great honor and ſatisfaction to me, " that the houſe of commons is pleaſed to take ſo " much notice of my indeavors to ſerve the Queen " and my country.

" I cannot be juſt to all the officers and ſoldiers, " who have ſerved me, unleſs I take this occaſion " to aſſure you, that their zeal and affection for " the ſervice, is equal to the courage and bravery " they have ſhewn during this whole war."

Addreſſes of both houſes.

Both the lords and the commons took occaſion, in their addreſſes to her Majeſty, to ſhew the ſenſe they had of the great ſervices performed by his grace: the lords, in theirs, having expreſs'd their joy, in ſeeing her Majeſty ſiting on her throne again, after that great misfortune, which had depriv'd them of her preſence, during the laſt ſeſſion, and return'd their thanks for her ſpeech, ſaid; " the laſt campain was ſo very glorious, whether " they conſider'd the ſtrength of the towns which " were taken, or the difficulty and importance of " the victory, which was obtain'd, that they beg'd " leave to contragulate her Majeſty upon the con- " tinued ſucceſs of her arms, and thoſe of her " allies, under her general, the duke of Marl- " borough, whoſe conduct was worthy of the chief " command, in ſo juſt a war, and whoſe valor " was equal to the bravery of his troops." And the commons, in their addreſs, ſaid: " they beg'd " leave to congratulate her Majeſty upon the con- " tinued ſucceſſes of the laſt campain, particularly " the victory obtained near Mons, by the troops " of her Majeſty, and thoſe of her allies, under " the command of the duke of Marlborough. A " victory ſo remarkable in all its circumſtances, as " muſt convince her enemies, that the courage " and reſolution of her troops, conducted by ſo " great a general, are ſuperior to the greateſt diffi- " culties. They likewiſe took notice how much " they were obliged, by theſe glorious ſucceſſes, " to expreſs their ſenſe of the honor and advan- " tages which this kingdom, and the whole con- " federacy, had received by his eminent ſervices." And aſſured her Majeſty, " that they would inable " her to carry on the war in ſuch a manner, as " ſhould oblige the common enemy to accept a " peace, upon ſuch terms, as ſhould be a laſting " ſecurity to her Majeſty and her allies."

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The houſe of lords having ordered the lord high-chancellor to return thanks to the duke of Marlborough, for his eminent ſervices in the laſt campain; his lordſhip, at his grace's firſt appearance in that auguſt aſſembly, this ſeſſion, diſcharg'd his commiſſion, by a ſpeech to the following effect:

The lord-chancellor returns the duke of Marlborough the thanks of the houſe of lords.

" That he was commanded by the lords, to " give his grace the thanks of that houſe, for his " continued and eminent ſervices to her Majeſty, " and the public, during the laſt campain. Of " which nothing could be greater ſaid, than what " her Majeſty (who always ſpeaks with the utmoſt " certainty and exactneſs) had declared from the " throne; that it had been, at leaſt, as glorious " as any which have preceded it: but that this " repetition of the thanks of that auguſt aſſembly, " had this advantage of the former, that it muſt " be look'd upon as added to, and ſtanding on " the foundations already laid in the records of " that houſe, for preſerving his memory freſh to " all future times. So that his grace had alſo the " ſatisfaction of ſeeing this everlaſting monument " of his glory riſe every year much higher. To " which his lordſhip added his wiſhes, that God " might continue, in a wonderful manner, to pre- " ſerve ſo invaluable a life, that he might not " only add to that ſtructure, but finiſh all with " the beauties and ornaments of an honorable " and laſting peace."

To which his grace replied,

His grace's anſwer.

" I look upon it as the greateſt mark of honor " I could receive, that your lordſhips are pleaſed " to take notice of my indeavors to ſerve the " Queen and my country. I beg leave to do " juſtice to all the officers and ſoldiers, who " have ſerved with me. It is not poſſible for " men to ſhew more zeal for her Majeſty's ſer- " vice, or greater bravery, than they done."

A ſupply voted.

The parliament, in the mean time, had not ſet a month, before they had granted all the neceſſary ſums for the ſervice of the inſuing year, amounting in all to 6,384,266l. 7s. 1d. the particulars of which being very near the ſame the reader has already ſeen in the liſts of foregoing years, I ſhall not repeat them here

Ways and means.

For raiſing this large ſum, beſide the land, malt, and other uſual taxes, a new duty was laid upon houſes, or windows, as alſo on coals, culm and cinders, for thirty-two years, to raiſe a yearly ſum of 135,000l. to pay the intereſt of 1,500,000l. to be raiſed by way of lottery.

Proſecution o dr. Sacheverel.

The greateſt part of this ſeſſion was imployed in the proſecution of dr. Henry Sacheverel, preacher at St. Saviour's, in Southwark, for two ſermons delivered by him; one at the aſſizes at Derby, the 15th of Auguſt; the other at St. Paul's, on the 5th of November, laſt preceding. Theſe being printed, the commons voted them, on the 13th of December, to be " malicious, ſcan- " dalous, and ſeditious libels, highly reflecting " on her Majeſty and her government, the late " happy revolution, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion:" and order'd that the doctor ſhould appear before them, the next day, where he acknowleged the ſermons to be his; and ſaid he was incouraged to print the laſt, by ſir Samuel Garrard, the lord-mayor, before whom he had preach'd it: but the lord-mayor, who was a member of the houſe, denying he had ordered or incouraged the printing it, the whole weight of their reſentment fell upon the doctor. When he came before the houſe, dr. Lancaſter, vice-chancellor of Oxford, accompanied him thither, and he was met by above 100 eminent clergymen, in the court of requeſts, among whom were ſeveral of the Queen's chaplains. The commons ordered the doctor into cuſtody of their

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The commons having proceeded thus far in order to puniſh dr. Sacheverel, ſome members took occaſion from thence, to ſpeak in favor of another divine, whoſe principles were more agreeable to the ſentiments of the majority of that houſe; I mean mr. Benjamin Hoadley (now lord biſhop of Wincheſter) who, in ſeveral writings, had vindicated the revolution; and it was hereupon reſolved; 1. "That the reverend mr. Benjamin "Hoadley, rector of St. Peter's Poor, London, for "having often ſtrenuouſly juſtified the principles "on which her Majeſty and the nation proceeded, "in the late happy revolution, had juſtly merited "the favor and recommendation of this houſe. "2. That an humble addreſs be preſented to "her Majeſty, that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſ-"ed to beſtow ſome dignity in the church, on "the ſaid mr. Hoadley, for his eminent ſervices "both to the church and ſtate." This addreſs having been preſented to the Queen, by mr. ſecretary Boyle, her Majeſty anſwered: "That ſhe "would take a proper opportunity to comply "with their deſire." However the changes which ſoon after inſued at court, deprived mr. Hoadley of the beneſit of this favor during her Majeſty's reign.

An' 1710. The articles of impeachment being prepared, were carried up to the lords the 13th of January, and were in ſubſtance:

1. "That dr. Sacheverel, in the ſermons above "mention'd, did ſuggeſt and maintain, that the "means uſed to bring about the revolution were "odious and unjuſtifiable.

2. "That the toleration was unreaſonable, and "the allowance of it unwarantable.

3. "That the church of England was in great "peril and adverſity under her Majeſty's adminiſ-"tration; and

4. "That her Majeſty's adminiſtration, both in "eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs, tended to the de-"ſtruction of the conſtitution."

The doctor having denied the charge, in his anſwer, and the commons replied to it, he was brought to his trial, before the lords in Weſtminſter-hall, the 27th of February, at which her Majeſty was preſent, in a private apartment ſeveral days, and ſeats were provided for the whole houſe of commons, as a commitee, who attended the trial.

On this occaſion, many very learned ſpeeches were made, as well for as againſt the doctor, by the managers for the houſe of commons on one ſide, and the doctor's council on the other, for which I muſt refer to the trial at large. The queſtion was afterwards put in the houſe of peers, "that the "commons had made good their firſt article of im-"peachment, and alſo the ſecond, third and fourth "ſucceſſively;" and it was reſolved on every article, in the affirmative. The 20th of March, the lords being come down from their houſe, to the court erected in Weſtminſter-hall, the queſtion was again put to every peer, begining with the youngeſt, who having deliver'd their reſpective opinions, the lord-chancellor number'd them, and declared, that there were 120 of their lordſhips preſent; of whom ſixty-three had found dr. Sacheverel guilty of the high crimes and miſdemeanors charged on him, by the impeachment of the houſe of commons, and fifty-two had found him not guilty.

The doctor being brought to the bar, moved in arreſt of judgment; after which the lords adjourned to their houſe; and, on the 23d, the commons came up, with their ſpeaker to demand judgment; whereupon the lord-chancellor acquainted the doctor, who was again brought to the bar, that his exceptions in arreſt of judgment had been overruled; and then proceeded to pronounce the ſentence, as follows: Q. Ann, An' 1710.

"You, Henry Sacheverel, doctor in divinity, "ſhall be, and you are hereby injoined not to "preach, during the term of three years next in-"ſuing: that your two printed ſermons, refer'd "to by the impeachment of the houſe of commons, "ſhall be burnt before the Royal-Exchange, in "London, between the hours of one and two "o'clock, on the 27th of this inſtant March, by "the hands of the common hangman, in the pre-"ſence of the lord-mayor of London, and the "ſheriffs of London and Middleſex." The doctor being withdrawn, an order was made, directed to the lord-mayor and ſheriffs, to ſee the ſentence executed: but the lord-mayor inſiſting, that he was a member of the houſe of commons, he was excuſed from his attendance at burning of the ſermons, purſuant to their lordſhips ſentence, and ſo left the execution of it to the ſheriffs.

This favorable ſentence was look'd upon by the doctor's friends, rather as an acquital, than a condemnation: and that night, ſeveral of the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter were illuminated, and bonfires made, where every one who paſs'd by was compell'd to drink the doctor's health. There were, likewiſe, during the trial, ſeveral riots and diſturbances; and that part of the mob who eſpouſed his cauſe, expreſs'd their reſentment againſt the Diſſenters: The 1ſt of March in particular they reſorted to the noted mr. Burgeſs's meeting-houſe, near Drury-lane, and having pull'd down the pulpit, pews, wainſcot, and all that was combuſtible, they carried them to Lincoln's-inn-fields, and made a bone-fire of them, crying out High-church and Sacheverel. Several other meeting-houſes alſo ſuffered; but a ſtop was put to theſe riotous proceedings, and the mob diſpers'd, by a detachment of the horſe-guards; after which the guards were doubled, and the train'd-bands commanded to their arms, while the trial laſted, to prevent farther miſchief.

Books and pamphlets burnt.

The houſe of peers ordered, that a pamphlet, intitled; "an intire confutation of mr. Hoadley's "book of the original government," ſhould be burnt, at the ſame time and place, with dr. Sacheverel's ſermon. The commons alſo ordered the following books and papers to be burnt by the hangman: viz. 1. "A collection of paſſages "refer'd to by dr. Sacheverel, in anſwer to the ar-"ticles of impeachment. 2. The rights of the Chri-"ſtian church aſſerted. 3. A defenſe of the rights "of the Chriſtian church; and 4. A treatiſe on "the word Perſon, by —— Clarendon of the Tem-"ple, eſq;" And they were burnt accordingly.

The parliament having finiſh'd the buſineſs before them, her Majeſty came to the houſe the 5th of April, and having given the royal aſſent to the bills which were prepar'd, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

"It is with great ſatisfaction that I come hither "at this time, to return you my hearty thanks "for the many marks of duty and affection which "you have given me, thro' the whole courſe of "this ſeſſion.

"And I am to thank you, gentlemen of the "houſe of commons, in a very particular man-"ner, for the great diſpatch which you have "made, in providing, ſo early in the year, ſuch "great and effectual ſupplies for the public ſer-"vice: this cannot but make me very deſirous to "repeat the aſſurances I gave you, at the opening "of the ſeſſion, that they ſhould be very care-

"fully

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" fully applied to the uſes for which you have " deſign'd them.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I cannot ſufficiently expreſs to you my great " concern, that you have had ſo neceſſary an " occaſion of taking up a great part of your time " towards the latter end of this ſeſſion.

" I am confident no Prince that ever ſat on " the throne has been more really and ſincerely " kind to the church than myſelf, nor ever had a " more true and tender concern for its welfare and " proſperity than I have, and always ſhall con- " tinue to have.

" The ſuppreſſing immorality, and profane and " other wicked and malicious libels, is what I " have always earneſtly recommended; and ſhall " be glad of the firſt opportunity, to give my " conſent to any laws that might effectually con- " duce to that end: but this being an evil com- " plained of in all times, it is very injurious to " take a pretence from thence to inſinuate, that " the church is in any danger from my admini- " ſtration.

" I could heartily wiſh that men would ſtudy " to be quiet, and do their own buſineſs, rather " than buſy themſelves in reviving queſtions and " diſputes of a very high nature, and which muſt " be with an ill intention, ſince they can only tend " to foment, but not to heal, our animoſities and " diviſions.

" For my own part, it has pleaſed GOD to give " ſucceſs to my indeavors, for the union of my " two kingdoms, which I muſt ever eſteem as one " of the greateſt bleſſings of my reign: ſo I hope " his divine goodneſs will ſtill continue favorable, " and make me the happy inſtrument of that yet " more deſirable union of the hearts of all my " people, in the bonds of mutual affection; that " ſo there may remain no other contention among " you, but who ſhall exceed the other, in contri- " buting to advance our preſent happineſs, and " the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

" Finding, by the advices from abroad, that " our army has not yet taken the field, and that " the plenipotentiaries of France are ſtill in Hol- " land, I think it proper, at preſent, to make the " prorogation but for a very ſhort time."

The parliament prorogued.

Her Majeſty having finiſh'd her ſpeech, the parliament was, by her orders, prorogued to the 18th of that month.

Acts paſs'd.

The moſt important acts paſs'd this ſeſſion, beſide the land, malt, and uſual taxes, were the following: 1. " An act to prohibit the exportation " of corn, for a year, occaſioned by the exceſſive " dearneſs of grain. 2. An act for granting new " duties of exciſe, for a fund for raiſing 900,000 l. " by the ſale of annuities. 3. An act for laying " certain duties upon candles, and certain rates " upon monies to be given with clerks and ap- " prentices. 4. An act for explaining and in- " larging the act 6 Ann, for the ſecurity of her " Majeſty's perſon and government. 5. An act " for the better ſecurity of rents, and to prevent " frauds commited by tenants. 6. An act for re- " gulating the price and aſſize of bread. 7. An " act for incouraging learning, by veſting the " copies of printed books in the authors or purcha- " ſers of ſuch copies. 8. An act to continue the " act for recruiting her Majeſty's land-forces and " marines, for the ſervice of the year 1710. 9. An " act for imploying the manufactures, by incou- " raging the conſumption on raw-ſilk and mohair- " yarn. 10. An act to continue the act for pu- " niſhing mutiny and deſertion, &c. and, 11. An " act for raiſing the militia for the year 1710.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, the houſe of commons being informed, that the States-general were inclin'd to grant paſſes to French plenipotentiaries to come to Holland, in order to renew a negociation of peace, they addreſs'd her Majeſty, " that ſhe would be pleas'd to ſend the " duke of Marlborough forthwith into Holland." To which ſhe was pleas'd to anſwer, " that ſhe " had already given the neceſſary directions for " his immediate departure;" accordingly he departed the very next day, and arrived the 7th of March, N. S. in Holland; where I ſhall leave him, to give a brief account of a tranſaction at home, which was, as it were, prefatory to the great change in the miniſtry which ſoon after inſued. The parliament was not long prorogued, when the Queen took a ſtep which gave occaſion to ſevere reflections: the duke of Shrewſbury had left England towards the concluſion of the foregoing reign, as it was ſaid, becauſe a warmer climate was neceſſary for his health. He ſtaid ſeveral years at Rome, where he became acquainted with a Roman lady; who, upon his return to England, followed him to Augſburg, where ſhe overtook him, and declared herſelf a Proteſtant; upon which he married her there, and came back with her to England, in 1706. Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was thought (by the party he moſt favor'd) that his leaving England, and living ſo long out of it, while we were in ſo much danger at home, added to his marriage, gave juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion (of his principles, I preſume he means). The duke of Marlborough, and the lord Godolphin, lived ſtill in friendſhip with him, and ſtudied to overcome the jealouſies ſome had of him. He ſeem'd not to be concern'd at the diſtance in which he was kept from buſineſs; but a few days after the parliament was prorogued, the Queen, without communicating the matter to any of her miniſters, took the chamberlain's white ſtaff from the earl of Kent (whom, in recompence, ſhe advanced to be a duke) and gave it to the duke of Shrewſbury. This occaſioned no ſmall uneaſineſs; it being from thence concluded, that a total change of the miniſtry would quickly follow; and it was believed (ſays biſhop Burnet) there was a ſecret management, between him and mr. Harley, with the new favorite. The Queen's inclination to the latter, and her alienation from the ducheſs of Marlborough, began now to appear more and more, and broke out upon many, tho' trivial occaſions. The ducheſs retired hereupon from court, and was ſeen no more at it in this reign. The duke of Shrewſbury (continues our prelate) gave the miniſters very poſitive aſſurances, that his principles were the ſame they had been during the laſt reign, and were in no reſpect altered; upon which he deſired to enter into conferences with them; but there was now too much ground given for ſuſpicion.

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The duke of Marlborough ſent ſuddenly to Holland.

The duke of Shrewſbury made lord-chamberlain.

The ducheſs of Marlborough retires from court.

Negociations for a peace.

It is now time to take a view of what was doing all this while in Holland, with regard to the negociations for a peace. Tho' all thoughts of a treaty ſeem'd to be at a ſtand, towards the concluſion of the foregoing year; yet, upon the vigorous reſolutions taken in Great-Britain and Holland, for the continuance of the war, the court of France thought fit to make farther overtures of peace. In order to this, the marquis de Torcy ſent, on the 2d of January, another project, which being rejected by the allies, the French reſolved to make farther overtures, and diſpatch'd a cabinet-courier to the Hague, with a letter from the marquis de Torcy to monſ. Pettecum, importing:

Farther overtures made by France.

Rejected by the allies.

Others propoſed.

" That the French King conſented, that the " preliminaries, which were concerted the year be- " fore, ſhould be the foundation of the future " treaty; and had appointed the marſhal d'Uxel- " les, and the abbot de Polignac, his plenipo- " tentiaries, to treat with the allies of an equiva- " lent,

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" lent, for the thirty-ſeventh article, relating to " the evacuation of Spain; and that the ſaid " miniſters would be ready to meet thoſe of the " allies at Antwerp, or any other place, if the " allies would but ſend them the neceſſary paſſes."

This courier arrived the 2d of February, N. S. at the Hague, and his diſpatches were communicated the ſame day, by monſ. Pettecum, to the grand penſionary, who communicated them likewiſe the next day to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and the Queen of Great-Britain. Several conferences being hereupon held between theſe miniſters and the deputies of the States-general, in which meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen aſſiſted, the French courier was ſent back the 13th of the ſame month, with an anſwer from monſ. Pettecum, to the marquis de Torcy's letter, importing:

Reſolution of the allies.

" That the laſt declaration of the court of " France being in uncertain and ambiguous terms, " the allies required his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty " ſhould declare, in plain and expreſſive words, " that he conſented to all the preliminaries, except " the thirty-ſeventh article; which done, the allies " would ſend paſſes to his miniſters, to treat of " an equivalent for the ſaid article.

The French court was not long in reſolving, ſo earneſtly did they at leaſt appear, at that time, inclinable to a peace; for, on the 20th, another courier came to the Hague, with a ſatisfactory anſwer; and, on the 23d, was ſent back, with the paſſes for the French plenipotentiaries. There now ſeemed to be ſome hopes, that the French were in earneſt; however as the States foreſaw the ill effects of ſuffering the French miniſters to come into their country, who, by their agents, were every where ſtiring up the people againſt the government, as if they were prolonging the war without a neceſſity, they therefore appointed Gertruydenburg, to be the place to which the French miniſters were to come, to treat with the deputies whom they ſhould ſend to meet them.

Paſſes granted for the French plenipotentiaries.

The 9th of March, N. S. the French plenipotentiaries came to Anwerp, where they deſired that monſ. Pettecum ſhould meet them, before they entered into conference, but this was refus'd them: they therefore went on board a yacht prepared for them at Mordyke, where meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, the deputies of the States for this treaty, ſoon after met them, and had a conference with them. The next day they had another for ſeveral hours, after which the deputies ſet out for the Hague, to make their report to their High-mightineſſes, and the French plenipotentiaries went to Gertruydenburg.

They arrive at Gertruydenburg.

To give a particular account of the ſubject-matter of debate, in every day's conference, from the 21ſt of March when they begun again, to the latter end of July, when they intirely broke off, would be too tedious; I ſhall therefore only give the reader a ſummary account of what was propoſed and inſiſted on by the plenipotentiaries of France, on one ſide, and the deputies of the States on the other, without any regard to time and order.

A ſummary account of the whole negociation.

The French propoſed, that the dominions in Italy, with the iſlands, ſhould be given to one of the competitors for the Spaniſh monarchy, without naming which; tho' it was underſtood that they meant King Philip. The deputies did not abſolutely reject this; but ſhewed that the Emperor would never conſent to part with Naples, nor give the French ſuch footing in Italy; and of this the French ſeemed to be ſenſible. The firſt conference ended upon the return of the courier whom they ſent to Verſailles. They moved for another conference, and upon ſeveral propoſitions, there were ſeveral conferences renew'd. The French King deſiſted from his demand of Naples, but inſiſted on that of the places on the coaſt of Tuſcany. However, at length, they went off from that too, and inſiſted only on Sicily and Sardinia. The partition ſeeming now to be ſettled, the deputies preſſed the French plenipotentiaries to give them ſolid aſſurances of King Philip's quiting Spain and the Weſt-Indies; to this (upon notice firſt given to the court of France) they anſwer'd, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would enter into meaſures, with the allies, to force him to it. Many difficulties were ſtarted about the troops to be imployed, what their number ſhould be, and who ſhould command them; but, after all, it appear'd that the execution would be impracticable. It was then propoſed, that the French ſhould pay a ſum of mony annually during the war with Spain; but there again new difficulties aroſe, both in ſettling the ſum, and ſecuring the payment: the French offer'd, for the latter, the bankers of Paris; but theſe were no ſecurity; becauſe they would all be oblig'd to break whenever their King might have a mind they ſhould. In ſhort, it was evident, by all their proceedings, that they deſigned only to divide the allies, by this offer of a partition, to which the States conſented; and for which the French hoped the houſe of Auſtria would have been inraged againſt them. The French demanded an aſſurance of the deputies, that no other articles ſhould be inſiſted on but thoſe in the preliminaries; this the deputies abſolutely refuſed; for they had reſerved a power, by one of the preliminaries, to all the allies, to make farther demands, when a general treaty ſhould be opened: they ſaid indeed that they themſelves would demand no more; but they could not pretend to limit the reſt of the allies from their juſt demands. This was another artifice to provoke the Emperor and the duke of Savoy; as if the States intended to force them to accept of ſuch a peace as they ſhould preſcribe. In another conference the States rejected the offer of a ſum of mony for carrying on the war in Spain, and therefore inſiſted on it, that the French ſhould explain themſelves on the ſubject of evacuating Spain and the Weſt-Indies, in favor of King Charles III, before they could declare their intentions with relation to the partition; and added, that all farther conferences would be to no purpoſe till that was done.

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The French were now reſolved to break off the negociation; and therefore thought proper to call this demand of the States a formal rupture of the treaty; and upon the return of an expreſs, which they had ſent to Verſailles, after ſeveral letters had paſs'd between them and monſ. Pettecum, for decency ſake, they wrote a long letter to the grand penſionary, in the form of a manifeſto, and ſo returned back to France.

Some remarks on this treaty.

This treaty was manag'd by the French plenipotentiaries, on the part of France, and by the Dutch deputies, on the part of the allies, without any other miniſters being concern'd in it; and the count de Sinzendorf, the Imperial miniſter, having twice deſired to be preſent at the conferences, it was refuſed by the Dutch; whereupon he ſent an expreſs to Prince Eugene, who was then in the army, to know his opinion. He adviſed him to follow the example of the Britiſh miniſters, whoſe miſtreſs was ſatisfied to leave it wholly to the wiſdom and integrity of the States-general: but for what reaſon this was done, and whether the Dutch dealt unfairly by the allies, in this negociation, as many in England had, at that time, a jealouſy they did (tho' I hope without a cauſe) I ſhall not pretend to determine.

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mine (1). The laſt conference broke off with great heats, and monſieur Vanderduſſen having uſed ſome warm expoſtulations, the abbot de Polignac replied, in very high terms, reproaching the Dutch with ingratitude towards the crown of France (2). Whether France ever deſign'd any thing, by all this negociation, farther than to quiet their own people, and to amuſe and divide the allies, is yet a ſecret; "but if they really intended a peace, "the reaſon of their going off from it (ſays biſhop "Burnet) muſt have been the account they then "had of our diſtractions in England; which "might make them conclude, that we could not "be in a condition to carry on the war (3)."

Before I enter into a relation of the tranſactions of this campain, I ſhall juſt take a farther view of the great change in the face of affairs at home, that I may afterwards continue the affairs of war, in one connexion, to the end of the year.

A change of the miniſtry, in England begun.

The Queen's intention to make a change in her miniſtry began now to break out: the 14th of June, ſhe diſmiſs'd the earl of Sunderland, from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, without aſſigning any malverſation on his part, and gave the ſeals to the lord Dartmouth. This began to cauſe ſome uneaſineſs, both at home and abroad; but her Majeſty, to put a ſtop to, or at leaſt to leſſen it, told her ſubjects here, particularly the governor of the bank, and gave orders to her miniſters abroad, to aſſure her allies, that ſhe would make no other changes. Tho' others ſay, that ſhe told them, ſhe had ſome time before reſolved, to remove the earl of Sunderland, for particular reaſons of ſtate: but that ſhe had not yet determined to make any other change; and that when ever ſhe ſhould, ſhe would take care that the public credit might not be injured thereby. She likewiſe, ſay the former, ſaid the ſame thing herſelf, to the miniſters of the Emperor and the States reſiding here. Theſe concur'd to expreſs their joy in this reſolution of the Queen's, not to make any farther change, and added to it their advice, that ſhe would not diſſolve the parliament, as it began to be ſurmiſed ſhe would. This (ſays biſhop Burnet) was repreſented by thoſe who had never been vers'd in the negociations of Princes in an alliance, as a bold intruding into the Queen's councils; tho' nothing (adds he) is more common, than for Princes to offer mutual advices, in ſuch caſes (4).

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About two months after the change of ſecretary of ſtate (viz. the 8th of Auguſt) the Queen diſmiſs'd the earl of Godolphin, from the poſt of lord-treaſurer, and, the next day, put the treaſury in commiſſion: lord Powlet was the firſt in form in the commiſſion, but mr. Harley, who was at the ſame time appointed chancellor and under-treaſurer of the Exchequer, was the perſon with whom the ſecret was lodged; and it was (ſays biſhop Burnet) viſible, that he was the chief miniſter: and now it appear'd, that a total change of the miniſtry, and a diſſolution of the parliament were reſolved on. To enter into a diſcuſſion of the reaſons alledged for and againſt this ſtep of the Queen's, would carry me too far: I ſhall, therefore only obſerve, that, in September, the Queen came to council, and called for a proclamation to

A total change inſues.

(1) Thoſe who think the Dutch dealt unfairly by us in this treaty, and broke it off, when it was upon the point of being concluded, aſk; "How long would Spain have been able to have reſiſted the united force of the allies, without the aſſiſtance "of France? If it could be ſuppos'd that King Philip would have refus'd to comply with what his grandfather had ſtipulated "for him, and thereby hazarded loſing even Sicily and Sardinia, as well as his other dominions? Beſide, the barrier towns, "which were agreed to be deliver'd up to the Emperor and the Dutch, would have requir'd ſome years to conquer; and had "the French been never ſo inſincere, as was pretended, the allies would have gain'd ſuch an addition of ſtrength by them, "as would have render'd France much leſs formidable than it had been. Had it been our own caſe, and the fortune of war had "reduced us to a neceſſity of abandoning King Charles, and the French had inſiſted, that the allies ſhould not only not aſſiſt him, "but turn their arms againſt the Prince they had ſet up, would it not have been thought a moſt extravagant demand? And, "if it would, was it not much more unreaſonable to deſire the French King to enter into a war with King Philip, to whom "he was ſo nearly allied, by the ties of blood, as well as all other ingagements?

"We had indeed, (ſay they) ſo long talk'd of the boundleſs ambition and exorbitant power of France, that we affected to "have a dread of it, even after that kingdom was reduced ſo low, that our own generals gave out, they could not make head "againſt us another year.

"Every propoſal that was ſaid to come from France, was ſtill condemn'd as unreaſonable before it was examin'd; and if "the reaſonableneſs was ſo conſpicuous, that it could not be denied, than we were taught to exclaim againſt their inſincerity.

"In ſhort (continue they) ſome of the powers ingag'd in the grand alliance were ſuch gainers by the war, the charge "whereof was bore by their neighbors, that any peace whatever muſt have been to their diſadvantage; and, therefore, it is "not to be thought ſtrange, if they talk loudly of the enemy's inſincerity, and rejected all their propoſals. The daily acqui-"ſition of new dominions, at the expence of others, poſſibly put ſuch a biaſs upon their judgments, that they might, in ſome "meaſure, believe what they affirm'd. Life of Queen Ann, Vol. II. p. 237.

(2) The French, who retort the inſincerity they are charg'd with upon the Dutch, ſay, it was evident they did not act ingenuouſly, becauſe they would not ſuffer the conferences to be held at the Hague. They knew the populace, who were impatient for a peace, would there have diſcover'd the inſincerity of their rulers; who yet remember'd the diſſatisfaction which appear'd in them, upon monſieur de Torcy's leaving the Hague, the foregoing year, and that they then aſſembled, in a tumultuous manner, to preſs him not to depart till a peace was concluded. For this reaſon (ſay they) the Dutch inſiſted, that the French plenipotentiaries ſhould not come farther than Gertruydenburg, till the preliminaries were concluded, which, they very well knew, France could never accept of; and then, they could inſinuate to the people, that it was France refus'd a peace, tho' very reaſonable conditions were offer'd. Till now the courts of Vienna and London were accus'd of having rais'd difficulties to obſtruct the peace; but now the public began to be undeceiv'd, and it plainly appear'd that thoſe who were at the head of the government in Holland, were not ſo weary of the war as their ſubjects. Their diſingenuity was likewiſe viſible, when they propos'd to hold conferences, which they had not ſo much at heart, as they would have had it believ'd. The intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria ſerved to countenance the ambition they had of increaſing their own power. They were for taking advantage of the troubles of Europe, and the misfortunes of France, to appropriate to themſelves the reſt of the Low-countries, and the whole trade of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, that they might thereby be inabled to give laws to Europe. This was the view of the Dutch, and they ſhewed it plain enough by their conduct, in the conferences at the Hague and Gertruydenburg. They open'd the eyes of all the powers concern'd, and even of their own allies. Theſe, and the like, I ſay, were the reaſonings of the partiſans of France. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 16.

(3) It was obſerved, that from this time, the French were no more ſo deſirous of a peace, and that they talk'd of it with more indifference; whether it was, that they flattered themſelves with a diverſion from the North, or whether it was, as biſhop Burnet obſerves, the diviſions which began to break out at the court of Great-Britain, that made them hope ſome happy revolution in their favor. It is certain (as father Daniel obſerves) that, as matters went afterwards, the allies had cauſe to repent their not accepting the offers made them at Gertruydenburg; but there is on the contrary (as le Clerc remarks) all the reaſon in the world to believe, that they had not repented, if it had not been for ſome unforeſeen events, which produced a ſtrange change in the face of things; and, by raiſing the forlorn hopes of the French, were the occaſion of the allies loſing the principal advantages, which they had grounds to promiſe themſelves, from the glorious ſucceſſes of the war.

(4) It was likewiſe ſaid, in excuſe of her Majeſty's allies intermedling, or giving their advice in this matter, that there ſeem'd to be a parallel caſe, in the Queen's interpoſing at the court of Vienna, in favor of ſome of the Emperor's Proteſtant ſubjects; and even, in the parliament's deſire, that application ſhould be made to the Emperor, to ſend Prince Eugene to command in Spain. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 23.

diſſolve

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diſſolve the parliament, which ſir Simon Harcourt, (made attorney-general, in the room of ſir James Montague, who quited that poſt) had prepared: when it was read, the lord chancellor offered to ſpeak: but her Majeſty roſe up, and would admit of no debate; but ordered the writs for a new parliament to be prepared. About the ſame time, ſhe diſmiſs'd the lord Sommers, and, in his room, made the earl of Rocheſter lord preſident of the council: ſhe ſent to the duke of Devonſhire for the lord ſteward's ſtaff, and gave it to the duke of Buckingham: mr. Boyle was diſmiſſed from being ſecretary of ſtate, and mr. St. John (now lord Bolinbroke) had the ſeals: the earl of Derby was removed from being chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, and was ſucceeded by the lord Berkley.

Several great officers of ſtate, lay down their poſts.

Upon all theſe removes, the lord chancellor came, on the 23d of September, and deliver'd up the great ſeal; but the Queen, not looking for this, was ſurprized at it: and not knowing how to diſpoſe of it, ſhe (as biſhop Burnet ſays) with an unuſual earneſtneſs, preſs'd him to keep it one day longer; and the day following, ſhe having conſider'd the matter with her favorites, mrs. Maſham and mr. Harley, received it very readily. At firſt ſhe commited it to the cuſtody of three lords commiſſioners, viz. ſir Thomas Trevor, lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas; Robert Tracy, eſq; a judge in the ſame court, and mr. Scroop, baron of the Exchequer in Scotland; but it was ſoon after given to ſir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton deliver'd up his commiſſion of lord lieutenant of Ireland; and that was given to the duke of Ormond. and the earl of Orford, with ſome of the commiſſioners of the admiralty, withdrew from that board, in whoſe room others were put. Several other changes were made, both in civil and military imploys; which for brevity ſake I paſs by.

The campain in Flanders.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, having, as I ſaid above, left the management of the treaty at Gertruydenburg wholly to the French miniſters and the Dutch deputies, were no leſs intent on opening the campain than if no ſuch negociation had been on foot. To this end, they ſet out from the Hague, the 15th of April, N. S. for Tournay, near which place the confederate troops were ordered to rendezvous: it having been agreed, that they ſhould again act in concert this year, in the Netherlands. The French had imployed the whole winter in ſtrengthening their lines to cover Douay, and their other frontier towns, and they were now ſo vain to call them impregnable: notwithſtanding which the confederate generals reſoved their firſt attempt ſhould be on theſe impregnable lines. The neceſſary preparations being made, the army began their march, the 20th, at five in the afternoon, in two columns, the right, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, to Pont à Vendin, and the left, by Prince Eugene, to Pont-Oby on the Deule. This march, which was continued all night, was ſo ſudden and ſo well regulated, that, notwithſtanding the great preparations the French had made to fortify and defend their lines, and tho' the chevalier de Luxemburg was incamp'd for that purpoſe, near St. Amand, and the marſhal de Monteſquion (or d'Artagnan) had aſſembled about forty battalions and ſixty ſquadrons (ſome accounts ſay but thirty ſquadrons) near Lens and Bethune: yet the next day, about ſix in the morning, the Prince of Wirtemberg, and lieutenant-general Cadogan, with a detachment of fifteen battalions, and fifty ſquadrons, from the duke of Marlborough's column, enter'd theſe lines, at Pont à Vendin, without any oppoſition; the few troops, who guarded that poſt, being ſurpriz'd, and retiring at the approach of the confederates, without firing one ſhot. The French not apprehenſive that the confederate army was ſo near them, were moſtly out that morning, in queſt of forage, ſo that their generals had hardly any cavalry with them; and this likewiſe occaſion'd the loſs of a good part of their officers baggage, their ſervants being with the foragers.

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The confederates enter the French lines.

The enemy retreats with precipitation before them.

Upon this almoſt unexpected ſucceſs, the whole confederate army paſſed the lines, the right under the command of the duke of Marlborough, at Pont à Vendin, and the left, under that of Prince Eugene, at Courieres. This ſtruck ſuch an alarm among the enemy's troops, which were aſſembled near Lens, that they retreated, with all the diligence they were able, partly toward Arras, and partly toward Douay. The allies incamp'd, that night, in the plain of Lens, and the 22d marched again very early, to diſlodge the French, who having aſſembled their troops near Vitry, behind the Scarpe, made a ſhew as if they would diſpute the paſſage of that river. The chevalier de Luxemburg, and the horſe from Arras and Bethune, had for that purpoſe, joined the marſhal de Monteſquion; but tho' they were advantageouſly poſted; yet being much inferior in number, and the ſoldiers not having yet recovered their ſurprize and conſternation, they retired with great confuſion and precipitation, towards Cambray, as ſoon as they ſaw the confederate troops approach, leaving part of their tents and baggage behind them. The allies having laid their bridges over the Scarpe, the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel was detach'd, with twelve ſquadrons, to fall on the enemy's rear; but they retired ſo faſt, and broke down ſo many bridges, as ſoon as they had paſs'd them, that his highneſs could overtake but a ſmall number of them, and thoſe he made priſoners of war. The priſoners who were taken reported, that very hard words paſſed between the marſhal d'Artagnan, and the chevalier de Luxemburg: the latter laying the blame of the allies having paſs'd the lines on the marſhal, who would not believe they were in a condition to attempt them; while the marſhal blamed the former for not having joined him, as he had orders to do. The army under the duke of Marlborough paſs'd the Scarpe that night, his grace incamping his right near Vitry, on the ſame river, his left at Gouy, and fixing his quarters at the extremity of his left at Gouleſſin.

The ſiege of Douay reſolved on.

The army under Prince Eugene, march'd in the mean time on the other ſide of the Scarpe, between that river and the canal, in order to inveſt Douay, the ſiege of which place had been reſolved on (1).

Douay beſieged.

The 23d of April, the confederates inveſted Douay, in which was a gariſon of ſixteen battalions, beſide three ſquadrons of dragoons, and ſix other independent companies, and three battalions more in fort Scarpe, the whole commanded by general Albergotti, a brave and experienced officer. The trenches were opened in the night, between the 4th and 5th of May, at two attacks, on the north ſide of the Scarpe, between the gates of Ocre,

(1) All the troops which were to form the confederate army being now arrived in the camp, it was computed to conſiſt of 155 battalions, and 262 ſquadrons; having 262 pieces of cannon, twenty mortars and hawbitzers, and forty pontons. The enemy's army, on the other hand, was computed, at that time, to conſiſt of 204 battalions and 308 ſquadrons, having ninety-ſix pieces of cannon, ſixteen mortars and hawbitzers, and thirty-ſix pontons. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 32.

By this account, the French army was much ſuperior to that of the allies; but if we will believe their accounts, the confederate army conſiſted of 138,000 men, and was ſuperior to theirs by 40,000 men. Le marq. de Quincy, Hiſt. mil. de Louis le grand, Tome VI. p. 318. This computation is however too extravagant to gain belief.

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and Eſquerchien, the reſt of the town being covered by inundations. This ſiege proved a very warm one; the gariſon made ſeveral briſk ſallies, and killed the beſiegers a great number of men. The 29th of May, the marſhal de Villars paſs'd the Scarpe, and advanced towards the allies, as he pretended, with a reſolution to fight them; upon which twenty battalions from the ſiege, and eleven more from the intrenchments between Dechey and Fierin, join'd the grand army, and all other neceſſary diſpoſitions were made to receive them: but the marſhal having continued, for ſome time, within muſket-ſhot of the confederate army, thought fit to retire; and it now evidently appeared, that he had no other deſign, but to keep them in continual alarm, and thereby retard the ſiege: it was therefore thought fit to ſend back the troops, and, to prevent any ſurprize from the enemy, orders were given to join the ſeveral redoubts made before the front of the camp, by an intrenchment, and a detachment was ſent to ſecure the poſt of Pont à Vendin. The town held out to the 25th of June, and then the gariſon beat a parly, and agreed to ſurrender the place, together with fort Scarpe, on honorable terms, having held out a ſiege of near two months againſt an army of 100,000 men. The allies found in the place forty pieces of braſs cannon, 200 iron cannon, eight mortars, with ammunition and ſmall arms; but a very ſmall ſtore of proviſions. The loſs of the allies, in this ſiege, was 8007 officers and men; which French authors, and, in particular the marquis de Quincy, magnify to twelve or 13,000 men.

And taken,

Bethune beſieged.

The 15th of July, the allies inveſted Bethune, and, on the 23d, the trenches were opened, at two attacks. Monſieur de Villars was ſo far from attempting the relief of this place, that he intrench'd himſelf in a very ſtrong camp, from whence he frequently ſent out parties to diſturb the convoys that were coming to the confederate army, and ſometimes fell upon their foragers. In one of theſe rencounters, which happen'd the 24th of Auguſt, a great many men were kill'd, and as both armies ſent freſh troops to ſupport their detachments, it had very near brought on a general battle; but at length, the French drew off their men, and retired to their camp. Bethune, having no hopes of relief, beat a parly the 28th, and ſurrendered the next day upon honorable terms. The enemy loſt near 2000 men, in the defenſe of this place, and the loſs of the beſiegers was computed at 3365 officers and men kill'd and wounded.

And taken.

St. Venant and Aire beſieged;

The enemy continuing ſtill to decline an ingagement, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene reſolved to make the beſt of the remaining part of the ſeaſon, by laying ſiege to St. Venant and Aire, at one and the ſame time, and thereby to ſecure the navigation of the Lys. Theſe two places were inveſted the 6th of September; but the French having the good fortune to ſurprize a great convoy of ammunition, which was coming up the Lys from Ghent, on the 19th, they kill'd 200 of the guard, made 600 priſoners, and took or deſtroy'd the ammunition; which loſs very much retarded the two ſieges. However St. Venant ſurrendered, on the 30th, upon honorable terms, and the gariſon was conducted to Arras. Aire made a brave defenſe, and it was the 8th of November before the gariſon beat a parly, when they likewiſe obtained honorable terms, and were conducted to St. Omers. The loſs of the allies, at this ſiege, was computed at near 7000 men. The gariſon, which, at the begining of the ſiege, conſiſted of fifteen battalions, was reduced to 3628 men, and 1500 wounded, who remain'd in the place (1).

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The duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene left the confederate army, the 16th of November, having ſettled their winter-quarters, and arrived the 28th at the Hague; where having held ſeveral conferences with the grand penſionary, the deputies of the States, and the forein miniſters, they departed, the Duke for London, and the Prince for Vienna,

Campain on the Rhine.

On the Rhine, both parties being equally unable to enter upon action, the campain paſs'd without any thing conſiderable happening: the French, who in the winter threatned the Empire with a new invaſion, were obliged to weaken their forces on that ſide, to cover their own frontiers, and ſtrengthen their armies in the Netherlands; and the Germans, thro' the uſual ill management of their affairs, were not in a condition to improve that fair opportunity of invading France; and ſo both armies remain'd inactive. The Elector of Hanover wiſely laid down the command of the army of the Empire, not thinking it fit to hazard his reputation any longer, on the promiſes of ſuch as had ſo groſly deceived him in preceding campains; ſo that command was given to count Gronsfeldt.

And in Italy.

The affairs in Italy received this year no viſible alteration; for the diſputes about Comacchio, and the actual recognition of the title of King Charles, being ſtill in the ſame condition, the Imperialiſts remained in poſſeſſion of that place, and the embaſſadors of the Emperor and his Catholic Majeſty, at Rome, did not appear in public with that character; no more than did ſignor Albani, the Pope's nephew, who, in the mean time, continued at Vienna.

Campain in Spain.

In Spain, King Philip went this ſummer to his army in Arragon, in order to hazard a deciſive battle with King Charles, who was likewiſe at the head of his forces. It was however the end of July before they came to an action; but then there was one of great importance near Almanara. The main body of King Philip's horſe deſign'd to cut off a part of King Charles's foot, which was ſeparated from the cavalry commanded by general Stanhope. He drew his whole body together; and tho' he was much inferior in number, he ſent to King Charles for orders to ingage the enemy. It was not without ſome difficulty, and after re-iterated preſſing inſtances, that he got leave to fall on. As the two bodies were advancing one againſt the other, general Stanhope rode at the head of his body, and the Spaniſh general, ſuppos'd to have been lieutenant-general Amenzega, did the ſame. The two generals began the action, and Stanhope was ſo fortunate to kill the Spaniard: his troops animated with the example and ſucceſs of their general, fell on, and broke the Spaniſh horſe ſo intirely, that King Philip loſt the beſt part of his cavalry in that action; upon which he retired toward Saragoſſa; but was cloſely followed by King Charles; and, on the 20th of Auguſt, they came to a general ingagement, which ended in a total defeat: and by

(1) Thus ended the campain in the Netherlands, which, tho' not ſo glorious as ſome of the former, was, however, of great advantage to the allies, who during the courſe of it, made themſelves maſters of two towns of vaſt importance, Douay and Aire (tho' the latter coſt them a little too dear, and almoſt as many men as Douay) and two others of leſs conſideration, Bethune and St. Venant. On the other hand, we muſt confeſs, that the enemy, after the ſurprizing of their lines, carried their chief point, which was to cover Arras, and thereby to ſtop the allies from penetrating into Picardy, which otherwiſe they might have done. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 87,

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this means, Arragon was again in King Charles's hands. King Philip was oblig'd to quit Madrid, and King Charles haſtened thither; but found the grandees had all followed his antagoniſt. The inſincerity of the King of France appear'd now in a clear light; for, on this occaſion, he might eaſily have perform'd the obligation of the thirty-ſeventh article of the preliminaries, and have obliged his grandſon to have evacuated Spain; but inſtead thereof he ſent him aſſiſtance. King Charles continued in Caſtile till the begining of December; but not being ſufficiently ſupported then, was oblig'd to return to Catalonia for the ſecurity of that principality. The battle of Brihuega was fatal to general Stanhope, and the Engliſh under his command, who were taken priſoners; but whether this misfortune was owing to his miſconduct, by unadviſedly taking a wrong march, and ſeparating from the Imperialiſts, or the neglect of general Stahremberg to ſupport him, in time, as ſome ſay he might have done, and ſo ſacrific'd him to envy, has been matter of great debate, and a caſe too nice for me to pretend to determine. The inſtability of human proſperity appear'd in a moſt ſurprizing manner, in this campain in Spain; both parties being conquerors, and both conquer'd in their turns; but King Philip had certainly the advantage in the end, whereas King Charles's affairs, notwithſtanding he had once this ſummer triumph'd in the capital of the Spaniſh Monarchy, began to have a very diſmal aſpect; for beſide that he was now confined within the narrow bounds of the principality of Catalonia; King Philip gained this ſummer a very material advantage, by having invincible demonſtrations of the affection of the Caſtilians to his perſon and government; inſomuch that neither his two defeats at Almanara and Saragoſſa, nor his retreat from Madrid, nor the preſence of King Charles, with a veteran victorious army, were able to ſhake their loyalty to the houſe of Bourbon.

In Portugal.

Nothing material happen'd in Portugal this year; except that, about the begining of July, the marquis de Bay, who then commanded the Spaniſh forces in Eſtremadura, made himſelf maſter of the town of Miranda de Duero, by ſurprize, took 400 men of regular troops and militia in it; and then formed the blockade of Braganza; but this was abandon'd by the marquis de Riſbourg, upon the news of the battle of Saragoſſa; and ſoon after the Portugueſe took, from the Spaniards, Xerez-de-los Cavelleros, Barcarota, Alcanza and Puebla, places of great name, tho' of a very ſmall conſideration, being ſcarce better than villages.

In Piedmont.

Nothing paſs'd on the ſide of Piedmont, the duke of Savoy complaining ſtill of the Imperial court, and thereupon refuſing to act vigorouſly; he had beſide a very feaſible pretenſe for not puting himſelf at the head of the army, being at the very juncture indiſpoſed, as well as his two ſons, the Prince of Piedmont and the duke of Aoſta. The count de Thaun took upon him the command of the confederate army: but nothing was done worthy of notice.

Maritime affairs.

Our exploits at ſea, this year, were not very conſiderable: ſir Edward Whitaker was left the preceding winter with a ſquadron in the Mediterranean, from whence returning for England, in the month of April, he left a ſquadron there, under command of vice-admiral Baker, who joined ſir John Norris, with another ſquadron, under his command, the 24th of June, at Terragona. Sir John ſail'd from Plymouth the 12th of January, and arrived at Port-Mahon the 13th of March, from whence he afterwards ſail'd to Barcelona, and from thence to Sardinia, where he prevented a deſcent intended by the enemy on that iſland.

The deſign of the enemy, in thoſe parts, being defeated, the fleet ſet ſail again for Barcelona, where they arrived the 18th. The next enterprize was, by particular order from England, on the town of Cette, on the coaſt of Languedoc. The fleet departed from Barcelona, on this undertaking, the 9th of July, and arrived on that coaſt the 13th. They ſoon made themſelves maſters of the town and fort of Cette, and thoſe of Agde.

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The troops, being about 700 men, beſide ſome marines, were put on ſhoar the day of their arrival, and, the next morning by break of day, marched towards the town, while ſome ſhips were appointed to batter the fort at the Mole-head, upon which the town, after a very ſmall firing, ſurrendered, as did the fort, in which were eighteen pieces of cannon mounted. A detachment of 300 men being left to ſecure this place, major-general Seiſſan, with the remainder of the troops, marched the ſame day to Agde, where, having taken a poſt which makes the iſle of Cette, the town capitulated that night, and ſurrendered without reſiſtance. But they were obliged to abandon their conqueſts in a few days: for the duke of Roquelaure, with 400 dragoons and 2000 of the militia, had formed a deſign to recover theſe places, the 15th, by croſſing the lake unexpectedly into the iſland of Cette. Sir John Norris geting intelligence of it, maned and armed all the boats of the fleet, and, going with them on the lake, prevented this attempt. However, being informed the 17th, that the duke de Noailles was arrived at Meze, and that 2000 horſe, each with a foot ſoldier behind him, were come within four miles of Agde; and beſide, the detachment which was left to ſecure the bridge of Agde, having, upon a falſe alarm, abandoned it, which poſt they now wanted time to regain, it was thought adviſeable to re-imbark the troops, and abandon their conqueſt, which they did, with the loſs only of an advanced guard of fifty men, who did not retire as they were ordered. In this all our hiſtorians agree; but F. Daniel pretends we loſt between three and 400 men in this expedition. A body of 600 of the enemy (ſays he) was defeated on the mountain of St. Clare: 100 were taken priſoners, and a great number was drowned in the re-imbarkation: on our ſide (continues he) we loſt but one grenadier and ſome horſes. De Larrey adds to this, that the confederates were obliged to leave behind them the arms and ammunition which they had landed. He allows, however, that tho' this expedition had not all the ſucceſs expected from it, this good effect for the allies, was the conſequence of it, that it favored count Stahremberg's deſigns. To which we may add, more particularly, that it hinder'd the duke de Noailles from joining King Philip, and, at the ſame time, gave the confederate troops, in the neighborhood of Gironne, an opportunity of re-inforcing King Charles, which made way for the two victories which his Catholic Majeſty ſoon after obtained. This expedition being thus ended, ſir John Norris ſailed again, the 19th, and having ſhewn himſelf off of Toulon and Marſeilles, ſtood into the road of Hyeres, where he deſtroyed a French Scanderoon-ſhip richly laden. He afterwards repaired to Port-Mahon, and remained the winter in the Mediterranean. In America, a ſquadron under the command of captain George Martin, as commadore, with ſome land-forces, under the command of colonel Francis Nicholſon, went upon an expedition againſt Port-Royal, on the coaſt of Nova Scotia, then in poſſeſſion of the French, to which, having taken it after a ſhort reſiſtance, they gave the name of Annapolis-Royal.

The parliament meets.

I return now to England, where the new parliament of Great-Britain met, the 25th of November,

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ber, and the Queen having directed the commons to chuſe a ſpeaker, the choice fell on William Bromley, one of the repreſentatives for the univerſity of Oxford, who being preſented and approved, the 27th, her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

Her Majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have, by calling this parliament, made appear the confidence I place in the duty and affection of my ſubjects; and I meet you here with the greateſt ſatisfaction, having no reaſon to doubt but that I ſhall find ſuch returns as will add new life to our friends, and intirely diſappoint the hopes of our enemies: to this end I ſhall recommend to you what is abſolutely neceſſary for our common ſafety.

" The carrying on the war, in all its parts, particularly in Spain, with the utmoſt vigor, is the likelieſt means, with God's bleſſing, to procure a ſafe and honorable peace for us and all our allies, whoſe ſupport and intereſt I have truly at heart. For this purpoſe, I muſt aſk of you, Gentlemen of the houſe of commons, the neceſſary ſupplies for the next year's ſervice; and let me put you in mind, that nothing will add ſo much to their efficacy as unanimity and diſpatch.

" I cannot, without great concern, mention to you, that the navy and other offices are burden'd with heavy debts; which ſo far affect the public ſervice, that I moſt earneſtly deſire you to find ſome way to anſwer thoſe demands, and to prevent the like for the time to come: the juſtice of parliament, in ſatisfying former ingagements, being the certain way for preſerving and eſtabliſhing national credit. I am ſenſibly touch'd with what my people ſuffer by this long and expenſive war; to which, when it ſhall pleaſe God to put an end, the flouriſhing condition of my ſubjects ſhall be as much my care, as their ſafety is at preſent.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The eyes of both friends and enemies are upon you: the way to give ſpirit to the one, and to defeat the reſtleſs malice of the other, is to proceed in ſuch a manner as becomes a Britiſh parliament.

" I ſhall, in the plaineſt words, tell you my intentions; and I do this with the greateſt ſatisfaction, becauſe I depend upon their being agreeable to you.

" I am reſolved to ſupport and incourage the church of England, as by law eſtabliſh'd; to preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution, according to the union; and to maintain the indulgence by law allow'd to ſcrupulous conſciences.

" And that all theſe may be tranſmited to poſterity, I ſhall imploy none but ſuch as are heartily for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; the intereſt of which family no perſon can be more truly concern'd for than myſelf.

" Theſe are my reſolutions; and your concurrence with me, in a ſteady purſuit of them, will beſt manifeſt your zeal for our religion, for the intereſt of our country, for your own ſafety, and for my honor."

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In anſwer to this ſpeech, the lords preſented a very dutiful addreſs to the Queen, on the 29th, in which " they thank'd her for her ſpeech, and intirely agreed with her Majeſty in the ſeveral reſolutions ſhe had declared ſo plainly and ſo affectionately to her parliament: they repeated their thanks for her Majeſty's great care for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, expreſſed their ſatisfaction in the aſſurances her Majeſty had given to maintain and incourage the church of England;" and concluded with ſaying, " they had no more to add, but that they would carefully indeavor to act with unanimity and diſpatch."

Addreſs of the lords.

To which her Majeſty replied;

My lords,

" I am very glad to find I have your concurrence in the reſolutions I declared to you, and give you thanks for this addreſs, ſo full of affection to me and zeal for the public good."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

The commons, who did not preſent their addreſs till the 2d of December, " thank'd the Queen for her moſt gracious ſpeech, and for that confidence ſhe had been pleas'd to place in their duty and affection, aſſuring her Majeſty they would make ſuch returns as would convince her that confidence had not been miſplaced. They promiſed effectually and ſpeedily to grant the neceſſary ſupplies, and to continue to do ſo till a ſafe and honorable peace ſhould be obtain'd. They told her Majeſty they would inquire into the heavy debt the nation was burden'd with, trace the ſource of that great evil, and apply a ſuitable remedy: that they heartily concur'd in all ſhe had been pleas'd to recommend to them; and particularly, as true ſons of the church, to ſecure its doctrine, diſcipline and worſhip; as fellow-Chriſtians, to let Proteſtant Diſſenters quietly injoy that indulgence which the law has allow'd them; as Britains, to preſerve the union between the two parts of Great-Britain; and as lovers of our excellent conſtitution, both in church and ſtate, ſteadily to adhere to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover.

Addreſs of the commons.

To this addreſs her Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer:

Gentlemen,

" I am extreamly well pleas'd with your addreſs, and I fully depend upon the aſſurances you give me of your concuring in all the particulars I have recommended to you.

" You may depend upon my care to incourage thoſe whoſe principles are agreeable to our conſtitution in church and ſtate (1)."

The Queen's anſwer.

The commons made good their aſſurances to the Queen, and, at ſeveral times, voted 6,600,000 l.

A ſupply voted.

(1) It is remarkable, that the Queen, in her ſpeech, recommended, in general, the carrying on of the war, in all its parts, and eſpecially in Spain; but no mention was made, as had been uſual in the foregoing years, of the ſucceſſes in Flanders, or of the conduct of the duke of Marlborough: nor were they ſo much as hinted at in the addreſſes either of the lords or commons; which undoubtedly was owing to the change of the miniſtry. " The lords (ſays biſhop Burnet) made an addreſs " of an odd compoſition to her Majeſty, which ſhewed it was not pened by thoſe who had pened their former addreſſes: " inſtead of promiſing to do all that was poſſible, they only promiſed to do all that was reaſonable, which ſeem'd to import a " limitation, as if they had apprehended that unreaſonable things might be aſked of them; and the concluſion was in a very " cold ſtrain of rhetoric; for they ended with ſaying, they had no more to add: the commons (adds the ſame author) were " more hearty in their addreſſes." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 558. And another author ſays, the addreſs of the commons was univerſally approved; yet (adds he) it had little or no effect in relation to the public funds, which had fallen conſiderably upon the change of the miniſtry; there was ſtill an uneaſineſs among the monied men; eſpecially as they ſeemed now to be under apprehenſions that the duke of Marlborough would be either laid aſide, or reſign his command. This jealouſy was increas'd, when, on the 28th of November, the earl of Scarborough made a motion, in the houſe of peers, " that " the thanks of that houſe be returned to the duke of Marlborough;" and upon ſome objections being raiſed againſt it by the duke of Argyle, Marlborough's friends being apprehenſive, that if the queſtion were put, the negative might carry it, choſe rather to drop the motion, by ſaying it would be time enough to ſpeak of that matter when the duke was come home; upon which the houſe adjourn'd. Annals of Q. Ann, Vol. IX. p. 263.

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and upwards, for the ſervice of the year 1711, of which 1,500,000 l. was for the ſervice of the war in Spain and Portugal, 103,000 l. for the relief of the inhabitants of the iſland of Mevis, which the French had almoſt deſtroy'd the preceding year: the reſt of the mony was for the ſame ſervices as as had been provided for in the preceding years.

Ways and means.

The ways and means for raiſing this vaſt ſum were by a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound; the malt-tax of four ſhillings the quarter; a fund given for raiſing 135,000 l. per ann. for thirty-two years, to anſwer the prizes of a lottery erected for raiſing 1,500,000 l; another lottery for two millions, divided into claſſes, for which another fund was provided of 186,670 l. per ann. for thirty-two years: and ſuch diſpatch was given in forwarding the ſupply, that, on the 23d of December, the land-tax bill received the royal aſſent, after which both houſes adjourned to the 2d of January.

Mr. Hill named envoy extraordinary and plenipotentary to the States-general, &c.

The 12th of December, the Queen appointed Richard Hill, eſq; to be her envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United Provinces, and to the council of State appointed for the government of the Spaniſh Netherlands, in the room of lieutenant general Cadogan, whom her Majeſty had thought fit to recall from that imployment. About the ſame time, the commiſſions of lieutenant-general Meredith, major-general Mackartney, and brigadier Honeywood were ſuperſeded. An information was ſaid to have been laid before the Queen, that theſe three officers had, in their cups, "drank damnation and confuſion to the new mi-"niſtry, and to thoſe who had any hand in turning "out the old;" which was underſtood as an imprecation on the Queen herſelf. Some perſons who came over about that time from Flanders, undertook to extenuate their crime, by avering, that they only "drank a health to the duke of "Marlborough, and confuſion to all his enemies," a thing uſual in all armies; tho' it happened at this time, to be equivocal. Be this, as it will, mr. Granville, ſecretary at war, was directed to ſignify to them, "That the Queen had no farther occa-"ſion for their ſervice; but that, out of her gra-"cious bounty; ſhe was pleaſed to allow them to "ſell their reſpective regiments." Brigadier Honeywood, being then in London, her Majeſty's pleaſure was ſignified to him here; and the order for ſuſpending the other two was ſent to the duke of Marlborough, who was then at the Hague, who tranſmited it to them at the Briel, where they were ready to imbark for England (1).

The commiſſions of three general officers ſuperſeded.

Their ſuppoſed crime.

Extenuated by ſome.

The duke of Marlborough arrives in London.

The duke of Marlborough, having imbark'd in Holland, the 23d of December, met with contrary winds; and did not reach Solebay, till the 26th, at five in the afternoon; his grace lay that night at Chelmsford, and arrived the 28th in London. At his entrance into the city, about five in the evening, his coach was attended by a great number of people, with links and flambeaux; who, by their acclamations, expreſs'd their joy at his happy return. The duke, tho' he was very ſenſible of the inſtability and emptineſs of the applauſe of the vulgar, could not but have ſome ſatisfaction to ſee himſelf welcom'd by thoſe, who ſome months before were tumultuous in favor of a perſon who was the main occaſion, or rather pretence of the late diſtractions and alterations, which ſeemed principally intended to reach, if not himſelf perſonally, at leaſt his neareſt relations. His grace, however, who was always averſe to popularity, thought it prudence, at this juncture, to avoid the leaſt ſhew of it; and therefore ordered his coach, inſtead of driving directly to St. James's, to go to Montague-houſe, from whence, after having reſted an hour or two, he went out by a private door. Upon his arrival at St. James's, he immediately waited on the Queen, who gave him a very gracious reception, and diſcourſed with him about half an hour, after which his grace retired to his apartment.

Meets with a gracious reception from the Queen.

The duke was ſummon'd to, and aſſiſted at a commitee of the privy-council the next morning; and, the ſame and following days, received the viſits of the earl of Rocheſter, preſident of the council, the earl of Powlet, firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, the ſecretaries of ſtate, and other perſons in the miniſtry. It was however, for many days, a queſtion with the public, whether his grace had any interview with mr. Harley, who had now the greateſt ſhare, both in the Queen's confidence, and in the management of affairs. Thoſe who pretended to have a near inſight into the ſecrets of the court, ſeemed perſuaded, that her Majeſty had reſolved to remove all ſtrangeneſs and coldneſs that might be between them; and the event juſtified their conjecture.

Is viſited by the new miniſters.

The Queen reſolves to reconcile the duke and mr. Harley.

The uncertainty whether the duke of Marlborough would be continued in his command in Flanders, caſt, in the mean time, a freſh damp on the public credit: it was therefore the general wiſh and expectation of the moſt wealthy and ſubſtantial citizens, that, in order to remove this fatal doubt, his grace ſhould receive the thanks, if not of both, at leaſt of either of the two houſes of parliament. But his grace's friends in the houſe of peers, having already failed in one motion for it (as I have ſaid above) were ſhy of attempting it a ſecond time; eſpecially, as they found the majority of the houſe inclin'd to paſs that compliment on the earl of Peterborough: and as for thoſe he had in the houſe of commons, they found their number too ſmall to dare attempting it at all. Thus his grace, inſtead of having the thanks of either houſe, had the mortification to ſee an invidious and ſcurrilous letter publiſhed, ſaid to have been writen to the mayor of St. Albans, and containing what the writer of it called, "Reaſons why a cer-"tain great general had not the thanks of either "of the two houſes of parliament, &c" (2).

The duke not thank'd by either houſe of parliament.

The duke of Marlborough however, who, at

(1) The general opinion was, that it was thought neceſſary to make this example, to keep the officers of the army within bounds: it having been reported that ſome, out of an exceſs of reſpect to the duke, had been ſo unwary, as to drop doubtful expreſſions of ſtanding by their general; and it was, beſide, charged upon the old miniſtry in a pamphlet, call'd faults on both ſides, ſaid to be countenanced by ſome great men, that they had formed a deſign of making a general for life: what grounds there were for theſe reports, I ſhall not pretended to determine. General Meredith had ſoon after the farther mortification of loſing his places of governor of Tinmouth-fort, and gentleman of the horſe to the Queen. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 95.

(2) This, together with ſome dubious expreſſions, ſaid to have fallen from the duke's mouth, in the ſubſequent debates, in the houſe of lords, concerning the affairs of Spain, augmented the apprehenſion of many, that his grace would gratify his private diſguſt, and lay down his commiſſion, it being thought natural for his reſentment to ſuggeſt, "That he had acquired "a ſufficient ſtock of honor and wealth to deſpiſe the frowns of fortune; that it would be derogatory to his character to ſtoop "to the authors of the diſgrace of his relations; who, whatever their pretence might be, would never heartily imbrace his "intereſt, nor contribute to the ſupport of the glory he had already gained; that the fate of war being uncertain, the leaſt di-"minution of the proſperity, that had hitherto attended the arms of the allies, might be charged on him as a crime, whereas "if any misfortune ſhould befall them under another general, the court would have reaſon to regret the loſs of ſo proſperous a "commander, and to court him to ſerve again, which would add a freſh luſtre to his reputation." Clef. du cabinet des Princes Jan. 1711, p. 56.

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his departure from Holland, had ingaged his word to the States-general, and to Prince Eugene, not to abandon the common cauſe, reſolved to concert meaſures with the new miniſtry, with the ſame confidence and hearty zeal he had done with the old: in order hereunto, his grace, on the 19th of January, made a free reſignation of his ducheſs's places at court, by delivering into her Majeſty's hands, the key of groom of the ſtole. This was ſo well taken by her Majeſty, that ſhe was pleaſed not only to renew his commiſſion, but likewiſe to make a diſpoſition of the other generals intirely to his grace's ſatisfaction (1).

The duke reſolves not to lay down his commiſſion.

Changes and promotions at court.

During theſe tranſactions ſeveral alterations and promotions were made at court: the earl of Peterborough was appointed to go to Vienna, to concert meaſures with the Imperial court, for the vigorous proſecution of the war, particularly in Spain: the earl of Rivers was appointed her Majeſty's miniſter and plenipotentiary to the court of Hanover: the dukes of Beaufort and Hamilton were ſworn of her Majeſty's council; and ſir James Wiſhart, and George Clarke, eſq; were made commiſſioners of the admiralty, in the room of mr. Methuen and mr. Dodington: Charles Whitworth, eſq; was appointed embaſſador extraordinary to the Czar of Muſcovy, as William Jefferies, eſq; was to be her Majeſty's reſident at the court of Sweden: the counteſs of Abingdon was made lady of the bed-chamber; and Conſtantine Phips, eſq; (who had been one of dr. Sacheverel's council) was knighted and made lord-chancellor of Ireland. Some time after, the duke of Argyle was named the Queen's embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to King Charles III, and commander in chief of her Majeſty's forces in Spain, and mr. Richard Hill, having declined going envoy extraordinary to the States-general, and to the council of ſtate in the Spaniſh Low-countries, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan, the Queen appointed the earl of Orrery for that ſtation.

Some days paſs'd before the Queen diſpoſed of the ducheſs of Marlborough's places; but, toward the latter end of January, it was made known, that the ducheſs of Sommerſet was made groom of the ſtole, firſt lady of the bed-chamber, and lady of the wardrobe to her Majeſty; and, at the ſame time, that mrs. Maſham was made privy-purſe, in the room of the ducheſs of Marlborough; who, ſome time after, removed from her lodgings in the royal palace of St. James's to Montague-houſe; retaining, of all her former places, only that of ranger of Windſor-park, which had been beſtow'd upon her grace for a certain term of years.

Continuation of the proceedings in parliament.

But to return to the proceedings in parliament; the Queen having received advice of the ill ſucceſs of King Charles's affairs in Spain, ſent meſſages to both houſes, to acquaint them with it; and that ſhe had given directions for ſending and procuring troops, to repair his loſſes; whereupon they addreſs'd her Majeſty, aſſuring her of an effectual ſupport, in the proſecution of ſuch meaſures as ſhe ſhould think proper for retrieving the loſs in Spain.

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The 12th of January, among other things which paſs'd in the houſe of peers, the late miniſtry was cenſured, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the diſappointment of the expedition againſt Toulon: by being in a great meaſure the occaſion, that the war was carried on offenſively in thoſe parts, contrary to the opinion of the earl of Peterborough.

The late miniſtry cenſured.

"On this occaſion (ſays biſhop Burnet) it was "moved, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the "Queen, to free thoſe who were under an oath "of ſecrecy, from that ty, that a full account "might be laid before the houſe of all their con-"ſultations: the Queen granted this readily; and "came to the houſe; which was underſtood to be "on deſign, to favor that which was aimed at. "Upon this, the duke of Marlborough, the earls "of Godolphin and Sunderland, and the lord "Cowper ſhewed, that, conſidering the force "ſent over to Spain, under the lord Rivers, they "thought an offenſive war was adviſeable; that "the expence of this war was ſo great, and the "proſpect ſo promiſing, that they could not but "think an offenſive war neceſſary; and that to ad-"viſe a defenſive one, would have made them "liable to a juſt cenſure, as deſigning to protract "the war. The deſign on Toulon was no way "intermixed with the affairs of Spain; the earl of "Peterborough fancied he was in that ſecret, and "had indeed propoſed the bringing over ſome "troops from Spain on that deſign, and had of-"fered a ſcheme to the duke of Savoy, in which "that was mentioned, and had ſent that over to "England: but tho' the duke of Savoy ſuffered "that lord to amuſe himſelf with his own pro-"ject, which he had concerted for the attempt on "Toulon; that duke had declared he would not "undertake it, if it was not managed with the "utmoſt ſecrecy, which was ſacredly kept, and "communicated only to thoſe, to whom it muſt "be truſted for the execution of it. No troops "from Spain were to be imployed in that ſervice, "nor did it miſcarry for want of men. Theſe "lords farther ſaid, they gave their opinions in "council, according to the beſt of their judgment; "their intentions were ſincere, for the ſervice of "the Queen, and to bring the war to a ſpeedy "concluſion. Yet a vote paſs'd, that they were "to blame for adviſing an offenſive war in Spain, "upon which the loſs of the battle of Almanza "followed: and that this occaſioned the miſcar-"rying of the deſign upon Toulon" (2).

A memorable debate in the houſe of lords.

The earl of Peterborough receives the thanks of that houſe.

The earl of Peterborough received, on this occaſion the thanks of the houſe of peers, for his eminent

(1) The duke of Marlborough having been thus continued in the command of the Britiſh forces in Flanders, and the duke of Argyle (who had given his grace ſome uneaſineſs) being recall'd from thence, and ſent into Spain, it was the opinion of many, that a reconciliation was actually effected between the duke and the new miniſtry: but the author of four letters, written in vindication of the late miniſtry (as it was ſuppoſed by dr. Hare, now lord biſhop of Chicheſter) with regard to the management of the war, and the negociations of peace; and who, it was generally believed, received hints and inſtructions from his grace, plainly inſinuated, that little more harmony was to be expected between two rivals in power, than between a falling and a riſing favorite. Some perſons (ſays that author) would ſtill pretend to put a good face upon the matter, and do not queſtion from the duke of Marlborough's paſt ſucceſſes, but that he will yet frighten our enemies into an honorable peace: but, I am afraid, he is not likely to do ſo much, at this time, when the enemy are incouraged to take heart afreſh, the allies full of jealouſies and fears, and himſelf extreamly mortified. Things are not the ſame, any more than the uſage he meets with: when he is uneaſy in his thoughts, undermin'd in the favor of his ſoverein, and vilely miſrepreſented to the people: when his want of intereſt at home makes it impoſſible for the allies to depend upon the hopes he gives them: when he is without authority in his army, where it is made criminal to eſpouſe his intereſt, and to fly in his face is the ſureſt means to advancement; when it is meritorious in his officers to cabal againſt him, and the moſt factious will be thought the moſt deſerving. With what heart can a man in theſe circumſtances ſerve? Or, what ſucceſs can be expected from him, when he is to depend upon profeſs'd enemies for his ſupport? It is little I think we can hope for, even from him hereafter; tho' that little be more, than any body elſe could do.

(2) Here was a new and ſtrange precedent of cenſuring a reſolution taken in council; and of deſiring the Queen to order all that had paſs'd in council, to be laid before the houſe: in all the hot debates, in King Charles I's reign, in which many reſolutions

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eminent and remarkable ſervices in Spain; which, as the duke of Marlborough had not, this year, been honored with the ſame, could not but be a mortification to him, as were, without doubt, the cenſures which inſued, in an addreſs of their lordſhips to the Queen, with regard to the affairs of Spain, on the late miniſtry, and the earl of Galway, in whoſe favor his grace had ſpoken (1).

The duke of Marlborough goes to Blenheim-houſe.

The anniverſary of the Queen's birth day was obſerved, on the 6th of February, with great pomp and ſolemnity; but the duke of Marlborough did not appear at this feſtival, having, with her Majeſty's leave, ſet out four days before for Blenheim-houſe, accompanied by the marquis de Paſcal, governor of Bruſſels, who was lately come from Flanders, and monſieur de Seiſſan, who likewiſe came back with the duke to London, and, on the 18th, ſet out with him, together with the earl of Orrery, to imbark for Holland. His grace, before his departure, received poſitive aſſurances, that the payment of the troops under his command, would be as effectually taken care of, by the new miniſtry, as it had been by the old, and her Majeſty was pleaſed to write a very polite letter to the States-general, about the duke of Marlborough, whoſe conduct ſhe yet declared herſelf intirely ſatisfied with.

Returns to London, and imbarks for Holland.

Proceedings of the commons.

The commons were, in the mean time, no leſs intent on caſting an odium on the late miniſtry, in order to compliment and fix the new. With this view, mr. Robert Harley, chancellor of the Exchequer, having informed the houſe, that ſome very conſiderable abuſes had been diſcover'd in the victualing, and that a member of the houſe had been named, as concern'd therein, an addreſs was preſented to the Queen, praying, that the examination which had been taken relating to this matter, might be laid before the houſe. This being accordingly done, it appear'd, that mr. Ridge, a Brewer at Portſmouth, was the member therein mention'd; who being order'd to attend in his place, and a commitee appointed to examine the accounts laid before the houſe, upon their report, they voted, "That there had been many notorious imbezzle-"ments and ſcandalous abuſes in the management "of her Majeſty's brew-houſe, and in contracts "for furniſhing beer, to the defrauding of the "public, and injury to the ſeamen: that Thomas "Ridge, eſq; having contracted to furniſh 5513 "tun of beer, upon his own account, and 2704 "tun of beer, in partnerſhip with mr. Dixon, and "having received bills for the whole, altho' "he had deliver'd out but 3213 tun on the firſt, "and 1269 tun on the latter contract, be expell'd "the houſe; and that an addreſs be preſented to "her Majeſty, to cauſe the ſaid mr. Ridge to be "proſecuted for the ſame (2):" and ſeveral other Brewers were likewiſe ordered to be proſecuted on the ſame account. A commitee was afterwards appointed to examine into the occaſion of the coming over of the Palatines, and upon a ſuppoſition that the "act for a general naturalization," might have given them incouragement to it, a bill paſs'd the commons for repealing that act, but it was rejected by the lords, as was likewiſe another, to limit the number of officers in the houſe of commons.

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Acts paſs'd.

The 31ſt of January, the royal aſſent was given to the malt-act, by commiſſion, her Majeſty being indiſpos'd; and, on the laſt of February, the Queen in perſon, gave the royal aſſent. 1. "To "an act for continuing the act for recruiting her "Majeſty's land-forces and marines, for the ſer-"vice of the year 1711. 2. An act for ſecuring "the freedom of parliaments, by the farther qua-"lifying the members to ſit in the houſe of com-"mons;" and to two private bills.

Monſieur de Guiſcard ſtabs mr. Harley;

The 8th of March, the marquis de Guiſcard, being ſeiz'd for high-treaſon, and carried before a commitee of the privy-council, attempted the murder of mr. Harley, while under examination, by ſtabing him in the breaſt with a penknife, which lighting on the bone, broke about half an inch from the handle, and the wound did not prove mortal; tho' it was thought deſperate for ſome weeks. Upon information, in the houſe of commons, that mr. Harley's wound was almoſt heal'd, and that he would, in a few days come abroad, they came to the unanimous reſolution; "That "when the right honorable Robert Harley, eſq; "chancellor of her Majeſty's Exchequer, attends "the ſervice of this houſe, the ſpeaker do, in the "name of this houſe, congratulate the ſaid mr. "Harley's eſcape, and recovery from the barba-"rous and villainous attempt made upon him, by "the ſieur de Guiſcard;" which was done accordingly, the 17th of April.

But the wound not mortal.

Mr. Harley is complimented by the houſe of commons.

The ſame day the parliament began to ſit, the convocation of the clergy of Canterbury alſo met, and the lower-houſe choſe dr. Atterbury, dean of Carliſle, their prolocutor: but the two houſes ſoon fell into diſputes again, which put a ſtop to their proceedings for a time: but, on the laſt of January, a letter from her Majeſty to the Metropolitan being read to both houſes, importing: "That "whereas, by her royal licence, ſhe had, among "other things, impowered and authorized them "to confer, treat, debate, conſider and agree up-"on ſuch points, matters, cauſes and things, as "ſhe, from time to time, ſhould deliver, or cauſe "to be delivered to them in writing, under her "ſign manual, or privy-ſignet;" ſhe accordingly tranſmited to them the heads of ſuch matters as ſhe thought proper to be conſidered by the

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reſolutions taken in council were juſtly cenſurable, yet the paſſing any cenſure on them was never attempted by men who were no way partial in favor of the prerogative: but they underſtood well what our conſtitution was in that point. A reſolution in council is only the ſoverein act, who, upon hearing his counſellors deliver their opinions, forms his own reſolution. A counſellor may indeed be liable to cenſure, for what he may ſay at that board; but the reſolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a ſilent reſpect; but, by this precedent, it may be hereafter ſubject to a parliamentary inquiry. "The Queen "(ſays my author) was ſo deſirous to have a cenſure fix'd on her former miniſtry, that ſhe did not enough conſider the wound "given to the prerogative, by the way in which it was done." Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 561.

(1) I never (ſays biſhop Burnet, on concluding his account of this matter) ſaw, "any thing carried on, in the houſe of "peers, ſo little to their honor as this was; ſome, who voted with the reſt, ſeemed aſhamed of it: they ſaid ſomewhat was "to be done to juſtify the Queen's change of the miniſtry. And every thing elſewhere had been ſo well conducted, as to "be above all cenſure: ſo the misfortune of Almanza, being a viſible thing, they reſolved to lay the load there. The "management of the public treaſure was exact and unexceptionable: ſo that the ſingle misfortune of the whole war was to be "magnified. Some were more eaſily drawn to concur in theſe votes; becauſe, by the act of grace, all thoſe who had been "concern'd in the adminiſtration, were cover'd from proſecution and puniſhment: ſo this was repreſented to ſome as a compli-"ment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by which no perſon could be hurt." Ib.

(2) Tho' this affair made a great noiſe, and appeared very odious at firſt ſight; yet mr. Ridge was not only ſcreen'd from proſecution, but continued to be imployed, and it was alleg'd in his juſtification, that tho' the matter charg'd upon him was fact, yet he had neither wrong'd the public, nor the ſeamen, nor had he made any private advantage to himſelf: but had paid the value of the beer not deliver'd, to the captains of her Majeſty's ſhips, which were imploy'd in the Mediterranean, who laid it out there in liquors more proper and agreeable for the uſe of the ſailors in thoſe warmer climates: and this was likewiſe alleg'd in favor of other brewers.

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ſaid convocation: viz. 1. "The drawing up a "repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of religion "among us, with regard to the late exceſſive "growth of infidelity, hereſy and profaneneſs. "2. The regulating the proceedings in excommu- "nications, and reforming the abuſes by commu- "tation-mony. 3. The preparing a form for the "viſitation of priſoners, and particularly con- "demned perſons. 4. For admiting converts "from the church of Rome, and ſuch as ſhould "renounce other errors. 5. For reſtoring thoſe "who have relapſed. 6. The eſtabliſhing rural "deans, and rendering them more uſeful. 7. The "making proviſions for preſerving and tranſ- "miting more exact terriers and accounts of glebes, "tithes, &c. 8. The regulating licenſes for ma- "trimony, &c." Commitees were accordingly appointed by both houſes to take theſe weighty matters into conſideration, but freſh difficulties ſoon after aroſe, occaſion'd by a new licenſe granted by her Majeſty, appointing and ſetling the preſidentſhip of the convocation, and the order of the ſucceſſion of biſhops to act in that office, during the abſenſe of the preſident, or that of one or more of the biſhops appointed to act ſucceſſively in his or their abſenſe, which again put a ſtop to their proceedings for a time. And tho' the joint commitees did afterwards go upon buſineſs, nothing of importance was brought to maturity; excepting a ſcheme, which the lower-houſe laid before the houſe of commons, of the additional churches they ſuppos'd to be wanting in and near the cities of London and Weſtminſter, which was occaſion'd by a petition preſented to the houſe of commons, by the miniſter and church-wardens of Greenwich, praying relief for the re-building of their church; upon which they appointed a commitee to conſider of the great want of churches in the cities of London and Weſtminſter and ſuburbs thereof. This being likewiſe quicken'd by a ſolemn repreſentation from the Queen, the commons afterwards paſs'd a "bill "for the building of fifty new churches in the "cities of London and Weſtminſter, &c." and gave the duty of one ſhilling per chaldron on coals, from the 29th of September 1716, to the 29th of September 1719, for raiſing the ſum of 350,000 l. for that pious ſervice.

Bill for erecting fifty new churches.

Death of Emperor Joſeph.

The 17th of April, captain Powel arrived at Whitehall from the Hague, being ſent expreſs by the lord Raby, who had been appointed to ſucceed the lord Townſhend, as her Majeſty's embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general, with an account that the Emperor Joſeph I, died of the Small-pox at Vienna, the 17th of that month, N.S. upon which her Majeſty reſolved to concert meaſures with her high allies, to advance King Charles III to the Imperial throne. On the 20th, her Majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons; "acquainting them with this her reſo- "lution, in which, ſhe ſaid, the States-general had "likewiſe concur'd; aſſuring them, at the ſame "time, ſhe had an intire confidence in the affec- "tion and duty of her parliament, that with their "aſſiſtance, under the protection and bleſſing of "Almighty God, ſhe ſhould be inabled to "make a happy concluſion of this war, in a ſafe "and honorable peace." Both houſes agreed, the ſame day, in an addreſs to the Queen, which was preſented the ſame evening; and in which "they "not only approved her Majeſty's meaſures; but "told her, they could not be diſcouraged by this, "or any other misfortunes, from ſupporting her "Majeſty, in all the meaſures ſhe in her great "wiſdom ſhould judge proper, to bring this war "to a happy concluſion by a ſafe and honorable "peace (1)."

Reſolutions taken by the Queen thereupon.

Approved by parliament.

The 2d of May mr. chancellor of the Exchequer propos'd a "ſcheme he had form'd to ſatisfy all pub- "lic and national debts and deficiences," by allowing the proprietors of thoſe debts and deficiences an intereſt of ſix per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, and incorporating them to carry on a trade to the South-Seas. There was, at that time, a great debt upon the navy, occaſion'd partly by the deficiency of the funds appointed for the ſervice at ſea; but chiefly by the neceſſity of applying ſuch ſupplies as were given, without appropriating clauſes, to the ſervice abroad; which it was impoſſible to carry on by credit, or without ready mony; ſo it was judg'd more convenient and conducive to the public good, to let the navy-debt run on. This had riſen up to ſeveral millions; and the diſcount on navy-bills run high. This whole debt was thrown into one ſtock, and a fund form'd by parliament for paying the intereſt at ſix per cent (2). This ſcheme was received with a pretty general applauſe, tho' there were not waning thoſe who were very free in calling it a groſs and palpable illuſion: however, the commons ordered a bill to be brought in to put it in execution, and it was obſerved, as a lucky incident for mr. Harley, that the very day he laid his ſcheme before the commons, the earl of Rocheſter, preſident of the council, and maternal uncle to the Queen, died ſuddenly; which rid him of the only competitor in the Queen's favor, from whom he had any oppoſition to apprehend, and gave him the juſt title of prime miniſter (3).

Mr. Harley's ſcheme for ſatisfying the public debts.

Mr. Harley made a peer of Great-Britain;

The Queen having reſolved to reward the many ſignal and eminent ſervices of Robert Harley, eſq; chancellor of her Majeſty's Exchequer, and one of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, in a moſt diſtinguiſhing manner; ſhe firſt created him baron Harley of Wigmore in the county of Hereford, and earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The patent having paſs'd the great ſeal, the 24th of May, his lordſhip was, the next day, introduced into the houſe of peers, in his robes, and after the reading of his patent took his place accordingly. The 29th, the Queen appointed the new earl of Oxford lord high-treaſurer of Great-Britain; and the 1ſt of June his lordſhip took the uſual oaths to qualify him for entering into that high poſt.

And lord high-treaſurer.

A commitee of the houſe of commons having

Repreſentation of the commons to the Queen.

(1) The moſt diſcerning thought, that the Queen's meſſage gave a glimpſe of the project the new miniſtry formed, upon the death of the Emperor Joſeph, viz. to make a peace, by yielding Spain and the Weſt-Indies to King Philip; not only becauſe of the great expence it would coſt to regain them, and the inſuperable difficulties which would occur in the attempt; but alſo, becauſe, in their opinion, it would deſtroy the balance of Europe, which was the main object of the grand alliance: and both houſes of parliament having, in their addreſs, ſhewed a readineſs to approve any meaſures her Majeſty ſhould think proper to procure a peace, the miniſtry might now purſue their ſcheme under the ſanction of that authority. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 119.

(2) "The flatterers (ſays biſhop Burnet) of the new miniſters made great uſe of this to magniſy them, and to aſperſe the "old miniſtry; but a full report of that matter was ſoon after publiſhed, by which it appear'd, that the public mony had "been manag'd with the utmoſt fidelity and frugality; and it was made evident, that when there was not mony enough to "anſwer all the expence of the war, it was neceſſary to apply it to that which preſſed moſt, and where the ſervice could not "be carried on by credit: ſo this debt was contracted by an inevitable neceſſity; and all reaſonable perſons were fully ſatisfied "with this account of the matter." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 573.

(3) This was the begining of the South-ſea-company, which has ſince been ſo famous not only in England, but throughout all Europe: and has been the occaſion not only of ſo much good, but, at the ſame time, of ſo much evil, that the hiſtory of it will hardly paſs, in future ages, for any thing more than meer fiction and fable.

been

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been appointed to inſpect the miſmanagements in the ſeveral offices, and having made their report, the commons, to compleat the buſineſs of this ſeſſion, reſolved, on the 24th of May, "that an "humble repreſentation be laid before her Majeſty, "of the ſeveral reports and reſolutions of the "houſe, upon the ſaid miſmanagements." A commitee being appointed accordingly, to draw up this repreſentation, it was approved by the houſe, and preſented, in a body, the 4th of June.

The inſtances of miſmanagements, in this long repreſentation, which were laid down as grievances that required to be animadverted upon, were chiefly; "the altering or inlarging the ſupplies "given by parliament, in an illegal manner, which "had been one occaſion of the national debt: "the miſapplication of the public mony: abuſes "and imbezelments in the Queen's brew-houſe, "and in victualling the navy: the public mony "having been left in the hands of the receivers "general, which had been another occaſion of the "national debt: that above thirty-five millions of "the public mony was unaccounted for: that the "public mony had been miſapplied in ſubſiſting "the Palatines, a uſeleſs people, being a mixture "of all religions, dangerous to our conſtitution in "church and ſtate; and that therefore thoſe who "adviſed the bringing them over were enemies to "the Queen and kingdom: that a new charter "had been impos'd on the corporation of Bewd-"ley: that by theſe and the like practices irre-"parable damages had accrued to the public, if "the Queen had not removed from the admini-"ſtration, the authors of them, who, by their "undutifulneſs to her Majeſty, had expoſed them-"ſelves to the indignation of the people: they "therefore, to conclude, beſought her Majeſty "to avoid ſuch miniſters, who having depreſſed "the friends of her Majeſty and the church, and "prefer'd only men of licentious and impious "principles, were the greateſt enemies to her "royal dignity and the peoples ſafety (1)."

To this repreſentation her Majeſty made the following anſwer:

The Queen's anſwer.

Gentlemen,

"This repreſentation gives me freſh aſſurances "of your zeal for my ſervice, and for the true "intereſt of your country.

"It contains many particulars; I will take them "all into my ſerious conſideration, and then give "the neceſſary directions to redreſs the grievances "you complain of.

"Be aſſured, that your advice, upon all occa-"ſions, has the greateſt weight with me."

Addreſs for inquiring into the ſtate of affairs in Spain and Portugal.

The 7th, the commons reſolved to addreſs the Queen, "to appoint perſons to inquire into the "number and quality of the forces in her Majeſty's "pay in Spain and Portugal, and to examine the "ſtate of the payments and accounts relating to "the ſaid forces; and to the gariſons and fortifi-"cations of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon; and alſo "the accounts of the agent-victuallers and com-"miſſaries of ſtores in thoſe parts." This being done accordingly, mr. ſecretary St. John acquainted them, on the 11th, that her Majeſty had readily complied with their deſires in their ſeveral addreſſes.

The 12th, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſolemnity, and the commons attending, her Majeſty gave the royal aſſent to ten public and ſeven private bills, after which ſhe made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

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The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

"It is with great pleaſure I tell you, at the end "of this ſeſſion, that you have fully made good "all the aſſurances you gave me at the begining "of it.

"This I look upon as a farther pledge of my "ſubjects duty and affection, which is the firmeſt "ſupport of my throne.

"I thank you, gentlemen of the houſe of "commons, in a particular manner, for what you "have done; you have complied with my de-"ſire in granting a ſupply for building many new "churches; and you have not only inabled me to "carry on the war, but have made effectual pro-"viſion for paying thoſe heavy debts which were "almoſt grown an inſupportable burden on the "public: and this at a time when our enemies every "where pleas'd themſelves with the hopes that "the ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year "could not have been found. You have diſap-"pointed them in all reſpects, and by the great "ſums you have raiſed, the greateſt ever granted "to any Prince in one ſeſſion, you have reſtored "the public credit, which I will take care to "preſerve by a frugal management. The world "muſt now be ſatisfied that nothing can be too "difficult for a parliament fill'd with ſo much "zeal for the true intereſt of the nation in church "and ſtate.

My lords and gentlemen,

"The ſatisfaction I take in the power with "which God has intruſted me, is to imploy it "for the protection and good of all my people, "whoſe proſperity I have as much at heart, as "ever any of my predeceſſors had.

"You ſee the happy effects of a mutual con-"fidence between me and my ſubjects; I ſhall "look upon any attempt to leſſen it as a ſtep "towards diſſolving my government.

"The temper you have ſhewn, will, I hope, "convince thoſe who have the misfortune to differ "from our church, that their liberty is not in "danger. It is needleſs for me to repeat the aſ-"ſurances of my earneſt concern for the ſucceſſion "of the houſe of Hanover; and of my fix'd reſo-"lution to ſupport and incourage the church of "England, as by law eſtabliſh'd.

"You are now returning to your ſeveral coun-"tries, and I expect from you, that you will far-"ther recommend yourſelves to me, by ſtudying "to promote the public peace and quiet."

The parliament prorogued.

The lord-keeper then prorogued the parliament by her Majeſty's command, to the 10th day of July next inſuing.

Acts paſs'd.

The principal acts which received the royal aſſent this ſeſſion, beſide thoſe already mention'd, were; 1. "An act to oblige ſhips coming from places "infected, more effectually to perform quarentain. "2. An act for reviving, continuing and appro-"priating certain duties, &c. to raiſe 1,530,000 l. "by way of lottery. 3. An act inabling and "obliging the bank of England, for a certain "time, to exchange all Exchequer bills for ready "mony, upon demand, &c. 4. An act allowing "the importation of French wines, &c. 5. An "act to continue the acts for puniſhing mutiny and "deſertion, and falſe muſters, &c. 6. An act for "eſtabliſhing a general poſt-office, for all her "Majeſty's dominions, &c. 7, 8. Two acts for "laying certain duties on hides, ſkins, vellum, "parchment and hops. 9. An act for taking, "examining and ſtating the public accounts of the

(1) "This addreſs (ſays biſhop Burnet) was artfully ſpread thro' the nation, by which weaker minds were ſo poſſeſs'd, "that it was not eaſy to undeceive them even by the fulleſt and cleareſt evidences: the nation ſeemed ſtill infatuated beyond "the power of conviction." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. 2. p. 573.

"kingdom.

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"kingdom. 10. An act for preventing exceſſive "and deceitful gaming. 11. An act making it "felony, without benefit of the clergy, to make "an attempt on the life of a privy counſellor, in "the execution of his office. 12. The South-"ſea act. 13. An act for the building fifty new "churches, in and about the cities of London and "Weſtminſter. 14. An act laying certain new "duties for ſecuring a yearly fund of 186,670 l. "for thirty-two years, for the ſatisfaction of the "2,000,000 lottery. 15, 16. Acts for the more "effectual preſervation of the game, and of the "fiſhery in the river Thames. 17. An act for "raiſing the militia for the year 1711. 18. An "act for incouraging the trade to America. 19. "An act for the incouragement of the coal trade. "And, 20. An act for the more effectual pre-"venting abuſes and frauds of perſons imployed in "certain manufactures."

Having thus given an account of parliamentary affairs, and other domeſtic occurences, I ſhall now proceed to forein tranſactions, and firſt, the campain in Flanders.

Campain in Flanders.

The duke of Marlborough, of whoſe departure from England, I have already given an account, arrived at the Hague, the 4th of March, N. S. where he continued ſome time, and was in daily conference with the deputies of the States, to concert the operations of the campain. This done, he aſſembled the confederate army the 30th of April at Orchies, between Liſle and Douay, the next day he paſs'd the Scarpe, and incamp'd between Douay and Bouchain, and the enemy poſted themſelves behind the Senſet, in a camp that was look'd upon as inacceſſible.

Prince Eugene, who was detained at Vienna on occaſion of the Emperor's death, did not join the duke till the 23d of May: and our two generals reſolved to continue in their poſts as long as poſſible, in hopes that the ſcarcity of forage would oblige the enemy to decamp. The 14th of June, the army under the duke of Marlborough march'd, and having paſs'd the canal of Arleux, and the Scarpe near Vitry, in the preſence of the enemy, incamp'd on the plains of Lens: the duke's deſign in this motion was in hopes to draw the enemy to ſome action; and they did indeed alter the ſituation of their camp, and began to lay bridges over the Scheld as if they deſign'd to paſs it: but they made no farther motion. The ſame day Prince Eugene detach'd the Imperial and Palatine troops, conſiſting of fifty ſquadrons and twelve battalions, to the Upper-Rhine, to make head againſt the French on that ſide, who had received conſiderable re-inforcements, and gave out that they intended to penetrate again into Bavaria, and imbroil the Empire while it remained without a head.

The confederate army being now fully aſſembled, conſiſted as follows: the right wing, under command of Prince Eugene, of ſixty-five battalions of foot, and 120 ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons; the left, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, of 119 battalions and 226 ſquadrons; together 184 battalions, and 341 ſquadrons, with 111 cannon, eight hawbitzers and forty pontons.

The allies take Arleux;

The duke of Marlborough was informed, that, after he had left his former camp, the enemy had repair'd the dike at Arleux, in order to ſtop the water of the Senſet from runing into the canal of Douay, and thence into the Scarpe, whereby the mills of Douay were render'd uſeleſs; and that they had likewiſe fortified the caſtle of Chanterin, and made a redoubt at the mills of Arleux to cover it: he therefore cauſed that poſt to be attack'd, the 6th of July, and took it, making a captain of grenadiers, and 125 men who defended it, priſoners of war. This poſt was judg'd of ſuch importance, that the duke thought fit to put it into a better poſture of defenſe; and the works being finiſh'd, a gariſon of 600 men were left in the place under the command of colonel Savary, and, on the 19th, the troops that covered the workmen there returned to the camp; of which the marſhal de Villars was no ſooner informed, than he ordered a detachment of 15,000 men to inveſt it. The 28th, in the morning, he raiſed a battery of ſix or ſeven pieces of cannon, and having made a ſufficient breach in the walls, by two in the afternoon, colonel Savary and his gariſon were obliged, in their turn, to ſurrender priſoners of war.

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And fortify it.

It is retaken by the French.

The duke of Marlborough reſolves to attempt the lines by ſtratagem.

The duke of Marlborough was now fully determined to attempt getting within the enemy's lines; of which we have the following deſcription: they began at Bouchain, on the Scheld, and were continued along the Senſet and the Scarpe, to Arras; from thence along the Upper-Scarpe, and the river to the Canche, the opening to thoſe rivers being intrench'd and fortified (with all poſſible care) by a large ditch, defended with redoubts and other works. His grace, upon a narrow view, finding that it would be too dangerous to indeavor to force them, reſolved upon a ſtratagem. That he might the better compaſs his deſigns, and make the enemy believe that he really intended to attack them, he ordered 1200 men out, to make roads and bridges in the front, and advanced with the whole army to Rebreuve, and from thence to Villars-Brulin, within two leagues of the lines. Here he ſet all his troops to work in making faſcines, but gave ſtrict orders for them not to exceed the length of four foot, that they might not tire the infantry too much to carry them, and gave out that he intended to attack the lines the next morning. The French general was ſo fully perſuaded of it, that he ſent orders to a ſtrong detachment, commanded by lieutenant-general count d'Eſtain, which had been ſent upon a ſecret expedition, to to halt at Peronne, and to the gariſons of Ipres and St. Omer, to come and join his army, which he drew all together behind the lines.

He goes to view them.

His real deſign.

The duke, to amuſe the enemy more effectually, went the 4th of Auguſt, N. S. by break of day, with ſeveral of the general officers, and 2000 horſe, to take a nearer view of the lines, and of the ſituation of the enemy's camp: but his real deſign, when he advanced from Cotê, was to indeavor to get within the enemy's lines, by attempting the paſſage of the Senſet, by Arleux, which he now believed was left unguarded (as, in effect, it happen'd to be). To this end he ordered lieutenant-general Cadogan and count Hompeſch to repair with all expedition to Douay, and aſſemble ſome troops which were left thereabouts, and, together with a detachment of that and the neighboring gariſons of Liſle and St. Amand, made a body of twenty-three battalions and ſeventeen ſquadrons. Their farther orders were to march directly with theſe troops to Arleux, and indeavor to paſs the Senſet there, while the duke himſelf would advance with the whole army to ſuſtain them: and that nothing might retard this extraordinary march, brigadier Sutton was ſent before hand with the artillery and pontons, under a good guard, to make bridges over the Scarpe, near Vitry, and over the canal of Arleux near Goulezin: and bread was ordered to be baked at Liſle for ſix days.

All theſe things were manag'd ſo privately, and the grimace carried on ſo well, that the confederate-generals themſelves had not the leaſt thought that any thing elſe was meant but the attacking of the lines the next morning. Theſe amuſements had ſo good an effect on the marſhal, that he kept his troops under arms night and day, and re-inforc'd them with all the ſtrength he could poſſibly draw

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draw together on that ſide, not leaving any number of troops in the poſts he had upon the Senſet.

The confederate army, in the mean time, were expecting orders to march, which were not given out till ſix in the Evening. The march was to begin between eight and nine, as ſoon as it was dark enough to ſtrike their tents without being diſcover'd by the enemy; but whether the march was to be to the right or left remain'd a ſecert. They were only told, that the ſeveral columns which the army was to march in, ſhould find an officer at the head of each of them, at ſuch an hour, who ſhould lead them the way they were to take when the time came.

The army marches towards Arleux.

About nine the whole army, to their great ſurprize, were ordered to march by the left, in four columns, without beat of drum, and the duke himſelf, with the horſe of the left wing, lead the van, and advanced with ſuch extraordinary expedition, that the next morning, by five, he paſs'd the Scarpe at Vitry. Here he received advice that count Hompeſch had paſſed the Senſet without any oppoſition, had taken poſſeſſion of the paſſes on that river, and on the Scheld, and was incamp'd at Oiſy; the French having, ſome time before, withdrawn the detachments they had on that ſide. His grace, upon this, haſtened his march, leſt the enemy ſhould get there before him; and, at the ſame time, diſpatch'd orders to the grand army to purſue their march with the utmoſt diligence.

Count Hompeſch paſſes the Senſet.

The duke, with his vanguard of fifty ſquadrons, having paſs'd the Scarpe, haſtened towards Arleux and Bac à Bacheul, where he arrived before eight o'clock, and the heads of the columns joined him there about ten, having march'd above ten hours, at a great rate, without halting, a diligence hardly to be parallel'd in hiſtory.

The marſhal de Villars marches to oppoſe them.

The marſhal de Villars had no ſooner notice how he had been deceived, and of this unexpected march of the confederate army, but he immediately apprehended what their deſign was. He therefore, after having waited from eleven at night till two the next morning, for certain intelligence, decamp'd with his whole army; and puting himſelf at the head of the King's houſhold, he march'd all night with ſuch diligence, that he appear'd, with the head of his line, about eleven o'clock, ſoon after the duke of Marlborough had joined count Hompeſch, and paſs'd, with twenty ſquadrons, thro' the defilee of Marquion; but when he ſaw that the duke was advancing, with his horſe drawn up, to attack him, he retreated behind a moraſs, where the reſt of his troops joined him quickly after; and 100 dragoons, with ſome few officers, whom he threw into the caſtle of Oiſy, were ſoon after made priſoners of war. Two regiments, which the marſhal de Villars detach'd under the command of the chevalier de Luxembourg, for Valenciennes, and a brigade of foot ſent to Cambray, had however better luck, and threw themſelves into thoſe places.

But comes too late.

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The marſhal extreamly mortified.

It was, beyond all doubt, a ſenſible mortification to the marſhal de Villars to be thus viſibly out-general'd, after he had given the court of France ſuch repeated aſſurances, that he had taken ſuch meaſures as put him beyond the apprehenſions of meeting with any inſult from the allies, and after he had written to the French King, that theſe lines were the NON PLUS ULTRA of the duke of Marlborough. He therefore gave out, in order to keep up the ſpirits of his troops, that he would attack the duke of Marlborough the next morning (1).

His grace having however intelligence of the marſhal's threats, tho he had little reaſon to fear the conſequences of them, loſt no time, but drew out his troops, as faſt as they arrived, in order of battle, and they lay under their arms all night, tho' they could not but be extreamly fatigued after a march of ten leagues without halting.

The whole confederate army paſſes the French lines.

Thus the whole confederate army entered the French lines, which they had ſo vainly boaſted to be impenetrable; the moſt noble and boldeſt attempt that had been made during the whole war: and the honor of this attempt was the greater to the duke of Marlborough, as his army was not only weakened by the detachment which Prince Eugene had carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over 5000 of the beſt troops in his army, for an expedition deſign'd by ſea; ſo that the enemy were actually ſuperior to him in number (2).

The ſiege of Bouchain reſolv'd on.

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the duke of Marlborough found it impracticable to bring the enemy to a general ingagement, on any tolerable equal terms; he therefore propoſed the ſiege of Bouchain, to try if that poſſibly might ingage them to hazard a battle to ſave ſo important a place. As well the Dutch deputies as the general officers thought the enterprize too daring. It ſeem'd to them next to impoſſible to take a place ſituated among moraſſes, well fortified, with a good gariſon in it, provided with all requiſites for a ſtout defenſe; and that within ſight of a ſuperior army; for the French lay within a mile of them: and beſide all this, a great deal was to be apprehended from the excurſions which the gariſons of Valenciennes and Condè might make, to cut off their proviſions which were to come to them from Tournay: however the duke perſiſting in his reſolution, the Dutch, at length, ſubmited (3).

This place was inveſted the 10th of Auguſt; but

(1) French writers pretend, that the duke of Marlborough's deſign, in this enterprize, was to have paſs'd both the Senſet and the Scheld before the marſhal de Villars ſhould be able to get to the latter to oppoſe his paſſage; but that, by the marſhal's extraordinary diligence, ſeeing the French troops before him, ready to diſpute that paſſage, he began to be very much diſcontened, and to repent of his temerity. He found he could not remain in that ſituation, and that he ſhould be obliged to paſs either the Senſet or the Scheld with his army, both which would be attended with great danger; becauſe the enemy being ſo near, it was to be fear'd, when part of his army was paſs'd either of theſe rivers, the marſhal would fall upon the other part, which would not then be in a condition to reſiſt his whole force. It will be natural now to aſk, why monſ. de Villars, having theſe advantages, did nor purſue them? Why truly (continues my author) he had his reaſons for not doing it, which tho' they could not be dived into then, were afterwards very evident. De Quincy hiſt. mil. de Louis le Grand, Tome VI. p. 516. A pretty come off! It is certain the duke was under no ſuch apprehenſions, as the reader will ſoon ſee.

(2) "This (ſays biſhop Burnet) raiſed his character beyond all that he had done formerly; the deſign was ſo well laid, and "was ſo happily executed, that in all men's opinion it paſs'd for a maſter-piece of military ſkill; the honor of it falling "intirely on the duke of Marlborough, and no other perſon having any ſhare, except in the execution." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 576.

It may not be forein here to make a compariſon between the conduct of the duke of Marlborough and the marſhal de Villars. The latter, blinded by the trifling conqueſt of Arleux, weakned by the great detachment he made from his army to obtain it, and puff'd up with this ſhadow of good fortune, threatens all Brabant; but is lull'd aſleep by a fond ſecurity for his own lines: the former obſerves the critical moment, lays hold of it, and ſurprizes theſe lines without the loſs of a man. The deſign, the ſecrecy, and, in ſhort, the whole management of it, were equally great and wonderful. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 155.

(3) A late author gives us a particular account of the difficulties which attended the attacking this place, ariſing as well from the ſituation of it as otherwiſe:

"Bouchain

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but it was not without the greateſt difficulties the lines of circumvalation were perfected; the marſhal de Villars, on his ſide, leaving no ſtratagem unattempted to prevent it, and to keep a communication open with the town; and the duke, on the other hand, imploying his utmoſt ſkill and aſſiduity to circumvent them, and to attain his end (1). All difficulties being at length overcome, the trenches were opened, the 23d at night, at three attacks; two againſt the upper town, and the third againſt the lower town. I ſhall not detain the reader with a journal of this ſiege; the approaches were carried on in the uſual manner, till all the batteries began to play on the 30th, and they continued with ſuch ſucceſs, that the cannon of the place were ſoon diſmounted, and the outworks ruined. The 12th of September, about noon, the beſiegers ſeing all things were preparing for a general aſſault, beat the chamade, and hoſtages being exchanged, the French, who were conducted to general Fagel's quarters, whither the duke of Marlborough and the deputies repaired, began to propoſe articles of capitulation; but the duke of Marlborough would not ſuffer them to be read, nor would grant them any conditions, but to ſurrender priſoners of war, which they at length conſented to, and delivered up one of the gates. with twenty-four colors, and all their arms; the gariſon being reduced from 6000 men, which they were at the begining, to half the number.

The trenches open'd.

Bouchain ſurrendered.

During this ſiege, not to mention ſeveral little attempts to interrupt or retard it, the marſhal de Villars form'd two deſigns, which might with truth have been called great, had they ſucceeded; one to poſſeſs himſelf of the communication the allies had over the moraſs, near Hordain, and the other to ſurprize Douay; but they both miſcarried, and he was oblig'd, at the head of 100,000 men, to be a bare ſpectator of the event of this ſiege (2).

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The French pretended, that this conqueſt, which they ſaid was very inſignificant in the conſequence, coſt more men by half, than it was worth; but it is plain, they would have willingly ſacrificed many more men, than it coſt the allies, and have thought themſelves well off too, if they could have prevented the ſiege.

As ſoon as Bouchain was put in a good poſture of defenſe, and the approaches were all level'd, both the armies began to ſeparate, having already greatly ſuffered by the continual rains, and the ſcarcity of forage. The duke of Marlborough having given the neceſſary orders for ſecuring the navigation of the Scarpe to Douay, and covering the workmen imployed in fortifying ſeveral poſts on that river, and on the Scheld, left the army, the 27th of October, arrived the 26th of November at the Hague, and the 17th of the ſame month, O. S. at Greenwich.

The campain ended.

The duke of Marlborough leaves the army.

In other parts, little happened this year worthy of our notice: the great event of it was the election of an Emperor at Francfort, in the room of Emperor Joſeph, deceas'd. This great Monarch's death, as it immediately opened to King Charles the ſucceſſion to the hereditary dominions, ſo a diſpoſition appear'd unanimouſly, among all the Electors, to chuſe him Emperor. Some came

The election of King Charles to the Imperial crown.

"Bouchain is but a little town, or rather fortreſs, ſituate at the confluence of the Senſet, and the Selle or Ruſelle, into "the Scheld. It is about nine miles north of Cambray, ten ſouth-weſt of Valenciennes, and twenty-eight almoſt weſt of "Mons. The Senſet ſeparates the Upper-town from the lower, forms an inundation between that and the Selle, and fills the "ditches which ſurround the works between the upper and the lower town. The Selle ſeparates the lower-town into two "parts, and between the lower-town and the Scheld, there is a horn-work which covers two ſeparate baſtions, and which is "cut in two by a ditch, ſupplied by the Scheld. Beſide theſe difficulties ariſing from the ſituation of the place, there were "two other very eſſential ones: The firſt, a formidable intrenchment, fenced with redoubts, and fifty pieces of cannon, "which thirty battalions commanded by the brave and vigilant monſieur Albergotti had raiſed between Wavrechin and "Pont à Wane, on the Senſet; which being but a quarter of a league from the town, and paralel to the circumvalation of "the confederates, the batteries of that intrenchment might play upon the circumvalation without interruption, there being "nothing but an inundation between them. Secondly, the communication which the enemy kept open with the town, by "means of a paſſage thro' a moraſs, which it was deem'd impracticable to cut off. To which we may add, that there were "eight battalions, and 600 Swiſs ſoldiers in the town, that the place was furniſh'd with all requiſites for a vigorous defenſe; "that monſieur de Ravignan had thrown himſelf into the town to command the troops, and taken 500 grenadiers with him; "and that monſieur de Selve, who defended St. Venant, was in the town before; ſo that the gariſon was commanded by two "major-generals, animated by the neighborhood of the whole French army." Rouſſet Hiſt. mil. Tome II. p. 306.

(1) During the whole courſe of this long war, which produced ſo many ſurprizing events, there was not ſo critical an inſtance as this, in which the reputation of two great generals was ſo nearly concern'd, and their ſkill in the art of war ſo fairly put to the teſt. The marſhal's buſineſs was, if poſſible, to prevent the ſiege, and thereby to retrieve, in ſome meaſure, the credit he had loſt by the too eaſy paſſage he had ſuffer'd the allies to find into his lines. The duke of Marlborough, on the other part, was fully reſolved not to let the advantage and honor ſlip out his hands, which he had obtain'd at ſo eaſy a rate by that paſſage; and foreſaw beſide, that it would be very difficult to make a good retreat, in the ſight of an army equal, if not ſuperior to his, and in a ſituation where he was beſet with ſeveral rivers, without having one good poſt on any of them. This was the real circumſtance of affairs, at the time the line of circumvalation was begun, which was the 12th of Auguſt. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 167.

(2) The duke's ſtratagem in paſſing the lines, without the loſs of a man; the cuting off the communication of the enemy with Bouchain; the manner of the duke's inveſting the town, with an inferior army; his caſting up lines; making regular forts; raiſing batteries; laying bridges over a river; making a moraſs paſſable, and providing for the ſecurity of his convoys; againſt a ſuperior army on the one ſide, and the numerous gariſons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other, were enterprizes truly heroic: yet his grace was cenſured by inſolent ſcriblers of his own nation, who gave out it was no more than a dove-houſe; and that the taking of it coſt the allies 16,000 men.

The marſhal de Villars is ſaid to have been ſo vain, that whenever he heard of the victories obtain'd by the allies, at Blenheim, Ramellies, Turin, Oudenarde, &c. he was uſed to ſay, Je ne ſçaurois être par tout (I cannot be every where) proudly intimating, that ſucceſs attended him every where: which vanity of his gave occaſion to the following lines.

I.
Le non plus ultra eſt ſurpris,
Villars pleurez vôtre imprudence;
Vous l'avez mis à ſi haut prix,
Que la Perte en eſt d'importance:
Mais conſolez vous aprés tout,
Vous ne ſçauriez être par tout.

II.
Prés du moulin à quatre vents,
Depuis trois nuits, ſur vôtre ligne,
Dans vos airs vains & meneçants
Vous attendiez victoire inſigne.
My Lord vous cherche à l'autre bout,
Vous ne ſçauriez être par tout.

Engliſhed thus.

I.
Thy non plus ultra's ſudden fate,
Unwary Villars, thou may'ſt mourn;
Thou priz'dſt it at ſo high a rate,
The loſs is hardly to be born:
But courage! men are ſatisfied,
Thou couldſt not be on every ſide.

II.
Safe in thy line, the other night,
Not far from yonder whirling mill,
Thy Merc'ry roſe to ſuch a height,
As promis'd vict'ry notable.
But Marlbro' knocks at t'other door,
And Villars can't be back and 'fore.

in

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in perſon, others ſent their commiſſioners or plenipotentiaries to Francfort. They ſpent ſome weeks in preparing the capitulation. Great applications were made to them to receive deputies from the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn; but as theſe Princes were under the ban of the Empire, they were rejected. The interpoſition of the Pope's nuncio was likewiſe very diſagreable to them: he gave them much trouble; but they perſiſted in their reſolution. As Francfort was at no great diſtance from the armies on the Rhine, it was apprehended, that the French might have made an attempt that way; for, as I have ſaid above, they drew ſome detachments from their army in Flanders, to increaſe their forces on the Rhine. This obliged Prince Eugene to do the ſame, and of courſe he commanded the army of the Empire there; but without any conſiderable action. When the duke of Marlborough undertook the hazardous ſiege of Bouchain, his grace's enemies at home confidently hoped that it would miſcarry, and maliciouſly aſſerted, that his grace could do nothing without the aſſiſtance of Prince Eugene; but, as matters went, the aſſertion might rather have been inverted, and ſaid, that the Prince could do little without his friend and companion in glory, the duke of Marlborough. Prince Eugene came however in good time, to ſecure the Electors at Francfort, who being now ſafe from the fear of any inſult, went on ſlowly in all they thought fit to propoſe, previous to an election, and concluded unanimouſly to chuſe Charles, who was now declared Emperor, by the name of Charles VI, and he was crown'd accordingly at Francfort with the uſual ſolemnity.

Affairs on the Rhine.

Emperor Charles VI, crown'd.

King Charles, in his way to Francfort, ſtaid ſome weeks at Milan, where the duke of Savoy paid him a viſit, and it was ſaid, that all matters in diſpute between theſe two Princes, if any were left undetermined at the late Emperor's death, were there adjuſted between them. It was hoped, that the campain in Italy would, this year, have produced ſomething for the advantage of the common cauſe, upon the agreement made before Emperor Joſeph's death. The duke came into Savoy, and it was given out, that he was reſolved to puſh forwards: but upon what views it was not then known, he ſtop'd his courſe, and after a ſhort campain, to which he put an end on the 9th of September, repaſs'd the mountains: however, he thereby prevented the duke of Berwick's making any detachments to the Rhine or Catalonia.

Affairs in Italy.

The affairs in Spain had been ſo much preſs'd from the throne, and ſo much inſiſted on during the ſeſſion of parliament (not to mention the great ſums granted for that ſervice, far beyond what had been ever granted before) that it was expected matters would have been carried there much otherwiſe than in former years. The duke of Argyle was ſent to command the Queen's troops there; but for what reaſons, it is not my province to determine, all thoſe great expectations came to nothing. The duke of Argyle, indeed, was ſeiz'd with ſuch a violent fever, that he was forc'd to leave the army and come back to Barcelona; from whence, after having recovered his health, he return'd with the Queen's leave to England. Count Stahremberg had indeed ſome advantage over the duke of Vendôme, towards the concluſion of the year, and it was ſaid, that if he had received the aſſiſtance he expected from England, he would have pierced far into Spain; but this is more than I ſhall pretend to affirm: I ſhall therefore leave this matter undetermined.

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The Portugueſe were as inactive as formerly, and, inſtead of enterprizing any thing againſt the enemy, were diſcovered to be carrying on a ſecret negociation with the French and Spaniards, with which being charg'd by the earl of Portmore, they did not deny it, but ſaid this was in order to procure a general peace.

And Portugal.

A pacification was this year likewiſe concluded between the Emperor and the malecontents of Hungary.

Pacification in Hungary.

Our affairs at ſea this year afford very little matter for a general hiſtory: ſir John Leake, rear-admiral of Great-Britain, was appointed admiral and commander in chief of her Majeſty's fleet, in the room of Mathew Aylmer, eſq; ſir Thomas Hardy was made rear-admiral of the blue ſquadron of her Majeſty's fleet, and, ſome time afterwards, ſir George Byng was named admiral of the white. Sir John Leake commanded the body of the Britiſh fleet in the channel; but, as the French ſent no fleet to ſea this year, nothing remarkable happen'd. Sir Thomas Hardy commanded a ſquadron off of Dunkirk and the Soundings, but without any thing extraordinary occurring. In the Mediterranean, ſir John Jennings commanded a ſquadron, of whoſe proceedings I find very little worthy remark, except that he convoy'd Charles III, King of Spain, ſoon after Charles VI, Emperor of Germany, from Barcelona to San Pietro di Arena, a ſuburb of Genoa, where he landed on his way to Germany.

Maritime affairs.

In America, a ſquadron under commadore Littleton, being in ſearch of monſieur du Caſſe's ſquadron, had the good fortune to meet with the vice-admiral of the gallions, being the ſame that had eſcaped from admiral Wager, which he took; but monſieur du Caſſe had before taken moſt of the mony out of her; and with her was taken another ſhip of leſs burden and importance.

Another ſquadron, under ſir Hovendon Walker, was leſs ſucceſsful in an expedition deſign'd on Quebec in Canada (1). This ſquadron, with a number of tranſports, having land-forces on board, under the command of brigadier-general Hill, ſet ſail in the begining of May for New-England, where they arrived the 24th of June, and the land-forces being put on ſhoar there to refreſh themſelves, the fleet continued at Boſton till the 30th of July, when the troops being re-imbark'd, they ſet ſail again for the river of Canada, whither general Nicholſon alſo march'd, at the ſame time, with the forces of New-York, Connecticut, and New-Jerſey, together with ſome Palatines, and about 1000 Indians. The fleet arrived on the river of Canada, which is 130 leagues long from the mouth up to Quebec: on the 22d, being a thick fog, and hard gale, having neither ſoundings nor ſight of land to ſteer by, nor any anchorage within ſixty leagues, they drove upon the north ſhoar, among rocks and iſlands, where the whole fleet had like to have been loſt. All the men of war eſcap'd, tho' with extream hardſhips and difficulties; but eight tranſports

(1) This project was at firſt form'd upon colonel Nicholſon's arrival from New-England with the four Indian Chiefs or Kings: and his return, with a lieutenant-general's commiſſion, and the taking of Port-Royal, were the fore-runners of it. That ſir Hovendon Walker was not previouſly let into the ſecret is plain from many circumſtances; and mr. Burchett tells us, "The then lords-commiſſioners of the admiralty were ſo far from it, that the deſign on which this fleet was bound, was "rather induſtriouſly hid from them, and that a certain perſon ſeemed to value himſelf very much, that a deſign of this na- "ture was kept a ſecret from the admiralty. It was an expedition (ſays the ſame gentleman) very chargeable to the nation, "and from which no advantage could reaſonably be expected, conſidering how unadviſedly it was ſet on foot, by thoſe who "nurſed it up, upon falſe ſuggeſtions and repreſentations."

ſports

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ſports were caſt away, and almoſt 900 men, officers, ſoldiers and ſeamen loſt (1). After this diſaſter, it was reſolved, in a council of war, as they had but ten weeks proviſions on board, to return home; accordingly they ſet ſail from the Spaniſh river-bay, the 10th of September, and arrived at St. Helens, the 9th of October, nothing remarkable having happened in their paſſage, but the taking of a French banker from Rochel.

This was the tragical ſucceſs of this expedition, and to compleat the misfortune of it, the 15th, the admiral's own ſhip, the Edgar, was unhappily blown up at Spithead, with about 400 men, and ſeveral of the inhabitants of Portſmouth, who happened to be on board, and all periſh'd (2).

The biſhop of Briſtol made lord privy-ſeal.

Having thus finiſh'd my account of forein and military affairs, I return to England, where, upon the death of the duke of Newcaſtle, the privy-ſeal was given to dr. Robinſon, lord biſhop of Briſtol, dean of Windſor, and regiſter of the order of the garter.

Negociations for a peace renew'd.

The rumors of peace began now to prevail every day more and more, and very different were the opinions for and againſt it: ſome thought the continuance of a war inſupportable; others were by no means for finiſhing it, till the main point, for which it was enter'd upon, was fully obtained. The latter inſiſted on the juſtice and reaſonableneſs of carrying on the war, as well with regard to ourſelves as our allies, eſpecially in conſideration of the advantagious ſituation it was in. The former, on the contrary, among other things pretended, England was now ſo exhauſted, that it was impoſſible to carry on the war any longer; and more eſpecially ſince King Charles was choſen Emperor, that he would be too great and too dangerous to all his neighbors, if Spain were join'd to the Empire, and his hereditary dominions (3). That there was a negociation on foot, no one queſtion'd; but few could tell where to fix it; and opinions were as various when and where this negociation begun. Some have inſinuated, that the firſt overture was made from this ſide of the water (4): Others (and ſeemingly with more probability) ſuppoſe it to have come from France, ſoon after (others again think before) the breaking off of the treaty of Gertruydenburg, and ſent from the marquis de Torcy, to the earl of Jerſey.

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The report of the commitee of ſecrecy, made June 9, 1715, gives us the following account of this matter:

"The firſt material paper we find, is intitled: "the firſt propoſitions of France, ſign'd by "monſieur de Torcy, April 22, 1711, N. S. To "whom theſe propoſitions were directed; what "previous ſteps had been made on the part of "France; or what incouragement had been given "on the part of England, does not appear; but "it is evident, that they are conceived in very "looſe and general terms; that, from the be-"gining, the deſign of France was to ſecure "Spain and the Weſt-Indies to King Philip; to "create jealouſies among the allies; and that "France offered to treat with England and Holland, "either by themſelves, or jointly with the reſt "of the allies, which is left to the choice of "England."

Theſe propoſitions we however find, by the ſame report, were tranſmited, a week afterwards, to the lord Raby, the Queen's embaſſador at the Hague, with orders to communicate them to the penſionary; but the commitee adds; "They

(1) This misfortune, as well as the diſappointment, was ſurely very great; but, as ſir Hovendon Walker well obſerved, muſt have been far greater, if they had got in ſafely to Quebec; nay, even if they had found the place deſerted, as probably would have been the caſe, they would have found a barren and uncultivated region, and the French would have taken with them or deſtroyed their proviſions. Our peoples proviſions would have been reduced to eight or nine (perhaps to ſix weeks) at ſhort allowance; no relief could poſſibly be hoped for in leſs than ten months, if ſo ſoon, the Feverſham, and three ſtore-ſhips laden with the proviſions deſigned for their ſupply, being caſt away in their paſſage: ſo that, if they had eſcaped ſhipwreck, which would have been a very great chance, between 10 and 12000 men muſt inevitably have periſhed with hunger and cold, and the ſhips have become a prey to the returning enemy: on the other hand, had the enemy held out, till our people had ſpent all their proviſions, they muſt have laid down their arms, and have ſurrendered to the French at diſcretion, to avoid death in its moſt frightful ſhape, famine; or, if they had taken the place, either by ſtorm or capitulation, the remaining proviſions of a ſmall gariſon would not have gone far towards ſubſiſting ſo large a number; nor could they, at that ſeaſon of the year have march'd thro' the country, in ſearch of more. And this would have been the caſe, had they afterwards attempted Placentia. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 854.

(2) An anonimous author, who indeavors to lay the blame of the miſcarriage of this expedition on the new miniſtry, ſays; it was plain, by the account given of it, that it was not meerly an accident, or any treachery, which was the cauſe of the miſcarriage; but a complication of many difficulties; for firſt (continues he) we are told, that the river St. Laurence is navigable, only at one time of the year. "We let that ſlip." But if we had nicked the time, we could not have ſailed up that river without very able pilots; "We had none." If we had taken the proper time, and been provided with good pilots, none but ſhips of a certain burden can go up the river; "all our men of war were too big," but if time, pilots, and ſhips had been the moſt proper for the interprize, we ſhould have had proviſions for more months than we had weeks, to ſubſiſt the fleet, and the troops, during the winter, "To keep the deſign ſecret, the miniſtry victualed the fleet greatly ſhort of what "was neceſſary, leaving them to take in a freſh ſupply in New-England, for which they would not before-hand give direction "for the ſame reaſon. This, indeed preſerved the ſecrecy; but it deſtroyed the deſign; and their being ſo ſhortly provided "was the occaſion, that when they failed in the main deſign on Quebec, they were not able to ſuceeed in the under-plot, againſt "Placentia, in which otherwiſe they apprehended no difficulty.

(3) It was apprehended, that the re-union of the two Monarchies, in the perſon of King Charles, might render the houſe of Auſtria as mighty, and as formidable, as it had been in former times, and might again plunge Europe into the ſame inconveniences, for the avoiding of which the war was begun, that is, to prevent Spain being annex'd to the houſe of Bourbon. This was an argument the Britiſh miniſters ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon, to juſtify the change of their conduct, and to oblige the allies to deſiſt from their demand of the reſtitution of Spain, which was the principal cauſe of the war, and be contented with ſome of the exterior provinces of that Monarchy, and with a ſimple renunciation of King Philip for himſelf, and his deſcendents for ever, to all title and right to the crown of France. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 198.

(4) Of this opinion was biſhop Burnet, and he gives us the following account of it:

"The earl of Oxford (ſays he) being made lord-treaſurer, became the chief, if not ſole miniſter; for every thing was di-"rected by him: it ſoon appeared, that his ſtrength lay in managing parties, and ingaging weak people, by rewards and "promiſes, to depend upon him; but that he neither thoroughly underſtood the buſineſs of the treaſury, nor the conduct of "forein affairs; but he truſted to his intereſt in the Queen, and in the favorite."

(Here, however, our author's zeal ſeems to have out run his prudence.)

"He ſaw the load, (continues he) which the carrying on the war muſt bring upon him; ſo he reſolved to ſtrike up a peace, as "ſoon as poſſible. The earl of Jerſey had ſome correſpondence in Paris, and at St. Germains; ſo he truſted the conduct of "the negociation to him:" but, upon his ſudden death, mr. Matthew Prior, a gentleman, who by his natural abilities and pregnant genius, improved by aſſiduous ſtudy, had gain'd a name among the wits of the age, and found means to raiſe himſelf to ſeveral imployments, who, likewiſe had been the lord Jerſey's ſecretary, was imployed to proſecute what his maſter did not live to finiſh. He was ſent to the court of France in September, to try on what terms we might expect a peace. His journey was carried on ſecretly; but upon his return, he was ſtop'd at Dover; and a packet which he brought, was detain'd, till an order came from court to ſet him free: and by this accident the ſecret broke out. Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 579.

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" were ſurprized to find, after mutual aſſurances " had paſs'd, on this occaſion, between England " and Holland (to take no ſtep but in mutual " concert) not the leaſt communication was made " to the States, of the negociations that were " carrying on, for above five months together, be- " tween England and France, till after the ſpecial " preliminaries were ſign'd, and the ſeven general " preliminaries were concluded and ſent to them."

The perſon firſt ſecretly imployed in this affair, was ſuppoſed to be monſieur Gaultier, formerly chaplain to marſhal Tallard when he was embaſſador in England, and the marſhal was likewiſe ſaid to have had a great ſhare in promoting this affair. How long this buſineſs was in agitation, before any ear was given to it, is yet a ſecret; but monſieur de Torcy inſiſting, that ſome truſty perſon might be ſent over, to whom he might freely open his mind, mr. Prior was pitch'd on, as being well acquainted with that miniſter, and likewiſe for his perſonal qualifications.

Be this as it will, monſieur Meſnager, and the abbot du Boſc, were ſoon after ſent over from France, with preliminaries; but very different from thoſe that had been concerted at the Hague, two years before.

The ſeven preliminaries as communicated to the forein miniſters.

The ſeven preliminary articles, which were communicated to the miniſters of the forein powers, who were parties in the grand alliance, were as follows:

1. " The King being willing to contribute all that " is in his power, to the re-eſtabliſhment of the " general peace; his Majeſty declares: that he " will acknowledge the Queen of Great-Britain, in " that quality, as alſo the ſucceſſion of that crown, " according to the preſent ſettlement.

2. " That he will freely, and bona fide, conſent to the taking all juſt and reaſonable meaſures, for preventing the crowns of France and " Spain being ever united on the head of the ſame " Prince. His Majeſty being perſuaded, that this " exceſs of power would be contrary to the good " and quiet of Europe.

3. " The King's intention is, that all the parties ingag'd in the preſent war, without excepting " any of them, may find their reaſonable ſatisfaction, in the treaty of peace, which ſhall be made: " that commerce may be re-eſtabliſh'd and maintain'd for the future, to the advantage of Great-Britain, of Holland, and of the other nations, " who have been accuſtomed to exerciſe commerce.

4. " As the King will likewiſe maintain exactly " the obſervation of the peace, when it ſhall be " concluded: and the object the King propoſes to " himſelf being to ſecure the frontiers of his kingdom, without diſturbing in any manner whatſoever, the neighboring ſtates, he promiſes to " agree by the treaty which ſhall be made, that " the Dutch ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of the fortified places, which ſhall be mentioned, in the Netherlands, to ſerve hereafter for a barrier, which " may ſecure the quiet of the republic of Holland, " againſt any enterprize from the part of France.

5. " The King conſents likewiſe, that a ſecure " and convenient barrier ſhould be form'd for the " Empire, and for the houſe of Auſtria.

6. " That notwithſtanding Dunkirk coſt the " King very great ſums, as well to purchaſe it, as " to fortify it, and that it is farther neceſſary to " be at a very conſiderable expence for raiſing the " works; his Majeſty is willing however to in- " gage, to cauſe them to be demoliſh'd, imme- " diately after the concluſion of the peace, on " condition, that, for the fortifications of that " place, a proper equivalent, which may be ſa- " tisfactory, be given him: and as England cannot " furniſh that equivalent, the diſcuſſion of it ſhall " be refer'd to the conferences to be held for the " negociation of the peace.

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7. " When the conferences for the negociation " of the peace ſhall be form'd, all the pretenſions " of the Princes and States, ingag'd in the preſent " war, ſhall be therein diſcuſs'd bona fide and " amicably; and nothing ſhall be omited to re- " gulate and terminate them, to the ſatisfaction " of all the parties.

" By virtue of a full power from the King, we " the underwriten knights of his order of St. Mi- " chael, deputy of the council of commerce, have " concluded, in the name of his Majeſty, the pre- " ſent preliminary articles. In witneſs whereof, " we have ſign'd, done at London, September 27. " O. S. and the 8th of October, N. S. 1711."

Mesnager.

Great murmurings occaſion'd thereby.

Theſe preliminary articles, as they were called, tho' they were only offers ſign'd by the French agent alone, being ſo very different from what had been propoſed, when monſieur de Torcy was ſent to Holland but two years before, ſurprized every one, and occaſioned great murmurings among the generality of the people of both parties. They were look'd upon as captious, inſidious, and inſufficient to ground a treaty upon; nay, many would hardly believe them to be genuine (1).

Means uſed to calm them.

To calm, in ſome meaſure, the minds of the people, and to put a ſtop to theſe murmurings, an addition of ſix other preliminary articles, were the ſame day made public in the news-paper, call'd the Poſt-boy, which were ſaid to be agreed to by France, tho' they were not yet ſign'd, nor communicated to the miniſters of the allies. Theſe were in ſubſtance:

1. That the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the duchy of Milan, with the fortreſſes of Tuſcany, which belonged to the crown of Spain, and all Flanders, ſhould remain, for ever, to the houſe of Auſtria.

2. That King Philip ſhould have all Spain, with the iſlands of Majorca and Minorca, and the Weſt-Indies.

3. That the Engliſh ſhould have a gariſon in Cadiz, and the South-ſea-company a ſettlement on that continent, according to the act of parliament.

4. That Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed, and the harbor deſtroy'd.

5. That the Dutch ſhould appoint commiſſaries, to treat with other commiſſaries, to be appointed by France, concerning a neceſſary barrier.

6. That ſatisfaction and ſecurity ſhould be given to the other allies at the general congreſs.

The ſeven propoſals, or preliminary articles were no ſooner made public, than ſwarms of pamphlets appear'd, arraigning the Queen's conduct; and, on the other hand, as many were publiſh'd, to beſpeak a favorable reception of theſe articles. Some of the forein miniſters were likewiſe alarm'd at the apprehenſions of an approaching peace. Count Gallas, the Emperor's miniſter, is ſaid to have treated theſe offers with much ſcorn, and

(1) It was natural, ſays monſieur le Clerc, for people to aſk, what advantages France had gain'd, during the two laſt campains? What victories the French had gain'd over the allies? that they could have the aſſurance to make offers now, ſo vaſtly diſtant from thoſe the allies had reaſon to expect, and France, itſelf, had been upon the very point of accepting. Hiſt. des Prov. Unies.

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caused the preliminaries to be printed in one of our News-papers. He could not, as it has been reported, contain himself upon this occasion, within the bounds of decency; but let fall such expressions, with regard to her Majesty's administration, as were not thought very becoming the minister of a Prince who had so great obligation to the Queen and nation. Her Majesty therefore thought she could do no less than forbid him her court; but she had still so much affection for his Imperial Majesty, as to let him know, that any other minister from him, would be agreeable to her (1).

The French negociators return.

Monsieur Mesnager, and his partner, the abbot du Bosc, having continued some time between London and Windsor, and having had several conferences with the ministry, took their leave, the 4th of October, in order to return home, highly satisfied with the honors done them in England. It was not then known, how far our court had carried the negociations with France; whether they accepted of these preliminaries only as a foundation for a treaty, or if any private promise or treaty was sign'd; the latter of which was positively and industriously given out, both in France and Spain: and the report of the commitee of secrecy mentions special preliminaries being sign'd, before the seven general ones were communicated to the States. When, where and how these matters were treated, is likewise a secret (2).

Numberless were the pamphlets which were publish'd on this account likewise, on both sides of the question; of which but to give the bare titles would carry me too far. I shall therefore lay aside the controversy and come to facts.

The Emperor sends circular letters to the Princes of the Empire:

The new Emperor, having seen the offers made by France, wrote circular letters to the several Electors and Princes of the Empire, to signify his disapprobation of them, and to exhort them, not to give any ear to them: declaring at the same time, that for his part, he had taken an irrevocable resolution to suffer whatever might be the event, rather than give his consent to a negociation, which would be absolutely destructive to the Empire, and a prejudice to the liberties of all Europe.

And writes to the States-general,

He likewise sent a letter to the States-general, wherein, among other things, he observ'd the fatal consequences which must necessarily attend the giving up the Spanish Monarchy, and the augmentation of power, which would thereby accrue to the enemy. His Imperial Majesty thought it likewise proper to take notice, in this letter, that France was not in a condition to withstand the army of the allies, neither in the field, nor in their fortified towns; and said he could not help being irritated at those, who, having so often experienced the illusions of France, would again have a reliance on that good faith, which they always promis'd, but never kept. He continued to assure them, that he depended upon their concurrence with him, to indeavor, at least, to induce the Queen of Great-Britain, to reject these offers, and to continue the war: protesting, that for himself, whatever might be the consequences, he absolutely rejected them, and would never impower his embassadors to assist at the conferences, which were propos'd for treating upon them.

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To dissuade them from accepting the offers made by France.

The earl of Strafford sent to the Hague.

The earl of Strafford, was, in the mean time, dispatch'd for the Hague, to know the sentiments of the States-general, and to use his indeavors to induce their High-mightinesses to consent to a general congress. His lordship arrived there the 10th of October; and, eight days after, monsieur Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam, whom the States appointed on this occasion as their envoy extraordinary to the court of Great-Britain, arrived at London. To pass by the several previous transactions negociated at London and the Hague, I shall only observe, that the States-general, at length consented to a congress, and that, on the 19th of November, at a commitee of council held at the Cockpit, where the lord-treasurer and monsieur Buys assisted, the time and place was fixed to the 1st of January, O. S. in Utrecht: whereupon, the next day, circular letters were sent, by her Majesty's order, to all the forein ministers residing here, to notify the same to their respective masters, that they might likewise send their plenipotentiaries, at the time and place appointed.

The States consent to a congress.

The time and place of the congress fix'd.

A memorial from the Elect. of Hanover presented.

With the duke of Marlborough, who arrived at Hampton-court the 18th, came over baron Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from his Electoral Highness of Hanover, who, about a week after, had a private audience of her Majesty, and the next day presented that famous memorial, which, at that time, made a great noise, and was liable to much censure: tho' it was receiv'd with great applause, by all well-wishers to the Protestant succession, who highly commended the Elector for his seasonable interposition, in an affair that so nearly concern'd him, tho' it gave no small offence to some persons.

The duke of Marlborough visits the ministers.

The duke, for his part, spent several days after his arrival, in visiting the chief of the ministry, among whom, to shew that he entertained no personal dissatisfaction, he paid his compliments to the earl of Oxford (3). Peace was now the subject of every conversation, her Majesty having named her plenipotentiaries, and given commission to the bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford, for that purpose, for whom instructions were actually drawing up (4).

Plenipotentiaries named.

After

(1) "This proceeding (says bishop Burnet) was severe and unusual; for the common method, when a provocation is given "by a public minister, is to complain of him to his master, and to desire him to be recalled: It was not then known upon "what this was grounded; the surmise was, that his secretary, monsieur Gaultier (who was a Priest) betrayed him, and dis- "covered his secret correspondence; and the advertisements he sent the Emperor, to give him ill impressions of our court; for "which treachery, he was rewarded with an abby in France; but of this (adds my author) I have no certain information." History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 580.

(2) "That monsieur Mesnager (says the same report) upon his arrival here, frequently conser'd with the Queen's ministers, "appears by many instances: but the subject matter of these conferences, the times, places, and particular persons, with whom "he treated, or by what authority, the commitee find no account, till the 20th of September, when there was a meeting be- "tween them, at mr. Prior's, at which he delivered the secret preliminary articles, betwixt Great-Britain and France, that "were sign'd as such, the 27th, the same day the general preliminaries were sign'd by monsieur Mesnager."

(3) The duke of Marlborough (says bishop Burnet) upon his coming over, spoke very plainly to the Queen, against the steps which were made: but he found her so possess'd, that what he said made no impression: so he desired to be excused from coming to council; since he must oppose every step which was made in that affair. History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 582.

(4) Bishop Burnet, speaking of these matters, has an odd paragraph, which, for the singularity of it, I shall insert: the Queen (says he) said, "She hoped Bishops would not be against the peace. I said (continues he) a good peace was what we "daily pray'd for; but the preliminaries offered by France, gave no hopes of such a one; and the trusting to the King of "France's faith, after all that had pass'd, would seem a strange thing. She said, we were not to regard the preliminaries; "we should have a peace upon such a bottom, that we should not at all rely on the King of France's word; but we ought to "suspend our opinions, till she acquainted us with the whole matter. I ask'd leave to speak my mind plainly; which she "granted; I said any treaty, by which Spain and the West-Indies were left to King Philip, must, in a little while, deliver up "all Europe into the hands of France; and, if any peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we were all ruined; "in

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After ſeveral prorogations, both houſes of parliament met, the 7th of December, when the Queen made the following ſpeech from the throne:

The parliament meets.

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

" I have called you together as ſoon as the " public affairs would permit, and I am glad that " I can now tell you, that notwithſtanding the " arts of thoſe who delight in war, both place " and time are appointed for opening the treaty of " a general peace.

" Our allies, eſpecially the States-general, whoſe " intereſt I look upon as inſeparable from my " own, have, by their ready concurrence, ex- " preſs'd their intire confidence in me; and I have " no reaſon to doubt, but that my own ſubjects " are aſſured of my particular care for them.

" My chief concern is, that the Proteſtant re- " ligion, and the laws and liberties of theſe na- " tions, may be continued to you, by ſecuring " the ſucceſſion to the crown, as it is limited by " parliament, to the houſe of Hanover.

" I ſhall indeavor, that after a war which has " coſt ſo much blood and treaſure, you may find " your intereſt in trade and commerce improved " and inlarged by a peace, with all other advan- " tages, which a tender and affectionate ſoverein " can procure for a dutiful and loyal people.

" The Princes and States which have been in- " gaged with us in this war, being by treaties " intitled to have their ſeveral intereſts ſecured at a " peace, I will not only do my utmoſt to procure " every one of them all reaſonable ſatisfaction, but " I ſhall alſo unite with them, in the ſtricteſt in- " gagements, for continuing the alliance, in order " to render the general peace ſecure and laſting

" The beſt way to have this treaty effectual " will be to make early proviſion for the cam- " pain: therefore I muſt aſk of you, gentlemen of " the houſe of commons, the neceſſary ſupplies " for the next year's war; and I do moſt earneſtly " recommend to you to make ſuch diſpatch there- " in, as may convince our enemies, that if we " cannot obtain a good peace, we are prepared " to carry on the war with vigor.

" Whatever you give will be ſtill in your own " power to apply, and I doubt not but in a little " time after the opening of the treaty we ſhall be " able to judge of its event.

My lords and gentlemen,

" As I have had your chearful aſſiſtance for the " carrying on this long and chargeable war, ſo I " aſſure myſelf that no true Proteſtant, or good " ſubject, will envy Britain or me the glory and " ſatisfaction of ending the ſame, by a juſt and " honorable peace for us and all our allies.

" Such a peace will give new life to our forein " trade, and I ſhall do my utmoſt to improve " that happy opportunity to incourage our home- " manufactures, which will tend to the eaſing of " my ſubjects in that exceſſive charge they now " ly under in maintaining the poor, and to cor- " rect and redreſs ſuch abuſes as may have crept " into any part of the adminiſtration during ſo " long a war.

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" I cannot conclude without earneſtly recom- " mending to you all unanimity, and that you " will carefully avoid every thing which may " give occaſion to the enemy to think us a people " divided among ourſelves, and conſequently pre- " vent our obtaining that good peace of which " we have ſuch reaſonable hopes, and ſo near a " view.

" I pray God direct your conſultations to this " end, that being deliver'd from the hardſhips of " war, you may become a happy and a flouriſhing " people."

Her Majeſty having diveſted herſelf of her royal robes, return'd incognito to the houſe of lords to hear the debates, which were that day very warm. An addreſs of thanks to her Majeſty, for her moſt gracious ſpeech, being voted, the earl of Nottingham, after a long and elaborate introductory ſpeech (1), moved, " that a clauſe " might be added to the addreſs: That it was " the humble opinion and advice of the houſe, " that no peace could be ſafe or honorable to " Great-Britain, or Europe, if Spain or the Weſt- " Indies ſhould be alloted to any branch of the " houſe of Bourbon." This occaſioned a warm and earneſt debate, and many ſpeeches: the miniſters very much oppoſed it, and moved the refering that debate to another opportunity, in which it might be fully debated; but ſaid it was not proper to clog the addreſs with it. The lord Guernſey ſaid (2), " this clauſe was in a manner forein to " an addreſs of thanks; that in all probability few " of the members of the houſe were prepared to " ſpeak to it; but that it might be debated at a " more convenient time, when, according to cuſ- " tom, the houſe ſhould take into conſideration " the ſtate of the nation." Some went ſo far to add, " that ſince peace and war belonged as pre- " rogatives to the crown, it was not proper to " offer any advice in thoſe matters till it was " aſked: but this (it has been ſaid) was rejected " with indignation; ſince it was a conſtant prac- " tice, in all ſeſſions of parliament, to offer ad- " vices; no prerogative could be above advice; " this was the end ſpecified in the writ, by which " a parliament was ſummoned."

Warm debates concerning the peace.

The earl of Angleſea, who arrived but that very day at London, together with the duke of Ormond, from Ireland, repreſented the inſufferable burthen under which the nation groan'd, and the neceſſity there was of making a peace, the concluſion of which ought, in his opinion, to be left intirely to her Majeſty's wiſdom; and added, " that we might have injoyed the bleſſing of peace

" in leſs than three years, ſhe would be murdered, and the fires would be again raiſed in Smithfield: I purſued this long, till " I ſaw ſhe grew uneaſy: ſo I withdrew." Ib.

How far the biſhop then might, or might not have juſt cauſe to form ſuch harſh conjectures, I ſhall not ſay: but muſt wonder, that as he lived to find matters did not happen to fall out quite ſo bad as he had foretold, why he did not expunge this prophecy out of his manuſcript. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 216.

(1) " He ſet forth the inſufficiency of the late preliminaries, made a lively repreſentation of the danger of treating upon ſo " precarious a foundation; urged the expreſs ingagements Great-Britain had enter'd into with the high allies, to reſtore the in- " tire monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria, and the neceſſity of carrying on the war with vigor, till theſe ingagements " were made good:" adding, " that tho' he had a numerous family, he would readily contribute half his income towards it, " rather than acquieſce in a peace, which he thought unſafe and diſhonorable to his country, and to all Europe."

(2) To the objection made by ſome lords, that they were not prepar'd to ſpeak to that motion, the earl of Sunderland anſwer'd ſmartly; " What my lords, is it poſſible, that any member of this illuſtrious houſe ſhould be unprepar'd to debate an " affair, which, for theſe ten years paſt, has been the principal ſubject-matter of our conſultations? do not we ſit in the " ſame houſe? and are we not the ſame peers, who have conſtantly been of opinion, and have often repreſented to her " Majeſty, that no ſafe and honorable peace can be made, unleſs Spain and the Weſt-Indies be recover'd from the houſe of " Bourbon? It is true, I ſee ſome new faces among us; but even that lord, who ſits on the wool-pack (meaning the lord- " treaſurer) may well remember, that, in the late reign, four lords were impeach'd for having made a partition-treaty.

" ſoon

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" ſoon after the battle of Ramellies, had it not " been deſignedly put off by ſome perſons whoſe " intereſt it was to prolong the war."

The duke of Marlborough, who could not but perceive that this ſuggeſtion was levell'd at him, made a long and pathetic ſpeech, in his own juſtification, wherein " he appeal'd to GOD and " the Queen, that he was ever deſirous of a ſafe, " honorable and laſting peace, and that he was " always very far from having any deſign of pro- " longing the war for his own private advantage: " yet he could by no means give into the meaſures " that had been taken to enter into a negociation " of peace, with France, upon the foot of the " ſeven preliminaries; ſince his opinion was the " ſame with that of the allies, that the leaving " Spain and the Weſt-Indies to the houſe of " Bourbon would be the intire ruin of Europe, " which he had, with all fidelity and humility, " declared to her Majeſty, when he had the " honor to wait on her, a little after his return: " and therefore he was for inſerting the clauſe " offer'd by the earl of Nottingham."

The debate continued very warm till ſeven at night; when a motion being made, whether the queſtion for inſerting the clauſe offered by the earl of Nottingham ought to be put, it was carried in the affirmative by that earl's ſingle caſting vote. The queſtion itſelf for inſerting the clauſe was alſo carried by a majority of ſix votes; and ſeveral lords enter'd their proteſt againſt it. In the houſe of commons, the miniſterial party had a much greater majority: for a motion being made there, for a clauſe of the ſame nature with that in the lords addreſs, it was rejected by a majority of above two to one: and they " expreſs'd their implicit " ſatisfaction in what her Majeſty had been pleas'd " to declare of the juſt and honorable peace ſhe " had in view." The Queen was highly pleaſed with, and returned moſt hearty thanks for this addreſs to the commons: whereas in her anſwer to the lords addreſs, ſhe only ſaid: " ſhe took the " thanks they gave her kindly, and ſhould be very " ſorry any one could think ſhe would not do her " utmoſt to recover Spain and the Weſt-Indies " from the houſe of Bourbon."

Addreſſes of both houſes.

The Queen's anſwers.

The occaſional conformity bill having, as the reader has ſeen above, miſcarried three times, lay dormant almoſt ſeven years, but now a noble peer, who had all along ſtickled for it, prevailed upon ſome lords of the party which had till then oppoſed it, to concur with him in bringing in and carrying thro' his darling bill, tho' under another title, and with ſuch clauſes as, he pretended, would inlarge the toleration, and be a farther ſecurity to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. With this laſt bait, many were unwarily drawn in; and accordingly, on the 15th of December, the earl of Nottingham having brought into the houſe of peers, a " bill for pre- " ſerving the Proteſtant religion, by better ſe- " curing the church of England, as by law eſta- " bliſhed, and for confirming the toleration " granted to Proteſtant Diſſenters, by an act in- " titled, an act for exempting their Majeſty's Pro- " teſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of " England, from the penalties of certain laws, " and for ſupplying the defects thereof, and for " the farther ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, " by requiring the practiſers of the law, in North- " Britain, to take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the " declaration therein mentioned"; his lordſhip was back'd by the earl of Scarborough, the earl of Wharton, and ſeveral other lords, ſo that the bill was received, and met with an eaſy paſſage thro' both houſes.

The occaſional conformity bill paſs'd, by a new title.

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The 17th of December, the act for a land-tax of four ſhillings was brought into the houſe, and had ſo quick a paſſage, that it received the royal aſſent a few days after. The ſame day the commons reſolved to preſent an addreſs to her Majeſty, that ſhe would pleaſe to give directions, that the treaty whereby her Majeſty was obliged to furniſh 40,000 men, to act in conjunction with the forces of the allies, in the Low countries, might be laid before the houſe: and, on the 20th, mr. ſecretary St. John reported, that her Majeſty had given directions accordingly, and that purſuant thereunto, ſearch had been made, but no footſteps could be found of any convention made for that purpoſe. Then the houſe addreſs'd her Majeſty, that an account might be laid before them of the quota's and proportions of her Majeſty and her allies, by ſea and land, during the preſent war (including ſubſidies) and what agreement or conventions had been made for the ſaid quota's and proportions, and alſo how the ſame had been obſerved.

Addreſſes of the commons.

The 21ſt, mr. Lockhart, from the commiſſioners for taking the public accounts, made a report of ſome practices which had been diſcovered in their examinations, relating to the affairs of the army. This report was chiefly level'd againſt the duke of Marlborough (1); and contain'd an information againſt him; that, upon the depoſition of ſir Solomon Medina, a Jew, who had been imployed to ſerve the army with bread, and upon that of mr. Cardonnel, the duke's ſecretary, they could prove, that the duke had taken great ſums of mony, on account of the contracts for ſupplying bread and bread-waggons to the forces in the Low-countries.

Report of the commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts.

Theſe depoſitions being taken while the duke was yet abroad, he no ſooner had an account thereof, than he wrote the following letter to the commiſſioners:

Gentlemen,

" Having been informed, on my arrival here, " that ſir Solomon de Medina has acquainted you " with my having received ſeveral ſums of mony " from him; that it might make the leſs im- " preſſion on you, I would loſe no time in leting " you know, that this is no more than what has " been allowed, as a perquiſite to the general, " or commander in chief of the army, in the " Low-countries, even before the revolution, and " ſince; and I do aſſure you, at the ſame time, " that whatever ſums I have received on that " account, have been conſtantly imployed for the " ſervice of the public, in keeping ſecret corre- " ſpondence, and geting intelligence of the e- " nemy's motions and deſigns; and it has fallen " ſo far ſhort, that I take leave to acquaint you, " with another article that has been applied to the " ſame uſe, and which ariſes from her Majeſty's " warrant, whereof the incloſed is a copy. Tho' " this does not properly relate to the public ac- " counts, being a free gift of the forein troops,

A letter from the duke of Marlborough to the commiſſioners.

(1) The miniſtry (ſays an anonymous author) reſolved to make a puſh at the duke of Marlborough; for as their views were now altogether to enter upon negociations of peace, ſo it behooved them to have one placed at the head of the army, who ſhould act conformably to their meaſures: and therefore, as their agents had begun with perſonal calumny, and had, by that means, daily increaſed the number of the duke's enemies, ſo it was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to confirm all the falſe reports that were ſpread concerning him, alſo to advance certain facts againſt him; being ſenſible that whatever had been ſuggeſted by private hands, would not anſwer their end effectually, without a public reprehenſion. Memoirs of Queen Anne, page 127.

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" you will have obſerved, by the ſeveral eſtabliſh-
" ments, that before the late King's death, when
" the parliament voted 40,000 men for the quota
" of England, in the Low-countries, 21,612 were
" to be foreiners, and the reſt Engliſh; for theſe
" laſt they gave 10,000 pounds a year for in-
" telligence, and other contingences, without ac-
" count. But his Majeſty being ſenſible, by the
" experience of the laſt war, that this ſum would
" not any ways anſwer that ſervice, and un-
" willing to apply for more to the parliament,
" he was pleaſed to order, that the forein troops
" ſhould contribute two and a half per cent. to-
" wards it; and being then his embaſſador and
" commander in chief abroad, he directed me to
" propoſe it to them, with an aſſurance that they
" ſhould have no other ſtoppage made from their
" pay: this they readily agreed to, and her Ma-
" jeſty was afterwards pleaſed to confirm it by
" her warrant, upon my acquainting her with the
" uſes it was intended for; and it has been ac-
" cordingly applied, from time to time, for in-
" telligence and ſecret ſervice, with ſuch ſucceſs,
" that next to the bleſſing of God, and the bra-
" very of the troops, we may, in a great mea-
" ſure, attribute moſt of the advantages of the
" war in this country, to the timely and good ad-
" vices procured with the help of this mony;
" and now, gentlemen, as I have laid the whole
" matter fairly before you, and that I hope you
" will allow I have ſerved my Queen and country
" with that faithfulneſs and zeal which becomes
" an honeſt man; the favor that I intreat of you
" is, that when you make your report to the
" parliament, you will lay this part before them
" in its true light; ſo that they may ſee this
" neceſſary and important part of the war has
" been provided for, and carried on, without
" any other expence to the public than 10,000
" pounds a year; and I flatter myſelf, that when
" the accounts of the army in Flanders come
" under your conſideration, you will be ſenſible
" the ſervice on this ſide has been carried on with
" all the oeconomy and good huſbandry, to the
" public, that was poſſible. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Marlborough.

Ann R.

Copy of her Majeſty's warrant.

" Right truſty and right well-beloved couſin
" and counſellor, we greet you well: whereas
" purſuant to the direction you have received in
" that behalf, you have agreed with the perſons,
" authorized to treat with you, for the taking into
" our ſervice a certain number of forein troops,
" to act in conjunction with the forces of our
" allies, that there be reſerved two and a half
" per cent. out of all monies payable to and for
" the ſaid troops, as well for their pay and enter-
" tainment, as on any other account, towards de-
" fraying ſuch extraordinary contingent expences,
" relating to them, as cannot otherwiſe be pro-
" vided for. Now, we do hereby approve and
" confirm all ſuch agreements as you have, or
" may hereafter make, for reſerving the ſaid two
" and a half per cent. accordingly: and do like-
" wiſe hereby authorize and direct the pay-maſter-
" general of our forces, for the time being, or his
" deputy, to make the ſaid deduction of two and
" a half per cent. purſuant thereunto, out of all
" monies he ſhall be directed to iſſue for the uſe of
" the forein troops in our pay; and thereupon to
" pay over the ſame, from time to time, accord-
" ing to ſuch warrants, or ſuch proportions, as
" you ſhall direct; for which this ſhall be to
" you, and to all others whom it may concern, a
" ſufficient warrant and direction.

" Given at our court, at St. James's, the 6th
" day of July 1702, and in the firſt year of our
" reign. By her Majeſty's command,

C. Hedges.

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" To our right truſty, and right
" well-beloved couſin and counſellor,
" John earl of Marlborough, our
" embaſſador extraordinary, and pleni-
" potentiary to the States-general of
" the United Provinces, and captain-
" general of our land-forces.

His farther vindication.

This letter, and warrant annex'd, the commiſſioners inſerted in their report; and we ſee the duke not only owned the mony he had received upon theſe contracts; but acquainted them alſo voluntarily of another perquiſite he had received of two and a half per cent. deducted out of the pay of the forein troops, in the ſervice of Great-Britain, ſhewing, at the ſame time, how, and in what ſervice, the mony had been imploy'd for the public utility. Upon the duke's return, he clear'd himſelf very fully, in a ſpeech which he deſign'd to have made in the houſe of commons; but when he was going to aſk their leave to pronounce it, he was prevented by ſome of his friends, who thought it might be an ill precedent, and adviſed only to have it printed, which was accordingly done, ſome time afterwards, and, in the mean while, ſeveral written copies of it were handed about. In this ſpeech, or vindication, his grace gave an account of all his tranſactions, ſo far as related to the diſcharge of the confidence and truſt that had been repos'd in him, as commander in chief of the army, by which it appear'd he had acquited himſelf with great faith and integrity.

An' 1712. The houſe of commons proceed againſt the duke of Marlborough.

Notwithſtanding all this, on the 24th of January, the houſe of commons proceeded to take into conſideration the above report of the commiſſioners for taking the public accounts, &c. which, with ſeveral papers relating thereunto, being read, a violent debate aroſe, that laſted above eight hours, and many vehement ſpeeches were made for and againſt his grace. The queſtion propos'd to be put was, " whether the taking ſeveral ſums of mony
" annually, by the duke of Marlborough, from
" the contracters for furniſhing the bread and
" bread-waggons, for the army in the Low-coun-
" tries, was warrantable and legal:" to which the duke's friends, in the firſt place inſiſted, that theſe words ſhould be added; " and a cuſtomary per-
" quiſite allowed to the general, or commander in
" chief, in the Low-countries." To ſupport this addition, ſir John Germain, who had ſerved in the former wars in Flanders, was called in, and being examin'd at the bar, ſaid, in behalf of the duke of Marlborough, " that the allowance given
" his grace by the contracters for the bread and
" bread-waggons was a cuſtomary perquiſite of
" the commander in chief in Flanders, and as ſuch
" allowed to the Prince of Waldeck, under whom
" ſir John had ſerved, as aid de camp." Biſhop Burnet ſays, " that it was proved, both by wit-
" neſſes and by formal atteſtations from Holland,
" that ever ſince the year 1672, the Jews had
" made the like preſent to the general of the army
" of the States, and it was underſtood as a per-
" quiſite belonging to that command. No bar-
" gain (adds he) was made with the Jews for the
" Engliſh troops; but that made by the States
" was applied to them; ſo that it appear'd, that
" the making ſuch a preſent to the general was
" cuſtomary."

But notwithſtanding all theſe evidences, and all that the duke's friends could do or ſay, the queſtion being put, " whether the ſaid words ſhould
" be added?" it was carried in the negative by a great majority. Then the former queſtion was debated till near eleven at night, when it was reſolved,

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Reſolutions againſt him;

reſolved, by a majority of above one hundred votes, "That the taking ſeveral ſums of mony "annually by the duke of Marlborough, from "the contracters for furniſhing the bread and "bread-waggons in the Low-countries, was un- "warrantable and illegal."

A motion was hereupon made, and the queſtion put, that the houſe do adjourn, it paſſed in the negative: after which it was alſo reſolved, by a great majority; "That the two and a half per cent. "deducted from the forein troops, in her Ma- "jeſty's pay, is public mony, and ought to be ac- "counted for: and that the ſaid reſolutions be laid "before her Majeſty, by the whole houſe."

Laid before the Queen.

The 26th of January, the houſe of commons, with their ſpeaker, laid theſe reſolutions before her Majeſty, who was thereupon pleas'd to make them the following anſwer:

Gentlemen,

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

"I have a great regard for whatever is repre- "ſented to me by my commons, and will do my "part to redreſs what you complain of.

The houſe of commons contented themſelves, however, with paſſing the above-mentioned reſolutions, and preſenting the ſame to her Majeſty, not offering any impeachment, or deſiring the concurrence of the lords; well knowing, that their lordſhips had greater reſpect for the duke's perſon and ſervices, than they themſelves thought fit to expreſs at that time.

The duke of Marlborough diſmiſs'd from all his imployments.

The Queen, in the mean time, being preſent in council, the 30th of December, declared; that "ſhe being informed, that an information againſt "the duke of Marlborough was laid before the "houſe of commons, by the commiſſioners of "the public accounts, ſhe thought fit to diſmiſs "him from all his imployments, that the matter "might take an impartial examination:" and this declaration was enter'd in the council-book. The next day, her Majeſty was pleas'd to notify to the duke, by a note written with her own hand, her intention to reſume all the imployments ſhe had intruſted him with. The duke received the meſſage with an heroic reſignation, and wrote a dutiful anſwer to her Majeſty, which he ſent by the counteſs of Sunderland, one of his daughters.

Twelve new peers created.

The ſame day, it being apparent that the court-party had not ſo certain a majority in the houſe of peers, as in the lower houſe, twelve new peers were created at once, and call'd up by writ, to take their places in that houſe; which gave occaſion to very bold and ſevere reflections, as well in print as in moſt converſations; and, among other things, it was ſaid, "that tho' the Queen had an undoubted "right to create as many peers as ſhe pleaſed, yet "her miniſters might be called to account for "adviſing her to abuſe that right."

Prince Eugene comes to England.

During theſe tranſactions, the new Emperor diſpatch'd Prince Eugene into England, to expoſtulate with her Majeſty concerning the meaſures which were taken to enter into negociations of peace with France. And it was the opinion of many, that this accelerated the duke of Marlborough's diſgrace, on a ſurmiſe, that if he continued in his imployments, that Prince's repreſentations would receive no ſmall weight from the reciprocal confidence, which had grown into an intire friendſhip, between them; whereas when his grace was diveſted of all his public characters, he could not converſe with the Prince otherwiſe than as a private man: tho' others thought his diſgrace was owing to the counſels he was ſaid to have entered into, to thwart the ſchemes of the preſent miniſtry towards a peace.

Is unſucceſsful in his negociations.

Prince Eugene was highly careſs'd by the miniſtry, and by the nobility, as well thoſe in favor, as thoſe out of favor; and was preſented with a ſword by her Majeſty, of the value of 5000 l. but did not meet with that ſucceſs in his negociations as he expected; the court was but too much convinc'd already, by experience, how little dependance was to be had on Imperial promiſes, and would not therefore be moved to make any alterations in the meaſures they were taking. The Prince continued, however, his negociations till about the middle of March, and then, deſpairing of ſucceſs, imbark'd again for Holland.

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Promotions.

Upon the duke of Marlborough's diſgrace, the duke of Ormond was made commander in chief of her Majeſty's forces, within the kingdom of Great-Britain, and of thoſe imployed abroad, in conjunction with the troops of the allies; the duke of Northumberland was appointed captain of the ſecond troop of horſe-guards; the earl of Rivers was made maſter of the ordnance; and the duke of Beaufort, captain of the band of penſioners, in the room of the duke of St. Albans: brigadier Hill, brother to the lady Maſham, was made lieutenant of the Tower, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan; the duke of Somerſet was removed from his place of maſter of the horſe; and the counteſs of Sunderland and the lady Rialton, two of the duke of Marlborough's daughters, reſign'd their places of ladies of the bed-chamber to the Queen. But to return to the parliament.

The 17th of January, the Queen (the Britiſh plenipotentiaries being now arrived at Utrecht) ſent the following meſſage to the houſe of commons:

Ann, R.

The Queen's meſſage to the houſe of commons.

"Her Majeſty not having recovered ſtrength "enough, ſince the return of the gout, to be pre- "ſent this day in perſon, and being unwilling that "the public buſineſs ſhould receive any delay, "thinks fit to communicate to this houſe the ſub- "ſtance of what ſhe intended to have ſpoke.

"At the opening of this ſeſſion, her Majeſty "acquainted her parliament, that both time and "place were appointed for the meeting of the "plenipotentiaries of all the confederates, to treat "with thoſe of the enemy, concerning a general "peace; and alſo expreſs'd the care which ſhe in- "tended to take of all her allies, and the ſtrict "union in which ſhe propoſed to join with them, "in order to obtain a good peace, and to gua- "ranty and ſupport it, when obtained.

"Her Majeſty can now tell you, that her pleni- "potentiaries are arrived at Utrecht, and have "begun, in purſuance of their inſtructions, to "concert the moſt proper ways of procuring a "juſt ſatisfaction to all in alliance with her, ac- "cording to their ſeveral treaties, and particularly "with relation to Spain and the Weſt-Indies.

"You may depend on her Majeſty's communi- "cating to her parliament, the terms of peace, "before the ſame ſhall be concluded.

"The world will now ſee how groundleſs thoſe "reports are, which have been ſpread abroad, by "men of evil intentions, to ſerve the worſt deſigns, "as if a ſeparate peace had been treated of; for "which there has not been the leaſt color given.

"Her Majeſty's miniſters have directions to pro- "poſe, that a day may be fix'd for the finiſhing, "as was done for the commencement of this trea- "ty, and, in the mean time, all the preparations "are haſtening for an early campain.

"The zeal which this houſe has already ex- "preſs'd, is a ſure pledge that they will proceed, "in giving the neceſſary diſpatch to the ſupplies "which have been aſk'd of them.

"Her Majeſty finds it neceſſary to obſerve, "how great licenſe is taken in publiſhing falſe "and ſcandalous libels; ſuch as are a reproach "to any government: this evil ſeems to be "grown too ſtrong for the laws now in force;

"it

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" it is therefore recommended to you to find a " remedy equal to the miſchief."

St. James's, 17th of February 1711-12.

And to the lords.

The ſame meſſage was ſent to the houſe of lords, only, inſtead of the ſeventh paragraph, about the ſupply, the following words were inſerted:

" There is one thing, in which her Majeſty's " ſubjects, of the north part of this kingdom, are " extreamly concern'd; the diſtinction ſuch of " them, who were peers of Scotland before the " union, muſt ly under if the prerogative of the " crown is ſtrictly barred againſt them alone. " This is a matter which ſenſibly affects her Ma- " jeſty; and ſhe therefore lays it before this houſe, " earneſtly deſiring their advice and concurrence " in finding out the beſt method of ſettling this " affair to the ſatisfaction of the whole kingdom."

Addreſſes of thanks from both houſes.

The commons, after reading this meſſage, readily voted an addreſs of thanks, " for her Ma- " jeſty's great goodneſs and condeſcenſion, in pro- " miſing to communicate to her parliament the " terms of peace, before they ſhould be con- " cluded, whereby thoſe groundleſs and ſeditious " reports muſt be ſilenced, which had been in- " duſtriouſly ſpread abroad, to the diſhonor of her " Majeſty, and to ſerve deſigns which the authors " of them had not dared publicly to own: and " to aſſure her Majeſty, they would give the ne- " ceſſary diſpatch to the ſupplies, and take the " moſt effectual courſe to put a ſtop to the pub- " liſhing thoſe falſe and ſeditious libels which had " expos'd her Majeſty's government to danger " and reproach."

The lords likewiſe preſented an addreſs of thanks, in which having repeated her Majeſty's expreſſion, " particularly with relation to Spain " and the Weſt-Indies;" they added, " which " are of ſo great concern to the ſafety and com- " merce of your Majeſty's kingdom."

The 4th of February, the commons, taking into conſideration the ſtate of the war, came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolutions of the commons on the ſtate of the war.

1. " That the States-general have been deficient " in their quotas for ſea-ſervice, in proportion to " the number of ſhips provided by her Majeſty, " ſome years, two thirds, and generally more " than half of their quota.

2. " That towards carrying on the war in Spain, " in order to reduce that Monarchy to the houſe " of Auſtria, neither the late Emperors, nor his " preſent Imperial Majeſty, have ever had any " forces on their own account there till the laſt " year, and then only a regiment of foot conſiſt- " ing of 2000 men.

3. " That the forces ſupplied and paid by her " Majeſty, for carrying on the war in Spain, from " the year 1705 to the year 1711 incluſive, a- " mounted to 57,973 men, beſide thirteen batta- " lions and eighteen ſquadrons, for which her " Majeſty has paid a ſubſidy to the Emperor.

4. " That the forces ſupplied by the States- " general, for the ſervice of the war in Spain, " from the year 1705 to the year 1708, both in- " cluſive, have amounted to no more than 12,200, " and that from the year 1708, to this preſent " time, they have ſent no forces thither at all.

5. " That her Majeſty has not only furniſh'd " her proportion of 12,000 men, according to " the treaty enter'd into for the ſervice of the war " in Portugal, but has taken upon her the Em- " peror's proportion, by furniſhing two thirds, " when the States only furniſhed one third for " that ſervice.

6. " That by the treaty with the King of " Portugal, there were to be furniſhed 12,000 " foot and 3000 horſe at his own expence; and, " in conſideration of a ſubſidy to be paid him, " 11,000 foot and 2000 horſe more; notwith- " ſtanding which it appears, that the King of " Portugal did not furniſh 13,000 men in the " whole.

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7. " That ſince the year 1706, when the " Engliſh and Dutch march'd into Caſtille, and " returned no more into Portugal, her Majeſty " has replac'd more than her ſhare, according to " her proportion, and the States-general have not " had any troops in Portugal.

8. " That the firſt proportion of three fifths " to two fifths, agreed upon between his late Ma- " jeſty King William and the States-general, for " the ſervice of the war in Flanders, has not been " obſerved by the States-general.

9. " That the States-general, during the courſe " of the war, have furniſh'd leſs than their pro- " proportion in Flanders 20,837 men.

10. " That the condition for prohibiting all " trade and correſpondence between Holland and " France, on which the troops of augmentation " were granted in 1703, and afterwards continued, " has not been obſerved by the States-general.

11. " That at the begining of this war the " ſubſidies were paid in equal proportions by her " Majeſty and the States-general; but her Ma- " jeſty has ſince paid more than her proportion " 3,155,000 crowns."

A repreſenta- tion to the Queen grounded thereupon.

Theſe reſolutions were alſo laid before the Queen, in a long repreſentation, with many other abuſes and connivances, which they ſaid had been between her Majeſty's late miniſters and her allies; parti- cularly that the perſons whom ſhe had of late in- truſted with the management of her affairs, had been ſo far from conſulting her true intereſt, and the intereſt of their country, that, on the contrary, they had, to ſerve their own private ends, per- mited the war to be carried on, without obliging the allies to perform their ſeveral ſtipulations; and to make this appear, ſeveral eſtimates were in- ſerted of men and mony, furniſh'd by this nation (the latter amounting to upwards of nineteen mil- lions ſterling) over and above what was agreed to by treaty with the allies, and the States-general were in particular repreſented as not having con- tributed their ſhare neither by ſea nor land.

Debates in parliament on that ac- count.

This repreſentation was the cauſe of many warm ſpeeches in the houſe of commons. Thoſe mem- bers who had been in imployment during the late adminiſtration, made it their buſineſs to clear them- ſelves, and thoſe who had been concerned in the public affairs with them, of the imputation of in- juſtice towards their country, by ſhewing that the utmoſt indeavors had been uſed to oblige the allies to perform their ſtipulations; but they allowed, that notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances which had been made, both publicly and privately, as well to the Imperial court, as the diet of the Em- pire, and the courts of ſeveral other Princes, the Germans were either deficient in their quota's, or ſo late in furniſhing them, that the operations of war were, by that means, often retarded. They allowed the ſame of the Portugueſe, but indeavored to ſhew reaſons why there was a neceſſity of winking at them. As for the Dutch they ſoon took up the cudgels themſelves, and ſent over a very long memorial, a tranſlation of which was printed here, and ſaid ſo much in their vindication, that the genuineneſs of it was call'd in queſtion, and the publiſher and printer thereof taken into cuſtody: however, an anſwer was ſoon after made to it, in the Queen's name, and ſign'd by mr. ſecretary St. John, and conceived in ſuch terms as could beſt incenſe the nation againſt them.

The barrier- treaty cen- ſur'd.

The 14th of February the commons reſolved, " that in the treaty between her Majeſty and the " States-general, for ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the " crown

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" crown of Great-Britain, and for the ſetling a " barrier for the States-general againſt France, " there were ſeveral articles deſtructive to the " trade and intereſt of Great-Britain, and highly " diſhonorable to her Majeſty: and that it appear'd, " the lord-viſcount Townſhend, who negociated " and ſign'd, and all thoſe who adviſed the rati- " fying the ſaid treaty, were enemies to the Queen " and kingdom."

The application of the two and a half per cent, deduction, from the pay of forein forces voted.

The 29th of February, the houſe of commons being conſidering of ways and means to raiſe the ſupply, among other particulars, reſolved; " That " the deduction of two and a half per cent, which " had, or ought to have been made from the pay, " ſubſidies, or other allowances, for forein forces, " in her Majeſty's ſervice, be continued for the " year 1712, and applied for the ſervice of the " war, in aid of the proviſion made, or to be " made, in this ſeſſion of parliament, for that " purpoſe: which reſolution was deſign'd to co- " lor the cenſure already paſs'd on the duke of " Marlborough." Tho' it had a very different effect, eſpecially when afterwards, notwithſtanding this reſolution, the duke of Ormond inſiſted upon, and was allowed to take the ſame perquiſite.

A repreſentation of ſome forein Princes in the duke of Marlborough's favor.

In the mean time, ſeveral forein Princes who had troops in her Majeſty's pay, order'd their miniſters to repreſent, " that the ſaid two and a half " per cent. was their own mony, but that they " were willing to allow it as a free gift to the duke " of Ormond, as they had done before to the duke " of Marlborough." This ſeemed to be a full juſtification of the latter, and was no ſmall mortification to his grace's implacable enemies, who after a great deal of noiſe and clamor, could not fix any thing criminal upon him. And tho' orders were given to the attorney-general, to proſecute his grace, and a bill was afterwards exhibited againſt him in the court of Exchequer, I do not find that this proſecution ever came to any thing.

Preparations for opening the campain.

The Queen having declared, at the opening of this ſeſſion, that ſhe intended to carry on the war vigorouſly, till ſhe ſhould obtain honorable terms of the enemy, and having, by that means, got a ſupply of near ſeven millions, all the uſual preparations for the inſuing campain were made, and the duke of Ormond had orders to make ready, with all poſſible expedition, to go over to the army; things being got in ſufficient forwardneſs, that they might take the field betimes. The duke went accordingly to Holland, and arrived at the Hague, ſome time before the campain was opened. He was received, by the States-general, with the ſame outward marks of diſtinction, which they had uſually ſhewn to the duke of Marlborough; and he, on his ſide, gave the States aſſurances, in the Queen's name, that he would act in concert with the allies. The army was in a very good condition, and all things in great forwardneſs; for the Germans, when they underſtood that the duke of Marlborough was in total diſgrace, had uſed more than ordinary diligence, and were got into the field much ſooner than uſual. They were likewiſe very advantageouſly poſted, having all the country behind them in full poſſeſſion, with fine navigable rivers, and a vaſt number of barks and ſmall veſſels to ſupply them with all manner of neceſſaries. The French, who were commanded by the marſhal de Villars, lay very open, with their right at Caſtelet, and their left near Cambray, having indeed the Scheld before them, but the country all open between the ſpring-head of that river and the Somme. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to the confederate generals, that there might be ſome under-hand dealings between the Engliſh and the French; for they knew monſieur de Villars did not uſe to be ſo negligent. However Prince Eugene made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions to give him battle: but when he came to confer with the duke of Ormond, he found him very backward to ingage. This made the Prince and the confederate generals preſs the matter home upon him; ſo that, after ſeveral indirect anſwers, he told them, he had received poſitive orders, from the Queen, not to conſent to a battle; but that he was not reſtrained from ingaging with them in a ſiege. The generals were hereupon in a very great confuſion, and ſome time was ſpent in conſulting what reſolution to take under this diſappointment; but they at laſt agreed to inveſt Queſnoy, and having got all things ready for that purpoſe, the duke of Ormond took upon him to cover the ſiege.

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The duke of Ormond's conduct.

Debate in the houſe of lords, about the duke of Ormond's orders.

Upon the duke of Ormond's declaration of his being reſtrained from acting offenſively againſt the French, and news of it coming to England, a motion was made, the 28th of May, in the houſe of peers, for addreſſing the Queen, " that her Ma- " jeſty's orders to the duke of Ormond might be " laid before the houſe;" but, after a very warm debate, the queſtion was put to adjourn; which was carried by ſixty-eight votes againſt forty.

During this debate, the duke of Devonſhire, who was for addreſſing, ſaid, " That by the " proximity of blood, he was more concerned for " the duke of Ormond's reputation, than any " other; and, therefore he could not forbear de- " claring, he was ſurpriſed to hear any one dare to " make uſe of a nobleman of the firſt rank, and " of ſo diſtinguiſh'd a character, as an inſtrument " of ſuch a proceeding." The earl of Powlet ſaid, on the ſide of the court, " That no body " could doubt of the duke's bravery; but that he " was not like a certain general, who led troops to " the ſlaughter, to cauſe a great number of officers " to be knock'd on the head in a battle, or againſt " ſtone-walls, in order to fill his pocket, by diſ- " poſing of their commiſſions."

The earl of Powlet reflects on the duke of Marlborough.

The duke reſents it.

This invidious reflection was too plain not to be underſtood by the duke of Marlborough, who was ſenſible that a ſuggeſtion of that nature was not fit to be anſwer'd by any ſolid arguments drawn from right reaſon; and yet that no others were proper to be offer'd by him in that place; he therefore thought it not convenient to make any reply at that time. His grace could not however ſo far ſtifle his reſentments; but that he ſent the lord Mohun to the earl of Powlet, to tell him that the duke of Marlborough was willing to have an eclairciſſement with his lordſhip, about ſome expreſſions he had uſed, in that day's debate, and therefore deſired him to go into the country: however by the interpoſition of friends, and her Majeſty's authority, the lord-treaſurer likewiſe uſing his good offices between the two parties, the quarrel was at leaſt ſeemingly compos'd.

The matter made up.

Declaration of the biſhop of Briſtol.

The field-deputies of the States had, in the mean time, ſent two expreſſes, one to their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and another to the Hague, with an account of the duke of Ormond's conduct. The Dutch miniſters at Utrecht delay'd no time to acquaint the biſhop of Briſtol with the advices they had received, and as they could not forbear doing it with ſome reſentment, it provok'd the biſhop ſo much, that he told them with a great deal of warmth, he had orders to let them know, " the " Queen his miſtreſs looked on herſelf to be looſed " from all ingagements and alliances with their " ſtate." So unexpected a declaration, at ſo critical a juncture, could not but very much alarm the States-general, and was the occaſion of their ſending immediately a letter to the Queen, wherein they ſet forth the many ill conſequences which might attend her preſent meaſures, and how her Majeſty's late

Letter from the States-general to the Queen.

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late orders had already loſt the allies the faireſt opportunity they ever had, or perhaps might have for the future, of giving a deciſive blow, but that theſe orders had not given them ſo much ſurprize as the biſhop of Briſtol's declaration to their miniſters at Utrecht. In the ſame letter, they alſo gave their reaſons, why they had not hitherto acquieſced to treat upon the French propoſals, and likewiſe charged the Queen with a breach of promiſe, in not proſecuting the war in conjunction with her allies, as the duke of Ormond had declared to them in her name. This letter ſo gaul'd the miniſtry, that they drew up a very ſharp anſwer to it, in the Queen's name, wherein they laid the whole blame on the obſtinacy of the States, and, as their letter was in print, almoſt as ſoon as it was communicated to her Majeſty, they ſhew'd their reſentment in the Queen's anſwer, by ſtyling it, "an appeal to the people, rather than an addreſs "to the ſoverein, and ſaid that her Majeſty's ho- "nor would not permit her to give an anſwer to "any which ſhould come in the like manner for the "future."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

A vote of the houſe of commons concerning it.

This was corroborated by a vote of the houſe of commons, declaring, "That the printing of the "ſaid letter, before it had been preſented to the "Queen, was a great indignity offer'd to her "Majeſty, and ordered an addreſs to be drawn "up, beſeeching her Majeſty, to give no anſwer, "for the future, to any letters or memorials ſent "from the States-general, in that manner."

Their reſolution concerning the peace.

And indeed this houſe, upon every occaſion, ſhewed a great readineſs to concur with the miniſtry, in promoting the meaſures they were taking: for, upon an attempt being made to procure their cenſure of the orders given to the duke of Ormond, not to act offenſively, it was not only rejected by a majority of 203 againſt thirty-ſeven, but they came alſo to the reſolution, "That they had an intire "confidence in her Majeſty's moſt gracious pro- "miſe, to communicate to her parliament the "terms of the peace, before they ſhould be con- "cluded, and that they would ſupport her Ma- "jeſty, in obtaining an honorable and ſafe peace, "againſt all ſuch perſons, either at home or abroad, "who had indeavor'd, or ſhould indeavor, to "obſtruct the ſame."

This reſolution being laid before her Majeſty, the 30th of May, ſhe ſaid;

Gentlemen,

"I thank you moſt heartily for this reſolution, "which is dutiful to me, honeſt to our country, "and very ſeaſonable at this time, when ſo many "artifices are uſed to obſtruct a good peace, or to "force one diſadvantageous to Great-Britain."

The conferences were all this while carrying on at Utrecht, where, on the 11th of February, N. S. the French plenipotentiaries deliver'd in their propoſals, to which they gave the following title.

"A particular explication of the offers of France, "for a general peace, to the ſatisfaction of all the "parties concerned in the preſent war."

The French make propoſals for a general peace.

Theſe propoſals were received by the Dutch with great indignation; and occaſion'd ſeveral conferences between the plenipotentiaries of the allies.

They are receiv'd with indignation.

They being likewiſe tranſmited to London, by the Britiſh plenipotentiaries, were received with almoſt as general an indignation there. The 15th of February, O. S. the lord Hallifax made a motion in the houſe of peers, for preſenting an addreſs to the Queen, about theſe offers of France, which he call'd, "Trifling, arrogant, and injurious to "her Majeſty and her allies." Upon the debate, ſome noble members of that auguſt aſſembly gave it, as their opinion, "that they ought to be re- "jected, with the utmoſt indignation, and that it "plainly appear'd, France had no other view, "than to amuſe and divide the allies:" others ſaid, "it was derogatory to her Majeſty's ho- "nor, to enter into any negociations with that "crown, till her Majeſty's title was acknow- "ledg'd." And, upon a diviſion, it was reſolved, in an addreſs to her Majeſty, "to expreſs the juſt "indignation they had of the diſhonorable treat- "ment of her Majeſty by France, and their ut- "moſt reſentment at the terms of peace offer'd by "the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht." It has even been ſaid, that ſome lords, who bore no great good will to the duke of Marlborough, and the late miniſtry, ſpoke againſt them.

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The 5th of March, N. S. the allies deliver'd, to the plenipotentiaries of France,

Her Majeſty makes her ſpecific demands.

"The ſpecific demands of her Majeſty, the "Queen of Great-Britain, for what relates to "France."

All the members of the grand alliance having likewiſe given in their reſpective demands, the French plenipotentiaries promiſed to explain themſelves on the demands of the allies, the ninth.

To this end, a general conference was held that day; but the French then declared, that the ſaid demands being very extenſive, they could not give in the explanation they had promiſed, till they had received new inſtructions from the courts of Verſailles and Madrid: and therefore deſir'd a farther time of three weeks, which was agreed to. The plenipotentiaries met accordingly, the 30th. When thoſe of France declar'd; "that as they had com- "municated in writing, the ſpecific offers of the "moſt Chriſtian King; and, that the allies like- "wiſe, had given theirs in writing, it was unne- "ceſſary to continue treating that way: but that "they were ready to treat with the plenipoten- "tiaries of the allies, by way of conference." The miniſters of the allies declared hereupon; "that they expected an anſwer in writing, as they "had promis'd." This they inſiſted on again, the 2d and 6th of April, and declared, that they were unanimouſly in the ſame opinion: and the French return'd the ſame anſwer they had done before.

A difference ariſes concerning the manner of treating.

The general conferences thereby ſuſpended.

The general conferences, which were to have been held twice every week, were upon this account ſuſpended, till the 13th of April, when the French declared, that they had not yet received any farther inſtructions, and perſiſted in their refuſal of giving any anſwer in writing. Whereupon the general conferences remain'd ſtill ſuſpended; and the public knew nothing of the farther ſteps made towards a treaty, till the 6th of June, O. S. when her Majeſty, the Queen of Great-Britain, was pleas'd to communicate to her parliament the terms upon which a general peace might be made, in the following ſpeech:

The terms for a general peace open'd to the parliament of Great-Britain.

My lords and gentlemen,

"The making peace and war, is the undoubted "perquiſite of the crown; yet ſuch is the juſt "confidence I place in you, that, at the opening "of this ſeſſion, I acquainted you, that a nego- "ciation for a general peace was begun, and "afterwards by meſſages, I promiſed to commu- "nicate to you the terms of peace, before they "ſhould be concluded.

"In purſuance of that promiſe, I now come to "let you know upon what terms a general peace "may be made.

"I need not mention the difficulties which ariſe "from the very nature of this affair; and it is "but too apparent, that theſe difficulties have "been increas'd by other obſtructions, art- "fully contriv'd to hinder this great and good "work.

"Nothing however has moved me from "ſteadily

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" ſteadily purſuing, in the firſt place, the true " intereſts of my own kingdoms; and I have " not omited any thing which might procure to " all our allies, what is due to them by treaties, " and what is neceſſary for their ſecurity.

" The aſſuring of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as " by law eſtabliſh'd, in the houſe of Hanover, " to theſe kingdoms, being what I have neareſt " at heart, particular care is taken not only to " have that acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt terms, " but to have an additional ſecurity, by the re- " moval of that perſon, out of the dominions of " France, who has pretended to diſturb this ſettle- " ment.

" The apprehenſion that Spain and the Weſt- " Indies might be united to France, was the chief " inducement to begin this war; and the effectual " prevention of ſuch an union was the principle " I laid down at the commencement of this treaty. " Former examples, and the late negociations, " ſufficiently ſhew how difficult it is to find means " to accompliſh this work. I would not content " myſelf with ſuch as are ſpeculative, or depend " on treaties only; I inſiſted on what was ſolid, " and to have at hand the power of executing " what ſhould be agreed.

" I can therefore now tell you, that France, " at laſt, is brought to offer, that the duke " d'Anjou ſhall, for himſelf, and his deſcendants, " renounce for ever all claim to the crown of " France; and that this important article be ex- " poſed to no hazard, the performance is to ac- " company the promiſe.

" At the ſame time, the ſucceſſion to the crown " of France is to be declared, after the death of " the preſent Dauphin, and his ſons, to be in the " duke of Berry, and his ſons, in the duke of " Orleans, and his ſons, and ſo on to the reſt of " the houſe of Bourbon.

" As to Spain and the Indies, the ſucceſſion " to thoſe dominions, after the duke d'Anjou, " and his children, is to deſcend to ſuch Prince " as ſhall be agreed upon at the treaty, for ever " excluding the reſt of the houſe of Bourbon.

" For confirming the renunciations and ſettle- " ments before-mentioned, it is farther offered, " that they ſhould be ratified in the moſt ſtrong " and ſolemn manner, both in France and Spain; " and thoſe kingdoms, as well as all the other " powers ingaged in the preſent war, ſhall be " guarantees to the ſame.

" The nature of this propoſal is ſuch, that it " executes itſelf; the intereſt of Spain is to ſup- " port it; and in France, the perſons to whom " that ſucceſſion is to belong, will be ready and " powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

" France and Spain is now more effectually " divided than ever; and thus, by the bleſſing " of GOD, will a real balance of power be fixed " in Europe, and remain liable to as few acci- " dents, as humane affairs can be exempted from.

" A treaty of commerce between theſe king- " doms and France has been entered upon; but " the exceſſive duties laid on ſome goods, and " the prohibition of others, make it impoſſible " to finiſh this work ſo ſoon as were to be de- " ſired: care is however taken, to eſtabliſh a " method of ſettling this matter, and, in the " mean time, proviſion is made, that the ſame " privileges and advantages, as ſhall be granted " to any other nation by France, ſhall be granted " in like manner to us.

" The diviſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher " between us and the French, have been the " cauſe of great inconveniency and damage to " my ſubjects; I have demanded to have an ab- " ſolute ceſſion made to me of the whole iſland, " and France agrees to this demand.

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" Our intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the " trade of North America, that I have uſed my " utmoſt indeavors, to adjuſt that article, in the " moſt beneficial manner. France conſents to " reſtore to us the whole bay and ſtreights of Hud- " ſon; to deliver up the iſland of Newfoundland, " with Placentia, and to make an abſolute ceſſion " of Annapolis, with the reſt of Nova Scotia or " Arcadia: the ſafety of our home-trade will be " better provided for, by the demolition of Dun- " kirk.

" Our Mediterranean trade, and the Britiſh in- " tereſt and influence in thoſe parts, will be ſe- " cured by the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Port- " Mahon, with the whole iſland of Minorca, " which are offered to remain in my hands.

" The trade to Spain and the Weſt-Indies may " in general be ſettled as it was in the time of the " late King of Spain, Charles II, and a particular " proviſion that all advantages, rights or privi- " leges, which have been granted, or may here- " after be granted by Spain to any other nation, " ſhall be, in like manner, granted to the ſub- " jects of Great-Britain. But the part which we " have born in the proſecution of this war, in- " titling us to ſome diſtinction in the terms of " peace; I have inſiſted and obtained, that the " Aſſiento, or Contract for furniſhing the Spaniſh " Weſt-Indies with negroes, ſhall be made with " us for the term of thirty years, in the ſame " manner as it has been injoy'd by the French for " ten years paſt.

" I have not taken upon me to determine the " intereſts of our confederates, theſe muſt be ad- " juſted in the congreſs at Utrecht, where my beſt " indeavors ſhall be imployed, as they have hither- " to conſtantly been, to procure to every one of " them, all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction: in the " mean time I think it proper to acquaint you, " that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier " of the Empire; to yield Briſac, Fort Kehl and " Landau, and to raze all the fortreſſes, both on " the other ſide of the Rhine and in that river.

" As to the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany, " there will be, on the part of France, no ob- " jection to the reſettling thereof on the foot of " the treaty of Weſtphalia.

" The Spaniſh Low-countries may go to his " Imperial Majeſty: the kingdoms of Naples and " Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places " belonging to Spain on the coaſt of Tuſcany, " may likewiſe be yielded, by the treaty of peace, " to the Emperor.

" As to the kingdom of Sicily, tho' there re- " mains no diſpute concerning the ceſſion of it, " by the duke d'Anjou, yet the diſpoſition thereof " is not yet determined.

" The intereſts of the States-general, with re- " ſpect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have " been demanded by their own miniſters, with " the exception only of ſome very few ſpecies of " merchandize; and the intire barrier, as de- " manded by the States in 1709, from France, " except two or three places at moſt.

" As to theſe exceptions ſeveral expedients are " propoſed; and I make no doubt but this barrier " may be ſo ſettled, as to render that republic " perfectly ſecure againſt any enterprize on the " part of France, which is the foundation of all " my ingagements upon this head with the States.

" The demands of Portugal depending on the " diſpoſition of Spain, and that article having " been long in diſpute, it has not been yet poſſible " to make any conſiderable progreſs therein; but " my plenipotentiaries will now have an oppor- " tunity to aſſiſt that King in his pretenſions.

" Thoſe of the King of Pruſſia are ſuch as I

" hope

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" will admit of little difficulty on the part of " France, and my utmoſt indeavors ſhall not be " wanting to procure all I am able to ſo good an " ally.

" The difference between the barrier demand- " ed for the duke of Savoy, in 1709, and the " offers now made by France is very inconſidera- " ble: but that Prince having ſo ſignally diſtin- " guiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the common " cauſe, I am indeavoring to procure for him ſtill " farther advantages.

" France has conſented that the Elector Pala- " tine ſhall continue his preſent rank among the " Electors, and remain in poſſeſſion of the Upper " Palatinate.

" The electoral dignity is likewiſe acknowledg'd " in the houſe of Hanover, according to the ar- " ticle inſerted, at that Prince's deſire, in my de- " mands.

" And as to the reſt of the allies, I make no " doubt of being able to ſecure their ſeveral in- " tereſts."

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have now communicated to you not only " the terms of peace, which may, by the future " treaty, be obtained for my own ſubjects; but " likewiſe the propoſals of France for ſatisfying " our allies.

" The former are ſuch as I have reaſon to ex- " pect to make my people ſome amends for that " great and unequal burden which they have " laid under thro' the whole courſe of this war; " and I am willing to hope that none of our con- " federates, and eſpecially thoſe to whom ſo great " acceſſions of dominion and power are to accrue " by this peace, will envy Britain her ſhare in the " glory and advantage of it.

" The latter are not yet ſo perfectly adjuſted as " a little more time might have rendered them; " but the ſeaſon of the year making it neceſſary to " put an end to this ſeſſion, I reſolved no longer " to defer communicating theſe matters to you.

" I can make no doubt but you are all fully " perſuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my " part in the progreſs of the negociation, to bring " the peace to a happy and ſpeedy iſſue; and I " depend on your intire confidence in me, and " your chearful concurrence with me."

Debates in the houſe of peers about the peace.

The duke of Marlborough's ſenſe of the matter.

The next day the houſe of lords took this ſpeech into conſideration; when very hot debates ariſing about the ſame, the duke of Marlborough, among others, repreſented to the houſe, " that the mea- " ſures enter'd into, and purſued in England, for " this year paſt, were contrary to her Majeſty's " ingagements with her allies, did fully the " triumphs and glories of her reign, and would " render the Engliſh name odious to all other " nations. Upon this the earl of Strafford ſaid, " that ſome of the allies (meaning the Dutch) " would not ſhew ſuch backwardneſs to a peace " as they had hitherto done, but for a member of " that illuſtrious aſſembly (meaning the duke of " Marlborough) who maintain'd a ſecret corre- " ſpondence with them, and indeavor'd to per- " ſuade them to carry on the war, feeding them " with hopes that they ſhould be ſupported by a " ſtrong party here." The lord Cowper anſwer'd this ſpeech, and becauſe the earl of Strafford had not expreſs'd himſelf in all the puriry of the Engliſh tongue, he took occaſion from thence to ſay; " that this noble lord had been ſo long abroad, " that he had almoſt forgot not only the language, " but the very conſtitution of his own country. " That, according to our laws, it could never be " ſuggeſted as a crime in the meaneſt ſubject, " much leſs in any member of that auguſt aſſem- " bly, to hold correſpondence with our allies: " ſuch allies eſpecially whoſe intereſt her Ma- " jeſty had declared to be inſeparable from her " own, in her ſpeech at the opening of this ſeſ- " ſion: whereas it would be a hard matter to " juſtify and reconcile either with our laws, or the " laws of honor and juſtice, the conduct of ſome " perſons, in treating clandeſtinely with the com- " mon enemy, without the participation of the " allies."

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The duke's aſſertion was back'd by ſeveral ex- cellent ſpeeches of the lords Nottingham, Cowper and others, yet they had, at that time, no effect, the majority was too great againſt them; and both lords and commons waited on her Majeſty with their addreſſes of thanks for communicating to them the terms on which a peace might be made, and expreſſing their intire confidence in her Majeſty's wiſdom to finiſh ſo great and good a work.

Reſolution of the commons;

The 17th, mr. Hampden propoſed to addreſs the Queen, " that ſhe would give inſtructions to " her plenipotentiaries, that the ſeveral powers in " alliance with her Majeſty might be guarantees " of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion;" but this was car- ried in the negative by a great majority, and, on the contrary, it was reſolved;

1. " That this houſe has ſuch an intire con- " fidence in the repeated declarations her Majeſty " has been pleaſed to make of her concern for " aſſuring to theſe kingdoms the Proteſtant ſuc- " ceſſion, as by law eſtabliſh'd, in the houſe of " Hanover, that they can never doubt her Ma- " jeſty's taking the proper meaſures for the ſecu- " rity thereof; and that this houſe will ſupport " her Majeſty againſt faction at home, and her " enemies abroad; and that this houſe does hum- " bly beſeech her Majeſty, that ſhe will be pleaſed " to diſcountenance all thoſe who ſhall indeavor " to raiſe jealouſies between her Majeſty and her " ſubjects, eſpecially by miſrepreſenting her good " intentions for the welfare of her people.

2. " That the ſaid reſolution be laid before her " Majeſty."

At the preſenting of it the Queen was pleaſed to anſwer:

Her Majeſty's anſwer at preſenting it.

Gentlemen,

" I return you hearty thanks for this reſolution, " which is very becoming you, who truly repre- " ſent all my commons.

" You have ſhewn yourſelves honeſt aſſerters " of the Monarchy, zealous defenders of the Con- " ſtitution, and real friends to the Proteſtant ſuc- " ceſſion.

" What I have ſaid and done is ſufficient to " ſatisfy any perſon, who is in earneſt for the ſuc- " ceſſion, as by law eſtabliſh'd, in the houſe of " Hanover, that I need not be put in mind of " doing any thing which may contribute to render " that ſucceſſion ſecure."

All the other affairs of parliament being finiſh'd, the Queen came to the houſe of lords, the 21ſt, and put an end to this long ſeſſion, with the fol- lowing ſpeech:

The Queen's ſpeech at the riſing of the parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The laſt time I was here, I ſpoke ſo fully, " and afterwards received from both houſes ſuch " ſatisfactory addreſſes, that there remains little " more for me to ſay, at the cloſe of this meeting " of parliament, but to repeat my hearty thanks " for your late ſolemn aſſurances. They will give " me the ſtrength to ſtruggle with any difficulties " which may yet be raiſed; and I hope that nei- " ther they who envy the making a good peace, " nor thoſe who think it their intereſt to continue " the war, will be able to defeat our joint indea- " vors for the honor and advantage of Britain, " and the ſecurity of all our allies.

Gentlemen

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Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" At the ſame time that I thank you moſt kindly " for the ſupplies you have chearfully granted, " I cannot but let you know my ſatisfaction in the " near view I have of a peace, ſince it will in ſome " meaſure recompence my ſubjects for the vaſt ex- " pences, and alſo lighten the heavy burden they " have borne during the war.

My lords and gentlemen,

" You have expreſs'd how ſenſible you are of " the advantage and ſecurity which accrue to Bri- " tain and our allies, by the terms propoſed for a " peace; and I need not mention to you the miſ- " chiefs which muſt follow the breaking off this " treaty: our burdens would be at leaſt continued " if not increaſed: the preſent opportunity would " be irrecoverably loſt, of Britain's eſtabliſhing a " real balance of power in Europe, and improving " our own commerce; and if any of our allies " ſhould gain ſomething by ſuch a proceeding, " the reſt would ſuffer in the common calamity, " but I hope, by God's bleſſing, ſuch fatal de- " ſigns will be diſappointed.

" You are now returning into your reſpective " countries, and I perſuade myſelf you will not " be wanting in your indeavors, to obviate the " deſigns of any ill-minded perſons, who may at- " tempt to ſow ſedition amongſt my ſubjects; " and, under ſpecious pretences, carry on deſigns " they dare not own.

" I hope, at your next meeting, there will be " an opportunity of perfecting what I have recom- " mended to you, which you have left unfiniſhed " in this ſeſſion.

" I cannot conclude without aſſuring you, that " nothing ſhall move me from ſteadily purſuing " the true intereſt of ſo dutiful and affectionate a " people."

The parliament adjourned.

And then the parliament was adjourned to the 8th of July.

The principal acts paſſed this ſeſſion were: 1. " The land-tax act at four-pence in the pound. " 2. The malt-tax act. 3. An act for preſerving " the Proteſtant religion, into which the occaſional " conformity-bill was grafted. 4. An act for ſet- " tling the precedence of the houſe of Hanover. " 5. An act to repeal the act of naturalization. " 6, 7, 8. Three acts relating to the epiſcopal " communion, the right of preſentation of mi- " niſters, and the obſervance of Chriſtmas in Scot- " land. 9. An act for recruiting her Majeſty's " land-forces and marines, for the ſervice of the " year 1712. 10. An act for puniſhing mutiny " and deſertion, &c. 11. An act for raiſing the " militia for the year 1712. 12. An act for the " incouragement of woolen manufactures. 13, " 14. Two acts for laying ſeveral duties and addi- " tional duties on certain merchandizes, &c."

The campain in Flanders.

Before I return to the congreſs at Utrecht, I ſhall give a brief account of the remainder of the campain in Flanders. The ſiege of Queſnoy having been reſolved upon, the two armies made a motion, the 7th of June, and paſs'd the river Selle, the duke of Ormond extending his left to Chateau-Cambreſis, and Prince Eugene his right to Haſpre, all along the ſaid river, which they had in front. General Fagel was detach'd, in the mean time, with thirty battalions, and as many ſquadrons, to inveſt Queſnoy, which was effected the 8th of June, tho' with many difficulties. The trenches were not however open'd till the 19th at night, after which the ſiege was carried on with ſo much vigor and ſucceſs, that on the 1ſt of July, the counterſcarp was taken, ſword in hand. The gariſon hereupon, beat a parly the 3d, and ſurrender'd the 4th.

Queſnoy taken by the allies.

The duke of Ormond however open'd a new ſcene before this ſurrender; for, on the 27th of June, he declared, that he had received orders from the Queen, to publiſh, within three days, a ſuſpenſion of arms, for two months, between his army and the French, in order to facilitate the concluſion of a treaty for a general peace, which was then on foot. His grace, at the ſame time, told Prince Eugene, and the field-deputies of the States, that he had poſitive orders to propoſe, that the like ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be publiſh'd in the confederate army. And that, in the mean time, he had directions to ſend ten battalions, to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, which the French King had offer'd to put into the hands of the Queen, his miſtreſs, for the ſecurity of the performance of the offers he had made.

The duke of Ormond propoſes a ceſſation of arms.

Prince Eugene, and the deputies of the States, deſiring ſome time to write about it, to their reſpective maſters, the duke of Ormond anſwered, that was not in his power to grant, and that if they perſiſted to carry on the ſiege of Queſnoy, he could cover it no longer, but muſt march off, with his troops, within three days. His grace likewiſe, acquainted the generals of the forein troops, in the Britiſh pay, that they muſt obey his orders, otherwiſe they ought not to expect to have bread, pay, or their arrears: however, his grace ſuſpended the march of his troops, ſome days beyond the term he had limited, to give time to the reſt of the allies to come into the ceſſation of arms.

The Imperialiſts and the Auxiliaries ſeparate from the duke of Ormond's army.

The allies not being able to agree on this ſubject, Prince Eugene decamp'd, the 16th, from the neighborhood of Queſnoy, and incamp'd at Hartre, near Landrecy, being join'd, in his march, by all the auxiliary troops, belonging to the Princes of the Empire, which were in the duke of Ormond's army, their generals declaring, they had orders from their ſeveral maſters, not to ſeparate themſelves from the Emperor's forces, and thoſe of the States; ſo that none remain'd with the Engliſh, but ſome battalions of Holſtein-Gottorp, and the regiments of dragoons of Waleff.

A ceſſation of arms publiſh'd by the Engliſh and French.

This was the fatal day in which the forces of the allies were divided, who, while they remained united, were always victorious; but they were ſoon after ſenſible, that they were not now an equal match for the French.

The 17th, the duke of Ormond, having cauſed a ſuſpenſion of arms, for two months, to be publiſh'd in the camp, as the marſhal de Villars had done in his, march'd back to Aveſnes le Sec, repaſs'd the Scheld and the Scarpe, and came to Ghent, where the Britiſh army continued all the reſt of the campain.

The allies beſiege Landrecy, but abandon the ſiege.

The allies, under the command of Prince Eugene, did indeed inveſt Landrecy, on the 16th, but were afterwards obliged to abandon the ſiege, and to be eye witneſſes, that the French, as reduced as they had been before, were now every where victorious, in their turn.

The French force the confederates lines;

In order to cover their convoys againſt the French gariſons of Cambray and Valenciennes, the allies had drawn lines from the Scheld to the Scarpe; and to poſſeſs himſelf of theſe lines, together with the camp of Denain, and the magazines of the allies, monſieur de Villars cauſed ſeveral detachments to march privately, on the 23d in the evening, and follow'd himſelf with the whole French army The lines being but weakly guarded, were forced with little or no reſiſtance, and 500 waggons, loaded with bread, taken; their guard, conſiſting of 500 horſe, and as many foot, being either kill'd or taken. The camp of Denain was defended by ſeventeen battalions, under the command of the earl of Albemarle, with ſeveral other general officers, and covered by an intrenchment of between fifteen and twenty foot high, mounted with twelve

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pieces of cannon. The French were however ſo ſucceſsful in their attack of this camp, that after ſome reſiſtance, they enter'd it, cuting down all that came in their way. The reſt retir'd into the village and the abby; but they were ſo cloſely purſued by the French, that whole battalions threw themſelves into the Scheld; and thus the confederate troops were intirely defeated, before Prince Eugene could come to their aſſiſtance. The caution which monſieur de Villars had taken, to conceal his march and deſign, ſucceeded ſo well, that Prince Eugene had no intelligence of them, till the 24th in the morning, when the enemy were laying bridges over the Scheld, and ſo could not arrive with his troops, till the ingagement was over. This action proved a very unhappy one, and the Dutch loſt many brave officers in it.

And defeat the allies at Denain.

Dunkirk deliver'd into the hands of the Engliſh.

During theſe tranſactions, the French King, to ſhew his intentions for a peace were ſincere, declared his readineſs to deliver up Dunkirk, into the hands of the Engliſh: ſir John Leake was hereupon order'd to convoy a body of troops from England, to take poſſeſſion thereof: for as the auxiliaries had refus'd to march with the duke of Ormond, it was not thought adviſable to weaken the body of Engliſh troops under his command, by ſending a detachment of them to Dunkirk, as at firſt was intended. Therefore, on the 7th of July, ſir John Leake, with brigadier Hill, who commanded the land-forces, ſet ſail from the Downs, and, at two the ſame afternoon, they came to an anchor before Dunkirk. The next day, the troops being landed, the French march'd out of the citadel, fort Lewis, the Riſbank, and all the other forts; of which the Engliſh took poſſeſſion, and placed guards at all the gates: but the French ſhips and gallies were permited to remain in the harbor, with two or three battalions of marines in the town, on pretence of guarding the ſtores. The privateers were alſo indulg'd the liberty of coming in and out, provided they brought in no Engliſh prizes.

The duke of Ormond, continuing his march, as I have ſaid above, arriv'd, together with the earl of Strafford, the 23d of July, N. S. at Ghent, the troops incamping about a mile and a half from the city. The duke having put four battalions of the Britiſh troops into Ghent, and the like number into Bruges, detach'd ſix battalions, to re-inforce the gariſon of Dunkirk, with a train of artillery and ammunition.

The French take ſeveral important places;

After the action of Denain, monſieur de Villars order'd the count de Broglio to inveſt Marchiennes on the Scarpe, where the allies had lodg'd the chief of their ſtores, with upwards of 150 bilanders (a ſort of large long-boats or barges) laden with artillery, and all ſorts of ammunition and proviſions for a whole campain. He commanded at the ſame time count Albergotti to attack St. Amand, and other detachments were order'd to take poſſeſſion of the reſt of the poſts on the Scarpe.

The 26th, 200 men of the allies, who were in the abby of Anchin, and at Pont-à-Rache, yielded themſelves priſoners of war. The ſame day, the count de l'Eſparre made himſelf maſter of the abby of Haſnon, where he took 100 priſoners. Count Albergotti poſſeſs'd himſelf that day likewiſe of Mortagne, at the mouth of the Scarpe, where he took 100 men, and then of St. Amand, which was defended by 800 men, who alſo ſurrendred priſoners of war.

Farther ſucceſs of the French.

This chain of ſucceſs ſo animated the French, that they now began to think no attempt too great for them; and indeed, fortune continued to favor them in ſuch manner, that they ſucceſſively took Marchiennes, Fort-Scarpe, Douay, Queſnoy and Bouchain. And tho' the allies, while the French were before Bouchain, ſurpriſed and took fort Knocque, a ſtrong and important place; yet this was but a poor amends for the loſs of ſo many places of greater conſequence.

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The ſuſpenſion of arms twice renewed.

Theſe were the chief tranſactions of the campain in the Low-countries: and while theſe things were paſſing there, the lord Bolingbroke, having been ſent into France by her Majeſty, to ſettle ſome important point ſtill depending between the two courts, concluded another ſuſpenſion of arms, between Great-Britain and France, for four months, viz. from the 22d of Auguſt to the 22d of December. This ſuſpenſion was proclaim'd at Paris, the 24th of Auguſt, N. S. and at London the 19th of the ſame month, O. S. And before that time was expired, it was continued for four months longer.

Ceſſation of arms in Catalonia.

In Catalonia, there was little action this year, and, on the 8th of September, brigadier Pierce, who commanded the Engliſh troops there, notified to count Stahremberg, that a ceſſation of arms having been agreed upon between England and France, he ſhould ſeparate from the army with his troops, and accordingly he march'd to Sitias, on the coaſt between Barcelona and Terragona: and ſoon after the Germans, as well as the Spaniards, went into winter-quarters.

The Engliſh troops ſail to Port-Mahon.

The 19th of November, the Engliſh troops in Catalonia imbark'd at Barcelona, and ſailed to Port-Mahon, where the duke of Argyle cauſed the Emperor's colors to be taken down, and the Engliſh colors to be hoiſted upon the ſeveral caſtles and forts: and the governor of Minorca, for the Emperor, was given to underſtand, that he muſt take the oaths to her Majeſty, if he thought fit to remain in the iſland; which he refuſing to do, had leave to retire to Barcelona; but the reſt of the magiſtrates took an oath of fidelity to the Queen of Great-Britain.

The duke of Marlborough leaves England.

The duke of Marlborough, in the mean time, having met with the ſenſible affliction to loſe the earl of Godolphin, who died in September, of the ſtone, reſolved to make other people eaſy, and himſelf more ſecure, by retiring out of the kingdom. His grace having open'd his deſign to the earl of Oxford, by mr. Maynwaring, and demanded a paſs, about the latter end of October, the ſame was granted and delivered to him about a fortnight after; when having ſettled his domeſtic affairs, he ſubmited to a voluntary exile, and continued abroad during the remainder of this reign.

A duel between duke Hamilton and the lord Mohun.

The 15th of November, a duel was fought between duke Hamilton and the lord Mohun, principals, and the colonels Hamilton and Maccartney, their ſeconds. The two principals died upon the ſpot, but their ſeconds not receiving much hurt, Maccartney thought fit to fly for it, and afterwards went beyond-ſea, but colonel Hamilton, ſurrendering himſelf to a commitee of council, made a depoſition of the circumſtances of the duel, in which he accus'd Maccartney of foul play with regard to the duke, inſinuating, as if he gave him his death's wound, by making a puſh at him, while the colonel was raiſing him up: tho' he was afterwards acquited of that accuſation. But to return to the treaty at Utrecht.

The Queen's ſpeech communicated to the miniſters at Utrecht.

The 27th of June, the lord biſhop of Briſtol communicated to the miniſters of the allies at Utrecht, the Queen's ſpeech, and conſequently the terms which the French King had been prevail'd upon to make to the allies; to which thoſe miniſters made no other anſwer, than that they would acquaint their reſpective maſters therewith, and wait for new orders. The ſame day, his excellency had a private conference with the plenipotentiaries of the States, and repreſented to them the neceſſity of a ſuſpenſion of arms in the Netherlands,

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therlands, in order to facilitate the concluſion of the treaty.

It was then believed, and commonly reported, that the French plenipotentiaries would make new overtures for a general peace, and for a ſuſpenſion of arms: but the negociations at Utrecht remain'd at a ſtand, and an unlucky difference that happen'd ſome time after, between the ſieur Meſnager, one of the plenipotentiaries of France, and the count de Rechteren, one of thoſe of the States, which for ſome time made no ſmall diſturbance, was the occaſion, or at leaſt pretence, of ſuſpending the general conferences; the French having declar'd, that they could not renew the ſaid conferences, till their King had received ſatisfaction upon that affair, which he preſcrib'd in ſuch terms, as the States did not think fit to ſubmit to.

The French, to color their refuſal of giving their anſwer in writing, which was inſiſted upon by the allies, induſtriouſly kept up this diſpute, the whole remainder of the year.

King Philip renounces his claim to France.

In this interval, the lord Lexington was ſent to Madrid, where he was preſent at the ſolemn renunciation, which King Philip made, of all the claims and pretenſions that he had, or might have for the future, to the crown of France, for himſelf, and his ſucceſſors. This renunciation was made the 5th of October, and confirm'd by the general Cortez (or States) of the kingdom of Spain, which was ſummon'd for that purpoſe. As this is the foundation on which the whole fabric of the peace ſtands, it was made in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible.

This neceſſary preliminary being concluded, in the form and manner as deſired by the Queen of Great-Britain; and King Philip having long before given to the Elector of Bavaria the propriety and ſovereinty of the Netherlands, whereby he, at once extricated himſelf from all the difficulties relating to the barrier of the States-general in thoſe provinces, it was believed, that his miniſters would have been admited into the congreſs; but the allies would not conſent to it: ſo that King Philip had no miniſter at Utrecht, at the time when the negociations for a peace ſeemed to draw towards a concluſion.

A ſuſpenſion of arms concluded between France and Portugal.

The affairs of Portugal, being in the mean time reduced to great extremities, and their forces not being able to make head againſt the Spaniards, as they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh troops; there was a treaty for a ſuſpenſion of arms, for four months, concluded at Utrecht, between the miniſters of the moſt Chriſtian King, and thoſe of Portugal, which was ſigned, the 7th of November 1712.

The earl of Strafford returns to Holland.

The earl of Strafford, who had made a tour to England, ſtaid there till the latter end of November, when having obtain'd a new plan, containing her Majeſty's laſt intentions about peace, his excellency imbark'd for Holland, and arrived at the Hague, the 6th of December, N. S. and, the next day, made a viſit to the grand penſionary. Having communicated the new plan for a peace, to the States, he deſir'd a poſitive anſwer to it, as being the utmoſt conceſſions that were to be expected from France, and which her Majeſty had not obtain'd but with great difficulty.

The States conſent to the new plan.

This new plan being communicated to the reſpective provinces of the republic, and the States-general ſhewing an inclination to comply with the Queen's meaſures, ſome explanations and reſtrictions were only inſiſted upon: and, on the 29th of December, the States-general came to a reſolution, to comply with the Queen's meaſures, of which they gave her Majeſty notice in a very ſubmiſſive letter.

AN' 1713. Her Majeſty was pleaſed to ſhew her ſatisfaction, in her anſwer of the 7th of January, O. S. which very much contributed to the ſucceſs of the negociations: and ſeveral conferences were thereupon held, to concert a new treaty for the guaranty of the ſucceſſion of the crown, in the Proteſtant line of Hanover, and the barrier to be granted to the States, which was concluded and ſign'd the 30th of January, N. S. and ſent to England for its ratification, and to the reſpective provinces of the republic, for the ſame end. After the ſigning of this treaty, the negociations were carried on with greater expedition than before, and ſeveral important preliminaries ſettled, which had till then obſtructed a general treaty. The miniſters of the Emperor and France, enter'd into a negociation for evacuating Catalonia, and the neutrality of Italy. The States-general were likewiſe prevail'd upon to grant paſſports for the miniſters of Spain; and likewiſe thoſe which the French deſir'd for the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria. The affair of monſieur Meſnager and count Rechteren was alſo adjuſted: and in ſhort, all the difficulties which obſtructed the general conferences were removed.

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A new ſucceſſion and barrier treaty ſign'd.

The plenipotentiaries of Spain, Cologn and Bavaria admited.

Matters having this favorable appearance, in a conference held the 13th of March, the Britiſh miniſters fix'd the 25th of that month, as the laſt day to which they were inſtructed to defer the ſigning of the peace; which however was afterwards poſtponed to the 11th of April, N. S.

Inſtruments for the evacuation of Catalonia, and neutrality of Italy, ſign'd.

In the mean time, the ſeveral inſtruments, relating to the evacuation of Catalonia, and neutrality of Italy (to which the Queen was guaranty) were ſign'd, between her Majeſty's plenipotentiaries, and thoſe of the Emperor, France and Savoy.

The dukes of Berry and Orleans renounce their pretenſions on Spain.

Theſe difficulties being removed, the French court agreed, that the dukes of Berry and Orleans ſhould make a ſolemn renunciation of the crown of Spain, in the parliament of Paris, which was performed accordingly, with great ceremony; being ſo inſiſted upon by the court of Great-Britain, as the moſt effectual means to prevent the union of France and Spain, under one ſoverein.

Count Sinzendorff proteſts againſt the peace.

Count Sinzendorf went in the mean time to the Hague, where he uſed all poſſible means to perſuade the States to put off the ſigning of the peace, till he had received an anſwer to the expreſs he had diſpatch'd to Vienna: and declar'd, that if the States ſign'd before his maſter, his Imperial Majeſty would immediately withdraw his troops out of the Netherlands: but finding his reaſons and repreſentations ineffectual, he proteſted againſt the peace, as he had done before at Utrecht; whither he return'd, the ſame evening, and found that the Dutch plenipotentiaries had adjuſted ſeveral articles, in relation to their commerce with France.

The peace concluded.

The 11th of April, N. S. the miniſters of the Proteſtant Princes met together in the morning, and drew up a repreſentation, in favor of the poor Proteſtants of France, which they deliver'd to the Britiſh miniſters, and deſired them to deliver it to thoſe of France, which was done accordingly. The Britiſh plenipotentiaries went afterwards to count Sinzendorff, told him they were going to ſign the peace, and ſhew'd him the plan they had ſtipulated with the French for the Emperor, and the Empire, till the 1ſt of June. They proceeded from thence, to the houſes of the other miniſters of the allies, to whom they made the ſame declaration. At two in the afternoon, the miniſters of France came to the houſe of the lord biſhop of Briſtol, where the treaties of peace and commerce, between her Majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian King, were ſign'd. The miniſters of the duke of Savoy ſign'd the treaty about four, and about eight, thoſe of Pruſſia did the like. The Portugueſe ſign'd the treaty about twelve at night; and it was paſt one in the morning, when the plenipotentiaries of the States ſign'd their treaties of peace and commerce.

And ſign'd.

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The Germans resolve to continue the war.

The Imperial and German miniſters expreſs'd great reſentment that the allies ſhould conclude a peace without their conſent, and pretend to preſcribe conditions to them: they gave out, that they would ſtill carry on the war, and hazard all rather than ſubmit to ſuch uſage.

The peace being concluded between France and all the allies, except the Emperor and Empire; I ſhall give the reader an abſtract of the moſt material articles in the treaty between Great-Britain and France, ſeting aſide matters of form, and keeping to ſuch particulars as have an immediate relation to the intereſt of Great-Britain.

Abſtract of the treaty between Great-Britain and France.

Abſtract of the treaty of Utrecht.

" By the fourth and fifth articles, the French " King, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, acknowledges " and approves the act of limitation of the ſuc- " ceſſion to the kingdom of Great-Britain: and " whereas the Pretender is lately gone, of his " own accord, out of the kingdom of France; " the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, his heirs and ſuc- " ceſſors, will take all poſſible care, that he ſhall " not, at any time hereafter, or under any pre- " tence whatſoever, return into the kingdom of " France, or any of the dominions thereof.

" In the ſixth article, the King of Spain's re- " nunciation of the crown of France, and the " dukes of Berry and Orleans of the crown of " Spain, with the French King's letters-patent, " admiting and confirming the ſaid renunciations, " being inſerted, the Queen of Great-Britain, " and the moſt Chriſtian King, ingage to each " other ſolemnly, and on their royal words; that " nothing ever ſhall be done by them, or their " heirs and ſucceſſors, or allowed to be done by " others, whereby the ſaid renunciations, and the " other tranſactions afore-mention'd, may not " have their full effect.

" By the ſeventh, that there ſhall be a free uſe " of all navigation and commerce, as heretofore, " in time of peace, and before the declaration " of the laſt war.

" By the ninth, the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall " demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, at his " own expence, within five months after the con- " cluſion of the peace.

" By the tenth, the moſt Chriſtian King o- " bliges himſelf to reſtore to Great-Britain, the " bay and ſtreights of Hudſon, with the lands, " ſeas, ſea-coaſts, rivers, and places ſituate in " the ſaid bay and ſtreights, with the fortreſſes " there erected, in the condition they now are, " with all the cannon and cannon-ball therein, " with a proportionable quantity of powder, and " other proviſions of war, uſually belonging to " cannon.

" By the eleventh, ſatisfaction ſhall be given to " the Engliſh company, trading to Hudſon's " bay, for all depredations of the French in time " of peace: and ſatisfaction ſhall alſo be given to " the French for any damage done them by the " Britiſh ſubjects in time of peace.

" By the twelfth, the iſland of St. Chriſtophers, " Nova Scotia, or Arcadia, Port Royal, or An- " napolis Royal, with their lands and dependances, " are intirely yielded and made over to Great- " Britain, in ſuch ample manner, that the ſubjects " of France ſhall be hereafter excluded from all " kind of fiſhing in the ſaid ſeas, bays, and other " places, on the coaſts of Nova Scotia.

" By the thirteenth, the iſland of Newfound- " land, with the adjacent iſlands, ſhall belong, of " right, wholly to Great-Britain: but the ſub- " jects of France ſhall be allowed to catch fiſh, " and dry them on the land, in that part only of " the ſaid iſland, and no other, which ſtretches " from the place call'd Cape-Bonaviſta to the " northern point of the ſaid iſland, and from " thence runing down by the weſtern ſide, reaches " as far as the place call'd point Riche. Q. Ann, An' 1713.

" By the fourteenth, the ſubjects of France are " to have the ſpace of a year to remove them- " ſelves, and their effects, from the places and " colonies yielded by France: but thoſe who " chuſe to remain, and be ſubject to Great-Britain, " may injoy the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion, " as far as the laws of Great-Britain allow the " ſame.

" By the fifteenth, the French inhabiting Ca- " nada, and other countries in America, ſhall " give no diſturbance to the five nations of Indians, " ſubject to Britain, or to the other natives of " America, their friends: and the Britiſh ſub- " jects ſhall behave themſelves peaceably towards " the Americans, who are ſubjects or friends of " France: and there ſhall be a free intercourſe of " trade between the French and Engliſh, and the " natives of thoſe countries.

" By the twentieth, juſt and reaſonable ſatiſ- " faction ſhall be given to all and ſingular the " allies of Great-Britain, in thoſe matters which " they have a right to demand of France.

" By the twenty-firſt, the French King agrees, " that in the treaty with the Emperor and Empire, " the ſtate of religion ſhall be ſettled, in the " Empire, conformable to the treaty of Weſt- " phalia.

" By the twenty-ſecond, ſatisfaction ſhall be " given to the family of Hamilton, the duke of " Richmond, and Charles Douglas, as to their " ſeveral demands in France.

" By the twenty-fourth, the treaty between " France and Portugal is confirm'd; and her " Britiſh Majeſty takes upon her the guaranty of " the ſame.

" By the twenty-fifth, the ſame is done as to " the treaty between France and the duke of " Savoy.

" By the twenty-ſixth, the King of Sweden, " the duke of Tuſcany, the republic of Genoa, " and the duke of Parma, are included in this " treaty.

" By the twenty-ſeventh, the Hanſe-towns are " alſo comprehended in the treaty, and are to " injoy the ancient advantages they had in point " of trade.

Dated March 31, / April 11, } 1713.

Sign'd,
(L. S.) John Briſtol, L. P. S.
(L. S.) Strafford.
(L. S.) Huxelles.
(L. S.) Meſnager.

Treaty between France and Savoy.

The chief articles of the treaty between the French King and the duke of Savoy were the third, by which the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice, with their appurtenances and dependences, and in general all the other dominions taken from him, during this war, were reſtored; the fourth, by which the boundaries between France and Savoy were fix'd; the fifth, by which the ceſſion of Sicily to the duke of Savoy is confirm'd; as is likewiſe the ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain and the Indies, upon failure of deſcendants from King Philip; by the ſixth and ſeventh, that the ceſſions made to the duke of Savoy by the late Emperor Leopold ſhould remain in full force.

And between France and the States-general.

By the treaty between France and the States-general, the former delivers up to the latter, in favor of the houſe of Auſtria, the Spaniſh towns in Flanders, to be gariſoned by the Dutch, at the charge of the country, under the reſtrictions, and upon the terms therein mentioned.

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The parliament meets.

The peace being thus concluded, the parliament met at Weſtminſter the 9th of April, O. S. when her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I ended the laſt ſeſſion with my hearty thanks "for the ſolemn aſſurances you had given me, by "which I have been inabled to overcome the diffi- "culties contrived to obſtruct the general peace.

"I have defer'd opening the ſeſſion till now, "being deſirous to communicate to you, at your "firſt meeting, the ſucceſs of this important af- "fair: it is therefore with great pleaſure I tell "you the treaty is ſign'd, and, in a few days, the "ratifications will be exchanged.

"The negociation has been drawn into ſo great "a length, that all our allies had ſufficient oppor- "tunity to adjuſt their ſeveral intereſts, tho' the "public charge has been thereby much increaſed; "yet I hope my people will be eaſy under it, ſince "we have happily obtained the end we propoſed.

"What I have done for ſecuring the Proteſtant "ſucceſſion, and the perfect friendſhip there is "between me and the houſe of Hanover, may "convince ſuch who wiſh well to both, and de- "ſire the quiet and ſafety of their country, how "vain all attempts are to divide us; and thoſe "who will make a merit by ſeparating our in- "tereſts, will never attain their ill ends.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"As great a progreſs has been made, in re- "ducing the public expence, as the circumſtances "of affairs would admit.

"What force may be neceſſary for ſecuring our "commerce by ſea, and for guards and gariſons, "I leave intirely to my parliament.

"Make yourſelves ſafe, and I ſhall be ſatisfied.

"Next to the protection of the Divine Provi- "dence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection "of my people.

"I want no other guarantee.

"I recommend to your care thoſe brave men "who have ſerved well by ſea or land this war, "and cannot be imployed in time of peace.

"I muſt deſire you to provide the ſupplies you "ſhall judge requiſite; and to give ſuch diſpatch "as may be neceſſary for your own eaſe and the "public ſervice.

My lords and gentlemen,

"The many advantages I have obtained for my "own ſubjects, have occaſion'd much oppoſition "and long delay to this peace.

"It affords me great ſatisfaction, that my peo- "ple will have it in their power, by degrees, to "repair what they have ſuffered during ſo long "and burthenſome a war.

"The eaſing our forein trade, as far as is con- "ſiſtent with national credit, will deſerve your "care.

"And to think of proper methods for improving "and incouraging our home trade and manufac- "tures, particularly the fiſhery, which may be "carried on to imploy all our ſpare hands, and "be a mighty benefit even to the remoteſt parts "of this kingdom.

"Several matters were laid before you laſt "ſeſſion, which the weight and multiplicity of "other buſineſs would not permit you to per- "fect: I hope you will take a proper opportunity "to give them due conſideration.

"I cannot however but expreſly mention my "diſpleaſure, at the unparallel'd licentiouſneſs, in "publiſhing ſeditious and ſcandalous libels.

"The impunity ſuch practices have met with "has incouraged the blaſpheming every thing "ſacred, and the propagating opinions tending to "the overthrow of all religion and government.

"Proſecutions have been ordered, but it will "require ſome new law to put a ſtop to this "growing evil, and your beſt indeavors, in your "reſpective ſtations, to diſcourage it.

"The impious practice of duelling requires ſome "ſpeedy and effectual remedy.

"Now we are entring upon peace abroad, let "me conjure you all to uſe your utmoſt indea- "vors for calming mens minds at home, that the "arts of peace may be cultivated.

"Let not groundleſs jealouſies, contrived by "a faction, and fomented by party rage, effect "that which our forein enemies could not

"I pray God to direct all your conſultations "for his glory and the welfare of my people."

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Both houſes congratulate her Majeſty on the peace.

The two following days both houſes waited on her Majeſty with their congratulatory addreſſes; which were ſoon after followed by thoſe of ſeveral corporations.

Sir John Jennings convoys the Empreſs to Italy.

In purſuance of the convention for evacuating Catalonia, ſir John Jennings was commanded to convoy the Empreſs from Barcelona to Italy: accordingly he ſet ſail with her Imperial Majeſty from that place, and arrived at Vado the 28th of March, landed her at Genoa the 3d of April, and the 10th ſhe came to Milan. Thither admiral Jennings likewiſe followed, and having had ſeveral conferences with the miniſters there, about the tranſportation of the German troops from Catalonia, he took his leave, the 19th, of the Empreſs, who continued her journey by land to Vienna.

The peace proclaim'd.

The ratifications of the treaties of peace and commerce, which met with ſome oppoſition at the council board, having been exchang'd at Utrecht, and brought to London, the Queen, on the 4th of May (being the ſame day of the month on which the war was proclaim'd eleven years before) ſign'd a proclamation for publiſhing the peace, which was accordingly perform'd, at London, the next day, with the uſual ceremonies, and ſoon after in all the cities and market-towns of Great-Britain and Ireland.

The treaties communicated to the parliament.

The 9th of May, the Queen communicated the ſeveral treaties of peace and commerce, between Great-Britain and France, to the houſe of commons, which occaſioned another addreſs of thanks from that houſe.

The treaty of commerce was, in a great meaſure, left to be perfected by the parliament of Great-Britain; it being requiſite to repeal and alter ſeveral laws before it could take effect; and the many debates which aroſe hereupon, was the occaſion of that treaty's never being fully ſettled.

The Scots attempt to diſſolve the union.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, the Scots made an attempt in the houſe of lords to diſſolve the union; and the Engliſh peers ſhew'd ſo much indifference in the matter, that they loſt their point but by four votes.

The 25th of June the Queen ſent the following meſſage to the houſe of commons;

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Meſſage for a ſupply for the civil liſt.

"Her Majeſty thinks fit to acquaint her loyal "houſe of commons with the difficulties, which, "in a particular manner, ſhe lies under, by the "debts contracted in her civil government, occa- "ſioned by ſeveral extraordinary expences former- "ly incured; ſo that her Majeſty thinks herſelf "obliged, in juſtice to many creditors, to order "an eſtimate to be laid before this houſe of what "was owing on the civil liſt in 1710.

"Her Majeſty has uſed unexampled parſimony "to remove, if poſſible, this burden from herſelf, "but the granting away, and leſſening ſome part "of her revenue, by parliament, has made that "impracticable; therefore her Majeſty hopes "that this houſe of commons, which on all occa- ſions

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"sions have shewn themselves so well affected to "her, will not be unwilling to impower her to "raise such a sum of mony, on the civil list-funds, "as may inable her to discharge the debts, and "settle the expence, to be regularly paid for the "future."

Resolution of the commons thereupon.

Upon this message the house resolved, that her Majesty be impower'd, by letters patent, to appropriate a sum, not exceeding 55,000 l. per annum, for any term not exceeding thirty-two years, to be made a fund for security of raising, by way of lottery, the said sum.

The treaty of peace between Great-Britain and France, having been, as I have said above, ratified, the duke of Shrewsbury, lord-chamberlain of her Majesty's household, and her embassador extraordinary in France, made his public entry at Paris the 11th of June, N. S. As did the duke d'Aumont, embassador extraordinary from the most Christian King, the 1st of July, in London.

Addresses concerning the Pretender.

The begining of July, the chevalier de St. George having resided some time in Lorrain, the lords and commons severally address'd her Majesty, that she would use the most pressing instances with the duke of Lorrain, and with all Princes and States in amity with Great-Britain, that they would not receive or suffer the Pretender to her crowns to continue in any of their dominions; which, in answer, she promised should be done.

The 16th of July, her Majesty, having given the royal assent to several bills, made the following speech to both houses:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's speech at the rising of the parliament.

"I come now to put an end to this session, "with great satisfaction, and return you all my "hearty thanks for the good service you have "done the public.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I must particularly thank you for the supplies "you have now given: I will take care to apply "them, as far as they will reach, to satisfy the "services you have voted.

"I hope, at the next meeting, the affair of "commerce will be so well understood, that the "advantageous conditions I have obtained from "France will be made effectual for the benefit of "our trade.

"I cannot part with so good and so loyal a "house of commons, without expressing how sen-"sible I am of the affection, zeal and duty, with "which you have behaved yourselves; and I "think myself therefore obliged to take notice of "those remarkable services you have performed.

"At your meeting, you found a method, with-"out farther charge to my people, to ease them "of the heavy load of more than nine millions, "and the way of doing it may bring great ad-"vantage to the nation.

"In this session you have inabled me to be just "in paying the debts to my servants.

"And as you have furnished supplies for carry-"ing on the war, so you have strengthened my "hands in obtaining a peace.

"Thus you have shewed yourselves the true "representatives of my loyal commons, by the "just regard you have paid to the good of your "country, and my honor: these proceedings will, "I doubt not, preserve the memory of this par-"liament to posterity.

My lords and gentlemen,

"At my coming to the crown, I found a war "prepared for me: God has blessed my arms "with many victories, and, at last, has inabled "me to make them useful by a safe and honorable "peace.

"I heartily thank you for the assistance you "have given me therein, and I promise my-"self, that with your concurrence, it will be "lasting.

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"To this end I recommend it to you all, to "make my subjects truly sensible what they gain "by the peace; and that you will indeavor to "dissipate those groundless jealousies which have "been so industriously fomented amongst us, that "our unhappy differences may not weaken, and, "in some sort, indanger the advantages I have "obtained for my kingdoms.

"There are some (very few I hope) will never "be satisfied with any government; it is necessary "therefore that you shew your love to your coun-"try, by exerting yourselves, to obviate the ma-"lice of the evil-minded, and to undeceive the "deluded.

"Nothing can establish peace at home; no-"thing can recover the disorders that have hap-"pened during so long a war, but a steady ad-"hering to the constitution in church and state.

"Such as are true to these principles are only "to be relied on; and as they have the best title "to my favor, so you may depend upon my "having no interest nor aim but your advantage, "and the securing of our religion and liberty.

"I hope, for the quiet of these nations, and the "universal good, that I shall, next winter, meet "my parliament, resolved to act upon the same "principles, with the same prudence, and with "such vigor, as may inable me to support the "liberties of Europe abroad, and reduce the spirit "of faction at home.

The parliament prorogued.

And then the lord-chancellor, by her Majesty's command, prorogued the parliament to the 28th of August.

Acts pass'd.

The principal acts which pass'd this session, beside the land and malt taxes, and other acts for raising mony, were: "An act for the better re-"gulating the elections of members to serve in "parliament for that part of Great-Britain call'd "Scotland. 2. An act for the more effectual "preventing and punishing robberies that shall be "commited in houses. 3. An act to inable such "officers and soldiers as have been in her Majesty's "service to exercise trades. 4. An act for raising "the militia for the year 1713. 5. An act for "the better regulating the forces to be continued "in her Majesty's service, and for the payment "of the said forces and of their quarters. 6. An "act for the better incouragement of the making "sail-cloth in Great-Britain, &c."

A new parliament call'd.

The 8th of August a proclamation was issued for dissolving the parliament, on the 17th another for calling a new parliament, and a third, requiring all the peers of Scotland to meet at Holyrood-house in Edinburg, on the 8th of October, to chuse their representatives to sit in the next parliament.

Promotions.

About the same time there were the following promotions at court; viz. the earl of Dartmouth was constituted lord-privy seal; the bishop of Bristol was nominated bishop of London; the right honorable William Bromley, esq; succeeded the earl of Dartmouth as secretary of state; the right honorable the lord Lansdown was made treasurer of her Majesty's household, and sir John Stonehouse comptroler; sir William Wyndham was made chancellor of the Exchequer, and Francis Gwyn, esq; secretary of war; the earl of Portmore was made governor of Gibraltar; the duke of Shrewsbury was constituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the earl of Mar to be a third principal secretary of state in Great-Britain, and the earl of Finlater and Seafield lord chancellor of Scotland.

Her Majesty taken ill.

The 24th of December her Majesty was taken ill of an ague, of which she had two fits, but proper remedies being administer'd, she soon appeared abroad again; but towards the latter end of

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of the insuing month, being then at Windsor, her ague return'd, and the people were under great apprehensions, from some reports which had been spread, that she was dangerously ill. Whereupon her Majesty sent a letter to the lord-mayor of London, dated the 1st of February, contradicting these reports, and intimating that she continued determined to open the parliament, the 16th of that month.

The treaty of peace between Great-Britain and Spain, being likewise ratified, and the ratification brought over to England, an abstract of it may not be unacceptable to the reader.

Abstract of the treaty between Great-Britain and Spain.

" By this treaty, his Catholic Majesty acknowledges the Protestant succession, and declares " and ingages, on the faith and word of a King, " and on the pledge of his and his successors ho- " nor, that the same is, and shall for ever be " approved, and accepted by him, his heirs and " successors; and does promise, that no person, " beside the Queen of Great-Britain and her suc- " cessors, according to the act of succession, shall " ever be acknowledg'd or reputed by him, his " heirs or successors, to be King or Queen of " Great-Britain; nor will he or they, at any " time give aid, succor, favor or council, direct- " ly or indirectly, to any person or persons, who, " on any cause or pretence, shall hereafter indea- " vor to oppose the said succession,

" The said Catholic King does also for himself, " his heirs and successors, yield to the crown " of Great-Britain, the full and intire propriety " of the town, and castle of Gibraltar, together " with the port, fortifications, and forts thereunto " belonging, to be held and injoyed absolutely, " with all manner of right for ever, without any " exceptions or impediments whatsoever; but " without any territorial jurisdiction, and without " any communication by land, with the country " round about, saving the liberty to purchase for " ready mony, in the neighboring territories of " Spain, provisions, and other things neces- " sary for the use of the garison, the inhabitants, " and the ships which ly in the harbor; and her " Majesty on her part, doth promise, that the " free exercise of their religion shall be indulg'd " to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the afore- " said town; and in case the crown of Great- " Britain should think fit to sell, or alien the said " town of Gibraltar, it is agreed, that the crown " of Spain shall have the refusal thereof.

" The Catholic King doth, in like manner, for " himself, his heirs and successors, yield to the " crown of Great-Britain the whole island of Mi- " norca, and doth transfer thereunto for ever all " right, and the most absolute dominion over the " said island, and in particular over the town, " castle, harbor and fortifications of the bay of " Minorca, commonly called Port-Mahon; to- " gether with the other ports, places and towns " situated in the aforesaid island: and it is like- " wise thereby stipulated, that if the crown of " Great-Britain shall hereafter think fit to alien " the said island, the preference thereof shall be " given to the crown of Spain; and her Majesty " ingages, that all the inhabitants of the said " island, both ecclesiastical and secular, shall in- " joy all their estates and honors, and that the free " use of the Catholic religion shall be permited " them.

" The King of Spain, by this treaty, also " grants to Great-Britain, the benefit of the Af- " fiento, or supplying his Majesty's dominions in " America with negroes, for thirty years, com- " mencing the 1st of May 1713, with the same " conditions on which the French injoyed, or at " any time might, or ought to injoy the same; Q. Ann, An' 1714. " together with a tract or tracts of land, to be " aloted by the said Catholic King, and to be " granted to the English company, commonly " call'd, la Compania de el Assiento, in some " convenient place on the river of Plata; no du- " ties or revenues being payable by the said com- " pany, during the time of the said contract; " and this settlement of the said company, or " those tracts of land, shall be proper and suffi- " cient for planting and sowing, and for feeding " of cattle, for the subsistence of those who are " in the service of the said company, and of their " negroes; and that the said negroes may be there " kept till they are all sold: but it shall be lawful " for the Catholic King to appoint an officer in " the said place of setlement, who may take " care that nothing be done or practised contrary " to his interest; and the Assiento-contract con- " cluded at Madrid the 26th of March 1713, is " hereby confirmed.

" After this follows the article for indemnifying " the Catalans, and securing to them their honors " and estates, together with the privileges of the " inhabitants of both Castiles, whereby they have " the benefit of trading to the Spanish dominions in " America, from which they were before excluded.

" The treaty with the duke of Savoy, con- " cerning the cession of Sicily to his Royal High- " ness, &c. is hereby confirmed; as also the se- " veral renunciations of King Philip to the crown " of France."

The new parliament meets.

The 16th of February, the new parliament met at Westminster; and the lords-commissioners appointed by her Majesty having directed the commons to proceed to the choice of a speaker, they unanimously elected sir Thomas Hanmer, who was approved by the Queen, and, on the 2d of March, her Majesty came in person to the house of lords, and made the following speech to both houses:

The Queen's speech to both houses.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have much satisfaction in being able, at the " opening of this parliament, to tell you, that the " ratifications of the treaties of peace and of " commerce with Spain, are exchanged; by which " my subjects will have a greater opportunity than " ever, to improve and extend their trade. Many " advantages, formerly injoyed by connivance, and " procured by such methods, as made a distinc- " tion between one British merchant and another, " are now setled by treaty, and an equal rule is " established.

" It has pleased God to bless my indeavors, " to obtain an honorable and advantageous peace " for my own people, and for the greatest part of " my allies: nothing I can do shall be wanting to " render it universal: and I persuade myself, that " with your hearty concurrence, my interposition " may at last prove effectual, to compleat the setle- " ment of Europe. In the mean while, I congra- " tulate with my own subjects, that they are de- " livered from a consuming land-war, and enter'd " on a peace, the good effect whereof nothing " but intestine divisions can obstruct.

" It was the glory of the wisest and greatest of " my predecessors, to hold the balance of Europe, " and to keep it equal, by casting in their weight, as " necessity required. By this conduct they inrich'd " the kingdom, and render'd themselves dread- " ful to their enemies, and useful to their friends; " I have proceeded on the same principles; and I " doubt not but my successors will follow these " examples.

" Our situation points out to us our true interest; " for this country can flourish only by trade, and " will be most formidable by the right applica- " tion of our naval force.

Gentlemen,

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Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I have ordered ſuch accounts to be prepared " and laid before you, as will ſhew you, at the " concluſion of the war, the true ſtate of your con- " dition; whereby you will be better able to " judge what aids are neceſſary; and I only aſk of " you ſupplies for the current ſervice of the year, " and for the diſcharging of ſuch debts as you " ſhall find, on examination, to be juſt and rea- " ſonable.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The joy which has been generally expreſs'd " on my recovery from my late indiſpoſition, and " on my coming to this city, I eſteem as a return " to that tender affection which I have always had " for my people.

" I wiſh that effectual care had been taken, as I " have often deſired, to ſuppreſs thoſe ſeditious " papers, and factious rumors, by which deſigning " men have been able to ſink credit, and the inno- " cent have ſuffered.

" There are ſome who are arrived to that height " of malice, as to inſinuate that the Proteſtant ſuc- " ceſſion in the houſe of Hanover is in danger, " under my government.

" Thoſe who go about thus to diſtract the minds " of men, with imaginary dangers, can only " mean to diſturb the preſent tranquility, and to " bring real miſchiefs upon us.

" After all I have done to ſecure our religion and " your liberties, and to tranſmit both ſafe to po- " ſterity, I cannot mention theſe proceedings with- " out ſome degree of warmth, and I muſt hope " you will agree with me, that attempts to weaken " my authority, or to render the poſſeſſion of the " crown uneaſy to me, can never be proper means " to ſtrengthen the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

" I have done, and ſhall continue to do, my " beſt, for the good of all my ſubjects: let it be " your indeavors, as it ſhall be mine, to unite our " differences; not by relaxing from the ſtricteſt ad- " herence to our conſtitution, in church and ſtate, " but by obſerving the laws yourſelves, and in- " forcing a due obedience to them in others.

" A long war has not only impoveriſhed the " public (however ſome particular men may have " been gainers by it) but has alſo greatly affected " the government itſelf.

" Let it be your care, ſo to improve the preſent " opportunity, as to lay the foundation of re- " covering us from thoſe diſorders.

" I had the concurrence of the laſt parliament, " in making the peace: let it be the honor of this, " to aſſiſt me in obtaining ſuch fruits from it, as " may not only derive bleſſings on the preſent age, " but even down to the lateſt poſterity."

Addreſſes of both houſes.

The lords attended her Majeſty the next day, with an addreſs of " thanks for her ſpeech, con- " gratulating her recovery, aſſuring her of their " utmoſt gratitude; that they were by her Ma- " jeſty's great wiſdom and goodneſs, at laſt de- " liver'd from a conſuming land-war, and that " they would uſe their utmoſt indeavors, to diſcou- " rage and diſcountenance all attempts to weaken " her Majeſty's authority, or to render the poſſeſ- " ſion of the crown uneaſy to her."

That of the commons with which they attended her Majeſty the 5th, ran much upon the ſame topics.

The duke of Argyle, and the earl of Stairs laid aſide.

The begining of April, the duke of Argyle was removed from all his places; and the earl of Stairs was ordered to ſell his regiment, as was ma- jor-general Davenport his poſt of lieutenant of the firſt troop of her Majeſty's life-guard.

About the ſame time, baron Schutz, the Hano- verian miniſter, demanded of the lord-chancellor a writ for calling the Electoral Prince of Hanover to the houſe of lords: this her Majeſty thought fit to comply with; but ſo far reſented it, that baron Schutz was forbid the court, upon which he left the kingdom; and ſeveral other attempts having been made, to bring over the Electoral Prince of Hanover, during the Queen's life, her Majeſty thought fit, the 19th of May, to explain herſelf on that head, in two letters, one to the Princeſs Sophia, and the other to the Electoral Prince, which were accompanied by a third, from the earl of Oxford to the Elector.

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A writ demanded to call the Electoral Prince of Hanover to the houſe of peers.

Addreſſes of both houſes approving the peace.

The 24th of April, the parliament, after many and long debates about the ſtate of the nation, which had laſted in both houſes, near three weeks, at- tended her Majeſty with an addreſs, in which they beg'd leave to expreſs the juſt ſenſe they had of her Majeſty's goodneſs to her people, in " de- " livering them, by a ſafe, honorable and advan- " tageous peace with France and Spain, from the " heavy burden of a conſuming land-war, un- " equally carried on, and become at laſt imprac- " ticable."

The miniſters having gained this point, thought themſelves now ſecured from any farther inquiries concerning the peace.

I might now proceed to ſhew what objections have been laid againſt theſe treaties, and, on the contrary, what has been ſaid in the defenſe of them, but as that has been ſo amply done by ſeveral hiſto- rians, who have gone before me, I ſhall, inſtead thereof, only obſerve; that, notwithſtanding they had the ſanction of being approv'd by both houſes of parliament, in this addreſs to the Queen, which the miniſterial party call'd the united voice of the people, an almoſt general diſguſt and murmuring againſt them appear'd throughout the whole nation.

Death of the Princeſs Sophia.

The 29th of June, baron Bothmar, envoy-ex- traordinary of the Elector of Hanover, arrived at London, and having a private audience of her Ma- jeſty, notified the death of the Princeſs Sophia; who being walking in the gardens of Herrenhau- ſen, near Hanover, the 8th of June, being the late King's birth-day, in the evening, was taken with an apoplectic fit, and died in the arms of the Elec- toral Princeſs (now our moſt gracious Queen Ca- roline) and the counteſs of Pickenburg, before any one could come to her aſſiſtance.

This excellent Princeſs, whom I have frequently had the honor of ſeing, with great ſatisfaction, and who was, to the very day of her death, I think, the fineſt woman I ever ſaw of her age, was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederic, the un- fortunate King of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, his Queen, only daughter of King James I; ſhe was born at the Hague, the 3d of October, 1630, and conſequently liv'd to the age of 84.

The ninth of July, the Queen prorogued the parliament, and, on that occaſion, made her laſt ſpeech to both houſes, in the following remarkable words:

The Queen's laſt ſpeech to the parlia- ment.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The progreſs which has been made in public " buſineſs, and the ſeaſon of the year, render it " both convenient and neceſſary, that I ſhould put " an end to this ſeſſion.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I return you hearty thanks for all your good " ſervices to me, and to your country, and parti- " cularly for the ſupplies you have given me, as " well to defray the expences of the current year, " as towards the diſcharge of the national debts.

" In our preſent circumſtances, it could not be " expected that a full proviſion ſhould be made on " both theſe heads.

" What you have granted, ſhall be laid out " with the beſt huſbandry, and to the greateſt ad- " vantage.

My

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My lords and gentlemen,

" I hope early in the winter, to meet you again, " and to find you in ſuch a temper, as is neceſſary " for the real improvement of our commerce, and " of all the other advantages of peace.

" My chief concern is, to preſerve to you, " and to your poſterity, our holy religion, and " the liberty of my ſubjects, and to ſecure the pre- " ſent and future tranquility of my kingdoms: " but I muſt tell you plainly, that theſe deſirable " ends can never be attain'd; unleſs you bring the " ſame diſpoſitions on your parts, unleſs all ground- " leſs jealouſies, which create and foment divi- " ſions amongſt you, be laid aſide; and unleſs you " ſhew the ſame regard for my juſt prerogative, " and for the honor of my government, as I have " always expreſs'd for the rights of my people.

Acts paſs'd.

The principal acts which paſs'd this ſeſſion, were, " 1. The land-tax act of two ſhillings in the " pound. 2. The malt-act as uſual. 3. An act " for the better regulating the forces to be " continued in her Majeſty's ſervice, and for the " better payment of their quarters. 4. An act " to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the ſe- " curity of the churches of England and Ireland. " 5. An act to prevent the liſting her Majeſty's " ſubjects to ſerve as ſoldiers, without her Majeſty's " licenſe. 6. An act for providing a public re- " ward for ſuch perſons as ſhould diſcover the lon- " gitude at ſea. 7. An act to reduce the rate of " intereſt, without prejudice to parliamentary ſe- " curities. 8. An act for the preſervation of " wrecks. 9. An act for reducing the laws re- " lating to rogues, vagabonds, ſturdy beggars and " vagrants, into one act of parliament, &c."

Ill ſucceſs of of the Germans.

Let us now look back, and obſerve what a figure the Germans made, in their oppoſition to the whole power of France, which was anſwerable to the expectations every one muſt neceſſarily have, who had an eye to their former conduct, during this war: they were ſoon obliged to retire into their fortified towns, and behind their lines, while the marſhal de Villars reduced one place after another, and made them begin to think of peace in earneſt. A treaty was accordingly ſet on foot this winter, which was managed ſolely by the two generals, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the marſhal de Villars, at the caſtle of Alt-Raſtadt, and was brought to a concluſion and ſign'd the 16th of March.

Peace between the Emperor and France.

By this treaty, the Emperor was obliged to quit his pretenſions to Landau, which he might have kept, had he ſign'd the peace with the reſt of the allies. The Rhine was agreed to be the barrier, between the Empire and France, and the other articles were conformable to the peace of Ryſwick.

Behavior of the Catalans.

It will be neceſſary now to ſay a word or two with reſpect to the Catalans, and their behavior, on the Emperor's evacuating that country. On the 22d of June, of the foregoing year, every thing was adjuſted for that end, and it was provided, that all perſons who deſired to retire into Italy ſhould be tranſported thither. The ſtates of Catalonia having been ſummoned on this occaſion, cardinal de Sala, biſhop of Barcelona, exhorted them to ſubmit to King Philip, and aſſured them that the Queen of Great-Britain had obtained a general pardon for them, and that they would injoy equal privileges, with the reſt of the ſubjects of Spain: he was back'd by ſeveral other members of that aſſembly; but the majority choſe rather to hazard every thing. Accordingly, they form'd an army, named their generals, and by the connivance of count Stahremberg, ſeized the principal poſts about Barcelona, and gariſon'd fort Montjuy. The count, with the Imperial troops, ſoon after imbark'd, and were convoyed by ſir John Jennings to Genoa, where they arrived about the middle of July.

Upon their departure, the Catalans proclaimed war againſt France and the duke d'Anjou, and refuſed to accept the amneſty he offered them, declaring they would rather die free, than live ſlaves to him. In the mean time, the whole principality of Catalonia was laid waſte, and the duke de Popoli, not having troops enough to lay ſiege to Barcelona, block'd it up the whole winter. The next ſpring, the Catalans received letters from his Imperial Majeſty, that he had been obliged to conclude a peace with France, but that he had preſerved his rights, titles and pretenſions to the crown of Spain, and gave them aſſurance that he would aſſiſt them with all his might, in order to procure them the advantages they deſerved for their fidelity, their conſtancy, and glorious actions. Upon this, they were ſo elate, that tho' King Philip again offered them the confirmation of their ancient privileges, they would hear of no terms, but choſe rather to ſee the beſt part of the city, with ſeveral churches and monaſteries, reduced to a heap of aſhes; and held out till the 11th of September, when they withſtood a general ſtorm, till four the next morning, and being at length compel'd to retire into the new city, notwithſtanding their deſperate condition, they were allow'd to capitulate, and ſurrendered upon terms.

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The miniſtry of Great-Britain divided.

During theſe tranſactions, there was a miſunderſtanding among the Britiſh miniſters, which gave occaſion to various conjectures, tho' many of them perhaps groundleſs. All that can be ſaid, with any certainty is, that the Queen's life being thought very precarious, ſome courtiers were diſcovered making their applications privately to the ſucceſſor, and to the duke of Marlborough; among whom, the late earl of Oxford was ſaid to be one, which drew on him the reſentment not only of his brethren, but even of the Queen herſelf; inſomuch that ſhe diſmiſs'd him, the 27th of July, from his poſt of lord-treaſurer.

As the ſtaff was taken from the earl of Oxford, with ſome mortifying circumſtances, he could not forbear ſhewing his reſentment to the authors of it, which he is ſaid to have done in the following, or the like words: " I have been wrong'd and " abuſed, by lies and miſrepreſentations; but I " ſhall be reveng'd, and leave ſome people as low " as I found them."

The removal of the treaſurer was ſo ſudden, and occaſioned ſo much confuſion, that there was great difficulty to determine how to ſupply his place, or to fill up ſuch other vacancies as naturally attended his diſgrace.

The 29th of July, the cabinet-council was to have ſat on this affair: but their meeting was put off to the next day, on account of the Queen's illneſs, which probably if not occaſion'd, was at leaſt increas'd, by theſe uneaſineſſes: and ſhe is ſaid to have intimated to one of her phyſicians: " That ſhe ſhould not outlive it."

The diſpute between the earl of Oxford and his antagoniſts, to which her Majeſty was an earwitneſs, and the conſultation that was held thereupon, and laſted till near two in the morning, certainly occaſion'd ſo violent an agitation in the Queen's ſpirits, as could not but add to her indiſpoſition: which increas'd ſo much upon her, that, the next morning, ſhe was believ'd to be in great danger.

The Queen's laſt ſickneſs.

The dukes of Sommerſet and Argyle having advice of the deſperate condition of the Queen's life, their graces repair'd with ſpeed to Kenſington, and, without being ſummon'd, went into the council-chamber, where the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Shrewſbury and Ormond, the three ſecretaries of ſtate, the biſhop of London, and ſome others, were aſſembled in a commitee. The duke

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of Shrewſbury return'd their graces thanks for their readineſs to give the council their aſſiſtance on ſo critical an occaſion. One of the council then repreſented how neceſſary it was, in caſe of the Queen's demiſe, that the place of lord-treaſurer ſhould be fill'd: the whole board aſſenting to this, the duke of Shrewſbury was propoſed, and unanimouſly approved of, as the moſt proper perſon for ſo high a truſt: and the phyſicians having aſſured the council that the Queen was then ſenſible, and might be ſpoke to, the lord chancellor, the duke of Shrewſbury, and ſome others, were appointed to attend her Majeſty, and acquaint her with the unanimous opinion of the council: upon which her Majeſty ſaid, "they could not recommend a "perſon ſhe liked better than the duke of Shrewſ-"bury," and giving him the treaſurer's ſtaff, bid him "uſe it for the good of the people." The duke would thereupon have return'd her Majeſty the lord chamberlain's ſtaff, but it was her deſire he ſhould keep both: ſo that his grace was, at the ſame time, poſſeſs'd of three of the higheſt places of truſt, honor and profit, in the whole kingdom, being lord-treaſurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The duke of Shrewſbury made lord treaſurer.

The duke of Shrewſbury's advancement made an immediate and great change in the face of affairs; daſh'd the tow'ring ambition of the lord Bolingbroke, and at the ſame time it baffled whatever undigeſted ſchemes he may have had to the prejudice of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion gave a new life and vigor to all who were well-affected to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover. The coming of the dukes of Sommerſet and Argyle ſo opportunely into the council, had a farther good effect: for, upon their motion, it was reſolved, that all privy-counſellors who were then in and about London, without diſtinction, ſhould be deſired to attend, which the lord Sommers, and ſome other ſtaunch friends of the houſe of Hanover, did the ſame day.

Great prudence of ſome privy-counſellors.

About three in the afternoon, the Queen relapſed into a kind of lethargic or apoplectic fit, and ſoon after the phyſicians acquainted the council, that her Majeſty's life was in extream danger. The council hereupon provided, with wonderful prudence and diſpatch, for the ſecurity of the cities of London and Weſtminſter, of the maritime towns, and of Scotland and Ireland. Orders were immediately diſpatch'd to four regiments of horſe and dragoons, which were quarter'd in remote countries, to march up to the villages near London, to keep the Jacobites and diſaffected in awe, and to ſeven of the ten battalions of Britiſh forces, that were then in Flanders, to imbark at Oſtend, and ſail for England with all imaginable expedition. The lords of the Admiralty, in the mean time, laid an embargo on all ſhiping, and gave orders for fiting out ſuch men of war as could be ſooneſt got ready: ſo that, by theſe excellent orders, the public tranquility remain'd undiſturbed, and no ſign of conſternation appear'd, unleſs in the faces of thoſe who were avowed friends of the Pretender, and who, by the prudence and foreſight of theſe truly noble patriots, found themſelves intirely diſappointed in the hopes the great approaching change might otherwiſe have buoy'd them up with.

The Queen continued all night in a kind of lethargic doſing (1), which increas'd to ſuch a degree, about ten the next morning, that all her phyſicians deſpair'd of her life. The privy-council ſent hereupon orders to the heralds at arms, and a troop of the life-guards, to be ready to mount, in order to proclaim the Elector of Brunſwick, immediately upon the Queen's demiſe. Their lordſhips, at the ſame time, cauſed a letter to be written to his Electoral Highneſs, to acquaint him "with the extream danger the Queen's life was "in, with the meaſures they had taken to ſecure "the crown to him, and to deſire his Electoral "Highneſs to repair with all convenient ſpeed to "Holland, where a Britiſh ſquadron, which was "fiting out with all expedition, would attend "him, and bring him over, in caſe it pleaſed "God to take the Queen to his mercy." This letter was ſent expreſs by James Craggs, eſq; jun. and by him orders were diſpatch'd to the earl of Strafford, to urge the States-general to be in a readineſs to perform the guaranty of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, if need ſhould require.

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All this being done, the indefatigable lords of the privy-council reſumed the conſideration of the ſtate of the ſea-ports, and order'd a ſtrong re-inforcement to be forthwith ſent down to Portſmouth. At the ſame time, rightly judging, that if the partiſans of the Pretender made any diſturbance in Great-Britain, it would be in Scotland, their lordſhips order'd major-general Whetham thither, to aſſiſt major-general Wightman, and appointed the brave earl of Berkley to command the fleet.

Between twelve and one the Queen gave ſome ſigns of life, and took ſome ſpoonfuls of broth; and then continued in a dozing heavy condition till about ſix in the evening. Her pulſe then beat ſomewhat higher, which gave ſome hopes; but it proved but a lightning before death: for the remedies the phyſicians applied, and particularly the bliſters, not having the wiſh'd-for effect, her Majeſty expir'd the next morning, being the 1ſt of Auguſt, a little after ſeven o'clock, in the fiftieth year of her age, and thirteenth of her reign (2).

Death of Queen Ann.

Thus died the great and excellent Princeſs, Ann Stuart, Queen of Great-Britain, who poſſeſs'd as many virtues as ever adorn'd a private life, and who, in her public capacity, tho' ſhe may have been miſled into ſome prejudices and miſtakes in the latter part of her reign, may reaſonably be ſuppos'd to have had an upright intention for the good and happineſs of her people, and therefore may juſtly be pronounced to have been a Great and Excellent Princess: but to be more particular as to her perſon and character.

Her general character.

This excellent Queen was of a moderate tallneſs, her ſhape and complexion, when in the bloom of youth, admirable; tho' ſhe loſt ſomething of the former after child-bearing, and the latter, as ſhe advanc'd in years, was ſomewhat too ſanguine and ruddy. She had no blemiſh in her face, but a certain contraction in her upper-eye-lids, which gave a cloudy air to her countenance. Her preſence was however, at all times, exceeding graceful: but when ſhe ſpoke, and addreſs'd herſelf to her people, on any public occaſion, ſhe diſplay'd ſuch a mixture of Majeſty, and ſweetneſs of countenance, as

Her perſon.

(1) If we will believe the continuator of Rapin in French; "She paſs'd this night in violent agitations of mind, and con-"tinual tears, crying out frequently; O my dear brother, how I lament thy fate!" He ſeems, however, aſham'd of this ridiculous aſſertion (probably a child of his own brains) and throws it off from himſelf, upon the whole body of a party. Book XXVII. p. 627.

(2) I cannot but with abhorrence take notice of a vile and malicious inſinuation or two of the French continuator of Rapin, on this occaſion: "Thus (ſays he) died Ann Stuart, &c. not without ſome ſuſpicion, which did little honor to the party of her "ſucceſſor;——Her tender affection to her royal conſort, probably drew this Princeſs into a fault, which caſt ſome blemiſh up-"on her excellent qualities. Her compliance with his inclinations gave her a liking to ſtrong waters, to which ſhe accuſtomed "herſelf inſenſibly.——It would be in vain to ſeek for any other cauſe of her death; this was the poiſon which occaſion'd her "premature end." Book XXVII. p. 627, 628.

well

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well as voice, that ſhe commanded the attention of the audience. Her eyes were a light grey, her hair a dark brown, her features ſtrong, but juſt and regular, and in her whole perſon, there appear'd an exact ſymmetry and proportion, till towards the latter end of her life, when ſhe grew ſomething corpulent, and was afflicted with the gout.

And particular character.

She had an excellent ear, which gave her a great reliſh for muſic; ſhe had alſo a good taſte of poetry, painting, and all the liberal arts. Good nature was predominant in her, even to a fault: for it was a compound of benevolence, generoſity, indolence and timidity: and this compound, as it was the ſource of many of her virtues, ſo it was the cauſe of all her uneaſineſſes: and particularly of her giving up her heart, and truſting her ſecrets, without any reſerve, to her favorites, which ſhe had reaſon more than once to repent.

She was fam'd for her oeconomy, and the prudent management of her revenue, as well before as after ſhe came to the crown: before ſhe came to it, ſhe was ſerved by all her officers and dependants with the greateſt alacrity and chearfulneſs, under a ſenſe of being uſed with all the goodneſs and tenderneſs imaginable: and her change of condition afterwards made no alteration, unleſs to increaſe that goodneſs and tenderneſs, in proportion as ſhe had more frequent and greater opportunities of exerciſing it.

She was bred in a court too much abounding in luxury and libertiniſm, and yet never had the leaſt imputation on her virtue: and tho', in her father's palace, ſhe was converſant with thoſe of another communion, and their prieſts could not want frequent opportunities of recommending their religion to her; yet ſhe adhered ſteadily to the religion ſhe was educated in. When her father reſided in Flanders, filial duty prompted her to follow him; and even there, where the Romiſh religion was eſtabliſh'd, ſhe remained firm to her principles, and had the ſervice of the church of England perform'd by her own chaplains, while her father, and the reſt of the family, went conſtantly to maſs.

She was the moſt illuſtrious inſtance of conjugal affection that has appeared in any age. No domeſtic jars or jealouſies ever approach'd the apartments of this Princeſs. The inviolable faith, and mutual love, between her and her royal conſort, were the admiration of the world; and her well-temper'd government of, and affection towards her children, commanded at once their reverence and love.

Her regular and conſtant devotion and attendance at divine ſervice, and diſcountenancing vice and infidelity, are ſufficient teſtimonies of her concern for religion, and if the piety of Princeſſes is to be meaſured by the many religious foundations, in their reſpective reigns, none ever excell'd hers, who not only paſs'd, but recommended an act for the building fifty new churches at once, in and about the cities of London and Weſtminſter; add to this the incouragement ſhe gave to the erecting ſuch numbers of charity-ſchools, and thereby reſcuing the common people from atheiſm and ignorance; her countenancing the univerſities, thoſe fountains of learning, and her unparallel'd bounty to her people in general, in annually applying 100,000 l. of her own revenue, and her ſhare of the prizes, to the ſervice of the war; and her generous bounty to the clergy, in aſſigning the firſt fruits and tenths for their ſupport. If we reflect on theſe illuſtrious inſtances of her piety, regard for religion and unbounded liberality, where ſhall we find a Princeſs equal to her in hiſtory?

She has indeed been charged with an unſteadineſs of mind, ſaid to be apparent in the change of her miniſtry; tho' of this we find much frequenter inſtances, in the reigns of ſome of her predeceſſors: this, at leaſt may be ſaid in her juſtification, and is manifeſt to all the world, that whatever counſels ſhe ſeem'd to be inclin'd to, ſhe never alter'd her principles. I believe her enemies muſt do her that juſtice to acknowledge, that ſhe was ever a faſt friend to the church of England; and that ſhe had, at the ſame time, a moſt tender compaſſion for all her ſubjects, of whatever perſuaſion. Her aims were always for the advancement of religion, and the happineſs of her people: and if ſhe was ſometimes deceived, in the means of attaining thoſe ends, by the falſe repreſentations of crafty ſtatesmen and treacherous friends (for this is the turn, which both parties give to her conduct at different times) let us lament her falling into ſuch hands, but never reflect upon her memory, when we are well aſſured her heart was always with us. If ſhe ever entered into any meaſures, to the diſadvantage of her people, it was (as lord Clarendon ſays of King Charles I) when they were ſo diſguis'd, that ſhe believed them to be juſt.

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She never exerted her prerogative to the prejudice of her ſubjects, or ſeized any man's eſtate under a color of law, to gratify her creatures with. And as ſhe knew herſelf intirely poſſeſs'd of the affections of her people, ſhe often rejoiced them with her royal preſence: on which occaſions, whatever part of her dominions ſhe was pleaſed to viſit, ſhe never fail'd to meet the loud acclamations, and hearty congratulations of her ſubjects. She was conſcious, that ſhe always made the intereſt of the people her own, and therefore look'd upon their affections to be her ſtrongeſt guard.

She maintained the war, which ſhe found herſelf obliged to enter into at her acceſſion to the throne, with great ſtedfaſtneſs and reſolution, till ſhe was at leaſt perſuaded to believe, not only her own, but the reſt of the kingdoms of Europe were ſecured, and then ſhe as paſſionately labour'd to obtain a general peace, which ſhe was made to think advantageous to herſelf and her allies.

The worſt that could be ſaid of this great Queen, even by thoſe who moſt exclaim againſt her conduct, during the laſt four years of her reign; is, "that "ſhe had doubtleſs many excellent virtues, mix'd "with very few foibles, and theſe owing to her "eaſineſs of temper, which gave her too much up "to thoſe, into whoſe hands ſhe put herſelf. When "they happen'd to be good, as in the period of "her war with France, ſhe was as much beloved, "and even adored, for her piety and conſtancy, "her affection and zeal for the common cauſe, her "regard to her allies, her love and her tenderneſs "to her ſubjects, as ever Prince was. After ſhe "was, by ſeveral indirect ſteps, led into the Utrecht "peace, and reduced to the neceſſity of doing "whatever her new miniſters would have her, to "ſupport that peace, and that againſt the ſenſe of "all nations not in league with the French, ſhe "ſtill had the juſtice done her, that no body im"puted the miſgovernment that was complained "of, to her Majeſty, whoſe will every body be"lieved to be good, but to her miniſters." Her intentions were, as ſhe declared them to be, always for the good and happineſs of her people, tho' ſhe may, as I have ſaid above, have been miſguided, and led into ſome prejudices and miſtakes.

To ſum up her character in a few words: ſhe was a moſt affectionate wife, a fond and tender mother; an eaſy and indulgent miſtreſs, and a moſt gracious ſoverein. She retain'd, to the laſt, the principles of true religion, which he had early imbibed; being always devout without affectation, and charitable without oſtentation: and we may ſay of her, what can hardly be ſaid of any of her predeceſſors, ſhe

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she was admired and adored by both parties, not only when in their turns, she favor'd their wishes, but even when they most blamed her conduct.

Her marriage and issue.

This Princess was married to his Royal Highness, Prince George, brother to the then King of Denmark, on the 28th of July 1683, by whom she had, 1. A daughter still-born, the 12th of May 1684. 2. Lady Mary, a second daughter, born the 2d of June 1685, and died in February 1690. 3. Lady Ann Sophia, born the 12th of May 1686, and died the February following. 4. William duke of Glocester, born the 24th of July 1689, and lived to be eleven years of age. 5. Lady Mary, born in October 1690, and lived only long enough to be baptiz'd; and, 6. George, another son, who also died soon after he was born.

Her funeral.

What remains is, that we do the last office to this great Queen, and attend her funeral.

On the 19th of August, the lords-justices having received orders from the late King George, that she should be inter'd in such manner as was consistent with a private funeral, the lord-marshal issued an order for the lords, peeresses, and lords sons, the privy-counsellors and the judges, to meet in the house of peers, the 24th of August, at six in the evening, the maids of honor, and the bed-chamber-women in the robing-room, adjoining to the lobby, next the painted chamber, and all others, whose attendace was required, in the painted chamber, in order to be marshal'd by the officers of arms.

Accordingly, on the 24th of August, the lords, the peeresses, the lords sons, privy-counsellors, judges and others, who were to attend this solemnity, met about seven in the evening, in the house of peers, the painted chamber, and other rooms adjoining; where being call'd out in order, by the officers of arms, they proceeded about ten o'clock, thro' the Prince's chamber, into the Palace-yard, and thence unto the south-east door of the abby, one of the great guns at the Tower firing every minute, until her Majesty was inter'd.

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The royal corps was borne under a canopy of purple-velvet, preceded by a great number of her late Majesty's servants, the judges, privy-counsellors, lords spiritual and temporal, and the great officers. The pall was supported by six dukes, her grace the duchess of Ormond (in the absense of the duchess of Sommerset, who was indispos'd) was chief mourner, supported by the dukes of Sommerset and Richmond, in long cloaks, wearing their collars of the order; her train borne by two duchesses, assisted by the King's vice-chamberlain, and followed by two other duchesses, at the head of fourteen countesses, as assistants, all in long veils of black crape; and after them, the ladies of the bed-chamber, and the maids of honor, in like veils, then the bed-chamber-women, and the gentlemen pensioners closed the procession.

At the entrance into the church, the dean, prebends and choir, received the royal body with an anthem, and marching before Norroy King of arms, who carried the crown and a cushion, they proceeded singing into King Henry VII's chapel, where being arrived, the body was deposited on tressels, while the service of the church was performed by the bishop of Rochester, dean of Westminster; and afterwards inter'd in the same vault, with their late Majesties King Charles II, King William and Queen Mary, and his Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark.

BRITISH 20 AU 75 MUSEUM

FINIS.

A MAP OF THE KING OF GREAT EUROPE, AFRICA, AM

The French by the Treaty of Utrecht are allowed to catch Fish, and to dry them on land, in that part only, and no other of Newfound land, as extends — from Cape Bonavista to y^e^ Northern point of the Island; and from thence down on the Western side to Point Riche.

Polar Circle

HUDSONS BAY

NEW BRITAIN

ISLAND

Forbisher's Straits

Cape Farewell

Fort Nelson

James's Bay

Albany R.

Fort Louis

R. Rupert

NORTH AMERICA

LOUISIANA

Straits of Bell I.

Cape de Grat

Quebec

R. St. Lawrence

THE GREAT FISHING BANK of NEW-FOUND LAND

PENNSILVANIA

MARYLAND

NEW ENGLAND

NOVA SCOTIA

NEW FOUNDLAND

VIRGINIA

NORTH CAROLINA

SOUTH CAROLINA

GEORGIA

NEW YORK

NEW JERSEY

Long I.

C. Cod

Sable I.

Canseau

Placentia

Mississipi R.

C. Charles

Chesapeak B.

Hatteras

C. Look out

Cape Fear

C. Carteret

Charles Town

St. Helena Sound

Savanah R.

Matanabe R.

St. Augustine

C. Florida

G. of MEXICO

Florida

Bahama

The Southward Boundary of Carolina by y^e^ last Charter.

Bermudas or Summer Islands

THE WEST

OR

ATLANTICK

Tropick of Cancer

Lucayos

BAHAMA I.S

Providence

Long I.

Cat I.

Hoguana I.

CUBA I.

St. Iago

JAMAICA I.

Port Royal

St. Iago

HISPANIOLA

Porto Rico

Anguilla

St. Christophers

Barbuda

Nevis

Antego

Monserat

NORTH SEA

C. Con

CARIBEE ISLANDS

Dominica

St. Lucia

St. Vincent

Barbados

TERRA FIRMA

Trinidad I.

Oronoque R.

SOUTH AMERICA

Surinam

310

320

330

340

The Equinoctial Line.

The Island of St. Helena lyt: in Lat: 15 South in the Ethiopick Ocean belongs to G. Britain, where a Governor & other Officers in y^e^ service of y^e^ English East India Company reside, in order chiefly, to supply their Homeward bound Ships w^th^ Fresh water & Provisions.

T BRITAIN'S DOMINIONS IN ND AMERICA.

Explanation.

The Countries colour'd Yellow are now possessed by the King of Great Britain.

Those colour'd Green did anciently belong to the Crown of England.

Small Islands, Cities, Towns Settlements Factories &c belonging to Great Britain, are distinguished by a fine black stroke drawn under their respective Names; and such as formerly belong'd to England by a fine peck'd Line under them in like manner.

The Dutchies of Bremen and Verden were subject to the Crown of Sweden till Conquer'd by the Danes 1712, and made over by them in 1715 to his late Majesty King George 1st as Elector of Hannover; to whom they were confirm'd by Treaty with Sweden in 1720.

Factories and Settlements belonging to the English in Asia.

Gamberoon in Persia. Moco in Arabia.

The 14 following are in India viz.t

Baroch, Swalley-hoole, Surat, Bombay, Dabul, Carwar, Tellechery, Anjengo, Fort St. Davids — Conymere, Fort St. George, Masulapatan, Vizagapatan, and Ballasore. —— The 4 following are in Bengal, viz.t

Fort William, Hugly, Dacca, and Malda.

The 7 following are in the Island of Sumatra.

Mocho, Bantal, Ippo, Cattoun, Bencoolen, Marlborough Fort and Sillebar.

Jan: Bowen Sculp.t

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A GENERAL

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EDWARD [Prince] ſon of K. HENRY III, born, *i.* 356. made d. of Guienne, 369. married to Eleanor of Caſtile, 372. ratifies his father's agreement with the Pope, 377. juſtifies himſelf againſt the falſe report of the e. of Glouceſter, 381. joins his father againſt the barons, 383. takes 10,000 *l.* from the Templars, ib. extricates himſelf from a dangerous blockade, 384. ſeized by the e. of Leiceſter, and compell'd to his terms, ib. defeats the militia of London, but purſues them too far, 385. taken by the e. of Leiceſter, 386. obliged to approve the barons new plan of government, 387. makes his eſcape, 388. defeats the e. of Leiceſter, and reſcues his father, 389. brings the Cinque-Ports to obedience, 391. generous action of his, ib. forces the rebels of Ely to ſurrender, 392. engages to accompany the French K. to the Holy-Land, 393. arrives there, and is wounded by a ruffian, whom he kills, 394. concludes a truce with the Sultan, and ſets out on his return to England, ib. [I King of England, ſurnamed Longſhanks] at his father's death, ſworn to by the barons in his abſence, 405. paſſes thro' Sicily, Italy, and France, into England, 406. crown'd, ib. enquires into the ſtate of the kingdom, ib. attacks the Prince of Wales, who ſubmits to hard terms, 407. obtains the country of Ponthieu and Montreuil, ib. executes 280 Jews for debaſing the coin, ib. procures the ſtatute of Mortmain, ib. 408. publiſhes a proclamation for enquiring into the titles of thoſe who held lands of the crown, which he ſoon revokes, 408. marches againſt the Welſh, ib. kills Pr. Lleweline, and takes poſſeſſion of Wales, 409. extorts great ſums from the Jews, 410. goes to France, and concludes a treaty with PHI-

LIP the Fair, ib. does homage to PHILIP, ib. choſen mediator between the Kings of Sicily and Arragon, 412. returns to England, and ſeverely puniſhes corrupt judges, 413. drives all the Jews out of England, ib. concludes a marriage for the Prince his ſon with Margaret of Scotland, 414. choſen arbitrator between the claimants of the Scots crown, 415. requires to be acknowledg'd Sovereign of Scotland, 416. which he obtains, 417. has the poſſeſſion of the kingdom put into his hands, ib. proteſts, 418. proofs of his right of ſovereignty over Scotland, 419. preſides at the examination of the claimants rights, 421. decides in favor of John Baliol, againſt Robert Bruce, 422. declares BALIOL King of Scots, and receives his homage, 423. treats the Scots haughtily, 424. revokes what he had granted them, 425. ſummons the Scots King to Weſtminſter, who appears before the Engliſh parliament, ib. attacks the Scots on BALIOL's revolt, 426. reduces Berwick, and defeats BALIOL, ib. ſends him priſoner to the Tower of London, and takes away the Scots crown, ſcepter, and coronation-ſtone, 427. burns their records, ib. unfairly dealt with by K. PHILIP, ib. retracts the homage he had done him, 428. engages the e. of Flanders in his intereſt, and makes a league againſt France, 429. abates the pride of the clergy, 430. oppoſed by the barons, ib. deprives two lords of their poſts, ib. appeaſes the people, who were enflamed by the deprived lords, ib. arrives in Flanders, and makes ſeveral acquiſitions, 431. runs the riſque of his life at Ghent, ib. leaves the quarrel with PHILIP to the Pope, 432. confirms the great charter, ib. makes an excurſion into Scotland, and wins the battle of Falkirk, ib. receives the Pope's ſentence concerning his quarrel with France, 433. marches a third time into Scotland, and gains a compleat victory, ib. threatens to waſte all Scotland, but grants a truce at the French K's ſolicitations, 434. inveſts EDWARD his eldeſt ſon in the principality of Wales, ib. grants a new truce to the Scots, ib. ſends Seagrave into Scotland, who is beat thrice in one day, 435. makes a treaty with France, ib. goes a fourth time into Scotland, where he meets little oppoſition, ib. requires a ſtrict regard to his authority, ib. commits the Prince of Wales to a common goal, 436. acts with a deſpotic power, ib. ſends an army into Scotland againſt Bruce, which defeats him, 437. arrives in Scotland, and forms the deſign of uniting it with England, ib. on its revolt, reſolves to lay it waſte, and draws together an army at Carliſle for that purpoſe, ib. taken ill, gives his laſt orders to his ſon, 438. carried into Scotland, and dies at Burgh, ib. character, ib. children, ib. parliaments in his reign, ib.

EDWARD [Prince] ſon of EDWARD I, born at Caernarvon in Wales, *i.* 409. articles of his intended marriage with Margaret of Norway, 414. inveſted in the principality of Wales and earldom of Cheſter, 434. commited by his father to a common goal, 436. his favorite Piers Gaveſton, baniſh'd, 437. adviſed never to recal him, 438. [II K. of England, ſurnamed of Caernarvon] highly eſteemed by the Engliſh at his acceſſion to the crown, 439. recals Gaveſton, which does him hurt, ib. impriſons the biſhop of Litchfield, ib. goes to France, and marries Iſabella, daughter of PHILIP the Fair, ib. pacifies the nobility, who had made a league againſt him, and is crown'd, 440. neglects his promiſe to the barons, ib. gives his niece to Gaveſton, ib. promiſes to baniſh Gaveſton, but delays it, ib. makes him governor of Ireland, but ſoon recals him, 441. gives up the government to commiſſioners, ib. baniſhes Gaveſton, and recals him again, ib. ſurprizingly indolent, while the barons levy forces againſt him, 442. retires with Gaveſton to Scarborough, ib. accommodates matters after Gaveſton's death, and promiſes a general amneſty, which he delays to publiſh, 443. publiſhes the amneſty, ib. marches againſt Scotland, and returns, having done nothing, 444. advances to Sterlyn with 100,000 men, and is entirely defeated, ib. hangs an impoſtor, who pretended to be the true Edward, 445. reproach'd with his conduct in a letter, ib. convenes a parliament, but revokes his order, ib. reconciles the angry barons, 446. ſends troops to Ireland, ib. ſolicits the Pope to procure him a peace with Scotland, ib. beſieges Berwick, but to no purpoſe, ib. receives the Spencers to favor, and creates the father e. of Winchеſter, 447. raiſes forces againſt the barons, and publiſhes a proclamation to ſatisfy the people, 448. recals the Spencers, who had been baniſhed by the parliament, ib. reduces the barons, and puts to death the e. of Lancaſter, their general, ib. marches into Scotland, but obliged to return for want of proviſions, 449. purſued and defeated by the Scots King, ib. makes a truce with him, ib. pardons Roger Mortimer twice, after he was condemned, 450. loſes Guienne to the French King, ib. ſends his Queen to France, who concludes a treaty with her brother, 451. conſents that his ſon EDWARD ſhall do homage to the French King for the duchy of Guienne, of which he is to be put in poſſeſſion, ib. ſends for his Queen and ſon back, who refuſe to return, 452. juſtifies young Spencer to the French King againſt the Q's complaints, ib. falſely accuſed of having baniſhed the Queen and Prince, 453. entirely abandon'd at the Queen's landing, retires to the weſt, ib. endeavors to withdraw into Ireland, but forced upon the Welſh coaſt, hides himſelf in Wales, 454. ſeiz'd and conducted to Monmouth, where he gives up the great-ſeal, ib. conducted to Kenelworth caſtle, ib. depoſed by a parliament called in his name, and his ſon Edward elected in his room, ib. obliged to reſign his crown to his ſon, 455. reſigns the regalia to the parliament's deputies, ib. character, ib. children, ib. writes to his Queen for a mitigation of her ſeverity, but in vain, 458. barbarouſly treated by his keepers, ib. inhumanly murdered, 459.

EDWARD [Prince] ſon of EDWARD II, born, *i.* 443. goes to Paris, and does homage to the French King, 452. contracted to Philippa, daughter of the count of Haynault, 453. elected guardian of the realm by the lords, 454. elected K. by the parliament in his father's place, ib. vows not to accept the crown, but with his father's conſent, which the parliament oblige him to give, 455. [III K. of England] proclaimed and crowned, 457. requires the canonization of the late e. of Lancaſter, ib. draws together a numerous army, and marches after the Scots, but cannot engage them, ib. 458. marries Philippa of Haynault, 459. makes peace with the Scots, and gives up all his pretenſions over Scotland, ib. reſtores to them the regalia, 460. reſolves to puniſh the malecontents, who had form'd a league againſt the court, ib. grants them an amneſty at the archbp. of Canterbury's requeſt, 461. makes a treaty with France, 462. claims the regency of France, which Philip de Valois obtains, ib. demands the French crown, which Philip alſo obtains, 463. does homage to Philip, but proteſts in private againſt the conſequences of it, ib. confirms his homage by letters patent, 464. ſends Mortimer e. of March to the Tower, ib. calls a new parliament, ib. confines the Queen mother, and reduces her penſion, ib. forms a deſign of conquering Scotland, and employs BALIOL to execute it, 465. makes a ſhew of obſerving the peace while BALIOL prepares, who gets himſelf crown'd K. of Scotland, and does homage to EDWARD, 466. raiſes an army under pretence of ſending it to Ireland, but marches it to Scotland, ib. takes Berwick, and defeats the Scots at Haly-down-hill, ib. makes three more expeditions into Scotland, in which he ravages the kingdom, 467. deſigns to invade France, and makes alliances with ſeveral Princes, ib. 468. writes to the Pope againſt K. PHILIP, 469. orders the d. of Brabant to demand the crown of France, and makes him his lieutenant in that kingdom, ib. goes to Antwerp, ib. made vicar of the Empire, 470. borrows mony on all lands, and even pawns his crown, ib. aſſumes the title of King of France, ib. publiſhes a declaration addreſs'd to the French, and a manifeſto againſt K. PHILIP, 471. returns to England, obtains a ſupply, and confirms the grand charter, ib. defeats the French fleet, ib. beſieges Tournay to no purpoſe, and ſends a defiance to the French King, 472. makes a truce, and returns to England, ib. goes into Britany, begins four ſieges at once, but is obliged to raiſe them, 474. makes a two years truce, ib. marches againſt the Scots, has his fleet diſabled by a ſtorm, and grants a truce to the Scots, ib. calls a parliament, 475. creates his eldeſt ſon Prince of Wales, ib. inſtitutes a tournament, to engage perſons of fortune in his intereſt, ib. declares the truce with France broken, ſends a challenge to K. PHILIP, and begins hoſtilities by his generals, 476. publiſhes a manifeſto, and goes into Flanders, ib. embarks for Guienne, but driven back by contrary winds, 477. lands in Normandy, knights the Pr. of Wales, and waſtes the country, ib. forces a paſſage over the Somme, ib. meets PHILIP at Crecy, and gains a compleat victory, ib. 478. commends his ſon for his behavior in the action, ib. beſieges Calais, 479. refuſes a challenge from K. PHILIP, 480. takes Calais, and condemns ſix of the principal burghers to death, but pardons them at his Queen's intreaty, ib. ſettles an Engliſh colony at Calais, and conſents to a truce, ib. refuſes the Imperial dignity, ib. falls upon a French ambuſcade before Calais, and beats them, 481. generoſity, ib. returns to England, and inſtitutes the order of the garter, ib. defeats the Spaniſh pyrates, 482. inveſts the Pr. of Wales in the duchy of Guienne, ib. makes an incurſion into France, ib. retakes Berwick from the Scots, 483. receives the captive King of France with great reſpect and affection, 484. releaſes DAVID K. of Scots, 485. makes a tournament at Windſor, ib. agrees to terms with K. JOHN, which the States of France reject, ib. croſſes over to Calais with 100,000 men, ib. ravages France even to the gates of Paris, 486. perſuaded by the Pope's legate to a peace, ib. ſends plenipotentiaries to Bretigny, who negociate a treaty, ib. ſwears to the peace at Calais, and ſets K. JOHN at liberty, 489. reſtores the lands he had taken from forein priors, 490. erects the duchy of Guienne into a principality, with which he inveſts the Prince of Wales, ib. publiſhes a general amneſty, ib. confers titles on all his children, ib. agrees to releaſe the French hoſtages, ib. refuſes a tribute demanded by the Pope, 492. diſguſts the noblemen of Guienne, 493. loſes the earldom of Ponthieu, and ſeveral towns in France, 495. reſumes the title of K. of France, ib. attempts in vain to relieve Thouars, 496. makes a truce, 497. falls in love with Alice Pierce, ib. cauſes the people to murmur at his expences, ib. extravagant tournament in Smithfield, ib. mortify'd by his parliament, who oblige him to remove Alice Pierce, 498. publiſhes a general amneſty, ib. recals the d. of Lancaſter, and Alice Pierce, ib. creates his grandſon Richard Prince of Wales, ib. gives him the garter, 499. falls ill, and is deſerted by all, ib. dies, ib. character, and children, ib.

EDWARD the Black Prince, eldeſt ſon of EDWARD III, born, *i.* 465. created d. of Cornwall, 469. Prince of Wales, 475. knighted, 477. prodigious actions at the battle of Crecy, where his father gives him

him the honor of the victory, 478. takes the plume and motto, Ich Dien, for his creſt, ib. modeſty, ib. inveſted in the duchy of Guinne, 482. ravages Languedoc, 483. makes offers to King JOHN of France, which are rejected, ib. encourages his army, ib. beats the French at Poitiers, and takes K. JOHN priſoner, ib. 484. moderation and generoſity after the battle, 484. grants a truce for two years at the Pope's interceſſion, and conducts K. John to London, ib. ſent plenipotentiary to Bretigny, 486. inveſted with the principality of Guienne, 490. keeps a court at Bourdeaux, ib. wins the battle of Najara, in favor of PETER K. of Caſtile, whom he re-eſtabliſhes, 492. contracts a fatal illneſs, ib. impoſes a tax on the inhabitants of Guienne, 493. returns a haughty anſwer to the K. of France, who ſummon'd him before the court of peers, 494. puniſhes the inhabitants of Limoges, 496. very ill, gives up Aquitain to his father, and returns to England, ib. dies, 498. encomium, ib. why called the Black Prince, ib.

EDWARD [Prince] fourth ſon of EDWARD III, created d. of Cambridge, *i.* 490. marries a daughter of Peter the Cruel, 496. made one of the regents to King RICHARD II, 508. ſent with an army into Portugal, 511. returns much diſſatisfied, 515. made d. of York, 518. leaves the court, 525. left regent while K. RICHARD goes to Ireland, 528, or * 526. attempts in vain to hinder a general rebellion on the d. of Lancaſter's landing, 529, or * 527. goes over to the d. of Lancaſter, ib. advice followed concerning the depoſing of RICHARD, 531, or 528.

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HENRY [Prince] ſon of Maud and Jeoffery Plantagenet, born, *i.* 232. deſigns to aſſert his pretenſions to England, 243. takes the title of d. of Normandy, and marries Eleanor, ib. meets K. STEPHEN with an army, but conſents to a peace, 244 adopted by STEPHEN, 245. crown'd, 258. [II King of England] cauſes the fortified caſtles to be demoliſhed, ib. ſends away the forein troops, ib. revokes King STEPHEN's grants, ib. diveſts the new-created barons of their titles, 259. confirms the charter of HENRY I, ib. goes into Normandy, ib. makes war upon his brother Jeoffery, ib. drives him out of Anjou, 260. recovers Northumberland, ib. ravages Wales, ib. vows to be never more crowned, 261. beſieges Toulouſe, ib. war with LEWIS of France, 262. diſturb'd by Becket, ib. will have the clergy tried by his own judges, which Becket oppoſes, 263. calls an aſſembly of lords to reduce the power of the clergy, 264. threatens the clergy, and they ſubmit, ib. gets five articles againſt the clergy ratified by a parliament, ib. ſtirs up ſuits againſt Becket, and cauſes him to be impeached, ib. threaten'd by the Pope on Becket's account, 265. proceeds violently againſt the Pope and Becket, 266. takes meaſures to defend himſelf againſt them, 267. threatens to ſhake off his obedience to Pope Alexander, ib. confers with Becket, 268. threatens the Pope again, ib. confers again with Becket, ib. cauſes his ſon Henry to be crowned, ib. falls dangerouſly ill, and reſolves to be reconciled with Becket, 269. has two more conferences with him, ib. ſpeaks raſh words, which occaſion Becket's death, 270. accuſed of Becket's murder, and acts wiſely in that affair, 271. forms a deſign of conquering Ireland, and receives the Pope's brief thereon, ib. promiſes ſuccor to the K. of Lemſter, 272. goes into Ireland, and receives its ſubmiſſion, 273. goes into Normandy, and is abſolved for the murder of Becket, 274. ſons and Q. conſpire againſt him, ib. impriſons his Q. ib. ſuſpects his eldeſt ſon, 275. attack'd in ſeveral places, and maintains himſelf with great reſolution, ib. ſucceſsful in Flanders, ib. comes into England, and is ſcourged at Becket's tomb, ib. reduces the rebels, ib. drives K. LEWIS from before Roan, and makes a peace with him, 276. appointed guardian to Alix of France, ib. revives the laws of St. Edward, ib. intends to erect Ireland into a kingdom, 277. ſows diſſention among his children, ib. ſupplies the patriarch of Jeruſalem with mony, 278. ſends his ſon John into Ireland, and terrifies his ſon Richard into a ſubmiſſion, ib. wars with PHILIP K. of France, 279, 280. indeavors in vain for a peace, 280. loves Alix, who was betrothed to his ſon Richard, ib. abandon'd and defeated, accepts a diſadvantageous peace, ib. utters imprecations againſt his children, ib. dies at Chinon, ib. character, 281. children, legitimate and natural, ib.
HENRY [Prince] eldeſt ſon of K. HENRY II, contracted to Margaret of France, *i.* 261. married, 262. crown'd by the archbp. of York, 268, 269. refuſes a viſit from Thomas à Becket, 269. conſpires againſt his father, 274. acts as Sovereign, 275. goes into France, 276. dies, 277.
HENRY [Prince] eldeſt ſon of K. JOHN, born, *i.* 307. left ſucceſſor by his father's will, 320. [III, K. of England, ſurnamed of Wincheſter] principal events of his reign, 335. ſupported by the e. of Pembroke, ib. crown'd, ib. does homage to the Pope, 336. makes an advantageous truce with LEWIS of France, ib. 337. makes peace with LEWIS, 338. enters pompouſly into London, ib. ſwears to maintain the people in their liberties, ib. crown'd a ſecond time, 339. lays the firſt ſtone of Weſtminſter church, 340. promiſes to inforce an exact obedience to his father's charters, 341. declared of age by the Pope, ib. by the parliament, 342. renews the charters to raiſe mony, ib. character, 343. begins to oppreſs the people, ib. revokes the two charters of his father, ib. ſatisfies his brother, who had form'd a league againſt him, ib. war with the Welſh, 344. loſes an advantage over the French, ib. Pope and he reciprocally maintain each other, 345. deſigns war with France, ib. defers it, ib. raiſes mony unjuſtifiably, 346. lands in Bretany, goes into Guienne, but returns as as he went, ib. obtains a ſupply, ib. attempts to deprive his brother of eſtates left him by the e. of Pembroke, ib. reſtores the eſtates to appeaſe his brother, who had raiſed a rebellion in Ireland, 347. carries war into Wales with little ſucceſs, ib. demands a ſupply, which is refuſed him, ib. obliges chief-juſtice Hubert to give up his accounts, 348. proceeds violently againſt Hubert, ib. pacified, 349. undertakes to reduce the diſſatisfied barons by force, and uſes them ſeverely, 350. expedition againſt the e. of Pembroke, in which he is defeated, ib. proceeds againſt his miniſters for their treachery to Pembroke, 352. marries Eleanor of Provence, ib. war with France, ib. gives his complaining parliament ſome ſatisfaction, ib. recals his former miniſters, and attempts to annul all grants made in his minority, 353. concludes a ſhameful treaty with the K. of Scots, ib. calls a parliament, and blames his former conduct to obtain a ſupply, ib. obtains it on certain conditions, ib. which he obſerves not, 354. interview with the K. of Scotland at York, ib. his brother and the lords unite againſt him, ib. complies with their requeſt, 355. indeavors to get the Queen's brother elected biſhop of Wincheſter, ib. levity, ib. publiſhes the ſentence of excommunication againſt the Emperor, 356. Pope and he extort mony from the people, ib. ſupports De Rubeis, the Pope's nuncio, 357. ſends judges into the country to procure mony, ib. exacts a great loan from the Jews, 358. gets a brother of the Queen elected archbp. of Canterbury, ib. reaſons of a war with France, ib. raiſes mony by gift and loan, when his parliament refuſes it, 359. leaves the archbp. of York regent, enters France, and declares war againſt LEWIS, ib. ſends a defiance to LEWIS, ib. makes a five years truce, and gets a ſupply from England, 360. extorts more mony from the Jews, ib. obtains another ſubſidy by promiſing to maintain the charters, 361. compels the K. of Scots to do him homage, ib. confiſcates all the eſtates of the French in England, 362. oppoſes the Pope's exactions, 364. receives a mortifying anſwer from the parliament on demanding a ſupply, ib. grows averſe to his ſubjects, and reproaches the barons, ib. diſſolves the parliament, and ſells his plate, ib. extorts mony from the Londoners, ib. refuſed the loans he asks for, ib. takes the croſs to fight againſt the Saracens, 365. gets his brother Athelmar made bp. of Wincheſter, ib. ſpeech on that occaſion, ib. n. keeps no meaſures with the Engliſh, 368. gives profuſely to Guy de Luſignan, ib. urges the K. of Scots to do him homage, who excuſes it, 369. exacts more mony from the Jews, ib. reſolves to ſacrifice the e. of Leiceſter to the reſentment of the Gaſcons, but is obliged to be reconciled to him, ib. gives Guienne to his eldeſt ſon Edward, ib. asks an aid of the clergy, ib. receives a ſhocking anſwer, 370. hates, and hated by, his ſubjects, ib. oppreſſes the city of London, ib. again attacks the e. of Leiceſter to no purpoſe, ib. ſtill governed by ſtrangers, ib. conſtrained to go in perſon to Guienne, 371. obtains a ſupply on the condition of obſerving the charters, ib. indeavors to diſengage himſelf from his promiſe, ib. makes ſome progreſs in Guienne, 372. obtains Eleanor of Caſtile for his ſon Edward, ib. asks in vain for aid of his parliament, ib. exacts more mony from the Jews, ib. comes into England, and extorts mony from the Londoners, ib. refuſes the title of K. of the two Sicilies, 373. accepts it for his ſon Edmund, and ſends mony to the Pope, ib. asks a ſupply of the parliament, who require certain conditions, 374, 375. prorogues the parliament, and takes a journy into Scotland, 375. obtains bulls for raiſing of

of mony, ib. refuſed again by his parliament, 377. requires the clergy to be ſecurity for him to the Pope, which they refuſe, ib. importunes the clergy for a new ſupply, which they are compell'd to grant, 378. requires the reſtitution of Normandy, &c. of the French King, ib. renounces Sicily, ib. aſks for mony of the parliament at Oxford, and conſents to a reformation in the government, 379. complains of the e. of Leiceſter, 381. declares he will no longer obſerve the Oxford ſtatutes, 382. removes the magiſtrates appointed according to thoſe ſtatutes, ib. promiſes to confirm the ſaid ſtatutes, 383. addreſs'd by the barons, whom he threatens, ib. addreſs'd again, which brings him to an accommodation, 384. reſolves to free himſelf from the barons, ib. he and they ſubmit to the arbitration of the French K. which the barons will not ſtand to, 385. obtains ſeveral advantages againſt them, and haughtily rejects their addreſs, ib. taken priſoner at the battle of Lewes, 386. reſcued by his ſon Edward, 389. revenges himſelf on his enemies, 390. lays ſiege to the Caſtle of Kenelworth, and calls a parliament there, 391. propoſes conditions to the male-contents, which they reject, ib. obtains a ſubſidy of the parliament, 392. army increaſes, ib. gets another ſubſidy, 393. dies, 394. character, ib. children, [illegible]. a fictitious miracle attributed to him, 408.

HENRY [e. of Derby] ſon of John of Ghent d. of Lancaſter, defeats the d. of Ireland, *i.* 521. created d. of Hereford, 526. ingages to fight the d. of Norfolk at Coventry, which K. RICHARD prevents, 527, or *525. baniſh'd, and uſed unjuſtly at his father's death, ib. invited back in RICHARD's abſence, 528, or *526. lands at Ravenſpur, and aſſembles ſixty thouſand men, 529, or 527. aſſumes the title of duke of Lancaſter, publiſhes a manifeſto, marches to London, takes Briſtol-Caſtle, and beheads ſome of the miniſters, ib. conſers with the K. at Flint, and conducts him to London, 530, or 528. conſults his friends on the ſituation of affairs, ib. claims the crown, and is proclaim'd King, 534, or 532. [IV K. of England, ſurnamed of Bolingbroke] gives new authority to the parliament called by RICHARD, 544, or 542. fills the vacant poſts, 544, or 543. rewards the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, ib. makes his ſon Thomas lord high ſteward, and the e. of Worceſter his deputy, ib. crown'd, and anointed with an extraordinary oil, ib. denies that he holds the crown of the people, 545, or 543. examination of his right, ib. creates his eldeſt ſon Prince of Wales, ib. requires the advice of parliament concerning RICHARD, 546, or 544. promiſes the clergy his protection, 548, or 546. ſends embaſſadors to foreign courts in his juſtification, who are coldly received. [illegible] deſtroys the blank bonds extor[illegible]ICHARD, 549, or 548. conſpired againſt by ſome of RICHARD's friends, 550, or 549. reſolution advantageous to him, 551 or 550. marches againſt the Scots, but returns without ſucceſs, 552, or 551. pleas'd at the misfortunes of the e. of March, taken priſoner by Owen Glendour, 553, or 552. obtains an act againſt the Lollards, 554, or 552. ſends home RICHARD II's Queen, 554, or 553. expedition againſt the Welſh, 555, or 553. narrowly eſcapes being run thro' in his bed, ib. raiſes a ſubſidy without parliament for marrying his daughter, ib. marries Jane of Navarre, ducheſs dowager of Bretany, ib. another Welſh expedition, 555, or 554. connives at an inſult from the French, 556, or 554. challenged by the d. of Orleans, ib. quarrel with the e. of Northumberland, which occaſions the e. to rebel, 557, or 555. refuſes to ranſom the e. of March, ib. juſtifies himſelf by proclamation againſt Northumberland's manifeſto, 558, or 556. defeats him at Shrewſbury, and afterwards pardons him, ib. puniſhes the authors of a report that K. RICHARD was alive, 559, or 557. connives at an affront from the Britons, ib. procures an illiterate parliament, ib. aſks in vain for a ſubſidy of the nobles and clergy, 561, or 558. marches againſt the French in Wales without ſucceſs, 562, or 559. denied mony by his parliament, keeps them ſitting till they grant it, 563 or 560. in danger of being taken by pirates, 564, or 561. puniſhes the rebels who join'd the e. of Northumberland, 565 or 562. commands his ſubjects to acknowledge Pope Alexander V, 566, or 563. takes advantage of the broils in France, and infringes the privilege of parliament, ib. demands a ſubſidy, and rejects two petitions of the parliament, ib. orders a Lollard to be burnt, at which the commons are offended, 567 or 564. obtains a ſubſidy by violence, ib. aids the d. of Burgundy, 568, or 565. takes farther advantage of the troubles in France, ib. injoys a profound peace, 569 or 566. grows jealous of the Prince of Wales, who juſtifies himſelf, ib. falls dangerouſly ill, ib. takes the croſs to go to Jeruſalem, from a notion that he ſhould die there, ib. keeps the crown always near him, 570, or 566. carried into the Jeruſalem-chamber, where he gives inſtructions to his ſon, and dies, 570, or 567. character, and children, ib.

HENRY [Prince] ſon of HENRY IV, created Prince of Wales, *i.* 545, or 543. gains two victories over the Welſh, 560, or 558. runs into extravagancies, 569, or 566. ſtrikes a judge, and is commited to priſon, ib. vindicates himſelf againſt the King's ſuſpicions, ib. takes the crown from his father's pillow, 570, 566. anſwer to his father's laſt inſtructions, 570, 567. [V K. of England, ſurnamed of Monmouth] education, 571 or 568. inclination to war, ib. cauſe of his extravagancies, ib. proclaim'd and crown'd, ib. puts away his old companions, and chuſes a worthy council, ib. promiſes to perſecute the Lollards, and removes RICHARD's body to Weſtminſter, 572 or 568. conſents to the proſecution of Oldcaſtle, 572 or 569. ſends an embaſſy to France, 573 or 570. makes his firſt demands on that court, ib. impoſed upon by a ſtory concerning the Lollards, 574 or 571. kills ſome of them, ib. ſends embaſſies to France with freſh demands, 575 or 572. aſſembles a parliament at Leiceſter, who petition him to ſeize the lands of the clergy, and grant a ſubſidy for the intended war againſt France, 577, 578, or 573, 574. inſulted by the Dauphin, 579, or *571. negociates with the duke of Burgundy, 576, 579, 580, or 573, *571, 572. declares his reſolution of going to France to the lords, 579, or *572. imbarks his troops, ſuppreſſes a conſpiracy, ſails to France, and takes Harfleur, 579, 580, or *572. finding his army in an ill ſtate, reſolves for Calais, but is much obſtructed in his march, 581 or *573. croſſes the Somme, offers to reſtore Harfleur, and is defied by the French, 581, 582, or *573, 574. meets the enemy, accepts their offer of battle, and acts with precaution, 582, 583, or *574. expoſes himſelf in the battle to great dangers, and receives a blow on the head with a battle-ax, 583, 584, or 575. receives a blow from the duke of Alençon, whom he ſtrikes to the ground, 585, or 575. wins the battle, 584, or 576. puts all the priſoners to death, and reaſon of it, ib. returns God thanks for the victory, and calls it the battle of Azincourt, 585 or 576. refuſes a challenge from the d. of Burgundy, and returns to England, ib. courted by both parties in France, 586 or 577. prevail'd upon by the emperor Sigiſmund and the count of Holland to make a truce, 587 or 578. tries in vain to amuſe the French, ib. ſends the d. of Bedford to Harfleur, who beats the French fleet, and relieves the town, ib. concludes a truce with the d. of Burgundy, and a treaty with the emperor, 588 or 579. goes to Calais, where he has an interview with the d. of Burgundy, ib. conſents to a truce, but obtains a freſh ſubſidy, borrows mony, and reſolves to renew the war, 589 or 580. negociates with the French priſoners, 590 or 581. permits the d of Bourbon to go into France, having firſt ingag'd him to acknowledge his title to the crown of France, 590 or 582. lands at Tonque in Normandy, and takes ſeveral places, 591 or 582. makes high demands at the congreſs of Bernonville, 591 or 583. concludes a truce with Britany, Anjou, and Maine, ib. takes ſeveral towns in Normandy, 592 or 583. makes a truce with the revolted Gaſcons, 592 or 584. inſtructs embaſſadors to treat with the Dauphin, 593, or 585. takes more places, 594, or 585. grants the Dauphin a truce, 595, or 586. demands on France, and reply to the French demands, 595 or 587. takes Pontoiſe, with a great booty, 596 or 588. ſtate of his affairs, ib. grants a ſhort truce to the Pariſians, 597 or 588. claims the crown of France, 597 or 589. treats with the d. of Burgundy, ib. aſſumes the title of K. of France upon new coin, 598 or 589. ſigns the treaty of Troye, and betroths Catharine of France, 598 or 590. enters Paris with K. CHARLES, 600 or 591. pardons the Gaſcon rebels, 600 or 592. returns to England, and makes a progreſs, 601 or 592. iſſues a proclamation againſt the Pope's collections, ib. obtains a ſubſidy, ib. affairs with the Scots, 601, 602, or 593. returns to France, and takes Dreux, 602, or 594. projects marriages for his brothers, 603, or 594. ſevere to the people of Meaux, ib. falls ſick, and gives the command of his forces to the d. of Bedford, 603 or 595. goes to Vincennes, and gives his laſt inſtructions to thoſe who were to govern for his young ſon, ib. ſteady at the approach of death, 604 or 595. declares his deſign to have warred againſt the Infidels, ib. dies, ib. character, 604, 605, or 595, 596. iſſue, 606 or 597.

HENRY [Prince] ſon of HENRY V, born, *i.* 603 or 594. [VI K. of England, ſurnamed of Windſor] proclaimed heir of France, 606 or 598. proclaimed K. of France at Paris, and ſworn to by the French lords, 607 or 599. ſtate of his affairs, 607—612, or 599—604. put under governors by the parliament, 612 or 604. crown'd in London, 632. at Paris, 634. returns to England, 636. gives away Boulogne, and Flanders, 642. diſpoſition, 646. makes a convention with the d. of Bretagne, 648. betroths a daughter of the count d'Armagnac, 651. deſires a peace, and ſends an embaſſy to Tours, 653. marries Margaret of Anjou, 654. delivers Mans to Charles of Anjou, 657. ſends the d. of Suffolk to the Tower, 660. marches againſt Cade the Kentiſh rebel, 661. orders the landing of the d. of York to be oppoſed, 662. anſwers his letter, 663. goes to meet him, and promiſes to grant what he deſires, ib. cauſes him to be apprehended, ib. falls ſick, 665. reſumes his authority, 667. diſfeated, falls into the d. of York's hands, who treats him reſpectfully, ib. relapſes, and names the d. of York protector, 668. recovers, and reſumes the government, ib. marches to meet York, Saliſbury, and Warwick, who had taken arms, and offers them pardon, 670. taken priſoner by the Yorkiſts at Northampton, 672. uſed reſpectfully, and conducted to London, ib. declares in favor of the d. of York, ib. to enjoy the crown during life, 673. ſends for his Queen, who brings an army, fights York, and defeats him, 674. freed by the Queen from the e. of Warwick, 675. depoſed, 676. character, ib. enters England again with an army, 690. routed, retreats to Scotland,

land, ib. thinking to conceal himſelf in England, taken and carried to London, 691. releaſed from the Tower, and reſtored to the throne, 703. pretended prophecy concerning the e. of Richmond, 704. depoſed again, and impriſoned in the Tower, 708. murdered, 712. private character, ib. letter to the d. of Burgundy concerning the maid of Orleans, 679. canonization attempted, but dropt, 804.

HENRY [e. of Richmond] preſented to K. HENRY VI, *i.* 704. eſcapes the ſnares of K. EDWARD, 712, 714, 719. nominated K. by the d. of Buckingham, 741. right to the crown, ib. inform'd of the proceedings in his favor, 743. gets a promiſe of aſſiſtance from the d. of Bretagne, ib. like to be ſurprized on the coaſt of Cornwal, 744. returns to Bretagne, where many Engliſh repair to him, and ſwear allegiance, 745. attainted, ib. eſcapes from Bretagne to France, where the e. of Oxford joins him, 747. joined by ſeveral more lords, and promiſed aſſiſtance from France, 748. lands at Milford-haven, and advances into the country, 749. meets K. RICHARD at Boſworth, and utterly defeats him, 750. proclaimed in the field of battle, 751. [VII, K. of England] in ſuſpence about aſſuming the regal title, and why, 754. reſolves, repairs to London, and is well received, 755. crown'd, 756. inſtitutes a guard, ib. publiſhes a general pardon, and creates ſeveral peers, 757. redeems his pledges in France, and borrows mony of the city, 758 extreme avarice, ib. marries Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of EDWARD IV, and ſo unites the houſes of York and Lancaſter, 760. uneaſy with regard to the Yorkiſts, 761. takes a progreſs to the north, ib. greatly embarraſs'd at York, but extricates himſelf, 762. ſuſpects the Q. dowager, 763. perplex'd on account of the impoſtor Simnel, ib. confines the Q. Dowager, and ſeizes her eſtate, 764. takes meaſures to oppoſe his enemies, 765. viſits Norfolk and Suffolk, and impriſons the marquis of Dorſet, ſon to the Q dowager, 766. aſſembles an army, and beats the e. of Lincoln, ib. 767. makes Simnel a ſcullion in his kitchen, 767. crowns his Queen, and ſets the marquis of Dorſet at liberty, 768. makes a treaty with Scotland, ib. reply to the French embaſſadors, 769. offers mediation between France and Bretagne, on a miſtake of their condition, 770. obtains a ſubſidy to aid Bretagne, but recurs to treaty, 771. goes to York, and puniſhes the leaders of an inſurrection there, 773. treaty with Bretagne, and deſign in it, 774, 775. ſends forces, and brings the French K. to a treaty, which he obſerves not, 776. makes ſeveral alliances, 777, 778. negociations with France, 779. prepares for war, and obtains a ſubſidy by way of benevolence, 780, 781. private aim, 781. calls on his allies to invade France, but finds a handle to make peace, 782, 783. behavior in the affair of Perkin Warbeck, 785. indeavors to undeceive the people, by proving that the d. of York, whom Perkin perſonated, was actually dead, 786. learns the whole ſtory of Perkin, and publiſhes it, ib. demands the impoſtor, and puts to death ſeveral conſpirators, 787. makes his ſon Henry governor of Ireland, ib. exacts mony by illegal means, 788. libell'd, 789. precaution againſt Scotland, 790. projects marrying his daughter to the K. of Scotland, 791. makes new alliances, 793. obtains a ſubſidy, ib. ſuppreſſes a rebellion, and executes its leaders, 794. makes a truce with Scotland, 795. ſends forces againſt Perkin, who flies to ſanctuary, 796. has the impoſtor conducted thro' London, and confined in the Tower, 797. builds Richmond-palace, ib. ambiguous anſwer concerning the croiſade, 799. choſen protector of the order of St. John, ib. goes to Calais on account of the plague, and has an interview with the archduke, ib. 800. extorts large fines from Warbeck's adherents, 800. concludes the marriage contract between his daughter Margaret, and the Scots King, 801. creates his ſon Henry Prince of Wales, ib. lends the Emperor mony, makes two treaties with him, and confirms that with Scotland, ib. oppreſſes his ſubjects by Empſon and Dudley, 802. rigor to the e. of Oxford, ib. diſcovers the e. of Suffolk's conſpiracy, and deceives him in an extraordinary manner, 803. treats of his ſon Henry's marriage with his ſon Arthur's widow, and obtains a diſpenſation for it, ib. influence over his parliament, 804. thinks of canonizing HENRY VI, but drops it, ib. uneaſy on account of his ſon's claim to the crown, 805. receives a viſit from the K. and Q. of Caſtile, with whom he treats of ſeveral affairs, 806. heaps up vaſt treaſures, 807, 808. ſeized with the gout, which turns to a ptific, 807. grants a general amneſty, repents of his exactions, and dies, 808. iſſue, ib. character, ib. 809, 810. funeral, *ii.* 4.

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their monaſteries, 142. indeavors to make the Scots K. renounce the Pope, ib. takes on him to have the bible tranſlated into Engliſh, 143. treats with the Leaguers of Smalcald, 144. enamour'd of Jane Seymour, and jealous of his Queen, whom he cauſes to be apprehended, and executed, 145. annuls his marriage with Q. Ann, and marries Jane Seymour, 147. rejects the Pontif's propoſals for an accommodation, 148. ſends articles to the convocation, and approves of their conſtitutions, ib. 149. proteſts againſt the council of Mantoua, to which he was cited, 149. ſuppreſſes the leſſer monaſteries, and ſells their lands, 150. ſuppreſſes a Lincolnſhire rebellion by proclamation, 151. embaraſs'd by a rebellion in Yorkſhire, which ends in a general pardon, ib. 152, 153. keeps not his word with the rebels, but puniſhes the authors of that and another inſurrection, 154. reſolves to ſuppreſs all the monaſteries, and publiſhes the report of their viſitors, 154, 155. incens'd againſt cardinal Pole, 155. orders the new verſion of the bible to be printed, 156. diſputes publicly with Lambert, ib. orders the ſurrender of the viſited monaſteries, 158. procures the bloody ſtatute againſt the proteſtants, 159. incourages Cranmer, 160. puts little of the wealth of the monaſteries to good uſes, 161. permits the bible to be read in houſes, 162. diſlikes Ann of Cleves, to whom he was betrothed, ib. yet marries her, 163. gets Cromwell impeached, and condemned without being heard, ib. gets his marriage annul'd, 164. influence over the parliament, 165. marries Catharine Howard, 166. quarrels with King Francis, 167. abſolute in his kingdom, ib. publiſhes a teſt of hereſy, 168. goes to York, and publiſhes a proclamation in the people's favor, 169. inform'd of the Q's leudneſs, which ſhe confeſſes, ib. indeavors to ſuppreſs colleges and hoſpitals, 170. at war with Scotland, 171, 172, 173, 184. leagues with the Emperor, 174. betroths his ſon to the young Q. of Scots, 175. marries Catharine Parr, 178. ſhews his eſteem to Cranmer, ib. title ſettled by parliament, 179. conventions with Scotland, 180, 181. at war with France, 182, 183. conſents to peace, 186. calls in all the church plate, ib. ſevere temper, 188. mortifies Cranmer's enemies, 189. ſets againſt the enemies of the reformation, ib. 190. ſettles the ſucceſſion, 191. warned of his approaching death, and ſhews ſigns of repentance, 192. dies, 193. character, ib. n. funeral, 196.

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Henry [Prince] ſon of K. James I, created Prince of Wales, *ii.* 413. character, ib. death and encomium, 417.

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Herbert [ſir Edward, attorney-general] ſent to accuſe the five members, *ii.* 715. accuſed by the commons, 719. ſentenc'd, 720.

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Hesse-Darmstadt [Pr. of] loſes his life at the attack of fort Montjuy, *iii.* 634.

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TO THE
READER.

AS ſeveral of the Subſcribers favored Mr. Kelly *on the Diſunion between him and me, and as he printed ſome Numbers on his own Account, the which has occaſion'd a Diſagreement in diverſe Folioes in the firſt Volume of this Work, I have thought proper, in this Index, to mention both of them, as for Example, in the preceding page,* viz. YORK [Richard, d. of] ſucceeds the e. of March in his right, *i.* 620 or 611, *and ſo in many other Places; by this Method, I hope, it is render'd uſeful to all Perſons.*

J. MECHELL.

A SUMMARY OR ABRIGEMENT OF THE History of England.

VOLUME I.

As the firſt book of this hiſtory contains only the time the Romans were maſters of Britain, and as we cannot come at a perfect knowlege of the hiſtory of thoſe times, it will not be expected, we ſhould point out the years, months and days, but only ſet down the moſt remarkable events, and under which Emperor's reign they happened.

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495. He beſieges York. p. 37
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496. Paſcentius Vortigern's ſon, takes arms againſt Ambroſius. ibid.
497. Arthur twice beats him. ibid.
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512. The death of Eſcus King of Kent. Octa his ſon ſucceeds him. ib.
514. The death of Ella, Ciſſa his ſon ſucceeds him in the kingdom of Suſſex. ib.
519. Cerdick makes a great progreſs and gains a noted victory. ib.
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He makes great conqueſts, and drives the Britons into Cambria. ib.
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SUMMARY of the HEPTARCHY.

That we may not be obliged to repeat in every line, the names of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, the following letters are made uſe of.

K. - - - - - -	King.
D. - - - - - -	Death, Dead, or Died.
K. of N. - - -	King of Northumberland.
K. of N. in Bern. - -	King of Northumberland in Bernicia.
K. of N. in De. -	King of Northumberland in Deira.
K. of M. - - -	King of Mercia.

K. of

K. of Eſt. - - - King of Eſtanglia.
K. of Kt - - - King of Kent.
K. of Eſſ. - - - King of Eſſex.
K. of S. - - - King of Suſſex.
K. of W. - - - King of Weſſex.

AN' 590. D. of Ciſſa, K. of S. Cheaulin K. of W. ſeized on Suſſex. p. 68
592. Cheaulin, K. of W. is overthrown by Ethelbert, K. of Kt. chief of the allies; Cheaulin never after appeared. p. 69, 70
593. Ceolrick aſcends the throne of Weſſex. p. 70
594. D. of Crida, K. of M. Ethelbert K. of Kt. ſeizes on Mercia; p. 59
597. Ethelbert reſtores Mercia to Wibba, Crida's ſon. p. 59
598. D. of Ceolrick, K. of W. Ceolulph ſucceeds him. p. 70
599. D. of Titilus, K. of Eſt. Redowald his ſon ſucceeds him. p. 63
604. Sabert or Sabba, aſcends the throne of Eſſex, he becomes a Chriſtian. Page 64
611. D. of Ceolulph, K. of W. Cinigiſil ſucceeds him. p. 70
612. Cinigiſil, makes Quicelm his brother his aſſociate. ibid.
613. The monks of Bangor maſſacred by Adelfrid K. of N. p. 52
614. The two Kings of Weſſex gain a ſignal victory over the Britons or Welſh. p. 70
615. Ethelfryd, K. of N. demands Edwin of the King of Eſtanglia. p. 52
616. D. of Ethelbert, firſt K. of Kt. Ebald his ſon ſucceeds him. p. 66
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Cearlus, K. of M. ſhakes off the dominion of the Kings of Kent. p. 60
617. Ethelfryd K. of N. defeated and ſlain by Redowald K. of Eſt. p. 53
Edwin aſcends the throne of Northumberland. p. 54
623. Sigebert the Little, K. of Eſſ. p. 65
624. D. of Redowald K. of Eſt. Erpwald his ſon ſucceeds him. p. 63
625. D. of Caerlus K. of M. Penda ſucceeds him. p. 60
Edwin K. of N. marries Ethelburga of Kent, ſiſter to Ebald. p. 54
633. D. of Erpwald K. of Eſt. Interregnum. p. 63
D. of Edwin, K. of N. Interregnum. p. 55
634. Oſrick and Anfrid King of N. killed, Interregnum. ibid.
635. Quicelm K. of W. imbraces the Chriſtian religion. p. 70
636. D. of Quicelm. Cinigiſil ſole K. of W. ibid.
Sigebert K. of Eſt. reſigns his crown and enters into religion. p. 63
640. D. of Ebald K. of Kt. Ercombert ſucceeds. p. 67
643. D. of Cinigiſil, K. of W. Cenowalch ſucceeds him. p. 70
Oſwy, K. of N. in Bern. p. 56
644. Oſwin, K. of N. in Deir. ibid.
D. of Erpwald, K. of Eſt. Annas ſucceeds. p. 63
645. Cenowalch, K. of W. driven out of his kingdom by Penda K. of M. and takes refuge in Eſtanglia. p. 70
Penda ſeizes on Mercia. p. 60
646. Cenowalch converted in Eſtanglia. p. 70
648. Cenowalch re-eſtabliſhed. ibid.
Adelwalch, K. of S. p. 68
651. Oſwy, K. of Northumberland in Bern. puts Oſwin K. of N. in Deir. to death. p. 56
652. Adelwalt, K. of N. in Deir. ibid.
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653. Sigebert the good, K. of Eſſ. p. 65
654. D. of Annas, K. of Eſt. p. 63
655. Adelwalt ſucceeds him. p. 63, 64

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790. Ethelred, K. of N. re-eſtabliſhed. ibid.
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They

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He is defeated and ſlain at the battle of Nanci. ib. Jan. 5.
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He cauſes a report to be ſpread, that the King and his brother are baſtards. ib.
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He renews the alliance with Caſtile. ib.
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Richard indeavors to intice the duke of Buckingham to court, but cannot ſucceed. p. 744
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Amneſty

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The King reſtores him to his place in the council. ib. April 6.
An act for confirming the new liturgy, and for burning the images. ib. February.
The parliament is prorogued. ib. ditto 2.
Warwick directs all affairs; he reſolves to give up Boulogne. ib.
Guidotti, an Italian merchant, is imployed in the affair of the giving up Boulogne. ib.
He ſucceeds ſo far as to get plenipotentiaries deputed from both courts. p. 214

An' 1550. A conference near Boulogne. Page 214
March 24. The treaty is ſigned. ib.
The people diſcontented at the yielding up of Boulogne. ib.
The earl of Warwick evades ſigning the ratification of the treaty. ib.
The councils conduct cenſured. ib.
Polydore Virgil retires to Italy. p. 215
Death of Paul III; Pole loſes the pontificate by nicety. ib.
April 18. Gardiner is depoſed. ib.
1551. Julius III choſen Pope. ib.
A new confeſſion of Faith is drawn up; rejected by the Princeſs Mary. ib.
Affairs of Germany. Affairs of Scotland. Affairs of religion. ib.
Princeſs Mary in vain indeavors to leave the kingdom. ib.
The ſweating-ſickneſs makes great havock in England from April to October; two dukes of Suffolk die. p. 216
The earl of Warwick forms the project of marrying Elizabeth to a foreign Prince to exclude Mary from the ſucceſſion, and to marry one of his ſons with Jane Gray, eldeſt daughter of the earl of Dorſet. ib.
Edward ſends an embaſſy to Henry II, to carry him the garter, and to negociate his marriage with Elizabeth, Henry's daughter. ib.
July 19. The treaty for the King's marriage is ſigned at Angers. ib.
The King creates the earl of Warwick duke of Northumberland, and makes ſeveral other creations. ib.
The ruin of the duke of Somerſet is determined. ib.
He is ſent to the Tower. p. 217
Decem. 1. He is impeached before the peers. ib.
He is acquited of treaſon, but found guilty of felony. ib.
The great ſeal is taken from the chancellor for offering to act for the duke. p. 218
Jan. 22. The King ſigns an order for executing the duke of Somerſet. ib.
His ſpeech on the ſcaffold. ib.
He is beheaded. ib.
Execution of his pretended accomplices, Vane, Partridge, Stanhope, and Arundel. ib.
1552. Affairs of Germany. ib.
ditto 23. The parliament re-aſſembles. p. 219
Act which ordains that witneſſes ſhall give their evidences before the face of the accuſed. ib.
The marriage of eccleſiaſtics is declared lawful. ib.
The parliament breaks up. ib.
They give the King power to depoſe biſhops. ib.
Search made after thoſe who have inriched themſelves by the revenues of the church. ib.
Lord Paget is fined and degraded from the order of the garter. ib.
The company of German merchants of the Still-yard is ſuppreſſed. ib.
Cardan arrives in England. ib.
The earl of Arran yields up the regency of Scotland to the Queen dowager. p. 220
Maurice, Elector of Saxony, declares againſt Charles V, and by ſo doing obliges him to grant the Proteſtants the edict of Paſſau. ib.
March 1. The parliament aſſembles. ib.
1553. The commons grant the King a conſiderable ſupply. ib.
Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, is depoſed. ib.
Suppreſſion of that biſhopric. ib.
The duke of Northumberland is made count Palatine of Durham. ib.
March 31. The parliament is diſſolved. ib.
The King falls dangerouſly ſick. ib.
May. A ſon of the duke of Northumberland marries Jane Gray. ib.
The duke perſuades the King to transfer the crown to Jane Gray. Page 220 An' 1553.
The judges of the kingdom refuſe to draw the aſſignment of the ſucceſſion. p. 221
They are conſtrained to do it, excepting Hales; all the council ſign it alſo. ib. June 15.
The duke of Northumberland is ſuſpected to have contributed to the King's illneſs. ib.
The King dies. ib. July 6.
The duke in vain indeavors to ſeize on the perſons of Mary and Elizabeth. ib.

MARY.

Mary, Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scotland, and Jane Gray, all four pretend to the crown. p. 222
Mary and Jane Gray remain the two only competitors. ib. ditto 9.
Mary withdraws into the county of Norfolk, where ſhe writes to the council. p. 223
She goes into the county of Suffolk. ib.
She cauſes herſelf to be proclaimed at Norwich, and calls the nobility to her aſſiſtance. ib.
The duke of Northumberland and Suffolk carry Jane word that ſhe is Queen. ib.
Jane Gray accepts the crown, but with ſome difficulty. ib.
She withdraws into the Tower with the council. ib.
The council's anſwer to Mary's letter. ib.
Jane is proclaimed, at which the people expreſs no ſatisfaction. ib. ditto 10.
The counties of Norfolk and Suffolk declare for Mary. p. 225
She promiſes to make no change in religion. ib.
Jane ſends an embaſſador to the Emperor, who will not admit of him. ib.
The council raiſes troops. ib.
The duke of Northumberland ſets out from London to head ſix thouſand men, who were aſſembled at Newmarket. ib. ditto 14.
He marches towards Cambridge and thence to St. Edmundſbury. p. 226
Deſertion in his army. ib.
Haſtings, with four thouſand men, declares for Mary, and gets her proclaimed at Buckingham. ib.
Six men of war ingage in the ſame party. ib.
The duke returns to Cambridge, whence he ſends to the council for ſuccor. ib.
Some counſellors find means to eſcape out of the Tower. ib. ditto 19.
They declare for Mary, and cauſe her to be proclaimed in London. ib.
The duke of Suffolk delivers up the Tower. ib.
Jane diveſt herſelf of her dignity. ib.
The duke of Northumberland proclaimes Mary at Cambridge. ib.
He and his children are conducted to the Tower, with ſeveral others. p. 227 ditto 25.
The whole kingdom declares for Mary. ib.
She ſends Jane Gray, the duke of Norfolk, and ſeveral others to the Tower. ib.
She orders the duke of Norfolk to be ſet at liberty. ib.
She makes her entry into London. ib. Auguſt 3.
She orders ſeveral priſoners in the Tower to be ſet at liberty. ib.
The Queen intends to ſend for cardinal Pole into England, in quality of legate. ib.
Gardiner oppoſes it, and by the Emperor's means induces the Queen to alter her deſign. ib.
The Queen gives him the great ſeal. ib.
Funeral of Edward VI. ib. ditto 12.
The Queen declares ſhe will not conſtrain people's conſciences on account of religion. ib.
Bourn, a chaplain to Bonner, on the point of being maſſacred by the people, for having diſreſpectfully ditto 13.

AN' 1553. fully ſpoken of Edward in a ſermon, is delivered from this danger by two proteſtant miniſters. Page 228

June 18. The Queen puts out a proclamation, which diſcovers her intentions with regard to religion. ib.

The duke of Northumberland, the earls of Northampton and Warwick, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir John and ſir Henry Gate, and ſir Thomas Palmer, are brought to their trials. ib.

They are condemned. ib.

ditto. 22. The duke of Northumberland, ſir John Gate, and ſir Thomas Palmer, are executed. ib.

The deputies of the county of Suffolk are ill uſed at court; one of them, for having ſpoken with too much boldneſs, was made ſtand in the pillory. p. 229

The two miniſters, who had ſaved Bourn, are impriſoned. ib.

The biſhops depoſed in Edward's reign, are re-eſtabliſhed. ib.

Several eccleſiaſtics are confined. ib.

The ſervice of the Roman church is re-eſtabliſhed in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. ib.

Juſtice Hales is fined 1000 l. ſterling. ib.

Peter Martyr takes refuge in Cranmer's houſe. ib.

Cranmer is ſummoned to appear at the ſtar-chamber, and is acquitted. ib.

He is cited before the council, impeached for treaſon, and ſent to the Tower with Latimer. ib.

The reformed foreigners are permited to quit the kingdom, but the Engliſh are forbid it. ib. p. 230

The Queen creates ſeveral peers. ib.

Oct. 1. The Queen's coronation. ib.

A general pardon is publiſhed, but with many exceptions. ib.

ditto 4. The Queen acquits her ſubjects of the ſubſidy due to Edward. ib.

The archbiſhop of York is ſent to the Tower. ib.

The biſhop of Exeter is re-eſtabliſhed. ib.

The court finds means to have a parliament at its devotion. ib.

ditto 10. Taylor biſhop of Lincoln, and Harley biſhop of Hereford, are turned out of the houſe of lords, for refuſing to kneel in the time of maſs. ib.

The parliament being aſſembled, ſeveral acts are paſſed without meddling with religion. ib.

ditto 21. The parliament is prorogued. p. 231

ditto 24. The parliament re-aſſembles, and annuls the ſentence of divorce between Henry VIII and Catherine of Arragon. ib.

ditto 31. An act for re-eſtabliſhing the ſervice of the church of Rome. ib.

Diverſe other acts. ib.

Nov. 3. Jane Gray, Guilford Dudley her huſband, two other ſons of the duke of Northumberland, and Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, are condemned as traitors. ib.

Commendone is ſent into England by cardinal Dandini, the Pope's legate at Bruſſels. ib.

The Queen demands Pole for legate. ib.

Gardiner oppoſes it. p. 232

The Emperor cauſes to be propoſed the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain. The Queen approves it. ib.

Pole detained in Germany. ib.

The commons ſend deputies to the Queen, to intreat her not to marry a foreign Prince. ib.

Decem. 6. The Queen diſſolves the parliament. ib.

The convocation of the clergy eſtabliſhes the tenet of tranſubſtantiation. ib.

January 1554. Embaſſy from the Emperor, to treat of the marriage. p. 233

ditto 12. The articles for the marriage is concluded. ib.

ditto 13. The Queen pardons the marquis of Northampton. p. 234

She ſuſpends the act againſt the German merchants of the Still-yard. Page 234 AN' 1554.

The people murmur on account of the Queen's marriage. ib.

The duke of Suffolk, Thomas Wyat, and Peter Carew, form the deſign of ſtiring up the whole kingdom to a rebellion. ib.

Wyat takes the field with a ſmall number of people; he refuſes to lay down his arms. ib.

The militia which the duke of Norfolk led againſt Wyat, join him, and march towards London. ib. ditto 25.

The Queen deputes two perſons to him, to whom he makes exorbitant demands, which are rejected. ib.

He enters Weſtminſter; but finding the city gate ſhut, he ſurrenders himſelf a priſoner. p. 235 Feb. 5.

The duke of Suffolk is ſeized. ib. ditto 11.

Jane Grey, and her huſband are executed. ib. ditto 12.

Several rebels are put to death. ib. 14 & 15.

The Queen pardons 600 of the rebels. ib. ditto 20.

The duke of Suffolk put to death. ib. ditto 21.

Wyat accuſes Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonſhire. They are ſent to the Tower. ib.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton being acquitted by the jury; they are fined large ſums. ib.

His brother John Throgmorton is condemned, though he was in the ſame caſe. ib.

Wyat clears Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonſhire, and is executed. ib.

Mary orders the church to be purged of the married eccleſiaſtics. p. 236 March.

Several biſhops are depoſed. ib. ditto 13.

Maſs is re-eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom. ib.

The parliament aſſembles. ib. April 2.

They are ſuborned by the Queen. ib.

Act for confirming the Queen's prerogatives. ib.

The biſhopric of Durham is re-eſtabliſhed. p. 237

The parliament approves the treaty of marriage between the Queen and Prince Philip. ib.

Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, are conducted to Oxford, to hold a controverſy on the euchariſt. ib. 15, 16, 17. ditto 20.

They are not permited to explain themſelves. ib.

They are excommunicated on refuſing to make abjuration. ib.

The parliament is diſſolved. ib. May 25.

Philip ſets out from Corunna. ib. July 16.

He lands at Southampton. ib. ditto 19.

The marriage is celebrated at Wincheſter. ib. ditto 25.

Philip brings a great deal of money. ib.

He obtains a pardon for Elizabeth, and others. ib.

The duke of Norfolk dies. p. 238 September.

The parliament re-aſſembles. ib. Nov. 11.

The court ſends to meet Pole, and the parliament repeals the act by which he was condemned. ib.

Pole arrives in England, in quality of Pope's legate. ib. ditto 24.

He makes an harangue to the parliament, during which the Queen had ſuch emotions, ſhe thought to have felt a child ſtir in her womb. ib.

The parliament petition the King and Queen, to intreat their indeavoring to reconcile the Pope and kingdom. ib. ditto 29.

The legate grants them abſolution. ib.

Act, which re-eſtabliſhes the Pope's authority by five conditions, ratified by the legate. ib.

Artifices of the court of Rome, touching church lands. ib. 239

Act for renewing ancient ſtatutes againſt heretics. p. 239

Act, which grants Philip the right of taking upon him the title of King of England during his marriage, and declares thoſe who attempt his life, guilty of high treaſon. p. 240

The manner how to proceed againſt the reformed is debated. Pole is for gentleneſs, and Gardiner for ſeverity, and carries it. ib.

An' 1554. The Queen ſends an Embaſſy of obedience to Rome. Page 240
1555. Gardiner takes upon him to ſee the laws put in execution againſt the Proteſtants. ib.
Feb. 4. Rogers burned in London. ib.
ditto 9. Hooper is burned in Gloceſter. ib.
Sanders and Taylor are alſo executed. ib.
Gardiner transfers his commiſſion to Bonner, for the perſecuting the reformed. ib.
The perſecution cauſes an aſtoniſhment throughout the kingdom. ib.
Philip makes his confeſſor preach againſt the perſecution. p. 241
The perſecution is renewed. ib.
Elizabeth is taken out of confinement, and removed to Hampton-court. ib.
The Queen reſtores the revenues of the churches. ib.
March 23. Pope Julius III dies. ib.
April 9. Marcellus II is elected Pope. ib.
Marcellus II dies twenty-days after his election. ib.
May 23. Paul IV ſucceeds him. ib.
He erects Ireland into a kingdom; gives an audience to the Engliſh embaſſador; requires the reſtitution of the church revenues, and the Peter-pence. p. 242
ditto 29. The Queen is brought to bed of ſeveral moles. ib.
July. Bradford is burned. ib.
Sept. 4. Philip conceives a diſlike for the Queen, and ſets out for Flanders. ib.
A pretended conſpiracy. ib.
A ſearch for thoſe who had ſpoiled churches, and monaſteries. ib.
Octo. 21. The parliament aſſembles. ib.
Act for reſtoring the firſt-fruits and tenths. ib.
The commons begin to oppoſe the court. ib.
Nov. 12. Martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer. ib.
Death of Gardiner. p. 243
Decem. 9. The parliament is diſſolved. ib.
Jan. 1. Charles V reſigns all his eſtates to Philip. ib.
1556. Heath, archbiſhop of York, is made chancellor ib.
Feb. 14. Cranmer is degraded; he ſigns an abjuration, of which he repents him. ib.
March 21. He is burned. p. 244
Pole is elected archbiſhop of Canterbury. ib.
The perſecution is continued with fury. ib.
Re-eſtabliſhment, and foundation of ſome monaſteries. ib.
The Queen cauſes to be taken out of the records, whatever had been tranſacted againſt the monks, and the Pope, in Henry VIII's reign. ib.
The Pope induces the French, to break the truce with Spain. p. 245
January. 1557. The bones of Bucer and Fagius are burned at Cambridge. ib.
The body of Peter Martyr's wife is digged up, and buried in a dunghil. ib.
The Queen grants a commiſſion, with intent to ſet up an inquiſition. ib.
The duke of Guiſe marches into Italy. ib.
April 27. Stafford rebels; he ſeizes on Scarborough. p. 246
May 20. Philip arrives in England. ib.
ditto 28. Stafford is taken. ib.
June 7. The Queen declares war againſt France. ib.
ditto 17. Eight thouſand Engliſh, commanded by the earl of Pembroke, go to join the Spaniſh army. ib.
The duke of Savoy lays ſiege to St. Quintin. ib.
Auguſt 10. Battle of St. Laurence. ib.
ditto 18. Taking of St. Quintin. ib.
The Pope recalls Pole, and ſends Peyto in his ſtead. ib.
The Queen forbids Peyto to ſet foot in England. ib.
The Pope makes a peace with Spain. ib.
Pole is re-eſtabliſhed. ib.
The duke of Guiſe returns to France. ib.
The Scots make an irruption into England. ib.
Jan. 1. The duke of Guiſe beſieges Calais. p. 247
Taking of Calais. Page 247 An' 1558.
He reduces Guiſnes and Hames. ib. Jan. 7.
The parliament aſſembles; they grant the Queen a ſubſidy in imitation of the clergy. ib. ditto 20.
Ambroſe and Robert Dudley, ſons of the deceaſed duke of Northumberland, are re-eſtabliſhed. p. 248
The parliament is prorogued. ib. March 7.
The Dauphin marries Mary Queen of Scotland. The ſtates of that kingdom grants him the title of King of Scots. ib. April.
The King of Sweden aſks Elizabeth in marriage, from which ſhe excuſes herſelf. ib.
The perſecution is renewed. ib. 249
The lord Clinton puts to ſea with 120 ſail. ib.
He burns Conqueſt, and withdraws. ib. June.
Conferences are begun at Cambray for a peace between France, England and Spain. ib. October. Nov. 5.
The parliament aſſembles. ib. ditto 17.
The Queen dies. ib.
Cardinal Pole dies. ib.

ELIZABETH.

Mary Queen of Scots, and Frances ducheſs of Suffolk, Elizabeth's rivals. p. 250
The houſe of lords declares for Elizabeth. ib.
The commons concur with the lords. p. 251
Elizabeth is proclaimed. ib.
She comes to London. ib. ditto 19.
She ſends embaſſadors to the principal Sovereigns of Europe. ib.
She places eight Proteſtants in the council. ib.
Philip II makes a propoſition of marriage to the Queen, which ſhe rejects. ib.
She holds a private council, for re-eſtabliſhing the reformation. p. 252
She permits, by a proclamation, the ſervice to be done in the common language of the country, and to read the holy ſcripture. ib.
Queen Mary's funeral. p. 253
Death of Charles V. Affairs of France and Spain. ib.
Affairs of Scotland. Confederacy of ſome gentlemen in Scotland, under the name of the Congregation, for the defenſe of the new religion. ib.
The regent permits their celebrating divine ſervice after their own manner. ib.
Elizabeth creates ſeveral Proteſtant peers. ib. January.
Her coronation. ib. 1559.
The parliament aſſembles. p. 254 ditto 25.
They grant the Queen the tenths, firſt-fruits, and impropriation. ib.
Act, by which Elizabeth is acknowleged lawful Queen. ib.
The parliament makes ſeveral ſtatutes on religion, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome biſhops. ib.
The erection of the high commiſſion court. p. 255
The Queen forbids preaching without licenſe. ib.
Conference on religion, fruitleſs. ib. April.
Nine thouſand four hundred beneficed clergy then in England imbrace the reformation; excepting 14 biſhops, 12 archdeacons, 15 principals of colleges, 50 canons, and about 80 curates, who choſe rather to loſe their benefices. ib.
The peace with France is ſigned at Cateau. ib. dittto 2.
Treaty between Elizabeth, and the King and Queen of Scots. p. 256
The Engliſh embaſſadors to no purpoſe complain, that Henry cauſed the Dauphin to take the arms of England. ib.
The regent of Scotland prohibits the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, and intends to baniſh the reformed miniſters. p. 257
Commotions ſtired upon this account. ib.
James Melvil is ſent to Scotland by Henry II. p. 258

Death

July 10. Death of Henry II. Page 259
AN' 1559. Truce concluded in Scotland between the regent and the confederates. ib.
Francis II, the new King of France, ſends troops into Scotland. ib.
The truce is broken. ib.
The family of Guiſe is very powerful in France. ib.
Philip II infringes the privileges of the Low countries. ib.
September. He ſets out for Spain, and leaves the government of the Netherlands to the ducheſs of Parma. ib.
Paul IV dies; Pius IV ſucceeds him. p. 260
State of affairs in England. ib.
Febr. 27. Treaty between Elizabeth and the male-contents in
1560. Scotland. p. 263
The regent of Scotland retires into the caſtle of Edinburg. p. 264
Lord Grey enters Scotland with an army. ib.
The Engliſh army, and that of the confederates of Scotland begin the ſiege of Leith. ib.
Elizabeth publiſhes a manifeſto juſtifying her conduct with regard to Scotland. ib.
France offers to give her up Calais, if ſhe will but draw off her troops out of Scotland, which ſhe refuſes. ib.
Truce with Scotland. ib.
June 10. The regent of Scotland dies. ib.
July. Conference at Edinburg for a peace. ib.
Treaty of Edinburg, between Elizabeth, the King and Queen of France and Scotland, and the confederates. ib.
The treaty with regard to Scotland is executed. p. 265
Francis II refuſes to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth. ib.
The archduke, the King of Sweden, the duke of Holſtein, the earl of Arran, and ſeveral others pretend to a marriage with Elizabeth. ib.
Robert Dudley conceives greater hopes than any of them all; he is in great favor with the Queen. ib.
Bacon, keeper of the great ſeal, and William Cecil, principal miniſters. ib.
Philip II gives the Queen's embaſſador but a cold reception. ib.
He returns the collar of the order of the garter. p. 266
The Pope attempts, to no purpoſe, to gain Elizabeth. ib.
She changes all the coin. ib.
Affairs of France. Affairs of the Netherlands. ib.
Decemb. 5. Francis II dies; Charles IX ſucceeds him. ib.
Philip II's ill ſucceſs againſt Dragut, King of Tripoli, obliges him to draw off his troops from the Netherlands. ib.
Catherine of Medicis, mother to Charles IX, gets the King of Navarra to yield her the regency. ib.
Queen Mary quits the title of Queen of England. p. 267
She eludes the demand made her by Elizabeth to ratify the treaty of Edinburg. ib.
Elizabeth refuſes a ſafe-guard to Mary to return to Scotland. ib.
Auguſt 21. Mary arrives in Scotland, where ſhe is joyfully re-
1561. ceived. p. 269
She ſends an embaſſador to Elizabeth, requiring her to declare her preſumptive heir, which Elizabeth refuſes. ib.
Stuart is made earl of Murray and Areſkin earl of Marr. p. 270
Elizabeth refuſes to receive a nuncio from the Pope. ib.
She cauſes the monks to be paid their penſions. ib.
1562. The counteſs of Lenox is ſent to the Tower. ib.
Plot of Arthur Pole, his brother, and of the chevalier Forteſcue. p. 271
They are condemned to death, but the Queen grants them a pardon. ib.
The Queen ſends Catherine Grey to the Tower, and AN' 1562.
cauſes her marriage with the earl of Hertford to be annulled; Catherine dies a priſoner. Page 271
The Hugonots of France aſk ſuccor from Elizabeth; She makes a treaty with them. ib.
The Engliſh troops enter Diepe and Havre de September.
Grace. p. 272
The King of Navarre takes Roan by ſtorm. ib.
He dies of a wound he received in this ſiege. ib.
Battle of Dreux between the Catholics and the December.
Hugonots. ib.
Affairs of Scotland. ib.
Plot againſt the earl of Murray diſcovered. ib.
The earl of Huntley deſigns to carry of the Queen. ib.
Huntley is defeated by Murray and taken priſoner; he dies; Gordon his ſon is condemned. ib.
Affairs of France. p. 273
The duke of Guiſe is ſlain by Poltrot in the ſiege 1563.
of Orleans. ib.
The Hugonots make a peace with the King of France, without including Elizabeth. ib.
Siege and taking Havre. ib.
The truce between France and Spain concluded. ib.
The Engliſh troops return home and bring the plague along with them. ib.
The cardinal of Lorrain propoſes to Mary a marriage with Charles the archduke, upon which ſhe conſults Elizabeth, who would perſuade her to marry an Engliſhman. ib.
She deſiſts from the match with the archduke. ib.
The ducheſs of Suffolk dies. p. 274
The peace between France and England is ſigned April 9.
at Troyes in Champagne. ib. 1564.
Elizabeth ſends the order of the garter to Charles IX. ib.
The commerce between England and the Netherlands, after having ſuffered ſome interruption, is again re-eſtabliſhed on the ancient footing. ib.
Elizabeth viſits the univerſity of Cambridge, where ſhe makes an harangue in latin. ib.
Mary reſolves to marry the lord Darnley, ſon of the counteſs of Lenox. ib.
Dudley is made earl of Leiceſter. p. 275
In a conference with Mary's envoys, Elizabeth propoſes a marriage between that Queen and the earl of Leiceſter. ib.
The propoſition is ill received. ib.
Death of the Emperor Ferdinand I. Maximilian his ſon ſucceeds him. ib.
David Rizzo, an Italian muſician, becomes Mary's 1565.
favorite ib.
Darnley arrives in Scotland. p. 276 February.
The earl of Murray, and ſeveral other lords, combine in vain to prevent his marriage with the Queen of Scotland. ib.
Mary gets her marriage approved by an aſſembly of great men. ib.
She requires Elizabeth's approbation, who indeavors to diſſuade her from it. ib.
Elizabeth recalls the earl of Lenox and lord Darnley, who excuſe themſelves for not obeying. p. 277
The Queen of Scotland marries the lord Darnley. ib. July 29.
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Mary refuſes an audience to Elizabeth's envoy; ſhe however receives her letter. ib.
Mary takes a diſguſt to the King, and her conduct with Rizzo is ſcandalous. ib. 278
Interview between the French and Spaniſh courts at Bayona. p. 278
Pius IV dies. Pius V ſucceeds him. ib. December.
The ſtates of Scotland aſſembles at Edinburg. ib. 1566.
The King of Scotland gets Rizzo aſſaſſinated. ib.
The Queen has guards ſet upon her. p. 279
The King forſakes the murderers of Rizzo. ib.
The Queen eſcapes to Dunbar. ib.

She

An' 1556. She re-aſſumes her authority and pardons the fugitive lords. Page 279
The earl of Bothwel becomes Mary's favorite. p. 280
Mary forms a project of dethroning Elizabeth, her ſchemes are diſcovered by means of a ſpy. ib.
The ſpy is apprehended. ib.
June 19. Birth of James, Mary's ſon. p. 280
Mary ill uſes the King and behaves herſelf in a ſcandalous manner with Bothwel. p. 281
She refuſes to ratify the treaty of Edinburg. ib.
The abuſed King withdraws; he is poiſoned; but reſiſts the poiſon. ib.
Elizabeth viſits Oxford univerſity. p. 282
Novemb. The parliament aſſembles with deſign to declare Mary preſumptive heir to Elizabeth. ib.
The houſe of lords depute Bacon to the Queen to intreat her marrying. ib.
She cauſes the deputies of both houſes to appear before her to whom ſhe makes an ambiguous ſpeech to elude their requeſt. ib.
The parliament is diſſolved. p. 283
The great men of the Netherlands enter into a confederacy againſt the eſtabliſhing the inquiſition. ib.
Lewis earl of Naſſau, with four hundred attendants, preſents a petition to the governeſs. ib.
Remarks on the King's cataſtrophe. ib. 284, 285
1567. Henry Stuart, King of Scotland is ſtifled or ſtrangled in his bed; Bothwel is accuſed of his death. p. 286
He is buried by the Queen's orders near to Rizzo. ib.
The Queen to get the caſtle of Edinburg, delivered to her by the earl of Marr, puts the Prince into his hands. ib.
The earl of Lenox accuſes Bothwel with the murder of the King, and requires juſtice of the Queen. ib.
Bothwel gets himſelf acquited by the commiſſioners aſſembled to examine him. p. 287
Indeavors are made to no purpoſe to diſſuade the Queen from marrying Bothwel. ib.
She conſents to be carried off by Bothwel. ib.
Bothwel is divorced from his wife. ib.
He marries the Queen. ib.
The Queen and Bothwel get ſome lords to ſign a league ib.
Murray refuſes to ſign, and retires into France. ib.
The earls of Argyle, Morton, Marr, Athol, Glencarn, and baron Boyd ſign a confederacy to puniſh the King's murderers, and to break the Queen's marriage. p. 288
The Queen and Bothwel withdraw to Dunbar. ib.
And march towards Edinburg. ib.
The two armies being near each other, the apprehenſion the Queen was in of being deſerted by her troops made her capitulate with the confederates. ib.
She puts herſelf into their power. ib.
Bothwel retires to Dunbar. ib.
The Queen is confined in the caſtle of Rochlevin. ib.
A box, belonging to Bothwel, being intercepted, a letter found in it which diſcovered the conſpiracy againſt the late King. ib.
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June 24. The Queen is conſtrained to yield the crown to the Prince. ib.
She is permited to name a regent; ſhe names the earl of Murray. ib.
ditto 29. Inauguration of the young King. ib.
Some lords aſſemble at Hamilton, and form a party for the Queen. ib.
The earl of Murray arrives in Scotland; he ill uſes the Queen. ib.
He is acknowleged regent. ib.
The lords who met at Hamilton refuſe to go to the States. ib.
The regent takes from Balfour the government of Edinburg caſtle, and gives it to Grange. Page 289 An' 1567.
Twelve lords ſign a league in favor of the Queen. ib.
The regent takes poſſeſſion of fortreſſes. p. 290
Elizabeth requires the reſtitution of Calais, grounded on the treaty of Cateau. ib.
France makes her a refuſal. ib.
Negociation for Elizabeth's marriage with the archduke Charles. ib.
The negociation broke off. p. 291
John Baſtilowitz, grand duke of Moſcovy, ſends an embaſſy to Elizabeth to make an offenſive and defenſive league with her; to which ſhe anſwers in an ambiguous manner. ib.
Shan O Neal rebels in Ireland; he is murdered by his own people. ib.
Death of the duke of Norfolk. ib.
Affairs of France. ib.
The duke of Albe arrives at Bruſſels; he puts to death the counts of d'Egmond and de Horne. ib.
Montigny is put to death in Spain. ib.
The eſtates of the Prince of Orange confiſcated. ib.
The Prince of Conde blocks up Paris. ib.
La Noue ſeizes on Orleans. ib. Sept. 1.
Battle at the gates of Paris, in which Montmorency, the conſtable, is ſlain. ib. Nov. 10.
Elizabeth's menaces and intreaties procure a peace for the Hugenots of France. ib. 292 1568.
Chatherine di Medicis propoſes the duke of Anjou's marriage with Elizabeth. ib.
Philip II gives Elizabeth tokens of reſentment. ib.
Affairs of Scotland. ib.
Bothwel purſued flies into Denmark, where he is impriſoned. ib.
The Queen of Scotland makes her eſcape out of priſon. ib.
She marches with ſix thouſand men againſt the regent, who had but four thouſand. ib.
Battle of Glaſgow, where the Queen is defeated. ib.
She withdraws towards the frontiers. ib.
She ſends an expreſs to Elizabeth to aſk her protection. p. 293
She arrives in England, and writes to Elizabeth. ib.
Elizabeth orders her to be conducted to Carliſle, and treated as a Queen. ib.
She refuſes to ſee her till ſhe has juſtified herſelf. ib.
The council is divided concerning the manner in which Mary ought to be uſed. ib.
Elizabeth reſolves to detain her. p. 294
The regent of Scotland, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the contrary party, and the intreaties of Elizabeth, aſſembles the ſtates, to condemn thoſe who had taken arms for the Queen. ib.
He perſecutes thoſe who were condemned. ib.
Mary offers to name commiſſioners to juſtify her cauſe before Elizabeth. ib.
Elizabeth writes to the regent, to ſend deputies to examine the difference between Mary and him. ib.
He reſolves to go in perſon with eleven deputies. p. 295
The conference is held at York. ib. October 4.
And continued at Hampton-court. ib.
They proceed to examine the evidences againſt Mary. p. 296, 297
Elizabeth will not decide the affair. p. 298
The regent informs her of Mary's intelligence with the duke of Norfolk. ib.
Elizabeth having had notice of ſome plots, which were forming in Mary's favor, has her tranſported to the caſtle of Tutbury. ib.
The Hugonots being perſecuted in France, aſk Elizabeth for ſuccor, who ſends them an hundred thouſand gold crowns, and a train of artillery. ib.
The duke d'Alva perſecutes the Proteſtants in the Low-countries. ib.

The

An' 1568. The Prince of Orange withdraws among the Hugonots in France. Page 298
A great number of Flemiſh families take refuge in England. ib.
Elizabeth ſeizes on a large ſum of money belonging to the Italian merchants, and deſigned for the duke d'Alva. Quarrel on this account. ib.
1569. Some lords conſpire the ruin of Cecil. p. 299
The Queen ſupports him. ib.
Story, an Engliſhman, and ſpy to the duke d'Alva, is taken in the Low-countries, and brought into England, where he is condemned to death. ib.
Hoſtilities between Philip and Elizabeth. ib.
She makes an alliance with the Czar. i
Mary's partizans, unknown to Elizabeth, contrive the duke of Norfolk's marriage with the Queen of Scots. p. 300
To which Mary conſents. ib.
This project is communicated to the Kings of France and Spain. ib.
Of which Elizabeth is informed. ib.
She forbids the duke to think of this match; from which he promiſes to deſiſt. ib. 301
He retires, but returns, and is ſent to the Tower. p. 301
His accomplices are baniſhed from court, excepting the earl of Leiceſter. ib.
The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland rebel. ib.
The Queen, leaſt they might deliver Mary, has her removed to Coventry. ib.
The rebels diſperſe themſelves, and the earls make their eſcape. ib.
The Queen puniſhes ſome, and pardons the reſt. ib.
Leonard Dacres rebels. He raiſes an army, and ſeizes on ſome caſtles. p. 302
He is defeated, and eſcapes into Flanders. ib.
Commotions in Ireland, put an end to. ib.
The duke of Chateleraut would take upon him the regency of Scotland, but cannot ſucceed. ib.
He is impriſoned. p. 303
Mary writes to the ſtates of Scotland, to annul her marriage with Bothwel. p. 305
Elizabeth writes to them in favor of Mary. ib.
They make no anſwer to Mary, but they write to Elizabeth. ib.
The earl of Liddington arreſted by the regent, is carried off by Kircaldie. ib.
March 13. Mary's party very much weakened in Scotland. ib.
Affairs of France. Battle of Jarnac, in which the Prince de Condé is ſlain. ib. p. 306
September. Raiſing of the ſiege of Poitiers. ib.
October. The Hugonots loſe the battle of Moncontour. ib.
Elizabeth lends money to the admiral on the jewels of the Queen of Navarre, and permits the raiſing a company of 100 gentlemen, to ſerve in the Hugonots army. ib.
The King of France reduces St. John d'Angli. ib.
The duke d'Alva continues his oppreſions in the Low-countries. ib.
January. 1570. The regent of Scotland ſeizes the earl of Northumberland. ib.
The regent is aſſaſſinated. ib.
Some Scots waſte the frontiers of England. ib.
The earl of Liddington is ſet at liberty; he acts for Mary, and indeavors to unite Scotland againſt Elizabeth. ib.
She avoids the ſnare, by complaining only of the peace, and not againſt the whole nation. ib.
Grange ſets the duke of Chateleraut at liberty, with ſeveral other priſoners of the Queen's party. p. 307
Mary's party aſſembles their ſtates at Linlithgow, afterwards at Edinburgh, of which they, in vain, indeavor to become maſters. ib.
The Engliſh army, commanded by the earl of Eſſex, draws near. ib.
Elizabeth conſents to be a mediatrix between the two parties, but reſerves to herſelf the puniſhing the infringers of the peace. Page 307 An' 1570.
The Engliſh army waſtes all the lands belonging to thoſe who were concerned in the invaſion. ib.
The ſtates convoked in the King's name aſſemble at Edingurgh. ib. May.
Mary's partizans beſiege the caſtle of Glaſgow; Drury obliges their raiſing the ſiege. ib.
The ſtates chuſe an Inter-Rex. The earl of Lenox is elected. ib.
He is made regent. ib.
He takes the caſtle of Brechin from the earl of Huntley, and diſperſes his troops. ib.
The Pope cauſes a bull to be poſted up in London againſt Elizabeth. p. 308
Several plots in Mary's favor, are diſcovered. ib.
The biſhop of Roſs, Mary's embaſſador, is arreſted. ib.
The duke of Norfolk is ſet at liberty. ib.
Elizabeth makes ſeveral propoſitions to Mary; who makes but general anſwers to them, and deſires their being communicated to the heads of her party in Scotland. ib.
Mary's party makes particular anſwers to Elizabeth's propoſitions. ib. 309
France is not diſpoſed to put Mary in poſſeſſion of the two crowns of England and Scotland. p. 309
The biſhop of Roſs ſollicits the Pope, and the Kings of France and Spain, in favor of Mary, but without ſucceſs. ib. 310
Affairs of the Netherlands. p. 310
The French King grants a peace to the Hugonots to allure them. ib. Auguſt.
Catherine of Medicis propoſes to Elizabeth to marry the King her ſon; and upon her refuſal, ſhe propoſes to her the duke d'Anjou. ib.
Cecil is created baron Burleigh. ib. Jan. 1571.
Conference at London, between the two Scotiſh parties. ib. February. & March.
Elizabeth protracts the affair. ib.
The conference breaks up. p. 311
The Scots regent takes Dunbar by ſurprize. ib.
The archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, impeached of being an accomplice in the murder of the late King, is hanged. ib.
Elizabeth's miniſters prevail on her to negociate her marriage with the duke d'Anjou. ib.
Walſingham is ſent embaſſador to France. ib.
The negociation for the marriage is agreed upon. Both parties equally diſſemble. ib. 312 March.
They cannot agree on the article of religion. p. 312
The negociation breaks off. p. 313
Mary applies to Spain. ib.
She imploy's Ridolfi the Florentine. ib.
He ingages the duke of Norfolk in Mary's intereſt. ib.
The duke proceeds cautiouſly. ib.
Ridolfi's intrigues partly diſcovered. ib.
The biſhop of Roſs arreſted. p. 314
The duke of Norfolk betrayed by his ſecretary. ib.
He is arreſted and ſent to the Tower. ib. September.
He confeſſes part of what he is accuſed of. ib.
Conſultations about the biſhop of Roſs. ib.
He is brought before the council. ib.
He is ſent to the Tower. ib.
The Queen informs the court of France, of the duke of Norfolk's affair. p. 315
Act of parliament to maintain the Queen's title. ib.
Mary's party becomes maſters of Edinburgh, where the chiefs convoke the ſtates. ib. May.
The earl of Lenox aſſembles the ſtates of the King's party in one of the ſuburbs. ib.
The King's ſtates aſſemble at Sterling, and thoſe of the Queen at Edinburgh. ib. Auguſt.
Thoſe of Mary's party, project to ſeize the great men of the King's party aſſembled at Sterling. ib.

An' 1571. They take the regent, and the earl of Morton priſoners; but the earl of Mar, with the garriſon of the caſtle obliges them to withdraw. Page 315
The earl of Morton eſcapes. ib.
The regent is kill'd in cold blood. ib.
The earl of Mar is elected regent. ib.
Charles IX ſhews great favor to the Hugonots. p. 316
He concludes a marriage between the Princeſs Margaret his ſiſter, and the King of Navarre. ib.
Affairs of the Netherlands. ib.
Elizabeth refuſes to aſſiſt the Prince of Orange. ib.
Jan. 6. 1572. The duke of Norfolk is tried, condemned, and beheaded. ib.
The Queen creates ſeveral peers. ib.
Act againſt thoſe who ſhall attempt the delivering a priſoner attainted of high treaſon. ib.
Elizabeth examines the Queen of Scots. p. 317
April. A defenſive league between France and England concluded at Blois. p. 318
ditto 17. She ſwears to the defenſive league with France. ib.
Maſſacre in Paris on St. Bartholomew's day. ib.
Charles IX propoſes to Elizabeth the renewing the league with a new oath; the marrying the duke d'Alençon, and to ſtand godmother to his daughter. She accepts this latter propoſition. p. 319
The earl of Northumberland is beheaded. ib.
Affairs of Scotland. ib.
France ſuſpected by Elizabeth in regard to Scotland. ib.
Negociation of the regent with Mary's party. p. 320
Death of the regent; Morton elected regent. ib.
He is attached to England. ib.
The French court ſends Verac into Scotland, with a ſupply of money to maintain the Queen's party. ib.
Affairs of the Netherlands. ib.
De la Marc ſeizes on the Briel. ib.
The whole province of Holland, and ſome towns in Zealand, throw off the Spaniſh yoke. ib.
The duke of Medina-Celi is defeated at ſea by the confederates. ib.
Lewis, count de Naſſau, ſurprizes Mons. ib.
The ſupply ſent by Charles IX to the count de Naſſau, is defeated by the duke d'Alva. ib.
Sept. 19. The duke recovers Mons. ib.
Frederick de Toledo his ſon, ſeizes on Zutphen, Naerden, and ſeveral other towns. ib.
1573. Marriage with the duke of Alençon again propoſed to the Queen. p. 321
She eludes the complaints of France, concerning the aſſiſtance given to Rochelle. ib.
The regent of Scotland ſigns a treaty of peace with the chiefs of the Queen's party; which the ſtates of the kingdom ratifies. ib.
Grange, governor of Edinburgh caſtle, is not comprized in the treaty. ib.
Elizabeth makes a treaty with the regent. p. 322
She ſends troops and artillery into Scotland. ib.
Siege and taking of Edinburgh caſtle. ib.
Grange, and ſome others are hanged. ib.
Verac taken at Scarborough; ſent to London. ib.
Elizabeth's loftineſs to the French embaſſador. ib.
The biſhop of Roſs is baniſhed England. p. 323
France urges the Queen's marriage. ib.
June 25. Raiſing of the ſiege of Rochelle. ib.
The duke of Anjou is elected King of Poland. ib.
The Hugonots obtain a peace. ib.
Elizabeth refuſes the duke of Alençon's viſit. ib.
The earl of Eſſex obtains leave to go into Ireland, to make conqueſts at his own expenſes. The earl of Leiceſter prevents his ſucceeding. ib.
1574. Catherine of Medicis prevents the duke of Alençon deſigns, by procuring a guard to be ſet over him, and the King of Navarre. ib.
May 30. Death of Charles IX. ib.
The duke of Anjou, King of Poland, ſucceeds him under the name of Henry III. ib.
Marriage of the earl of Lenox. ib.
Affairs of the Netherlands. Page 323 An' 1574.
The confederates in the Low-countries, ſeize on Middleburgh. ib.
Lewis earl of Naſſau is defeated on Moker-heath, where himſelf, his brother Henry, and Chriſtoper earl Palatine, are ſlain. ib.
The revolted Spaniſh troops ſurprize and plunder Antwerp. ib.
Affairs of France. ib.
Henry III, makes war upon the Hugonots. ib. 1575.
He renews the treaty of Blois with Elizabeth. ib.
Elizabeth ſupplies the Prince of Condé with money. p. 324
Commotions in Scotland appeaſed. ib.
Death of the duke of Chateleraut. ib.
The earl of Eſſex dies in Ireland; the earl of Leiceſter privately marries his widow. 1576. ib.
Death of Don Luis de Zuniga Requeſens, governor of the Low-countries. ib.
The town of Aloſt is plundered by the revolted Spaniſh ſoldiers. ib.
A league made at Bruſſels to drive out the Spaniſh troops. ib.
The revolted Spaniſh troops plunder Maeſtricht, and Antwerp. ib.
Union or pacification of Ghent. ib.
The peace between the King of France and the Hugonots. May. 9. ib.
The duke of Alençon takes the title of duke d'Anjou. October. ib.
Begining of the league, or Holy Union. ib.
Arrival of Don Juan of Auſtria in the Low-countries. January. p. 325 1577.
Perpetual edict to keep the Spaniards out of the Low-countries. ib.
Don Juan, by ſurprize, ſeizes on the caſtle of Namur. ib.
The archduke Matthias is choſe governor by the confederates. The Prince of Orange is proclaimed his lieutenant. ib.
The States declare war againſt Don Juan. ib.
They ſend an embaſſy to Elizabeth. ib.
She lends them 100,000 l. ſterling. ib.
She writes to Philip II, to juſtify her aſſiſting the confederates p. 326
The Hugonots of France make a counter league. ib.
The edict of pacification is repealed, and new hoſtilities are begun. ib.
Henry III grants a peace to the Hugonots. ib.
Stukely, a fugitive Engliſhman, ingages Pope Gregory XIII, and the King of Spain, to undertake the conqueſt of Ireland. 1578. ib.
He puts to ſea from Civita-Vecchia with ſome ſhips, and arrives at Liſbon. ib.
Don Sebaſtion, King of Portugal, takes him with him to Africa, to make war upon the Moors. ib.
Don Sebaſtian, and Stukely, are ſlain in the battle of Alcazar. ib.
Several companies of Engliſh voluntiers inliſt themſelves in the ſervice of the States of the Netherlands. ib.
Don Juan defeats the army of the States at Gemblours, and takes from them ſeveral towns. ib.
They reject the peace offered them. ib.
The city of Amſterdam joins the confederates. ib.
The government of the city of Haerlem, of Utrecht, and of ſome others, is given to the Reformed. ib.
The duke d'Anjou is made protector of the Begic liberties. ib.
Diviſions among the confederates. ib.
The duke d'Anjou and Prince Caſimir, gives them ſuccor, which their diviſions render uſeleſs. p. 327
The duke d'Anjou withdraws into France. ib.
Caſimir croſſes into England. ib.
Don Juan of Auſtria dies. The Prince of Parma takes upon him the command of the army. Oct. 1: ib.

The

AN' 1578. The duke d'Anjou urges his marriage with Elizabeth. Page 327
She gives his envoy a favorable reception. ib.
Some Scots lords, diſſatisfied with the regent, ingage the young King to take the reins of government. p. 328
The young King ſends to Elizabeth, to require her giving him the eſtates of his grandfather the earl of Lenox, and the renewing the treaty. ib.
Elizabeth eludes his requeſts. ib.
The earl of Morton ſeizes on Sterling, and the King's palace, and re-aſſumes his authority. ib.
The earl of Athol, chancellor of Scotland dies. ib.
1579. Elizabeth ſhews a particular regard for Prince Caſimir. ib.
Simié envoy of France, puſhes on the affair of the duke d'Anjou, and indeavors to deſtroy the earl of Leiceſter. ib.
A piſtol fired in the barge where the Queen then was, with the French envoys. p. 329
The duke d'Anjou incognito viſits the Queen. ib.
Eſme Stuart baron of Aubigny, and Stuart of Oghiltry, favorites to James King of Scotland, give the King ill impreſſions againſt the earl of Morton, and indeavor to create a miſunderſtanding between the earl and Elizabeth. ib.
Negociation at Cologn for a peace with the Low-countries, without ſucceſs. ib.
Union of Utrecht. ib.
Taking of Maeſtricht by the duke of Parma; ſeveral towns ſurrender to him. ib.
January. Elizabeth forbids building houſes in London, be-
1580. yond certain limits. ib.
Four prieſts, brought up in Engliſh ſeminaries, ſetled at Rome, and at Rheims, are put to death. p. 330
Two Jeſuits, the firſt ſent into England, to preach ſedition. ib.
Proclamation, ordering all the Engliſh to call home their children from foreign countries. ib.
Seven hundred Spaniards and Italians, under the leading of San Joſeppo, make a deſcent into Ireland, and build a fort, they called Del Oro. ib.
They are obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The Spaniards are put to the ſword, and all the Iriſh who join'd them are hang'd. ib.
Novemb. Francis Drake returns from his voyage round the world. ib.
The Spaniſh embaſſador makes great complaints againſt him. ib.
The Queen returns great part of the treaſures which Drake had taken from the Spaniards. ib.
Death of the earl of Arundel. ib.
The war on account of religion is terminated in France by a ſixth treaty of peace. ib.
Philip II ſeizes on the throne of Portugal, vacant by the death of King Henry. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, vainly indeavors to diſpute it with him. ib.
Affairs of Scotland. ib.
Aubigny is created duke of Lenox, and James Stuart is made earl of Arran. p. 331
Elizabeth ſends Bowes into Scotland to accuſe the duke of Lenox of having correſpondencies, prejudicial both to England and Scotland. ib.
Bowes is ill received. ib.
Elizabeth refuſes an audience to the baron of Humes, whom James ſent to juſtify his favorite. ib.
The earl of Morton is impeached of having been an accomplice in the murder of the late King, and is impriſoned. ib.
1581. Randolph, Elizabeth's envoy, not being able to obtain any thing in the earl of Morton's favor, indeavors to excite the Scots to an inſurrection; but has no effect. ib.
The earl of Morton is beheaded. ib.
James's two favorites render themſelves odious. AN' 1581. Page 331
The conditions of the match between Elizabeth and the duke d'Anjou are agreed to. ib.
The duke d'Anjou is proclaimed Sovereign of the confederated provinces in the Low-countries. p. 332
The States declare Philip to have forfeited his Sovereignty over theſe provinces. ib.
The duke d'Anjou obliges the Prince of Parma to raiſe the ſiege of Cambray. ib.
Elizabeth raiſes objections to her marriage. ib.
The duke d'Anjou arrives in England, where he is received with deference. ib.
The Queen gives him her ring. ib.
She alters her behavior towards him. p. 333
Don Antonio of Portugal withdraws into France, and afterwards into England. ib.
The parliament aſſembles. ib. January.
The indiſcretion of the Catholics, oblige the par- 1582.
liament to enact ſevere laws againſt them. ib.
The duke d'Anjou quits England. ib. February.
He is crowned duke of Brabant at Antwerp. p. 334
Elizabeth ſends the order of the garter to Frederic II King of Denmark. ib.
Henry III, acquaints Elizabeth with the duke of Guiſe's deſigns, in favor of the Queen of Scots. ib.
Conſpiracy of Ruthven. The conſpirators ſeize on the King of Scotland, and drive out the two favorites. ib.
Queen Mary conſents to aſſociate her ſon in the Sovereignty. ib.
The calendar reformed by Gregory XIII. p. 335
Elizabeth feigns a willingneſs to ſet Mary at liber- 1583.
ty. ib.
She makes her propoſitions to amuſe her. ib.
The duke of Lenox withdraws into France; and dies. ib.
King James, having approved in the aſſembly of the ſtates, what the lord Ruthven had done, he is ſet at liberty. ib.
He recalls the late earl of Arran. p. 336
He does not perform the amneſty he promiſed the confederates of Ruthven, which obliges them to withdraw. ib.
Elizabeth's letter to the King of Scotland; ſhe ſends Walſingham to him, who returns diſſatisfied. ib.
The duke d'Anjou projects the reducing Antwerp, and ſeven or eight other towns in one day, but fails in his deſign; he withdraws into France. ib.
A conſpiracy in Scotland againſt the earl of Ar- 1584.
ran. ib.
The conſpirators ſeize on Sterling. p. 337
The earl of Goury, one of the plotters being taken; the others, loſing courage, quit the kingdom. ib.
Goury is beheaded at Edinburgh. ib.
Elizabeth ſends Daviſion into Scotland, to indeavor the gaining over the earl of Arran, in which he ſucceeds. ib.
The earl of Hunſdon for England, and the earl of Arran for Scotland, make a treaty, by which the latter promiſes to hinder the King's marrying for the ſpace of three years. ib.
Elizabeth diſcovers Mary's ſecrets, through the means of Gray the Scots embaſſador. ib.
A conſpiracy is diſcovered in favor of Mary; Throckmorton is ſeized; Paget and Charles Arundel withdraw into France. ib.
The Catholics indeavor to traduce the Queen, in accuſing her of having put a great many of them to death without any ground. ib.
The Queen reprimands the judges for being too ſevere. ib.

They

An' 1584. They maintain they never put any to death for their religion. Page 337
Elizabeth tranſports ſeventy prieſts, ſome of whom were condemned to death p. 338
The Spaniſh embaſſador is diſcovered to have been ingaged in the plot formed to carry off Mary. ib.
He is deſired to appear in the council, where he makes an ill defenſe ib.
He is ſent out of the kingdom ib.
The Queen ſends to inform Philip, who refuſes an audience to her envoy. ib.
Throckmorton is hanged ib.
Elizabeth renews the negociation with Mary ib.
The negociation is broke off. ib.
Diſcovery of another plot between the Pope, the King of Spain and the duke of Guiſe, for the invaſion of England. ib. 339
A general aſſociation is made in England to proſecute to death thoſe who attempt any thing againſt the Queen. p. 339
Mary makes propoſitions to Elizabeth who refuſes to have any hand in them. ib.
Mary is given in cuſtody to ſir Drue Drury. ib.
The Prince of Orange is murdered by Baltazar Gerard. ib.
The States-general confer the government of Holland and Zealand on Maurice, his ſecond ſon. p. 340
The duke of Parma lays ſiege to Antwerp. ib.
The States take a reſolution to give themſelves up to France; Henry refuſes their offers. ib.
June. The duke d'Anjou dies. ib.
The duke of Guiſe renews the league ib.
Decem. 31. He makes a particular league with the King of Spain, to place the cardinal de Bourbon on the throne after the death of Henry III in prejudice of the King of Navarre. ib.
1585. Doctor Parry's plot, to kill the Queen diſcovered. ib.
He is executed. ib.
The parliament ratifies the general aſſociation. ib.
They make a ſtatute for authorizing twenty-four commiſſaries named by the Queen, to make a ſearch after thoſe who ſhould excite any rebellion in the kingdom; attempt the Queen's life, or pretend any right to the crown. ib.
Another act againſt the Papiſts. ib.
The earl of Arundel is ſeized, on his leaving the kingdom. p. 341
The earl of Northumberland kills himſelf in the Tower. ib.
Elizabeth manaced from diverſe quarters. ib.
She ſends embaſſadors into Germany and Denmark to indeavor to ingage the Proteſtant Princes in a defenſive league with England. p. 342
She ſends Wotton into Scotland, to break the match between James and the King of Denmark's daughter. ib.
Lord Ruſſel is ſlain on the frontiers of Scotland. ib.
Elizabeth requires a reparation. ib.
She permits the fugitive Scots to return home. ib.
Wotton attempts to carry off the King; he fails in his enterprize and makes his eſcape. ib.
The fugitives, returned to Scotland, ſeize on the King's perſon; they are reſtored to their poſſeſſions. ib. 343
Colonel Stuart enters at Copenhagen upon the negociation of the King's marriage. p. 343
Elizabeth refuſes the ſovereignty of the Low-countries, which was propoſed to her. ib.
She concludes a treaty with the States, by which ſhe ingages to give them ſuccor. ib.
She makes the earl of Leiceſter general of her auxiliary troops. ib.
She publiſhes a manifeſto, to juſtify her giving ſuccor to the States. ib.
She ſends a fleet to America againſt the Spaniards. ib.
The Engliſh fleet ſeizes on St. Jago of Cape Verd; St. Domingo's capital, Carthagena, and burns St. Antonio and Helena in Florida, afterwards return to England, loaded with booty. Page 343 An' 1585.
John Davis diſcovers a new paſſage. ib.
Affairs of France. ib.
Henry III is conſtrained by the duke of Guiſe, to forſake the King of Navarre, to publiſh an edict againſt the Hugonots, and to join the duke to extirpate them. ib. 344
The Prince de Conde is compelled to take refuge in England. p. 344
Elizabeth ſupplies him with fifty thouſand crowns, and lends him ten ſhips, with which he relieves Rochelle. ib.
Gregory XIII dies; Sixtus V ſucceeds him ib. April.
The earl of Leiceſter goes to Holland; the States declare him governor and captain general of the united provinces. ib. January. 1586.
Of which Elizabeth complains and reproaches the earl for having accepted the dignity. ib.
He forms ſchemes againſt the liberty of the United Provinces. ib.
He returns to England. ib.
Elizabeth propoſes an alliance with James for the defenſe of religion ib.
The French embaſſador vainly oppoſes it. p. 345
The treaty of alliance and ſtrict harmony between the two crowns is ſigned at Berwick. ib.
A conſpiracy againſt the Queen. p. 346
Mary writes to Babington, one of the conſpirators; five more join him to aſſaſſinate the Queen. ib.
Correſpondence by letters between Mary and the conſpirators. ib.
Gifford makes a full diſcovery to Walſingham, who makes uſe of him to convey letters to Mary, and to bring back anſwers. ib.
The conſpirators are ſeized, who accuſe one another and lay open the whole affair. p. 347
All Mary's papers are ſeized. ib.
Nave and Curle her two ſecretaries are arreſted. ib.
Mary's paper are by ſubtility got out of the French embaſſadors hands. ib.
Execution of fourteen conſpirators. ib.
Elizabeth communicates authentic copies of Mary's letters to the French King. ib.
The court reſolves to try and condemn Mary. ib.
Elizabeth names her judges ib.
Elizabeth's commiſſion. ib. October 9.
Mary refuſes to acklowlege the competency of her judges. p. 348
She at length determines to anſwer before them. ib. ditto 14.
The judges meet in the caſtle of Fotheringay. ib.
Mary appears before them. ib.
They proceed to her trial. ib.
She requires to be heard in preſenſe of the Queen and her council, in parliament aſſembled. p. 351
The court adjourns to Weſtminſter. ib.
They meet in the Star-chamber and pronounce ſentenſe againſt Mary, containing her having tranſgreſſed the ſtatute of the foregoing year. ditto 25. p. 352
The judges declare, their ſentence can be of no prejudice to the King of Scotland. ib.
The parliament aſſembles, and confirms the ſentenſe, they petition the Queen to put it in execution. Octob. 29. ib.
She anſwers them in a manner which expreſſes her perplexity, and uncertainty how to act. ib.
She deſires both houſes to ſeek an expedient to ſave the Queen's life, without indangering the ſtate. p. 354
The two houſes perſiſt in their demand. ib.
The Queen anſwers them by a ſpeech much to the purpoſe of her firſt. ib.
The parliament is prorogued. p. 355
Mary informed of her ſentenſe; ſhe receives it with great reſolution. ib.

The

AN' 1587. The French embaſſador makes ſollicitations in her favor. Page 355
The ſentenſe is publiſhed in London, Dec. 6. ib.
Mary writes to Elizabeth, to aſk certain favors, concerning her execution; her burial, and her domeſtics. ib.
The King of Scotland vainly intercedes for his mother. ib.
The French King ſends an embaſſador to Elizabeth ſeemingly to intercede for Mary, but in fact to haſten her death. ib.
The French embaſſador is diſcovered to have corrupted two aſſaſſins to murder the Queen. p. 356
The people loudly demand Mary's being put to death. ib.
Feb. 1. Elizabeth gives Daviſon a writing under her own hand, by which ſhe commands him to draw up a commiſſion for Mary's execution, and to paſs it under the great ſeal; at the ſame time with inſtructions not to communicate it to any living ſoul. ib.
ditto 2. She ſends to him to haſten the execution of the order; and having learned it was already drawn up and ſealed, ſhe breaks out into a paſſion, pretending he was too expeditious; nevertheleſs, ſhe does not take the order from him. ib.
Daviſon, perplexed by the Queen's contrary ſteps, confers with one of the privy council, who informs the other members of the affair. ib.
The council unanimouſly reſolves to have the commiſſion put in execution; which is given to Beale, who, with two executioners, ſets out for Fotheringhay. ib.
After Beale's departure the Queen informs Daviſon ſhe had altered her reſolution; however ſhe does not recall Beale, tho' ſhe had time enough to do it. p. 357
ditto 28. The Queen of Scotland is beheaded. ib.
For which Elizabeth expreſſes a great affliction. ib.
She writes to the King of Scotland in her own juſtification. ib.
Daviſon is accuſed of a miſtake, and of having diſobeyed the Queen's orders. ib.
He is fined ten thouſand pounds ſterling, and to be impriſoned as long as the Queen pleaſes. ib.
The King of Scotland immediately reſolves to revenge the death of his mother; but his own intereſt made him ſtifle his reſentment. p. 358
The Queen ſends Drake with a fleet againſt the Spaniards; he does them a great deal of damage. p. 359
Cavendiſh does them as much on the coaſt of Peru and Chili. ib.
The United States complain of the earl of Leiceſter. ib.
They give Prince Maurice the command of their army. ib.
The earl returns to Holland to ſuccor Sluys, which the duke of Parma beſieged; he does not ſucceed. ib.
He intends to reduce ſeveral towns at a time; but his deſign upon Leyden having been diſcovered, the Queen recalls him. ib.
Willoughby is ſent in his ſtead, tho' only to command the Engliſh troops. ib.
Elizabeth accepts the mediation offered her by Philip, to make a peace between this Prince and the States. ib.
The negociation is begun; which the preparation of Spain interrupts. p. 360
Bull of Sixtus V againſt which he abſolves her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and makes over the kingdom to the firſt who gets poſſeſſion of it. ib.
Philip prepares a fleet, called the Invincible Armada, of hundred and fifty large ſhips, to invade England. ib.
The duke of Parma brings an army of thirty thouſand men on the coaſts of the Netherlands, with deſign to join the fleet and make a deſcent in England. Page 360 AN' 1587.
Elizabeth puts herſelf in a poſture of defenſe both by ſea and land. ib.
The duke of Medina-Celi ſets out from the mouth of the Tagus with the Invincible fleet; they are ſcattered by a ſtorm. p. 361 June 3. 1588.
They get together and ſet ſail from Corunna. ib. July 12.
The Engliſh take ſeveral of the Spaniſh ſhips. ib.
A ſea fight between the two fleets with equal advantage on either ſide. ib. ditto 24.
The Engliſh and Dutch ſhips lying off the coaſts of Flanders, hinder the duke of Parma from puting to ſea. ib.
The invincible fleet comes up as far as Calais. ib.
Eight fire ſhips, ſent by the Engliſh admiral, ſtrike a terror among the Spaniſh, which ſcatter themſelves, ſome of them are taken by the Engliſh and others by the Zealanders. ib.
The Spaniards reſolve to withdraw by the North ſea. p. 362
Several of their ſhips run aſhoar on the coaſt of Scotland and Ireland. ib.
Philip without the leaſt emotion receives the news of this ill ſucceſs. ib.
Elizabeth's public thankſgiving to God for this victory. ib.
Death of the earl of Leiceſter. ib. Dec. 14.
The duke of Parma lays ſiege to Bergen-op-Zoom; the vigorous reſiſtance of the Engliſh governor obliges him to break up the ſiege. ib.
The King of France cauſes the duke of Guiſe and his brother to be murdered. ib.
The King of Denmark having learned that James had taken ſome ſteps towards marrying Catherine ſiſter to the King of Navarre, gives his daughter to the duke of Brunſwick. p. 363
A conſpiracy formed by the earl of Huntley and Bothwell, againſt the King of Scotland, is diſcovered. ib. 1589.
The earl of Arundel is condemned to death; the Queen pardons him. ib.
She ingages Drake and Norris to pay the expenſes of an expedition by ſea againſt Spain. ib.
They ſet out from Plymouth, land at Corunna; they carry the lower town by ſtorm; they break up the ſiege of the higher town to march againſt the count d'Andrada, and kill three thouſand of his men. ib. April 5.
They ſet ſail for Portugal, where they take Penicha. ib.
Norris marches towards Liſbon, and reduces one of the ſuburbs; but Drake not being able to recover the Tagus with his fleet, Norris withdraws. ib.
Drake takes the town of Caſcaes and blows up the caſtle. ib.
He ſeizes on ſixty ſhips loaded with corn, belonging to the Hanſe-towns. ib.
He takes Vigo, burns it, and returns to England. ib.
The Hanſe-towns make their complaints. ib.
The Queen declares their veſſels prizes. p. 364
The confederates ſtir up almoſt all France to a rebellion againſt Henry III, who is obliged to call the King of Navarre to his aſſiſtance. ib.
He lays ſiege to Paris. ib.
James Clement, a Benedictine monk, kills him with a dagger. ib.
Before he expired, he named the King of Navarre for his ſucceſſor, who took the name of Henry IV. ib.
He aſks Elizabeth for ſuccor, who ſends him both money and troops. ib.
The duke of Mayenne proclaims the old cardinal de Bourbon King. ib.

An' 1589. James of Scotland marries the King of Denmark's second daughter. Page 364
1590. Henry IV wins the battle of Yvry againſt the duke of Mayenne; he blocks up Paris, and carries the ſuburbs. p. 365
The duke of Parma obliges the King to raiſe the blockade, and afterwards withdraws to the Netherlands. ib.
Prince Maurice takes Breda by ſurprize. ib.
The duke of Mercœur, with the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, reduces Bretagne. ib.
Death of Walſingham and Randolph. ib.
1591. Elizabeth promiſes to ſuccor Henry IV. ib.
She ſends him three thouſand men. ib.
The earl of Eſſex leads three thouſand more, on condition that Henry beſieges Roan. ib.
Henry does not keep his word, and the earl of Eſſex returns to England leaving his troops with him. p. 366
The Queen complains of Henry, who, to ſatisfy her, inveſts Roan. ib.
The earl of Eſſex goes to the ſiege, notwithſtanding the Queen's poſitive order to the contrary. ib.
Henry ſends Du Pleſſis Mornay to aſk aſſiſtance of Elizabeth, who obtains nothing. ib.
The earl of Eſſex returns to England, and pacifies the Queen. ib.
The duke of Parma raiſes the ſiege of Roan. ib.
Ill ſucceſs of Thomas Howard's expedition againſt the Spaniſh fleets in the Indies. ib.
1592. Elizabeth makes a new treaty with Henry IV. ib.
He violates the treaty, in imploying her troops in Normandy, in lieu of Bretagne. ib.
The earl Bothwell, after having vainly attempted to ſeize the King's perſon, makes his eſcape into England. p. 367
Sir Walter Raleigh takes a Spaniſh carrac of five decks coming from the Indies richly laden. ib.
The Thames almoſt dry at London. ib.
February. The parliament aſſembles. ib.
1593. They make an act againſt thoſe who don't aſſiſt at the divine ſervice eſtabliſhed by law. ib.
They grant the Queen a very conſiderable ſupply. ib.
Elizabeth refuſes to deliver up Bothwell to King James, but ſhe ſends him out of England. p. 368
He has the aſſurance to appear before the King, who ſeeing him ſupported by a powerful party is conſtrained to grant him his pardon. ib.
Henry IV changes his religion. ib.
He indeavors to juſtify himſelf with Elizabeth, who writes to reproach him. ib.
Henry continues to deceive the Queen. p. 369
The preparations of the King of Spain oblige Elizabeth to make an offenſive league with Henry notwithſtanding the ſubjects of complaint ſhe had againſt him. ib.
Heſquet is hanged for indeavoring to perſuade the earl of Darby to take the title of King. ib.
The earl dies by poiſon. ib.
The earl de Fuentes and Don Diego d'Iberra govern the Low-countries. ib.
1594. They bribe two Portugueſe, and Roderigo Lopez a jew and phyſician to the Queen, to poiſon her. ib.
Lopez and his accomplices are executed. ib.
It is diſcovered that Iberra had ſuborned Patric Cullin, Edmund York, and Richard Williams to the ſame intent, and to ſet fire to the fleet. ib.
Cullin is executed. ib.
Elizabeth complains of theſe plots to the archduke but to no effect. ib.
Henry IV having reduced Paris carries the war into Bretagne. ib.
Elizabeth intreats King James to act againſt the Catholics; the King makes her an anſwer little ſatisfactory. p. 370
Bothwell having got together ſome troops ſurpriſes Leith. Page 370 An' 1594.
Having been worſted in a battle againſt the King's troops, he withdraws towards the frontiers. ib.
James alters his conduct and acts againſt the Catholics. ib.
The Catholics form a project of procuring the crown of England for the infanta Iſabella; Philip makes preparations to put it in execution. ib. 1595.
The earl of Tir-oen rebels in Ireland. ib.
Henry requires a ſupply from Elizabeth, who complains of him, and refuſes his requeſt. ib.
Elizabeth and James keep up a good harmony. p. 371
York and Williams are executed. ib. February.
Ferdinand de Velaſco enters Franche-comté with an army of eighteen thouſand men. ib. April.
The count de Fuentes enters Picardy and takes Catelet. ib.
He beſieges Dourlens; beats the French who came to relieve the town, and takes it by aſſault. ib.
The Spaniards reduce Cambray. ib.
Henry ſends Lomenie to Elizabeth to aſk ſuccor; the embaſſador being denied threatens the Queen. ib.
The Spaniards make a deſcent in Cornwal, and burn ſome villages. p. 372
Henry complains of the States; they ſend him troops, money and corn. ib.
Elizabeth demands the re-imburſement of the money ſhe had lent them.
They make an agreement for a time with the Queen. ib.
The Hanſe-towns complain againſt Elizabeth. ib.
Raleigh, Drake and Hawkins enter upon new enterprizes in America, but with little ſucceſs. ib.
The two latter die in this expedition. ib.
The earl of Tir-oen obtains a truce. ib. 1596.
Henry IV beſieges La Fere. ib.
Albertus the archduke lays ſiege to Calais. ib.
Henry ſends to Elizabeth for aſſiſtance. ib.
Taking of Calais and Ardres. ib.
Elizabeth lends Henry ſome money. ib.
She fits out a fleet againſt Spain of an hundred and fifty ſail, with twenty-two Dutch ſhips, under the command of admiral Howard. p. 373
The earl of Eſſex is made general of the land forces. ib.
The fleet appears before Cadiz. ib. June 19.
They attack the Spaniſh ſhips and oblige them to run aſhore; two of them are taken and one burned. ib.
The earl of Eſſex with eight hundred men, takes Cadiz and plunders the town. ib.
The merchant ſhips are burned. ib
The town and ſome villages are fired. ib.
The fleet returns to England with great booty. ib.
Robert Cecil is made ſecretary of ſtate, and ſir Francis Vere governor of the Briel. ib.
The Queen again demands her money of the States. ib.
Offenſive and defenſive league between France and England; the States enter into the league. ib
Philip fits out a new fleet againſt England; which is ſcattered by a ſtorm. p. 374
Prince Maurice wins the battle of Turnhout againſt the Spaniards. ib. January. 1597.
Portocarrero takes Amiens by ſurpriſe. ib. March
The Queen being informed Philip had a deſign upon Ireland, fits out a fleet againſt Spain under the command of the earl of Eſſex and Raleigh; they return without any ſucceſs in their expedition. ib.
A Spaniſh fleet deſigned to make a deſcent in Cornwal is diſperſed by a ſtorm. ib.
Admiral Howard is made earl of Nottingham and the earl of Eſſex lord marſhal. ib.
The diſpute of the Hanſe-towns revived. ib.

Henry

May. Henry IV beſieges Amiens. Page 375
An' 1597. He requires of Elizabeth the ſupply of four thouſand men. ib.
The Queen offers to ſend the troops on condition he will pay them. ib.
Henry threatens to make a peace without her. ib.
Elizabeth juſtifies her conduct by the treaty. ib.
September. She lends Henry money in lieu of ſending troops. ib.
Taking of Amiens. ib.
Henry privately negociates with Spain, upon which the Queen calls a parliament which grants her a conſiderable ſum. ib.
1598. Henry concludes a peace with Spain, without his allies. ib.
They complain to no purpoſe. ib.
The Queen writes him a very reſenting letter. p. 376
May 10. Henry's plenipotentiaries ſign the peace of Vervins without his allies. ib.
June 12. He ratifies the peace. ib.
Elizabeth makes a new treaty with the States. ib.
The earl of Tir-oen becomes formidable in Ireland. p. 377
James inſiſts on being declared preſumptive heir of Elizabeth. ib.
He writes to the Pope. ib.
Edward Squire is ſeized in London for attempting to kill the Queen by poiſoning her ſaddle-bow. ib.
September. Philip II dies. ib.
He leaves the ſovereignty of the Low-countries as a dowry to Infanta Iſabella his daughter, in marrying her to Albert the archduke. ib.
Philip III ſucceeds him. ib.
The Queen gives the earl of Eſſex a box on the ear. ib.
The lord treaſurer William Cecil, baron Burleigh dies; lord Buckhurſt ſucceeds him in his poſt. ib.
Affairs of Ireland. ib.
1599. The province of Munſter in Ireland riſes in rebellion. ib.
The earl of Eſſex is made lord lieutenant. p. 378
March. He goes to Ireland, where he acts contrary to his inſtructions. ib.
He treats with the earl of Tir-oen and grants him a truce. ib.
The Queen ſuſpects the earl of Eſſex and writes to him in ſharp terms. p. 379
The earl of Southampton diſſuades him from the reſolution he had taken of going into England, with the flower of his troops, to revenge himſelf on his enemies. ib.
He goes to England without leave; he makes but a weak juſtification for himſelf. ib.
He is arreſted. ib.
He makes his own apology; and but an ill defenſe. ib.
The earl of Tir-oen breaks the truce. ib.
The earl of Eſſex's friends cabal among the people. ib.
October. The Queen aſſembles the council in which the earl's conduct is examined and condemned. ib.
He gives himſelf up to devotion. ib.
The archduke, to amuſe Elizabeth, propoſes a peace. ib.
1600. The earl of Tir-oen reduces the whole province of Ulſter; but lord Montjoy the new lord lieutenant of Ireland puts a ſtop to his progreſs. ib.
Conference at Boulogne for a peace between Spain and England, fruitleſs. ib.
July 2. Battle of Newport gained by Prince Maurice againſt the archduke. p. 380
Clement VIII ſends two briefs into England, one to the Roman clergy, and the other to the people, by which he forbids the acknowleging any Sovereign after the death of Elizabeth, who does not by oath promiſe to maintain their religion with the utmoſt of his power. ib.
The Ruthvens conſpire to kill the King of Scots; he eſcapes; the two Ruthvens are killed and their accomplices condemned to death. Page 380 An' 1600.
Decree of the ſtates obliging thoſe who bore the name of Ruthven to change it. ib.
The Queen permits the earl of Eſſex to retire to his own houſe, under the guard of ſir Richard Berkley. ib.
He appears before the council, where he is accuſed of having failed in the obedience and deference he owed the Queen. ib.
He acknowleges himſelf guilty, and is condemned to loſe his poſts, and to be impriſoned during the Queen's pleaſure. ib.
The Queen grants him his liberty, but orders him to keep from court. ib.
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He ruins himſelf in the Queen's thoughts. ib. 1601.
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He reſolves to ſtir up a rebellion in London. ib.
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He goes thro' the city to raiſe an inſurrection but cannot ſucceed. ib.
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He ſurrenders, and is ſent to the Tower; the other conſpirators alſo are impriſoned. p. 383
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He arrives at Newark, and orders a cut-purſe to be hang'd without any other trial. ib.

He

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Earl of Saliſbury's death. Suffolk made treaſurer. p. 417
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James, is elected King of Bohemia. ib.
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CHARLES I.

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The King's, Queen's, and Prince's revenues ſeized. ib. Sept. 21.
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Count Harcourt embaſſador from France to the King. p. 833
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The aſſembly of divines, write circular letters to the churches abroad, juſtifying the parliament. p. 834
The King's manifeſto to all the Proteſtant churches touching religion. ib.
The King calls a parliament at Oxford, which met the 22d of January, 1643. ib.

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The earl of Eſſex's anſwer. ib.
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The word Exciſe firſt made uſe of in England. ib.
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Lord Fairfax takes Selby, makes Bellaſis, and ſixteen hundred of his men priſoners, and kills a great number. ib.
1644. The ſiege of Newark raiſed by Prince Rupert, and Meldrum defeated. p. 837
He takes Stopworth by ſtorm in his way to Latham-houſe, where the counteſs of Derby was beſieged, and had made a gallant defenſe for eighteen weeks, but the beſiegers diſlodging, and reinforcing Bolton, he takes that town by ſtorm, and afterwards takes Liverpool. ib.
The parliament has five armies. ib.
The earl of Mancheſter joins Fairfax, and the Scots. ib.
The ſiege of York. ib.
The marquis of Newcaſtle makes a ſally, and is repulſed. p. 838
Prince Rupert approaches York. ib.
The ſiege is raiſed. ib.
The parliament generals retire. ib.
Prince Rupert follows them. ib.
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Marquis of Newcaſtle goes to Holland. p. 839
July 15. York is taken by the parliament. ib.
The Scots take Newcaſtle, which ſurrenders at diſcretion. ib.
The parliament makes extraordinary preparations. ib.
The King ſends Hopton Southward, in hopes of breaking their aſſociation with the four Southern counties. ib.
Hopton takes Arundel-caſtle, but it is ſoon after re-taken by Waller. p. 840
He beats up one of lord Hopton's quarters, and carries off colonel Boles's regiment. ib.
March 29. The battle of Alresford in which lord Hopton is defeated, and forced to retire to Reading, and thence to Oxford. ib.
The parliament reſolves upon the ſiege of Oxford. ib.
The King demoliſhes Reading, and draws off the gariſon, conſiſting of 2500 men, to ſtrengthen his army. ib.
The parliament's army, conſiſting of 23500 horſe and foot march towards Oxford; upon their approach, Willmot abandons Abington, which is poſſeſſed by Eſſex. ib.
Waller gains the paſs at Newbridge over the Iſis, and falls upon the rear of the King's infantry; Eſſex paſſes the Cherwell, and Goſworth-bridge with his army and the King leaves Oxford upon the third of June. ib.
He arrives ſafe at Worceſter. p. 841
Eſſex countermands the orders of the parliament, and marches into the Weſt, breaking up the ſiege of Oxford. ib.
July 14. The Queen retires into France. ib.
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Eſſex poſſeſſes himſelf of Dorcheſter. ib.
Sir William Balfour takes Weymouth. ib.
Prince Maurice ſends a detachment to ſecure Barnſtable, but the inhabitants ſhut the gates againſt him, and ſend to Eſſex to take poſſeſſion of that town, which he did by lord Roberts. ib.
Here was taken captain Howard, who formerly, with nineteen troopers, deſerted to the King, for which he was now tried, condemned, and executed; and Prince Maurice by way of reprizal, hanged one Turpin a ſea captain. ib.
Serjeant Glanvil is thereupon ordered to be impeached of high treaſon, and ſeveral on both ſides ſuffer by way of repriſal. ib.
The King deceives Waller in his march, and advances towards Oxford. ib.
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A difference between the two houſes. ib.
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By aſſault he takes Dartmouth. ib.
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Fairfax follows him into Cornwall. ib.
The Prince of Wales retires into the Iſle of Silly. ib.
Faifax ſends honorable terms to Hopton in caſe he would capitulate, who finding himſelf ſurrounded, and without redreſs, agrees; the treaty is ſigned the 14th of March, and all the horſes and arms were delivered to Fairfax, who returned to ſit down before Exeter, which ſurrendered to him the 9th of April. p. 864
The Scots beſiege Hereford, but are obliged to break up the ſiege. ib.
They ſit down before Newark about the cloſe of October, which they do not reduce before May 1646. ib.
Pomfret and Scarborough-caſtle ſurrender to the parliament. ib.
His Majeſty quits Wales with 3000 horſe; takes Huntington, where he finds a great booty; from thence goes to Oxford, were ſtaying but three days, and taking with him what forces could be ſpared, he marched to Camden, arrives at Hereford, where he received news of the ſurrender of Briſtol. ib.
The King marches to the relief of Cheſter. ib.
An action near that town, in which the King is defeated, and is obliged to retire into Wales. p. 865
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He orders Newark to be ſurrendered to the Scots, who carry him to Newcaſtle. p. 870
He ſends a meſſage to both houſes, in which he agrees, that they ſhall for ſeven years nominate all the commiſſioners of the militia. ib.
He writes to the city of London, that he was ready to comply with the parliament in every thing. ib. June 10.
By a ſecond meſſage, the King preſſes the parliament to ſend him their propoſals for peace, and requires the liberty of repairing to London, to treat with them in perſon. ib.
The Scots deny, by declaration, having made any treaty with his Majeſty, and petition the King to take ſome ſpeedy courſe for ſettling religion in England, and eſtabliſhing the privileges and liberties of his kingdom. p. 871
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longer neceſſary. ib.
They ſend to his Majeſty propoſitions for a peace, little differing from thoſe debated at Uxbridge, with an additional article, that the parliament ſhall have the ſole power over the militia for twenty years; and that they, by their own authority, ſhall raiſe what money they ſhall think neceſſary for its maintenance, &c. ib.
The King's anſwer. ib.
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Which

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Jan. 16. The Scots parliament's declaration. ib.
His Majeſty is delivered to the parliament's commiſſaries at Newcaſtle, the ſame day the Scots army begin their march for Scotland; his Majeſty arrives at Holmby the ſixteenth of February. p. 875
The difference of the Preſbyterians and Independents. ib.
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The parliament ſends a commitee to form the army for Ireland. ib.
The army no ways inclined to obey them. ib.
Skippon nominated to command in Ireland. ib.
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The declaration of the officers. ib.
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Thus far Mr. RAPIN.

A

SUMMARY or ABRIGEMENT

OF THE

CONTINUATION

OF THE

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